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Para su aplicación, puede seguir las siguientes instrucciones:

1. Los artículos se realizarán con los procesadores de textos más usuales para PC o Macintosh (preferiblemente formato DOC o ASCII). Tendrán una extensión de unas 25 páginas: unos 75 000 caracteres, 12 000 palabras escritas en Times New Roman o equivalente, cuerpo 12, doble espacio; notas al pie, fuente Times New Roman o equivalente, cuerpo 10, espacio sencillo, incluyendo figuras, cuadros, notas y bibliografía.
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3. Las reseñas bibliográficas no excederán de las 5 páginas. No es preciso anonimizar estos trabajos, incluyendo al final de la reseña nombre y apellido(s) de su autor/a, adscripción académica, *e-mail* y ORCID iD.
4. El texto aparecerá justificado. No se dividirán las palabras al final de la línea ni se forzarán los saltos de página. No se debe forzar (mediante la tecla *enter* o *intro*) el final de línea en texto seguido, pero sí a final de párrafo. Los párrafos no se separan entre sí con un interlineado más amplio.
5. Si es preciso, el cuerpo del texto se presentará dividido en apartados numerados en caracteres árabes, empezando por 0. INTRODUCCIÓN, por ejemplo. En caso de que haya subdivisión, se seguirá el mismo sistema: 1.1. Título, 1.2. Título, etc.; la siguiente subdivisión será 1.1.1. *Título*, 1.1.2. *Título*. En las citas tendrán prioridad las comillas españolas: « », y en orden descendente, las inglesas: “ ”.
6. La cita que sobrepase las cinco líneas aparecerá en párrafo aparte, sangrada y con cuerpo de letra 11. Las comas y los puntos a final de cita aparecerán después de las comillas, a no ser que se trate de puntos de interrogación y exclamación del texto citado.
7. Las llamadas a notas al pie precederán al punto o la coma correspondiente. En caso de citas, esas referencias a nota al pie estarán fuera de las comillas de cierre. Las llamadas de las notas se indicarán con números volados sin paréntesis, y estas irán numeradas y colocadas a pie de página.
8. Los cuadros, tablas, gráficos, mapas, etc., que se incluyan en el trabajo deberán ser los originales. En caso de que sea precisa escala, la llevarán gráfica y no numérica. Estarán numerados, con sus correspondientes títulos, y se indicará el lugar apropiado de su colocación. Las referencias a ellos, en el texto, se harán a su número, de forma que pueda alterarse su colocación, si así lo aconseja el ajuste tipográfico. En caso de incluir fotografías, el autor debe ponerse en contacto con el editor para concretar el soporte y características exigidas que convengan a su mejor reproducción.
9. El uso de la cursiva ha de limitarse a su mínima expresión dentro del texto, de acuerdo con las normas APA, 7ª Edición: títulos de libros, nombres de revistas, de periódicos, obras de arte, palabras extranjeras, citas que quieran señalarse de modo particular y para lo cual el empleo de la redonda entre comillas no bastase.
10. Inmediatamente después de *cursiva*, la puntuación irá en redonda.
11. Las siglas no llevan puntuación. Ejemplos: ULL (Universidad de La Laguna), CAAM (Centro Atlántico de Arte Moderno), etc.
12. Cuando se utilice el término «etc.» no han de añadirse puntos suspensivos.
13. Los puntos suspensivos deben ir entre corchetes cuando quiera indicarse que falta texto en una cita [...].
14. El corchete ([ ]) puede ir dentro de un paréntesis pero no a la inversa.
15. Cuando una palabra en *cursiva* va entre paréntesis o entre corchetes, esos signos ortográficos han de ir en redonda.
16. Nunca va una coma ante paréntesis o ante guion.
17. Las fechas no llevarán punto y en las cifras de cuatro dígitos se pondrá toda seguida (Ej. 1453). En los numerales de más de cuatro cifras se pondrá un espacio fino de no separación cada tres cifras contadas desde la derecha (Ej. 2000, 52 052).
18. El guion que se empleará en las frases entre guiones será el guion medio (–). El guion corto (-) se mantendrá para unir palabras.
19. Los símbolos de pesos y medidas van en singular, minúscula y sin puntuación: kg, cm, m, etc.
20. Se evitará, en la medida de lo posible, el uso de las abreviaturas de palabras, solo aconsejable cuando su frecuencia en el texto, por rapidez y economía, así lo pida.
21. La abreviatura de número en el texto será n.º, núm. o núms., en ningún caso nº.
22. *Idem*, *ibidem*, *passim* irán con todas sus letras, sin acento gráfico y en cursiva.
23. Se recomienda descartar el uso de la negrita, utilizándose en su lugar, para establecer las necesarias distinciones, la *cursiva*, y la versalita, en los cuerpos que convenga.

REFERENCIAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS

Los nombres de pila de autores, editores, traductores, etc., deben ser desarrollados.

Notas a pie de página y citas en el cuerpo del texto

– Las notas a pie de página no se destinarán a recoger las referencias bibliográficas citadas en el texto. Dichas notas a pie de página serán solo de tipo aclaratorio respecto al contenido del cuerpo del texto. Podrán utilizarse para consignar las referencias a fuentes archivísticas y otras fuentes primarias utilizadas en la investigación.

– Las obras consultadas se citarán en el texto entre paréntesis según el estilo autor-fecha (APA), con el apellido del autor y el año de publicación entre paréntesis (Vorholt, 2017: 154). Dichas obras se presentarán en un listado de referencias final. Otros ejemplos de cita de referencias a lo largo del texto, si un autor/a es nombrado en el cuerpo de texto o en las notas al pie:

«... según indica Vorholt (2017: 154)»
«... como en el caso del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (Pacheco Caballero, 1999)»

Si fuera pertinente, se debe indicar la primera y última página de la cita para evitar las abreviaturas s. o ss. (Vorholt, 2017: 154-157).

BIBLIOGRAFÍA FINAL

– Se limitará a las obras citadas en el texto, que se presentarán al final del artículo. En esta sección las referencias figurarán en orden alfabético-cronológico, según la 7.ª edición del estilo de la American Psychological Association (APA). *Los nombres de pila de autores, editores, traductores, etc. deben ser desarrollados*.

– Siempre que sea posible, los trabajos citados deberán adjuntar el código DOI (Digital Object Identifier) tras citar la referencia. Por ejemplo:

Bevan, A. (2015): «The data deluge», *Antiquity*, 89 (348): 1473-1484. https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2015.102.

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Carriazo Rubio, Juan Luis (2018): «El noble de frontera ante el espejo: el marqués de Cádiz como paradigma», *E-Spania: Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales*, 31. https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/28667.

– El modelo para citar los libros será el siguiente:

Vorholt, Hanna (2017). *Shaping Knowledge: The Transmission of the 'Liber Floridus'*, Warburg Institute, Londres.

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Alfonso X, el Sabio (1555). *Las Siete Partidas* (Gregorio López, Ed., vols. 1-3). Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis.

– El modelo para los libros (y otras obras) escritos por varios autores será el siguiente:

Sarris, Peter, Dal Santo, Matthew and Booth, Phil (2011). *An age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*. Brill.

– El modelo para los libros editados o coordinados por uno o varios autores será el siguiente:

Pena, Alberto (ed.) (2004). *Comunicación y guerra en la historia*. Tórculo.

Jiménez Díez, José Antonio, Mederos Martín, Alfredo (coords.) (2001). *Comisión de antigüedades de la Real Academia de la Historia. Baleares, Canarias, Ceuta y Melilla. Extranjero. Catálogo e índices*. Real Academia de la Historia.

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*Si la obra cuenta con autor conocido:

Alfonso X, el Sabio (1555). *Las Siete Partidas* (Gregorio López, Ed., Vols. 1-3). Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis.

*Nótese que el ejemplo es de edición antigua. En una edición moderna, solo iría la casa editora. P. ej.: Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo (2019). *Prisión del rey de Francia (1525-1533)* (Jorge Martín García, ed.). Universidad de Salamanca.

*Si la obra no cuenta con autor definido y solo con editor:

Rovira i Ermengol, Josep (ed.). (1993). *Usatges de Barcelona i Commemoracions de Pere Albert*. Barcino.

– El modelo para una traducción o edición será el siguiente:

Drobner, Hubertus R. (2007). *The Fathers of the Church: a comprehensive introduction*, (Siegfried S. Schatzmann, Trad.). Hendrickson Publishers.

Sturluson, Snorri (1984). *Edda Menor*, (L. Lerate, Ed.) Alianza Editorial.

– El modelo para una obra con varios volúmenes será el siguiente:

Benavides, Antonio (1860). *Memorias de Fernando IV de Castilla*, (vols. 1-2). Madrid: Imprenta de José Rodríguez.

Benavides, Antonio (1860). *Memorias de Fernando IV de Castilla*, Madrid: Imprenta de José Rodríguez, vol. i, p. 126.

*Nótese que el ejemplo es de edición antigua. En una edición moderna, solo iría la casa editora. P. ej.: Cátedra, vol. iv, 232.

– El modelo para los artículos de revistas será el siguiente:

Quartapelle, Alberto (2017). «El redescubrimiento de las Islas Canarias en el *anno domini* 1339», *Revista de Historia Canaria*, 199: 11-37.

– El modelo para los capítulos de libro será el siguiente:

Nascimento, Aires Augusto (1989). «Trezenzónio e a Ilha do Solsticio: a funcionalidade da ausencia no reencontró do presente», en Godinho, Helder (ed.), *Em torno da Idade Média* (pp. 185-196). Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Para cualquier duda en la aplicación de estas normas, remitimos a las normas de estilo APA.

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All submissions made to Cuadernos del CEMYR must be anonymized. Manuscripts should conform to the 7th edition of the American Psychological Association (APA) style.

For its application, you may follow *the instructions below*:

1. Manuscripts should be submitted as text files of common word processors for PC or Macintosh (preferably saved as DOC or ASCII files). They must not exceed over 25 pages: approximately 75 000 characters, 12 000 words written in Times New Roman or equivalent, size 12, double line spacing; footnotes, written in Times New Roman or equivalent, size 10, single-spaced), including figures, tables, notes, and the bibliography.
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   - Name and surname(s) of the author(s).
   - Academic affiliation.
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   - Abstract (no more than 10 lines) and keywords (between 4 and 8) (if the article is written in Spanish, in Spanish and English; if it is written in English, in English and Spanish; if it is written in another language, in that language, in Spanish).
   - If applicable, research projects, Supporting Agencies or other funding sources received by the author for this research.
   - Acknowledgements, if applicable.

   2.1. If an article is signed by two or more authors, the order of signature will be determined, by default, in alphabetical order of their first surname. The alteration of this order will mean the assignment of the main authorship of the article in order of signature (1st author, 2nd author, 3rd author, etc.).

3. Reviews must not exceed five (5) pages. Authors must include an abstract of no more than 10 lines in English and Spanish, and the manuscript's keywords (between four and eight).
4. The text must be justified. Do not split words across lines or insert page breaks. Do not insert line breaks (by pressing the *Return* or *Enter* key) at the end of a line but do insert them at the end of a paragraph. Do not add an extra line between paragraphs.
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8. Charts, tables, graphs, maps, etc., that are included in the manuscript must be original work. Where scales are required, they will be graphical and not numerical. They will be numbered with their corresponding titles and authors will indicate where they will appear. When referring to them in the text, use their number in case they are repositioned according to the text alignment. If the manuscript contains photographs, please contact the editor to confirm the medium and characteristics required for optimum quality.
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20. Avoid overusing abbreviations unless the frequency of the word in the text, for reasons of speed and efficiency, requires such.
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22. *Idem*, *ibidem*, *passim* must be written in full, in italics.
23. Do not use bold, instead use *italics* or small caps to make necessary distinctions, where necessary.

REFERENCING

It is necessary to develop the first names of authors, editors, translators, etc.

Footnotes and references within the text.

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"... as Vorholt states (2017: 154)"

"... as is the case of Santo Domingo de Silos monastery (Pacheco Caballero, 1999)"

If relevant, you must state the first and last page of the citation: (Vorholt, 2017: 154-157).

REFERENCE LIST

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– In so far as is possible, cited works must include a Digital Object Identifier (DOI). For instance:

Bevan, Andrew (2015). «The data deluge», *Antiquity*, 89 (348): 1473-1484. https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2015.102.

– For references retrieved from the Internet that do not have a DOI, the website where the reference is hosted will be listed whenever possible (in particular when page numbers are not given to narrow down the reference). For instance:

Carriazo Rubio, Juan Luis (2018). «El noble de frontera ante el espejo: el marqués de Cádiz como paradigma», *E-Spania: Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales*, 31. https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/28667.

– Books should be cited as follows:

Vorholt, Hanna (2017). *Shaping Knowledge: The Transmission of the 'Liber Floridus'*, Warburg Institute.

– For editions where the publisher is not known or in older editions, so that this information can be clarifying, the place of publication should be cited as follows:

Alfonso X, el Sabio (1555). *Las Siete Partidas* (Gregorio López, ed., vols. 1-3). Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis.

– Books (and other references) written by several authors should be cited as follows:

Sarris, Peter, Dal Santo, Matthew and Booth, Phil (2011). *An age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*. Brill.

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Pena, Alberto (ed.) (2004): C*omunicación y guerra en la historia*, Tórculo.

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*If the author of the work is known:

Alfonso X, el Sabio (1555): *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. G. López, 3 vols., Andrea de Portonariis, Salamanca.

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*If the author of the work is not known but the editor is:

Rovira i Ermengol, Josep (ed.) (1993): *Usatges de Barcelona i Commemoracions de Pere Albert*, Barcino.

– Translations and edited works should be cited as follows:

Drobner, Hubertus R. (2007). *The Fathers of the Church: a comprehensive introduction*, (Siegfried S. Schatzmann, Trad.). Hendrickson Publishers.

Sturluson, Snorri (1984). *Edda Menor*, (L. Lerate, ed.) Alianza Editorial.

– Works with several volumes should be cited as follows:

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– Journal papers should be cited as follows:

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– Book chapters should be cited as follows:

Nascimento, Aires Augusto (1989). «Trezenzónio e a Ilha do Solstício: a funcionalidade da ausência no reencontro do presente», en Godinho, Helder (ed.), *Em torno da Idade Média*, (pp. 185-196). Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

In case of any doubt as to how these rules are to be applied, we refer you to the APA style and grammar guidelines.

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FROM FREE WILL TO OBLIGATION. THE MOBILITY OF PEOPLE IN SMALL BORDER TOWNS IN MEDIEVAL PORTUGAL AND CASTILLE: NEWCOMERS, ROYAL OFFICIALS AND WORKERS. AN INTRODUCTION*

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Medieval Europe was home to cities and towns of highly diverse origins, sizes, and socio-economic and cultural profiles. These settlements have long captured the attention of medievalists and have become one of the main spaces of observation and inquiry. Focusing solely on the first decades of the twenty-first century, numerous scholarly gatherings have been held and studies published on a wide range of topics, including major cities, urban networks, port towns, frontier cities, urban planning, supply systems, governance, memory, and daily life, among others[1].

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[1] By way of example, we shall simply outline a few recent discussions and reflections on the historiography of the medieval town in some regions of Western Europe (Portugal, Spain, France, Low Countries, England and Ireland): Andrade e Costa, 2011: 284-293; Coelho, 2011: 284-293; Chittolini, 2010: 227-241; Menjot, 2011: 39-85; Haemers, 2011: 341-354; Val Valdivieso, 2015: 9-32; Muñoz Fernández & Ruiz Gómez, 2020; Harkes, 2022: 648-656.

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Nevertheless, small towns, as objects of study in their own right, remained a marginal topic within urban history. Even in more recent historiography, when incorporated into analyses of urban networks, they have consistently been treated as secondary or peripheral elements and/or viewed from the perspective of the prominence of major cities (Guittonneau, 2017). This scenario is surprising given that such small settlements constituted the majority of urban centers in Europe. In contrast, truly large cities were few in number and primarily confined to specific regions, such as Flanders and northern Italy. Indeed, small towns occasionally attained the status of leading actors in Anglo-Saxon historiography, considering their importance as marketplaces (Hilton, 1985; Dyer, 2002) and that, briefly, in the 1980s historiographic production on this subject intensified (Poussou, Loupès: 1987). However, attempts to produce comparative studies between small towns in different geopolitical areas were doomed to failure, of which the exercise carried out by Peter Clark and Pierre Poussou was an eloquent example (Clark: 1995).

For some years, the adoption of criteria of centrality, and more recently, the contemplation of flows, has helped to transcend the difficulty in defining "small urban center" (Fray, 2006, 2007; Fray *et alii*, 2013; Stable, 2008; Bochaca, 2015), and consequently, increase the opportunities for comparison. It is in this context that the line of research developed at the Institute of Medieval Studies of NOVA University (Portugal) is integrated, guided by the primary objective of developing a questionnaire to analyze small towns. The questionnaire was outlined (Costa, 2013: 145-148), but the concept under study remained undefined.

In fact, the historiographical object *small town* does not in itself constitute a closed delimitation, because the adjective "small" merely characterizes a reality in relation to others. The research line in the Institute of Medieval Studies adopted a flexible notion of a small town as a conceptual strategy that allows us to define the object of study for each specific research project we undertake. There is certainly a minimum criterion that a territorial community must meet to attain the status of a town (*vila*), clearly expressed in the sources (at least the Portuguese and Castilian ones); it must be a municipality that has been explicitly granted the privilege of town status, including jurisdiction over a demarcated territory. In other words, this approach does not apply, for example, to the dichotomy between the urban and the rural worlds.

The problem lies in the upper threshold of the concept of a small town, which cannot be defined by a single structuring feature. Thus, the analysis of small-sized settlement cores with town status must always be considered relative to a framework previously defined by geographical, economic, jurisdictional, or proto-demographic criteria. Alternatively, the adjective "small" must be paired with a permanent characteristic such as mountainous, frontier, or port, for instance.

The development of that line of research on small towns is not based on a specific methodology or on predefined analytical models, nor does it correspond to a historiographical trend directly imported from derived from the concerns of medieval communities. Instead, it is primarily an observational perspective that grants the leading role to smaller population centers (Costa, 2021: 597-598).

While recent historiography has significantly renewed our understanding of the medieval town, scholars have, in parallel, continued to explore another long-established field of research – that of the frontier(s). It has experienced a revitalized interest and a notable increase in scholarly production, particularly on the occasion of commemorating major medieval treaties[2]. We are referring, in the Iberian case, to the Treaty of Alcañices between Portugal and Castile, concluded in 1297. Research on the frontiers has aimed to combine various perspectives, encompassing the processes of border delimitation, the networks of officials established to oversee and administer these territories, commercial exchanges and smuggling, as well as the social and economic profiles of the towns founded within them and the interactions between different cultures[3].

In this context, the FRONTOWNS project –*Think Big on Small Frontier Towns: Alto Alentejo and Alta Extremadura Leonesa (13th-16th centuries)*– was launched. The chosen border was the one that separated the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile. This frontier remained virtually unchanged since 1297, making it a rare and distinctive case study in the European context. Specifically, the project focuses on the towns located along the border between what is now the Alto Alentejo and Spanish Extremadura. This zone, following the Beira region and its neighboring Castilian lands, constituted the principal area of overland contact between Portugal and Castile. Although this project is a national one, we tried to give it a comparative component, which was reinforced by integrating Spanish colleagues specialized in the territory of Leonese Extremadura into the team. We acknowledge that, although our object of observation is a border territory between two kingdoms, this is not a truly comparative study. Indeed, the Castilian area considered is larger than that bordering Alto Alentejo, and the objectives of its inclusion are, first, to serve as a mirror to better understand the Portuguese side and, second, to grasp the connections between the two territories.

One of the main objectives of the Project – and the purpose of this thematic issue – is to advance scholarly understanding by bringing together three interrelated domains: small towns, frontiers, and mobility. Our intention was to revisit established questions while also introducing new ones, including:

– Were these small frontier towns connected to more distant regions?
– What role did small border towns play in the construction of routes and mobility between different kingdoms in the 14th-16th centuries?
– How far do the inhabitants of small frontier towns go?
– Where do people come from to live/work in these settlements?

[2] As an illustration, we will briefly highlight a few recent collective volumes that have explored the study of frontier(s) during the medieval period: Josserand, Buresi, 2001; Murray, 2009; Fernandes, Boissellier 2015; Abulafia, Berend, 2016; Butler, Kesserling, 2018; Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, 2021; Leighton *et al*, 2023; Ardelean *et al*, 2023.

[3] For the frontier towns in Portugal, see the state of the art presented in Costa, 2020: 1-28.

The previous set of research questions guided the ten contributions to this dossier, which were presented in two sessions held at the International Medieval Congress (Leeds) and an international conference in Lisbon, both events organized in 2023. The discussions and insights generated during these meetings played a key role in enriching the research and strengthening the coherence of the adopted approach.

The central focus of the texts is mobility within a defined geographical framework between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The sequence of articles offers readers a structured progression, beginning with four coordinated contributions (two on Alto Alentejo and two on the Spanish region of Extremadura) that address the same topics, albeit with variations arising from the sources and their respective chronologies. This section continues with a collaborative Portuguese-Spanish text. It culminates in a final pair of mirrored articles analyzing mobility in towns on both sides of the frontier, each with distinct themes. In the last three texts, the contrapuntal framework between the two sides of the border is abandoned, with the analysis confined exclusively to the towns in the Alto Alentejo. As previously noted, the project is Portuguese, which explains the predominance of Lusitanian research. Let us now examine these texts more closely.

The opening article by *Gonçalo Melo da Silva* and *Thiago Tolfo* reconstructs the transport and communication networks of the small border towns of north-western Alentejo. By examining the physical routes, the buildings that supported travelers, and the institutional frameworks that facilitated circulation, the authors reveal how these towns functioned as key nodes of exchange within and beyond the Portuguese realm. Their study not only expands our knowledge of southern road systems – traditionally less studied than those north of the Tagus– but also underscores the role of these towns in shaping the urban hierarchies of both Portugal and Castile. Complementing this analysis, *Luis Clemente-Quijada* focuses on the *hauliers* and distribution networks of rural *Alta Extremadura*. Drawing upon legal and municipal sources, he identifies the rise of a specialized professional group –the *recueros*– who were instrumental in sustaining the economic cohesion between coastal Portugal and the Castilian hinterlands during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Having established the main routes of communication, this issue turns to the socio-economic fabric of frontier society, examining the dynamics that shaped its communities and interaction patterns. In their second contribution, *Gonçalo Melo da Silva* and *Thiago Tolfo* examine the professional activities of craftsmen in small and medium-sized towns of northeastern Alentejo. Their analysis distinguishes between common and specialized trades, tracing signs of economic diversification, urban complementarity, and professional mobility. This perspective contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how occupational hierarchies were shaped by both geography and frontier dynamics. Complementary to this, *Luis Clemente-Quijada*'s second article on *Alta Extremadura* highlights the emergence of textile and leather manufacturing from the late fifteenth century onwards. Through a comparison of municipal ordinances, royal records, and judicial documents, he shows how certain towns achieved a level of productive specialization that integrated them into wider interregional trade circuits, supported by cross-border commercial agreements.

Mobility across the frontier was not limited to transport and commerce: it was also profoundly marked by war and politics. In their joint article, *João Rafael Nisa* and *Carlos Rodríguez Casillas* explore the realities of conflict in the Alentejo and Extremadura borderlands, one of the first regions to experience the impact of the conflicts between the Crowns of Portugal and Castile. Their analysis of wartime movement – whether the deployment of troops, the repair of fortifications, or the enforced immobility of besieged populations – reveals how military exigencies shaped local life and royal policy alike. War, in this context, emerges as both a constraint and a catalyst for mobility, frequently structuring the rhythms of everyday existence along the frontier.

Considering forced immigration, *Ana Leitão* examines the *coutos de homiziados* –territories designated for the exile of convicted criminals– established in the northeastern Alentejo towns of Marvão, Arronches, and Ouguela. Through the analysis of royal chancery pardons issued between the reigns of Afonso V (1437-1481), João II (1481-1495) and Manuel I (1495-1521), she reconstructs the profiles, origins, and trajectories of the *homiziados* (exiled convicts), revealing how penal mobility intersected with the Crown's strategies of political and territorial control. The study of demographic and social mobility in urban centers forms another key dimension of this volume. *Julián Clemente Ramos* examines the city of Cáceres from its Christian conquest in 1229 to the early sixteenth century, focusing particularly on immigration patterns. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, settlement was gradual and primarily driven by immigrants from León, Galicia, and Castile, a presence also reflected in local toponymy. By the fifteenth century, although León remained a principal source of settlers, migration became more diverse, including arrivals from New Castile, Galicia, neighboring towns in Extremadura, Andalusia, and Portugal. This later immigration was motivated by economic opportunities, service in noble households, and artisan or labor mobility. The influx of newcomers contributed to the renewal and consolidation of Cáceres as a key urban center in late-medieval Extremadura.

The final section of this issue turns to the Portuguese royal officials acting in the Alto Alentejo border region – connected with notarial functions, taxation and justice – tracing the mobility that the development of these activities implies and how the king's authority was enacted in these peripheral zones.

The bureaucratic and documentary dimension of mobility is explored in *João Pedro Alves*'s study of notaries and their clients in the Alto Alentejo region. Combining evidence from royal pardons, legislative texts, and *Cortes* proceedings, he reconstructs the professional trajectories and networks of notaries in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. His approach reveals how documentary practices both reflected and reinforced the circulation of people, ideas, and legal culture across local and regional boundaries. In a related vein, *Marcelo Moreira Andrade* examines the *alcaides* and *escrivães das sacas* – officials responsible for overseeing customs duties and export licenses in northeastern Alentejo – between 1443 and 1521. Drawing on chancery documentation, he reconstructs the evolution of this administrative network. He offers insight into the social profiles and mobility of those who served as royal intermediaries in the borderlands. Finally, *Adelaide Millán da Costa* investigates

the *juízes de fora* (peripheral royal magistrates) active in the small frontier towns of Alto Alentejo during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. By analyzing their appointments, movements, and local integration, she demonstrates how these officials embodied the Crown's efforts to assert judicial authority and reinforce administrative cohesion at the kingdom's margins.

Taken together, the studies assembled in this thematic issue not only offer a multifaceted view of the small frontier towns of Alentejo and Extremadura, but also invite broader reflection on the questions we raised previously. Firstly, many of the main routes that structured circulation and communication during the Roman period – particularly those connecting Lisbon with Cáceres and Badajoz – continued to influence contacts between the two realms throughout the Middle Ages. Although the course of some roads evolved over time, the establishment of a political frontier did not disrupt these lines of movement; instead, it reinforced them, transforming nearby towns into essential points of support and articulation. The evidence discussed throughout the monograph allows us to classify the region's routes and mobility circuits – namely the commercial ones – into four broad categories: local (within the municipal territory), regional (linking neighboring towns), national (on the scale of each kingdom), and international (connecting both realms, especially at the regional level, being rarer those extending beyond the peninsula). These layers of circulation interacted constantly, sustaining the material, institutional, and human exchanges that defined frontier life.

War, too, played a paradoxical role in these processes. It generated both defensive and offensive mobility, as men and resources were mobilized to secure the border and fight in other geographic areas. Yet, when peace returned, the experience of displacement acquired a new social meaning. Former combatants frequently invoked their participation in distant theatres of operation – whether in North Africa, across the neighboring kingdom, or later in the 16th century, Italy, America, and Asia – as evidence of loyalty deserving royal reward. Mobility thus became a mechanism of recognition, advancement, and social negotiation, once again demonstrating that medieval society was far from static.

Although the data concerning the arrival of new inhabitants (whether by their own will or as a result of punishment) are of a different nature and require some caution, there nevertheless appear to be particular distinctions between Portugal and Castile. In both realms, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the arrival of settlers from the northern regions (e.g., Beira for Portuguese towns and Galicia for Castilian towns) predominated. However, by the fifteenth century, the Portuguese case had diverged, at least regarding the *homiziados*. Most of them settling in Alentejo towns now originated within the region itself, possibly due to proximity.

The studies on royal officials and economic activities equally expose the hierarchical structure of Portuguese urban centers, with Portalegre clearly occupying a leading position within the regional network. Yet, unlike in other regions, no single city or town emerged as a dominant pole capable of monopolizing local production. The absence of a large urban hub, however, did not isolate these frontier towns. They were actively integrated into long-distance supply routes linking them to major markets such as Lisbon, Valladolid, and Medina del Campo. What seems to

emerge is a certain balance among the frontier towns of Alto Alentejo, occasionally renegotiated, as evidenced by the well-known cases of Castelo de Vide and Marvão (Oliveira, 2011), probably due to the urban centers considering that only in this way could they respond more effectively to the challenges they faced.

Finally, the frontier itself has not constrained the development or interconnection of the local economies of both realms. On the contrary, it often acted, among other factors, as a catalyst for production and exchange, especially in sectors such as livestock, textiles, leather, and sumac (*rhus coriaria*), a key raw material for the textile and, above all, leatherworking sectors. Far from dividing, the frontier stimulated complementarity and mutual dependency, reinforcing the idea that the borderlands of Alentejo and Extremadura were not peripheries, but vibrant crossroads of mobility and creation. Moreover, this allows us to demonstrate, as the project sought to test, that small towns did not exist solely in the shadow of larger urban centers, but were capable of forging their own networks. While these networks were naturally smaller and more concentrated at the local and regional level, some inhabitants nevertheless managed to extend them over considerable distances. Notable examples include commercial agents from Portuguese towns such as Castelo de Vide and Portalegre, reaching, respectively, Guarda and Lisbon in Portugal, and Valladolid in Castile – distances of approximately 160, 200, and 400 km on foot.

In short, despite the lack of sources and the diversity of observation points in time, the towns of Alto Alentejo and Alta Extremadura Leonesa remain small in our analysis. Still, their connections, flows, and impact have grown significantly.

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DOSIER / DOSSIER

MOBILITY ROUTES AND URBAN HIERARCHY IN NORTH-EASTERN ALENTEJO AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES: ROAD NETWORK AND SUPPORT STRUCTURES FOR TRAVELLERS*

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Abstract

In Portugal, some medievalists have considered the road network and the support structures for travellers, such as inns, among their main areas of interest. The studies carried out have provided information about these elements more in the region north of the Tagus than to the south. On the other hand, there is still a need for studies that address the role of these urban centres in the circulation between the two kingdoms and their area of influence, as well as the contribution of these elements to the definition and evolution of the urban hierarchy on both realms. Thus, we intend to contribute to a better understanding of the role of small Portuguese border towns in the circulation within and beyond the realm through the study of a set of cases from one region (the present-day Alto Alentejo). We will begin by presenting the towns under research and reflecting on the available sources for the study of circulation, exploring the limitations and potentialities posed by the existing data. Subsequently, we will reconstruct the road network and the buildings and institutions that supported travellers.

Keywords: Urban History, Socio-economic History, Transport, Mobility, Medieval Portugal.

VÍAS DE CIRCULACIÓN Y JERARQUÍA URBANA EN EL NORDESTE ALENTEJANO A FINALES DE LA EDAD MEDIA: RED VIARIA Y ESPACIOS DE ACOGIDA

Resumen

En Portugal, algunos medievalistas definieron la red viaria y las estructuras de apoyo a los viajeros, como las posadas, como una de sus principales áreas de interés. Actualmente, los estudios realizados permiten conocer estos elementos más en la región al norte del Tajo que al sur. Por otro lado, aún son necesarios estudios sobre el papel de estos centros en la circulación entre los dos reinos y su área de influencia en este dominio, así como la contribución de estos elementos a la definición y evolución de la jerarquía urbana en ambos reinos. Así, pretendemos contribuir a una mejor comprensión del papel de las pequeñas villas y ciudades fronterizas portuguesas en la circulación dentro y fuera del reino, a través del estudio de un conjunto de casos de una región (hoy Alto Alentejo). En este sentido, comenzaremos presentando las villas objeto de estudio y reflexionando sobre las fuentes disponibles para el estudio de la circulación, explorando las limitaciones y potencialidades que plantean los datos existentes. A continuación, reconstruiremos la red viaria y los edificios e instituciones de apoyo a los viajeros.

Palabras clave: historia urbana, historia socioeconómica, transporte, movilidad, Portugal medieval.

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INTRODUCTION

In Portugal, some medievalists defined the road network, the support structures for travelers, such as inns, *aposentadoria* and the agents involved in land transport as one of their main areas of interest[1]. Furthermore, historians who focused on a locality and/or region[2], pilgrimage routes (MORENO, 1986a: 78-89, 1992: 75-83, 2000: 41-52), the itineraries of kings and their officials (Freitas, 2004: 316-330), journeys (Coelho and Santos, 1990a: 5-12; Gonçalves, 1988: 193-194), and the domains of major monastic institutions (Gonçalves, 1989: 380-386), usually had as one of their concerns to reconstruct, analyze, or at least describe the road network, the buildings and institutions supporting travelers, and means of circulation and transport such as ferry boats[3].

The studies carried out have provided information about the road network, accommodation structures, and professionals associated with land and river transport, especially in areas located north of the Tagus. This is particularly evident with the *Estrada da Beira* (Beira Road) (Monteiro, 2012), which was one of the main routes that connected the coast to the interior, facilitating circulation between Portugal and Castile. Conversely, knowledge about these topics in regions south of the Tagus remains much scarcer, with a few exceptions, such as the surrounding areas of Évora, Elvas, the Setúbal Peninsula, Setúbal, and the Algarve. Furthermore, despite the interest of Portuguese historians in border towns[4] and those of small and medium size[5], there is a need for studies that address the role of these settlements in the circulation between Portugal and Castile. That would include evaluating the sphere

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[1] For example, the authors Carlos Alberto Ferreira, Humberto Baquero Moreno, Iria Gonçalves, Maria da Luz Barros, Helena Monteiro e João Romão: Almeida, 1968; Moreno, 1979, 1982; Gonçalves, 1988a, 2003, 2005-2006, 2013; Barros, 1995; Monteiro, 2012; Romão, 2012. Also see, Freitas, 2003, 2004, 2006b, 2010, 2019; Medrano Fernández, 20006, 2007, 2008, 2010.

[2] Considering the extensive bibliography on these subjects, and the impossibility of citing every contribution, we only mention some examples: Coelho, 1989, vol. 1: 400-424; Rodrigues, 1995: 330-340; Conde, 2000, vol. 1: 333-344; Oliveira, 2013: 212-215; Vicente, 2014: 274-289; Silva, vol. 1: 42-43, vol. 2: 46.

[3] On this subject, see: Braga, 1993: 373-388; Oliveira, 2013: 202-210; Duarte e Barros, 1997: 77-118; D' Abreu, 2006: 45-75.

[4] For a historiographic overview on this subject, see: Costa, 2020: 259-286.

[5] Considering the extensive bibliography on these subjects, and the impossibility of citing every contribution, we only mention the more recent historiographical overviews and theoretical framework studies: (Coelho, 2011; Andrade, Costa, 2011; Costa, 2013, 2016, 2018; Costa, Andrade, Tente, 2017; Silva, 2021a).

of influence of the towns, as well as determining how these elements contributed to the establishment and evolution of the urban hierarchy on both the Portuguese and Castilian sides.

The scenario for the Alentejo is somewhat surprising, particularly regarding the northwestern region situated on the border, with two urban constellations with centers in the Serra de São Mamede (Portalegre, Castelo de Vide, and Arronches) and Elvas. Interestingly, after the Beira frontier, this area was the main natural entry route from Castile and, in the 15th century was one of the main gateways for Castilian textiles and other products into Portugal (Ferreira, 1983: 43, 54, 56; Fernandes, 2011: 566-567).

With this article we aim to shed light on the role of small Portuguese border towns in the circulation both within and beyond the kingdom, by examining a group of urban centers located north of Elvas, mentioned in Fig. 1. We will begin by presenting the towns under study and reflecting on the documentation associated with circulation, exploring the limitations and potentialities posed by the existing data. Next, we will identify and reconstruct the road network and support structures in order to understand the role towns played in shaping the urban hierarchy in the area under study.

1. THE SMALL FRONTEIR TOWNS OF THE ALTO ALENTEJO AND MOBILITY: CHALLENGES FOR THEIR STUDY

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the northeastern border of the Alentejo encompassed thirteen towns located along the frontier with Castile: Montalvão, Nisa, Alpalhão, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Portalegre, Alegrete, Assumar, Arronches, Monforte, Ouguela, Campo Maior, and Elvas. Elvas, however, is not considered in this text, as it was larger, and has already been analyzed[6]. Although the *Numeramento* (census) of 1527-1532 pertains to a later period, it revealed that these towns were small communities, except for Portalegre which was medium-sized in the context of the Portuguese kingdom (Fig. 1). Portalegre, Castelo de Vide, and Arronches were the most populated, with 1419, 911, and 832 dwellings (*fogos*), respectively, followed by Campo Maior, Monforte, and Marvão, with 664, 660, and 495. The last group included Nisa (349), Montalvão (181), Alegrete (263), Ouguela (163), and Assumar (159) (Dias, 1996: 540, 544).

The thirteen urban centers under study remained almost always under royal rule and, in the cases of Montalvão, Nisa, and Alpalhão, under the control of the Order of Christ. Nevertheless, at certain times, comparable to what occurred in other regions[7], the Crown granted the lordship of some towns to members of the nobility

[6] On this town see: Correia, 2013.

[7] For example, for the region south of the Tagus see: Silva, 2021, vol. 1, pp. 136-147; Coelho, 2023.

as a reward for services rendered and/or to reinforce control over the border during times of heightened tension with Castile, especially in the late 14th century. For example, in the context of the wars of King Fernando (1367-1383) and King João I (1385-1433), Póvoa e Meadas were donated to Gonçalo Martins of Cáceres (1371) (Oliveira, 2011: 95) and Ouguela was donated to Friar Álvaro Gonçalves Camelo, Prior of the Order of the Hospital and Marshal of the royal host (1391[8]) and to Martim Afonso de Melo (1399[9]). The Portuguese monarchs managed to recover the lordships of these towns some years later[10], with the exception of Monforte (1455-1483, and again after 1501[11]). Assumar (1371-1483) remained for longer periods within the sphere of influence of the House of Braganza. (Coelho, 2023: 309-310, 316-317, 323-324, 338-339, 380, 382; 426, 432).

Between the 14th and 16th centuries, the economy of the thirteen towns under study was based on agriculture and livestock farming, which, as seen in the better documented cases of Nisa, Castelo de Vide, Portalegre, and Arronches, were combined with activities related to the production and processing of raw materials, such as textiles (Oliveira, 2011: 70-88; Fernandes, 2011: 571-572). These activities, together with the towns' geographical location, and annual fairs (e.g. Arronches and Ouguela), helped foment trade with other Portuguese urban centers, particularly with those of the Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana region (e.g. Avis, Estremoz, and Évora), and with Castilian towns along the border (e.g. Valencia de Alcántara and Albuquerque)[12]. Finally, these circumstances led to five of the towns under study – Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Arronches, Alegrete, and Montalvão – being considered by the kings as "dry ports (*portos secos*)[13].

The documentary *corpus* compiled within the scope of the Frontowns project is considerable, comprising nearly 4,000 records collected from district archives (Portalegre) and municipal archives, such as those of Castelo de Vide and Portalegre[14], and central archives (Torre do Tombo and the National Library of Portugal). However, the information available for the study of these localities presents certain

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[8] *Chancelaria de D. João I*, vol. 2, tomo 1: 260.

[9] *Chancelaria de D. João I*, vol. 2, tomo 3: 122.

[10] An example of that is the case of Castelo de Vide and Póvoas e Meadas. In 1384, the master of the Order of Avis rewarded Gonçalo Eanes de Abreu, his follower, by donating to him two towns, with full jurisdiction, and complete judicial authority, but bought the lordship back prior to 1395, claiming that a location situated on the border should belong to the Crown. *Chancelaria de D. João I*, vol. 1, tomo 1: 256; Oliveira, 2011: 114-115.

[11] Unlike Monforte, Assumar does not seem to have been reintegrated in the House of Braganza. ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 35, fl. 140v.

[12] Read about the professional activities in these towns in another article published in this number.

[13] These were settlements located along the land border with Castile that served as the main points of entry and exit for people and goods, as well as where taxes were collected on circulation and on imported and exported goods. Ferreira, 1983: 48, 52-55. On this subject, please refer to the article by Marcelo Andrade submitted in this thematic dossier.

[14] A more detailed view of the availability of documentary sources for this region will be published in: Silva, 2025, in press.

challenges that are well known to medievalists, and mentioned in relation to other regions (Andrade, 1994: 19-24; Silva, 2021, vol. 1: 17-39). First and foremost, the documentation reveals spatial and temporal asymmetries, with a greater volume of data for more prominent centers such as Castelo de Vide and Portalegre, and most of it dating to the 15th and 16th centuries. Similarly, documents produced by the kings far outnumber those issued by other municipal authorities, such as ecclesiastical and lay lords and municipal councils, accounting for about 90% of the collected records.

Comparable to what has been identified for other regions such as Beira, Baixo Mondego, and Trás-os-Montes[15], our vision of the road network is further hindered by other factors, such as the fact that roads are usually only mentioned in the sources to delimit properties or as points of reference. In some cases, especially for earlier periods, such as the second half of the 13th century, the terminology used is limited to words like *caminho* ("road"), *caminho público* ("public road"), or *estrada* ("highway"), without mentioning the destination they led to, which makes it difficult (or impossible) to accurately locate and reconstruct the road network. The same occurs when the route is referred to only by the name of an individual, such as the *caminho de Brás Afonso* (road of Brás Afonso) in Campo Maior in 1534 (Freitas, 2003: 118), or by adjectives like "new" and "old". Examples include references to the *old road* mentioned in the jurisdiction of Alegrete in 1401 and in that of Ouguela in 1440[16]. In fact, as other researchers have pointed out (Coelho, 1989, vol. 1: 407-408; Conde, 2000, vol. 1: 334, nota 252; Conde e Vieira, 2005: 70-71; Gonçalves, 2003: 476; Monteiro, 2012: 50), mapping a stretch of road can prove impossible, even when we know its function, (especially smaller roads). This is the case, for example, with roads leading to certain structures and facilities located in the outskirts, such as windmills[17], fountains[18], and places whose location is now unknown[19].

Likewise, the study of the movement of individuals and goods, the duration, the routes, travel expenses, and the impact of certain adverse circumstances on travel (e.g. wars and plagues) also becomes difficult due to the loss of notaries' records, tax payment registers – especially those related to circulation, such as tolls (Gonçalves, 1979a: 9) and customs duties (portage and tithe) (Gonçalves, 1979b: 122-123; Rosa, 2020: 73-83, 86-95) – as well as account books, council meeting minutes, and notebooks with itinerary notes. In fact, the travel notes of Duarte de Armas dating to the early 16th century, are the only known example records in which the

[15] See, for example, Coelho, 1989, vol. 1: 407-408; Conde, 2000, vol. 1: 334, nota 252; Conde e Vieira, 2005: 70-71; Gonçalves, 2003: 476; Monteiro, 2012: 50.

[16] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 20, fl. 111v.

[17] An example of that is the *caminho de Campo Maior até o Moinho del Barranco*. ANTT, *Gavetas, Gaveta XIV*, m. 5, n.º 3.

[18] Evidence of that is the case of the *caminho que vai para fonte do choncho* in the municipality of Alegrete in 1401. *Chancelaria de D. João I*, liv. 3, tomo 2: 243.

[19] An example of that is the *vereda do Salgueiro* in Ouguela, in 1439, and the *vereda do Prego da Bamba*, located close to the Cabeça dos Homiziados, in the municipality of Arronches, in 1505. *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, vol. IX: 570 (Ouguela, 1439); ANTT, *Gavetas, Gaveta XIV*, m. 5, n.º 17 (Arronches, 1505).

author provides information about the distance between the towns he visited, and the features and conditions of the roads and bridges connecting them (Gonçalves, 2005-2006: 97-100).

Despite these lacunae, other types of documents have survived in significant numbers and sometimes provide data on the road network and, above all, on mobility, i.e. the letters of pardon[20]. In fact, in the royal chanceries, the letters of pardon account for a large portion of the documentation collected for the towns under study in the 15th and 16th centuries. For example, in the Chancery of King Afonso V (1438-1481), they represent around 41% of the documents found (Silva, in press). The narrative presented by a criminal often allows us to learn a bit more about mobility, such as the journeys undertaken to request instruments of pardon from a victim's relatives, the pardon letters themselves, and, in some cases, the flight to Castile to escape royal and municipal justice[21]. A few of the letters of pardon also mention some of the dangers that could befall travelers, as well as certain trade routes often associated with illegal activities.

In view of the challenges posed by the available information, we and other researchers (Coelho, 1989, vol. 1: 408-415; Conde e Vieira, 2005: 70-72; Gonçalves, 2003: 476-477) consider that a proper systematization of these sources and cross-referencing them with other data, for example that obtained from archeological examinations of Roman roads and bridges (Carvalho, 2001/2002: 69-84; Carneiro, 2009)[22], as well as medieval[23] and modern ones (Matos, 1980), enables us to largely address the objectives of this article.

2. CIRCULATION ROUTES: ROADS, BRIDGES AND FERRY CROSSINGS

The road network is usually denser in regions with a higher population density. Thus, it is not surprising that in the area under study, the best-connected towns were Castelo de Vide, Campo Maior, Arronches, Monforte, and, above all, Portalegre, as shown in fig. 2.

Although it is not always possible to determine exactly when the circulation routes originated, we do know that medieval communities, including in the Alentejo, used many roads and bridges from earlier times, especially those built in the Roman

[20] On this documentary typology and its potential to provide knowledge about land travel read: Duarte, 1999a: 36-63; Duarte, 1998: 451-474; Duarte, 2006: 81-102.

[21] There are several studies published in this number that benefited from these sources.

[22] See also the cartographic materials produced by the project *Mercator-e*: http://fabricadesites.fcsh.unl.pt/mercator-e/home-2/ [Consulted on 20/07/2023].

[23] The road network was reconstructed by other researchers for nine of the thirteen urban centers under study, especially with information found in the archives of the Order of Christ and the royal chanceries. Conde e Vieira, 2004: 264-286; Leitão, 2022: 46-63. The circulation routes of Assumar, Monforte, Campo Maior and Ouguela have not yet been studied.

era[24] (Carvalho, 2001/2002: 69-84; Carneiro, 2009: 47-70, 89-98), as evidenced in Fig. 2. In fact, two of the three main Roman roads connecting Lisbon to Augusta Emerita passed close to the outskirts of some of the towns under study: Portalegre, Assumar, Arronches, and Campo Maior. Data indicates that the medieval road network used at least part of the Roman road that went from Portalegre to Badajoz, passing through Arronches and Assumar, as well as the stretch that ran from Assumar to Campo Maior via Arronches. Furthermore, some urban centers of the Alentejo also benefited from secondary (Roman) routes, notably the old road that linked Évora to Idanha. This route, starting in Estremoz and Veiros, passed through Monforte, Assumar, Portalegre, Marvão, Castelo de Vide, Póvoa e Meadas, and Montalvão before reaching the Tagus (river). Medieval roads followed, at times very closely, the original (Roman) paths. On the other hand, the roads departing from Marvão likely date back to the Islamic period, as the town was founded during that time[25].

The roads that departed from the urban centers presented a clear hierarchy in the eyes of residents and travelers, based on various factors, as revealed by the terminology used[26]. The term *estrada* seems to have been used to designate the old Roman roads and those that connected two settlements, although other times the word *caminho* was employed[27]. Such is the case, for example, with the road connecting Arronches and Monforte. In 1473 that same road appears referred to as the *Caminho para Monforte*[28], whereas in 1486 it is mentioned as the *Estrada que vai da dita vila (Arronches) pera a vila de Monforte*[29]. *Caminho* was the most common term for roads that departed from urban centers toward other towns and nearby villages, something already seen, for example, in the Beira region (Monteiro, 2012: 54-55). On the other hand, the terms *vereda* and *azinhaga* were used to describe narrower paths that led to secondary locations (Gonçalves, 2003: 476, 2013: 170-171), such as certain farms, pastures, or forests. For example, in 1462, during the delimitation of the boundaries between Ouguela and Albuquerque, there is mention of a *vereda* leading to the hill of Dona Alda[30].

The importance of medieval roads was also determined by topography and the state of the road. Although there is little available data on the physical features of the roads, we know that they almost always had a dirt surface, which could quickly turn into mud during periods of rain, especially in winter. Some routes could be steep, rugged, and stony (Moreno, 1979: 9-10; Conde and Vieira, 2005: 82; Monteiro, 2012: 22; Gonçalves, 2005-2006: 81-89). However, when the squire Duarte de Armas

[24] Some examples can be found in: Coelho, 1989, vol. 1: 407-408; Conde, 2000, vol. 1: 336-340; Conde e Vieira, 2004: 78-79, 92; Monteiro, 2012: 33-41; Oliveira, 2013: 199.

[25] On this town, read: Vilar, 2014: 184-199.

[26] For the Portuguese case, read: Monteiro, 2012: 49-56; Gonçalves, 2013: 167-178.

[27] Monteiro, 2012: 51-55. The ambiguity between *estrada* and *caminho* was also found in Beira: Gonçalves, 2013: 168.

[28] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 33, fl. 115.

[29] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 8, fl. 117v.

[30] ANTT, *Gavetas, Gaveta XIV*, m. 5, n.º 5.

visited some of the towns under study in the 16th century, he described most of the roads he traveled on as reasonable, flat (*chãos*), and good, except for the stretches between Elvas and Campo Maior, Alpalhão and Castelo de Vide, Nisa to Montalvão, and from Montalvão to Castelo Branco (Fig. 3). The roads leading out of Castelo de Vide appear to have been the most rugged (Gonçalves, 2005-2006: 98), which is understandable considering the town's topography. It is likely that the same was true for other towns in the Serra de São Mamede that Duarte de Armas did not visit, and that have equally, or even steeper terrain, such as Marvão.

Nonetheless, in the towns of the Alentejo, residents and travelers, probably assessed the importance of the roads mainly based on the destination they led to, the traffic that used them, and the purposes they served (Conde, 2000, vol. 1: 338-341; Gonçalves, 2003: 475-484; Conde and Vieira, 2005: 75-82; Monteiro, 2012: 17-19). According to other researchers, such as Iria Gonçalves (2003: 475), the roads documented appear to fall roughly into three categories. Firstly, there were the routes that provided access to major regional and interregional itineraries, such as Évora-Castelo Branco and Lisbon-Cáceres. The second group included the roads that led to nearby urban centers; we find, for example, in Alpalhão, Arronches, and Ouguela, respectively, *caminho que vai para Castelo de Vide* ("the road to Castelo de Vide". *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 33); *caminho de Arronches para Elvas* ("the road from Arronches to Elvas")[31] and *caminho de Albuquerque* ("the road to Albuquerque")[32]. Lastly, and particularly important for the local communities, were the roads that provided access to specific places in the outskirts of the town, but within the municipality, such as farmland, pasturelands, and forested areas, as evidenced, for example, by *caminho velho de Assumar que vai até às comeadas da herdade de Ouguela* ("the old road from Assumar that leads to the boundaries of the Ouguela estate")[33].

The Alentejo road network intersected with a number of watercourses, with at least eight streams mentioned in the documentation we collected (Nisa, Vide, Lixosa, Ninho do Açor, Ouguela, Abrilongo, Assumar, and Grande), and four rivers: the Tagus, Sever, Caia, and Xévora. In the 14th and 15th centuries the Crown, the municipal councils and other authorities sought to combine land transportation routes with the fluvial ones[34], an endeavor that proved difficult, since the Tagus appears to have been the only river that could be used. Despite being one of the most important transportation routes in Portugal until the advent of the railway, the section of the Tagus River from Abrantes to Castile, particularly between Vila Velha de Ródão and Montalvão, posed the greatest challenges to navigation due to

[31] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Fernando,* liv. 1, fl. 71 (1371); Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre, *Convento de Santa Clara de Portalegre*, Caixa 6, m. 4, n.º 1 (1505).

[32] *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*. Vol. IX: 572 (1439); ANTT, *Gavetas, Gaveta XIV*, m. 5, n.º 5 (1462).

[33] *Chancelaria de D. João I*, liv. 2, tomo 1: 174 (1388).

[34] For examples, see: Gaspar, 1970: 153-215; Coelho, 1989, vol. 1: 402-405; Braga, 1993: 373-388; Conde, 2000, vol. 1: 341-342; Gonçalves, 2003: 477; Conde e Vieira, 2005: 88; Oliveira, 2013: 202-210; Duarte e Barros, 1997, 77-118; D' Abreu, 2006: 45-75.

the river's flow volume (Gaspar, 1970: 153-215; Matos, 1980: 279-295, 435-437; Gomes, 2011: 8). In fact, in the region under study, contact between the two banks of the Tagus seems to have been provided only by two ferryboats, both belonging to the Order of Christ and leased out. While the first operated at the port of Montalvão near the mouth of the River Sever, the second provided service in Pego do Bispo, in the municipality of Nisa (Gonçalves, 2003: 479-480; *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo,* 2002: 18, 57)[35].

Conversely, the remaining waterways that intersected the road network in the area under study appear to have been easier to cross. It was common in many places for streams to be forded, especially in summer when the water flow was low (Coelho, 1989, vol. 1: 418; Gonçalves, 2003: 477; Conde and Vieira, 2005: 81, 83; Monteiro, 2012: 29, 123). In other cases, it was often necessary to build more effective and longer-lasting solutions in the form of bridges (Coelho, 1989, vol. 1: 405-407; Conde, 2000, vol. 1: 339-342; Conde and Vieira, 2005: 81, 83; Monteiro, 2012: 21-23, 29-31, 37, 70, 76, 89-90; Conceição, 2022: 373-391). According to the data collected, the towns under study had at least nine bridges: the *ponte velha* (old bridge)[36] and the two that served the town[37], in Arronches; the bridge of Caia[38] in the municipality of Portalegre; the bridge of Monforte (Armas, 2015: 363); the bridge over the Caia, in Campo Maior (Gonçalves, 2005-2006: 98); and the bridges known today as the old bridge *da Portagem*[39], the bridge of Madalena (Oliveira, 1992: 126; Carvalho, 2001/2002: 70) and the bridge of the Ribeira das Trutas, in Marvão. Only five of those bridges survive[40]. While those of Monforte and Madalena were built during the Roman period, the others appear to have been erected at least since the 14th and 15th centuries. As was practice throughout the Portuguese kingdom, the Crown and the municipalities were probably responsible for the construction and maintenance of these bridges (Conceição, 2022: 373-391).

We know that the medieval bridges of the northeastern Alentejo were built in stone. For the bridge over the Ribeira das Trutas in Marvão, Roman materials were used, probably sourced from the old town of *Ammaia* located nearby (Carvalho, 2001/2002: 81). These bridges had a similar architecture to others built in Portugal and Castile (Arenas De Pablo, 1996: 115-117), but their size and features varied depending on their importance and the rivers they crossed, as shown in Fig. 4. In

[35] On the typology of the ferry boats, see: Macedo e Figueiredo, 1966; Chaves, 1958: 32; Lameiras, 1988: 81-107.

[36] *Chancelaria de D. João I*, liv. 1, tomo 2: 179 (1385).

[37] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V,* liv. 11, fl. 95v. (1450); *Chancelaria de D. Afonso IV*, liv. 1: 164-166 (1323); Armas, 2015: 362. Although the locality had two bridges, only the one known as the Crato (bridge) currently maintains vestiges from the Medieval period.

[38] *Chancelaria de D. João I*, liv. 2, tomo 1: 174 (1388).

[39] The bridge that existed in the medieval period was destroyed at the end of the 16th century, and a new one was built a bit further down. This one still exists and is known as the Ponte da Portagem. Oliveira, 1992: 121-130, sobretudo 123-125; Carvalho, 2001/2002: 81.

[40] The bridges of Monforte and Crato in Arronches, and of Madalena and the Ribeira das Trutas, in Marvão.

Arronches, the Crato bridge features a gently arched structure and a narrow deck, supported by six catenary arches. These gave it greater stability to better bear not only its own weight but also that of people, animals, carts, and goods passing over it. The piers are robust, reinforced by triangular *talha-mares* (tide-cutters) placed upstream, reaching almost to the deck/roadway of the bridge. The triangular shape of the *talha-mares* split the force of the water and reduced water resistance, helping to protect and prevent the erosion of the piers, especially in winter when floods could occur. In contrast, the bridge over the Ribeira da Trutas in Marvão is far more modest, with only three arches and no *talha-mares*.

The bridges of Monforte and Crato, in Arronches, and possibly the old Portagem bridge in Marvão were the largest, since they provided access to settlements and main routes. In fact, the bridge in Marvão appears to have been the only one to feature a nearby tower, built at an unknown date outside the urban area to better control the route to Castile and manage tax collection (Carvalho, 2001/2002: 81).

3. BETWEEN CHARITY AND REMUNERATION: SPACES OF HOSPITALITY FOR TRAVELERS

At nightfall, travelers who found themselves in the town needed a place where they could get a meal and some rest, as well having their animals looked after. While some travelers could retreat to properties they owned within the urban space, others had to seek lodging in public establishments (Gonçalves, 2021: 23-43). The royal family, its officials with regional jurisdiction, major lords, and clergy could request *aposentadoria* – that is, the right to lodge and rest in one of the houses located in the towns they passed through, receiving food, clothing, and bedding free of charge during their stay (Barros, 1995: 25-26). Among the towns under study, Assumar was the only one exempt from the *aposentadoria* service, having received this privilege during the reign of King João I in order to encourage the settlement of the town[41]. The *aposentadoria* was almost always borne by the non-privileged, for whom it constituted a heavy burden, and a practice that was frequently prone to abuse. As such, it regularly resulted in complaints from those who could not circumvent it[42]. This is illustrated by the case of Afonso Lopes in Monforte, who in 1500 was asked to provide towels for the accommodation of the regional *ouvidor* (royal magistrate), to which he replied that he did not have any, as he was poor, and added a blasphemy:

[41] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 20, fl. 99v-100 (1440). In Portugal there were other urban centers, such as Porto and Portimão, and certain streets, as seen in Guimarães, that were exempt from the *aposentaria* duty: Barros, 1995: 55-56; Silva, 2021, vol. 1: 128.

[42] On the *aposentadoria* and the subsequent grievances of the councils: Sousa, 1990, Vol. 1: 178, 519, 526, 529; Coelho, 1990b: 267, 268, 280, 285, 286, 288; Barros, 1995; Coelho, 1996: 23, 32-33; Monteiro, 2012: 100-102.

não creio em Deus se eu o vosso cargo tivera, se vós eu tal injúria fizera ("I don't believe in God. If I had your position, I would never have done such insult to you")[43].

Clerics and nobles could also seek lodging in convents, monasteries, and hermitages (Barros, 1995: 78-105; Fontes, 2012: 189), but in the region under study, the number of monastic houses was limited (no more than six), as shown in Fig. 5[44]. One was associated with the Hermits – the Hermitage of Vale de Flores (Portalegre, 1385[45]), and most were linked to the mendicant orders, namely the Franciscans and the Poor Clares, almost always belonging to the Observant branch: the Convent of São Francisco in Portalegre (founded between 1226 and 1266)[46], Convent of Santa Clara (1370) (Sousa, 2005: 323-324; Andrade, 2011: 107-108), Convent of Nossa Senhora da Estrela in Marvão (1448[47]), Convent of Santo António in Campo Maior (1494)[48], Convent of Bom Jesus in Monforte (1513[49]). Moreover, the monastic network experienced a late and limited development, like what is observed in other regions south of the Tagus[50]. Of the thirteen selected towns in the Alentejo, monastic institutions existed in only four, Marvão, Campo Maior, Monforte, and most of all, in Portalegre, partly because it was the urban center with the greatest capacity to support them. In fact, until 1448, Portalegre was the only town in the region under study that had convents.

During the period under study, these conventual houses were located within the urban space, with the sole exception of the Hermitage of Vale de Flores which was situated in the outskirts of Portalegre. As was common practice, the mendicant religious communities were in the suburbs, near the main roads leading into the urban centers. This is exemplified by monastery of São Francisco in Portalegre, located near the road that connected that town to Alegrete, and that of Santo António in Campo Maior, situated near the routes to Elvas and Badajoz. The convents of Santa Clara in Portalegre and Bom Jesus in Monforte appear to have been the only ones established

[43] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 46, fl. 33v (Monforte, 1501).

[44] On the monastic houses outside the towns under study and depicted in the map, see: Sousa, 2005: 138 (Elvas), 308-309, 324 (Estremoz), 348-349, 382-383 (Elvas), 471-472 (Crato).

[45] Consult for these and similar hermitages: Fontes, 2012: 22, 41, 79, 93, 123, 128, 130, 591-593.

[46] A male convent that only joined the Observance in 1542. This change led to the transfer of the monastery's properties, including pious legacies, to the Convent of Santa Clara in Portalegre, which explains why the archive of this institution preserves documents from the Franciscan house. Sousa, 2005: 309. The collection of Santa Clara of Portalegre in the Portalegre District Archive contains five documents related to the Convent of São Francisco, covering the period from 1442 to 1508. Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre, *Convento de Santa Clara de Portalegre*, Caixa 7, m. 11, n.os 07/01 (1508), 07/03 (1497), 07/04 (1442), 07/05 (1464), 07/08 (1491). In the collection of Santa Clara in the Torre do Tombo, there is one other, dating to 1511. ANTT, *Convento de Santa Clara de Portalegre*, m. 1, m. E, doc. 6.

[47] A male convent. Sousa, 2005: 311-312. It only has one Medieval document in the collection. ANTT, *Convento Estrela de Marvão*, m. 1, n.º 1 (1481).

[48] A male convent. Sousa, 2005: 316-317.

[49] A female convent. Sousa, 2005: 329-330.

[50] On the relation of the Church of Évora with the regular clergy, see: Vilar, 1999: 281-300. For the diocese of Silves, see: Silva, 2021, vol. 1: 105-120, 297-302.

within the town walls, as they were given the property for that purpose (Sousa, 2005: 329-330; Andrade, 2011: 107). Their buildings were also positioned near the main access routes into the towns, as illustrated by the case of Santa Clara in Portalegre, located on Rua de Elvas and near the Elvas Gate, both of which provided the connection to the second most populous urban center in the *comarca*[51] of Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana.

Poorer individuals and pilgrims, on the other hand, could resort to *albergarias* (similar to hospitals) or hospitals that were scattered along the routes leading to the most important sanctuaries in Portugal and across the Iberian Peninsula. (Marques, 1989: 15, 18, 28, 31-33, 50)[52]. Between 1304 and 1521, the region under study had at least seven *albergarias* and hospitals, most of which were founded in the 14th century: the Albergaria of São Martinho (1304) and that of São Vicente (1304), both in Portalegre (Viana, 1991: 67-74), the Albergaria of Santa Maria in Castelo de Vide (1311) (Oliveira, 2011: 38), Albergaria of Rui Gonçalves in Arronches (1369[53]), Albergaria of Santa Maria and of São Domingos in Alegrete (1389[54]), Albergaria of São Domingos in Castelo de Vide (1469[55]), Chapel and Hospital belonging to João Vicente, and his wife, Maria Eanes in Campo Maior (1514[56]). Of the thirteeen towns in the Alentejo only five appeared to have *albergarias* and hospitals: Arronches, Alegrete, Campo Maior, and particularly, Castelo de Vide and Portalegre, the two largest towns of those under study. As mentioned above for other cases, the documentary information which is available to us[57] reveals only the existence of these institutions in the urban centers of the Alentejo. It is thus difficult to ascertain other aspects, such as their founders, their evolution, extinctions, mergers, and changes in patron saints.

However, we do know that the majority of *albergarias* and hospitals were already established by the 14th century. Between 1401 and 1521 their number seem to have declined, with only three still in operation during that period, as shown in Fig. 5[58]. The apparent decrease in charitable institutions may result partly from the scarcity of information about these establishments. As for their founders, we know that two *albergarias* and the hospital were established by private individuals[59], and

[51] Major judicial and administrative circumscription in Portugal.

[52] On accommodations for pilgrims in the south of Portugal, see: Falcão, 2012.

[53] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V,* liv. 19, fl. 88v (1369, 1439).

[54] *Chancelaria de D. João I*, vol. 2, tomo 1: 105.

[55] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 17, fl. 55 (1469, 1475).

[56] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 15, fl. 59.

[57] These difficulties are, in fact, quite common in the study of Portuguese charitable institutions. See: Coelho, 1999: 150-151.

[58] According to the *Portugaliae monumenta misericordiarum*, we know of the existence of at least six *hospitals* and *albergarias* in other municipalities that figure in the map: the Hospital de Santa Maria das Mercês de Estremoz and the Albergarias of Espírito Santo and *São João* in Vimieiro, the Corpo de Deus in Elvas e de Santa Maria do Crato. Paiva, Rosa e Gomes, 2003: 146 (Estremoz), 173 (Elvas, Crato), 304-314 (Vimieiro). In addition, there was a hospital in Cano, mentioned in the visitation of the Order of Avis in 1519.

[59] Albergaria of Rui Gonçalves in Arronches, and of São Domingos in Castelo de Vide and the Chapel and Hospital of João Vicente and Maria Eanes, his wife, in Campo Maior. ANTT, *Ch. de*

two of them – the albergaria of Arronches and that of São Domingos in Castelo de Vide – eventually came under municipal administration. It is likely that the size and features of these buildings were modest, considering what is known from other, better-documented cases (Gonçalves, 2021: 21-23).

When travelers did not own property in the town and could not benefit from lodging through *aposentadoria*, religious institutions, or the homes of friends and family, they either opted (or were forced) to turn to inns. There, in exchange for payment, they could find accommodation, feed their mounts, drink, eat, gamble, sleep, or even, at times, find female company to brighten their night. (Gonçalves, 1988a: 143-158; Beirante, 1986: 229, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237). Although inns existed in Portugal during the 13th and 14th centuries, they experienced a phase of growth and expansion in the following century, especially in the more densely populated and better-connected areas, such as the regions covered by the Estrada da Beira. In the regions south of the Tagus, inns had a more scattered geographical distribution, following the patterns of settlement. (Gonçalves, 1988a: 149, 154-156; Gonçalves, 2021: 30-31).

During the 15th century the urban centers under study had at least six inns, as seen in Fig. 5[60]. However, the actual number of inns was probably somewhat higher, as it seems unlikely that, for example, Portalegre, the third most populated town in the entire region of what is now Alto Alentejo, would have had only one inn[61]. The north-eastern Alentejo inns followed a common trend across the Portuguese kingdom (Gonçalves, 1988a: 143-144, 152-153), appearing to proliferate particularly from the second half of the 15th century onwards. This growth probably accompanied urban economic development and the increasing influx of people resulting from the establishment and consolidation of commercial routes, particularly those connecting Castelo de Vide-Valencia de Alcántara, and Estremoz-Nisa. Of the thirteen towns that were selected for this study, only four had inns: Nisa[62], Monforte[63], Castelo de Vide[64] and Portalegre[65]. The number of these establishments per town seems to broadly reflect their demographic and socioeconomic size, except for Portalegre. In more prominent localities, such as Castelo de Vide, three inns are recorded, whereas in more modest towns, only one is known, e.g. Monforte and Nisa.

D. Afonso V, liv. 17, fl. 55 (Castelo de Vide 1469, 1475), liv. 19, fl. 88v (Arronches, 1369, 1439); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 15, fl. 59 (Campo Maior, 1514).

[60] According to Iria Gonçalves, privileges were granted to inn-keepers and individuals from other municipalities that figure in the map: Vimioso, Crato (1), Cano (1), Sousel (1), Estremoz (3), Elvas (1) and Fronteira (1). Gonçalves, 1988a: 154. We were able to ascertain that the Crown had an inn in Sousel in 1501. ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 38, fl. 80v.

[61] The same seems to apply to Elvas, the largest town in present day Alto Alentjo, where we only know of one inn.

[62] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 12, fl. 101 (1490).

[63] *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 334.

[64] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 11, fl. 72 (1451), liv. 28, fl. 26 (1468); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 4, fl. 10v (1486).

[65] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 28, fl. 55v (1468).

Private individuals were the main agents behind the establishment of inns, requesting and obtaining royal authorization to convert their homes into lodging houses. Only in Monforte do we find an inn founded by municipal initiative, although this situation was more common throughout other parts of the kingdom (Gonçalves, 1988a: 146-147). As would be expected, the owners of these inns probably chose to build them along the busiest thoroughfares of the towns and, if possible, near their main economic centers[66], as demonstrated, for example, by the case of Monforte. In 1439, at the *Cortes* of Lisbon, the municipal council (of Monforte) managed to obtain from the monarch the land where the old butcher shops had stood, to build an inn, claiming it was needed for foreigners. The property was located at the edge of the town, possibly near one of the town's gates.[67].

The network of urban inns may have been complemented by other lodgings located outside the urban areas, at certain points along the roads and paths that crisscrossed the region, providing rest and safety for travelers, their mounts, and their goods. However, as in other regions, the documents reviewed do not allow us to identify those inns (Gonçalves, 1988a: 155, 2021: 34).

4. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The towns along the northeastern border of the Alentejo benefited from the Roman road network and provided materials for the construction of new structures, as demonstrated by the bridge of Marvão. In fact, this practice was common in southern Europe. Although some changes were made to the routes, the main hub from the Roman period, Lisbon/Cáceres and Idanha/Évora, continued to influence the 14th and 15th centuries, as shown in Fig. 6. The hierarchy of the road network, and consequently the role of the urban centers therein, becomes evident when we consider elements such as the road-related vocabulary, the destinations of the routes, the presence of bridges and ferry crossings, circulation conditions, hospitality spaces, and the towns that served as *portos secos* ("dry ports"). We found some supplementary information on the journeys of individuals who came from more distant places, which enhanced this study. For example, the case of Maria Gonçalves, a native of Seville, and her husband, who travelled from Nisa to Castelo de Vide in 1454[68], and three German pilgrims who were assaulted between Castelo de Vide and Nisa on their way to Santiago de Compostela (Moreno, 1986a: 82, 86).

Following a common pattern, the reconstructed routes are organized into three groups: those that provide access to locations on the outskirts of a town and within municipal boundaries; those that connect with neighboring urban centers; and those that link the major regional and inter-regional routes, particularly those

[66] See on this subject, for example: Monteiro, 2012: 95-96.
[67] *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 335.
[68] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 10, fl. 128.

from Lisbon to Cáceres and from Castelo Branco to Évora. In 1439, two of the four chapters presented from Monforte at the Lisbon *Cortes* reveal how the representatives considered the latter route crucial for the well-being of the community. First of all, the town council alleged that, since the reign of King Afonso[69], [Monforte] had held a privilege whereby all individuals traveling along the Algarve/Beja-Beira route were required to pass through the town. They got the king to consider all those who failed to comply with this rule to be *descaminhados* ("route violators"), especially those who traveled along roads located within municipalities' county (*termo*), notably one that had recently appeared and was known as the *caminho dos homiziados* ("path of the men sentenced to banishment"). The municipality further requested, and obtained, the king's support for the construction of an inn[70]. Along the frontier, moving from north to south, the connection was provided, broadly speaking, by seven routes: Montalvão/Herrea de Alcántara; Castelo de Vide and Marvão/Valencia de Alcántara; Alegrete/La Codesera; Arronches/La Codesera; Arronches/Albuquerque; Ouguela/Albuquerque and Campo Maior/Badajoz. Of these, the most important routes were Montalvão/Herrera de Alcántara; Arronches/La Codesera and Albuquerque, but especially Castelo de Vide and Marvão/Valencia de Alcántara. In reality, despite the more rugged topography described by Duarte de Armas, the Castelo de Vide and Marvão/Valencia de Alcántara route became the main thoroughfare along the border between the Tagus River and Elvas, with Castelo de Vide as the center on the Portuguese side. This fact can be explained, in part, by the route's location between the river Tagus and Elvas and, unlike Arronches, by its greater distance from Elvas, which some historians consider was Portugal's main inland customs post (Ferreira, 1983: 48).

A comparison of the data for other nearby towns further inland (Avis, Crato, Vimieiro and Sousel) with the records of religious houses, charitable institutions, and inns in the towns under study, provides two important insights. Firstly, the majority of institutions and accommodations for travelers were located in the main hubs along the border, such as Castelo de Vide and Portalegre, with their numbers diminishing as we move westward toward settlements like Chancelaria, Amieira, Seda, and Tolosa. Secondly, by the end of the period under study, places for accommodating wayfarers along the two main routes were generally spaced about a day's journey apart, as demonstrated by the cases of Nisa, Castelo de Vide, Portalegre, Monforte, and Estremoz along the Castelo Branco-Évora route.

In short, geographical location, the road network, and the institutions that provided shelter for travelers were among the factors that contributed to the growth of towns, such as Monforte, Arronches, Portalegre, and especially Castelo de Vide, within the urban hierarchy of the region and the kingdom of Portugal.

Recibido: 27/5/25; aceptado: 12/8/25

[69] We were not able to identify which.

[70] *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 334-335.

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FIGURES

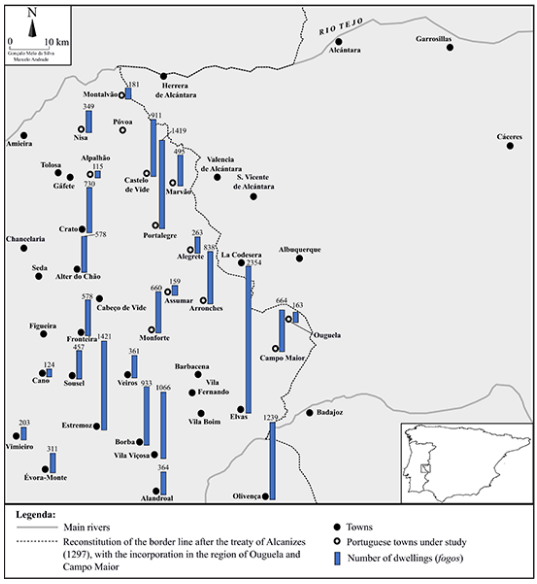


Fig. 1. Number of dwellings (*fogos*) in the towns under study according to the *Numeramento* (1527-1532).

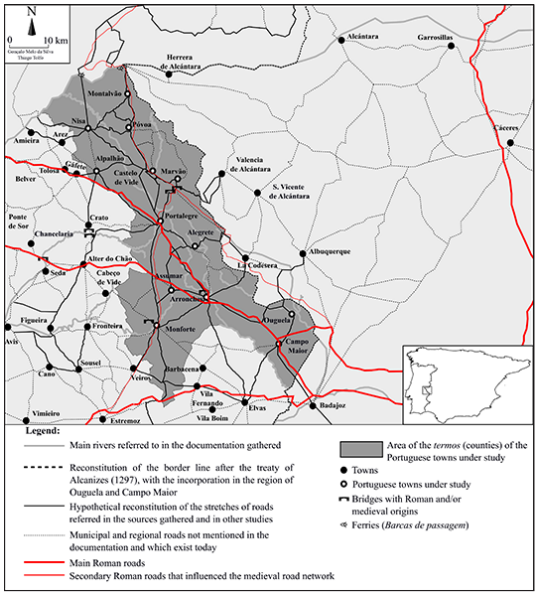


Fig. 2. Roman and medieval roads in the road network of the towns of north-eastern Alentejo at the end of the Middle Ages.

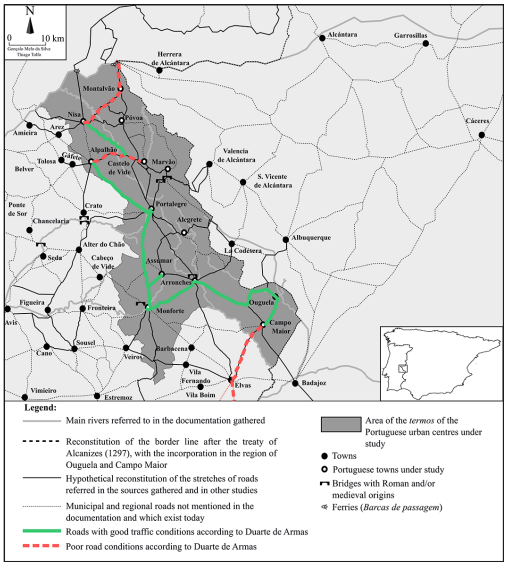


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the route taken by Duarte de Armas through the towns under study at the beginning of the 16th century.

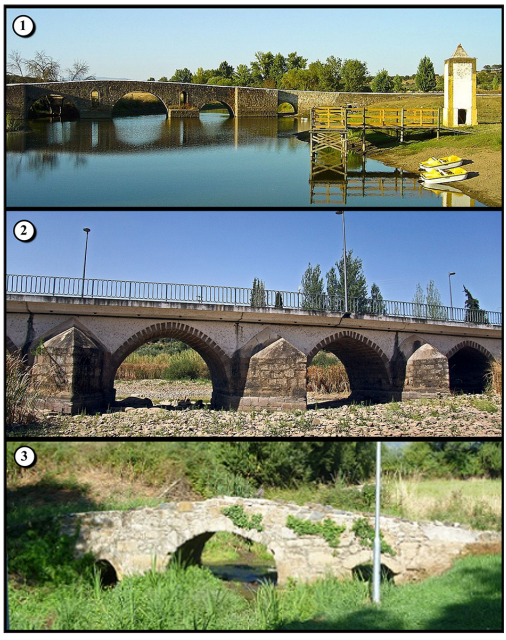


Fig. 4. Roman bridge in Monforte (1), Crato bridge in Arronches (14th and 20th centuries) (2) and Ribeiro das Trutas bridge in Marvão (medieval) (3).

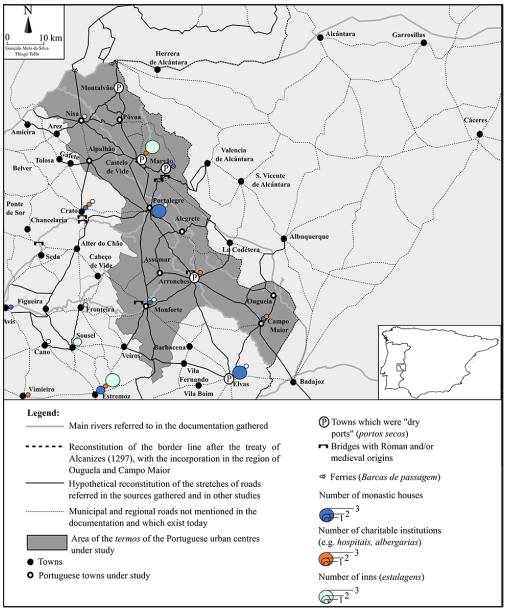


Fig. 5. Network of monasteries and convents, charitable institutions and inns in north-eastern Alentejo at the end of the Middle Ages.

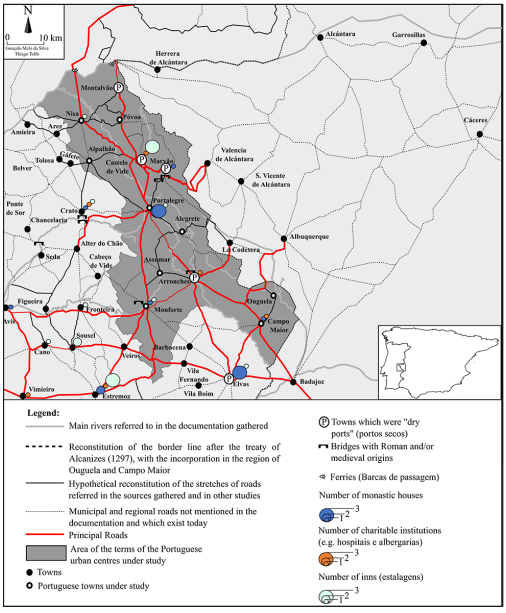


Fig. 6. Systematisation of the road network in north-eastern Alentejo at the end of the Middle Ages.

CARRIERS AND DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS IN THE FRONTIER TOWNS OF ALTA EXTREMADURA (15TH-16TH CENTURIES)

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Abstract

This article presents a characterization of the professionals engaged in the transportation of goods by land, and who lived in the towns along the border of Portugal and Extremadura while they circulated through Upper Extremadura. It also describes the distribution circuits that linked these towns with both regional and interregional districts. Drawing upon data gleaned from legal proceedings and local ordinances, the findings ascertain the emergence, between the late 15th and early 16th centuries, of a specialized professional work force –the *recueros*– devoted to transportation. The aforementioned data also underscores the pivotal role played by the distribution professionals in facilitating economic cohesion between coastal Portugal and the hinterlands of Castile.

Keywords: Middle Ages, Castile, Portugal, trade, transport, globalization.

TRANSPORTISTAS Y REDES DE DISTRIBUCIÓN EN LAS VILLAS FRONTERIZAS DE LA ALTA EXTREMADURA (SIGLOS XV-XVI)

Resumen

En este artículo se presenta una caracterización de los profesionales del transporte terrestre de mercancías que habitaron las villas de la frontera luso-extremeña en su discurrir por la Alta Extremadura. Igualmente, se presenta un esbozo de las redes de distribución de mercancías que conectan a estas villas con el ámbito comarcal y el interregional. A partir de los datos extraídos de fuentes procesales y ordenanzas locales, los resultados obtenidos permiten afirmar que en nuestra área de estudio se configuró, entre finales del siglo xv y comienzos del siglo xvi, un grupo profesional –el de los recueros– especializado en el transporte y que las redes de distribución en las que se insertaron y que contribuyeron a crear fueron fundamentales para la articulación económica entre la costa portuguesa y el interior castellano.

Palabras clave: Edad Media, Castilla, Portugal, comercio, transporte, globalización.

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0. INTRODUCTION[1]

The formation of increasingly integrated economies across Western Europe during the Late Middle Ages –marked by growing regional complementarities and interdependence– laid the essential groundwork for the processes of early globalization that would unfold from the Atlantic axis in the sixteenth century. This integration was not merely the result of expanding maritime capabilities, but also of profound transformations in consumption, production, and distribution networks that reshaped the economic landscape of late medieval Europe. A more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of this modern phenomenon is achieved when the analysis of its medieval roots incorporates not only final consumers but also the networks through which goods circulated, the resistances to cultural and material exchanges, the diversity of goods exchanged, and a multipolar perspective that moves beyond Eurocentric or Atlantic-centric narratives (Bonialian, 2019; Yun-Casalilla & Aram, 2014). In this context, it becomes essential to consider the evolution of commercial infrastructures from 13th century, such as fairs, regional markets, and maritime routes. One of the most significant developments in this regard was the consolidation of trade networks, which fostered increased cross-border exchanges and linked distant regions into a more cohesive commercial system.

Recent historiography has emphasized the strategic importance of the so-called "Atlantic route" –a corridor that interconnected the Atlantic and Mediterranean spheres– as a formative precedent to the commercial expansion that characterized the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Rozas Español, 2017). This maritime corridor did not simply serve as a conduit for goods; it also spurred innovation in shipbuilding, encouraged the rise of new port cities, and consolidated the commercial leadership of both Portugal and Castile through their growing involvement in international trade circuits. However, focusing exclusively on maritime expansion risks obscuring the critical role of terrestrial infrastructures and overland networks in sustaining and facilitating long-distance trade. While household consumption undoubtedly played a central role in stimulating demand –and seafaring routes connected distant shores– it was the land-based transport systems and local commercial structures that formed the indispensable intermediaries between consumers, producers, and ports. These overland routes enabled the movement of bulk commodities and everyday goods,

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Abbreviations in use: ADP, MSBP=Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre, Mosteiro de São Bernardo; AGS,RGS=Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello; AGS,CMC-1=Archivo General de Simancas, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, Primera época; AHN,OM,L= Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares,, Libros; AHN,OM,AHT=Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Archivo Histórico de Toledo; ARCHGR= Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granda; ARCHVA=Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid.

such as textiles, leather, foodstuffs, and tools, from inland production zones to coastal harbors or fairgrounds. Scholars have noted that the connection between local producers and consumers through terrestrial trade – particularly in the circulation of common-use goods – must be seen as a key driver in the early phases of what has been termed the "Western Commercial Revolution" (Wickham, 2023).

To investigate this dynamic more fully, it is necessary to delve into the socio-professional world of muleteers and rural carriers, who played an indispensable yet often underappreciated role in the circulation of godos(Diago Hernando, 2020). These actors, typically organized in informal networks and guided by a deep knowledge of geography and market cycles, were instrumental in bridging the gap between local production and inter-regional commerce. By studying their practices, the routes they traveled, the logistical infrastructures they relied upon (such as inns, storage facilities, and rest stations), and the institutional frameworks that regulated their activities (including municipal ordinances and royal provisions), we gain valuable insight into the material and social conditions that underpinned late medieval economic expansion. Ultimately, this approach not only enhances our understanding of the mechanisms that linked supply with demand, but also challenges conventional narratives of premodern economies as isolated or static. Instead, it reveals a landscape of dynamic interaction, where terrestrial and maritime spheres converged, and where local economies were embedded within broader regional and international trade systems.

Iberian historiography has identified a general increase in consumption capacity across all social strata in the late medieval world. This shift is marked by a declining proportion of household expenditure on food and a rising demand for semi-durable and durable goods. Various factors underpin this transformation in consumption patterns, including the expansion of trade, the increase in real wages, and the emergence of new commercial practices (Villanueva Morte, 2016, p. 69). In the Crown of Castile, this period of prosperity can be traced from the mid-fifteenth century to the central decades of the sixteenth century. Regional studies consistently link this growth to demographic expansion, a positive regulatory environment, and the development of rural manufacturing sectors. Another critical driver of increased purchasing power was the improvement in living standards, facilitated by the negotiating capacity of municipal councils with jurisdictional authorities – a well-documented phenomenon in late medieval Castile (Clemente Quijada, 2014; Clemente Ramos, 2007; Luchía, 2015). This economic growth was paralleled by rising consumption levels, with aggregated demand in both urban and rural settings favoring higher-quality goods and, in some cases, luxury items. Fiscal records from late fifteenth-century Seville, particularly those concerning *alcabala* and *almojarifazgo* taxes, reflect an uptick in the aggregate demand for fruits and vegetables. While this does not necessarily indicate a rise in per capita consumption, it does point to a stimulative effect on surrounding rural producers – corroborated by evidence of increased cultivation in the Sevillian hinterland during this period. More broadly, evolving patterns of bread consumption underscore a qualitative shift: composite breads made with wheat and lower-cost cereals such as rye or barley were increasingly replaced by higher-quality bread made exclusively from wheat. Thus, demography,

production, and consumption are tightly interwoven in this context. However, to fully grasp the complexity of this transformation, it is crucial to investigate the intermediary links in the chai, it means, those actors and infrastructures that connected producers and consumers, ultimately enabling access to goods.

This economic development is correlated with an increase in consumption, a variable addressed by recent bibliography, revealing that demand rose in proportion to the urban and rural growth, which resulted in an increase in the commercialization of products of better quality, or even luxury items. Data regarding taxation in Seville at the end of the 16th century, mainly based on the amounts paid in *alcabala* and *almojarifazgo* taxes, show an increase in demand for fruit and vegetables. Although this does not necessarily correspond to *per capita* demand, it does indicate that there was a new stimulus for local farmers, resulting in an increase in cultivated land in Seville's outskirts during this period (González Arce, 2023). On a general scale, changes in bread consumption show that bread which had been made with a mixture of wheat and other cheaper cereals such as rye and barley, was being substituted by a better-quality bread made with wheat only (Clemente Ramos, 2011). Therefore, demography, production and consumption are inextricably associated in this period, but we need to analyze in more depth the links in this chain, those factors that motivate the producer, connecting him to the consumer, and finally, facilitate trade.

This period and its issues have been analyzed, with special focus on commercial companies and merchants, and the role of marketplaces (Bustos Rodríguez, 2014; Casado Alonso, 2010, 2015; Igual Luis, 2006, 2014). Both the sectors of specialized transportation and retail were fundamental for the economy; they were the link between the producer and the end consumer since the distribution network is fundamental to understand both the increase in consumption and new trades that emerged with the growth. Merchant and companies organized the big commercial operations in terms of volume and value, but underlying those operations there was a whole network of transport and distribution professionals that made these transactions possible, and to which recent historiography gives importance as key factors in the economic process. However, less known for bibliography is the role of transportation professionals and infrastructures (Córdoba de la Llave & Hernández Iñigo, 2003; Diago Hernando, 2020; Igual Luis, 2016).

We consider that it is important to examine in depth the people whose work it was to transfer goods because efficient and accessible transportation is crucial for the commercialization of production. Transportation serves as a stimulus to the economy, increasing efficiency in the use of resources and competitiveness among producers in one, or among several regions. We are talking about a whole profusion of retail distributors who often, though in smaller volumes, find the goods and buy them wholesale, then sell them in the towns and villages of the Castilian interior; or deliver grain and other agricultural products, such as wine, at the ports, providing another form of distribution for goods produced in the interior. We also consider that these networks created at the end of the Middle Ages were fundamental for the articulation of the worldwide circuits that propitiated early globalization.

Therefore, in order to understand how the transportation networks operated and their early global connections were stablished, in this work we will focus on the

way transportation by land between Portugal and Castile functioned in the 15th and 16th centuries. We will examine the case study of the border settlements of Leonese Extremadura –a space in which we include the Tierra de Albuquerque and the *Maestrazgo* of Alcántara–, especially through the muleteers and the infrastructures that made possible the circulation of people and goods. Studying these factors in a border area allows us to find answers to some of the questions about global articulation, but also implies the incorporation of other variables, *i.e.* to clarify if the border was a factor that fomented transportation, or if it was an obstacle for the exchanges. Therefore, we work from the hypothesis that the transportation of goods to and from these border communities stimulated the inclusion of their inhabitants in wider routes of transportation and distribution that connected the Atlantic coast with the interior of Castile, and that contributed to a regional specialization in grain and wine production, as well as in transportation. We will mainly use data from the *Registro General del Sello* for the second half of the 15th century; with council ordinances for the first half of the 16th century and with legal proceedings and fiscal records from the *Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas*. From these sources we obtain information about the goods that were traded, plus their origin and destination. We realize especially how the transportation networks and infrastructures function, i.e. roads and hostels. The sources do not allow for a systematic analysis of those details, but we will be able to give some indications about: a) descriptions of transportation professionals, b) the nature and extension of transportation routes, c) the establishment of infrastructures that facilitated the functioning of those networks.

1. TRANSPORTERS AND DISTRIBUTION CIRCUITS: REGIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL INTEGRATION

Some traditional interpretations of economic development in medieval Extremadura have emphasized a marked tendency toward subsistence-oriented production, which, in turn, is thought to have resulted in a weak and fragmented commercial landscape. According to this view, economic exchanges were predominantly local in nature, confined to the internal circuits of each district, with minimal integration into broader commercial networks. These exchanges have often been portrayed as isolated and limited in scope, disconnected from the dynamics of long-distance or international trade (De Santos Canalejo, 1981; Rodríguez Blanco, 1985, p. 276). Furthermore, it has traditionally been argued that the principal venues for commercial activity in medieval Extremadura were local or regional livestock markets, which, although socially and economically important within the framework of pastoral economies, lacked the capacity to generate the types of surplus, specialization, and diversification commonly associated with more complex or expansive trade systems. These markets functioned primarily as spaces for the exchange of animals and their derivative products –such as wool, hides, and meat– often in association with transhumant networks and seasonal fairs. However, they remained, in this view, largely disconnected from broader circuits of interregional or international trade. As a result, Extremadura has frequently been

portrayed in historical narratives as a marginal and economically underdeveloped region, occupying a peripheral position within the broader structures of late medieval Iberian commerce. It is described as a territory whose economic profile was shaped predominantly by extensive livestock husbandry, with limited urban development, a weak monetized economy, and scarce integration into the major commercial arteries of the Atlantic seaboard. This perspective, while grounded in certain demographic and geographical realities –such as low population density, the dominance of the *dehesa* landscape, and the political-military role of the region as a frontier zone– risks overlooking other dimensions of economic life that recent scholarship has begun to recover. These include evidence of artisanal specialization, localized manufacturing, and more active participation in regional distribution networks, particularly in areas close to the Portuguese border. Consequently, a reexamination of these assumptions is necessary to better understand the true complexity and variability of economic practices in the frontier societies of late medieval Extremadura.

In fact, the border has been interpreted as the cause of weak human presence and shortage of infrastructures that could have fomented trade. However, more recently, in the last two decades there has been a positive change in interpretations of the role of the border in the daily life of the people who lived there. Some economic developments in the Extremadura region have been re-interpreted, both by moving away from the idea that trade was weak, and by focusing on production oriented towards commerce and regional specialization (García Barriga, 2020; García Oliva, 1991, p. 197; Sánchez Rubio, 1993, p. 405). Cases of complementarity between mountainous areas and the plains were identified, as well as between Castile and Portugal(Clemente Ramos, 2013, 2015; Montaña Conchiña, 2014). It is pertinent, therefore, to examine in depth how the transportation networks operated, making that interregional complementation possible, particularly since there are other works that have addressed the types of products that were in circulation.

1.1. Muleteers and regional circuits

At the end of the Middle Ages we find, in the area under study, individuals dedicated to the transportation by land of goods who are usually referred to in the documents as «recueros» (muleteers), or occasionally as «recoveros». These individuals are in charge of driving trains of pack mules or donkeys to transport loads. Normally the sources allude to their acémilas (mules) and their caballerías (horses), which we see in the ordinances of Trujillo: «muleteers who bring a drove of pack animals» (Sánchez Rubio, 1995, p. 158). Sometimes it is difficult to differentiate between them and the merchants, because in certain documents, especially the local ordinances, the muleteers are mentioned in different stages of the commercial process, including the acquisition of a product, its transportation and its wholesale resale at its destination. For example, the ordinances of the Torre de don Miguel mention muleteers who intervene directly in the purchase of wine to be transported, since they have a provision that regulates the conditions of transactions between the wine producer and the muleteer: «person who shows red wine to sell to some person or muleteer,

and if such muleteer likes the wine, he is obliged to sell it to him at the same price he would sell it for in the town» (Torres González, 1988, p. 405).

Although at times the muleteer acted as a commercial agent, there is evidence that these men also carried out specialized activity, that is, the transportation of goods by land, either as employees or as independent workers, but without intervening in the stages of business. This idea is revealed by a lawsuit that was brought to the Royal Council in 1480 by David Cea, a merchant of Albuquerque, against Pedro Tejelo, who is clearly cited by the investigating committee to which the magistrate of Trujillo is assigned as a «muleteer, resident of the town of Valencia de Alcántara»[2]. In the committee proceedings it is mentioned that both parties agreed that Pedro Tejelo take some loads to Medina del Campo and return to Valencia with other products; nowhere does it mention that the muleteer was involved in the buying and selling negotiations. This document offers an insight into the social condition of the muleteer, stating that he is a «a prosperous man and officially domiciled in the place where he lives and takes part in the court trials». The muleteers can also be salaried employees of those who do long distance transactions. This is evidenced in a mandate issued in 1495 by the Royal Council to the border guard (*contino*) Juan de Alcaraz, to return some mules that were the property of a partnership created in Herguijuela de Ciudad Rodrigo between Juan Péres de Aguijuela, Juan Velasco and Mari Sánchez; the mules had been confiscated as the muleteers were getting ready to cross the pass of Ciudad Rodrigo on their way to Portugal: «you took the said five mules from the aforementioned employees»[3]. Also mentioned as a salaried employee was the muleteer who collected cloth in Ceclavín to take to the fulling mill run by María Gómez in San Martín de Trevejo[4]. The documents indicate that although some farmers engaged in this occupation to complement their regular income, there are also specialized transporters, or at least it is what we deduce from the differentiation between farmers and muleteers that appears in one document: «those who do this transport the most are muleteers and farmers and other humble people»[5].

This activity is carried out both regionally and interregionally, and gives rise to production chains. In the regional ambit, transportation by land facilitates specialized production in regions close to the Portuguese border. The Sierra de Gata area is specialized in the production of wine, which is complemented by the production of grain in the flat zones of the south of the Maestrazgo of Alcantara. This fact has been brought to light in previous works, but for the effects of this analysis, what interests us is to observe how the emergence of professionals specialized in transportation aided this integration of wine and grain producing regions. Thus, wine produced in the Sierra de Gata is transported to the markets in the interior of Castile, such as Plasencia, the fairs of Medina, and to Portugal at the end of the 15th century.

[2] AGS, RGS, Legajo 148009,51.
[3] AGS, RGS, Legajo 149507,272.
[4] ARCHVA, Registro de Ejecutorias, Caja 1642,72.
[5] AGS, RGS, Legajo 149505,360.

Local ordinances illustrate how regional distribution networks operated regarding wine. These transporters connected producers and consumers during their travels from the Sierra de Gata to the city of Plasencia. An ordinance from Plasencia makes a reference to «the muleteers who bring wine to this city [...] from Gata or la Torre [de don Miguel]. And what they brought from Xaraiz [...] and what they brought from Cuacos and Aldeanueva (Lora Serrano, 2005, p. 130). This reference resembles another one in the ordinances of Gata of 1515, which regulate the terms by which transactions should be carried out between wine producers and muleteers: «a person who shows wine to any muleteer or muleteers must first tell them what the asking price is per arroba. After the price is established and the wine tasted and the muleteer agrees to take said wine, the owner is obliged to sell it» (Clemente Ramos, 2008, p. 1651). The ordinances of the town of Torre de don Miguel in the Sierra de Gata mountains also mention the participation of muleteers in the distribution of wine. Similarly to what was practiced in Gata, they establish norms to regulate the relations between producers and distributers: «Neighbors and residents of this town that sell wine to a muleteer, for coinage in arrobas» (Torres González, 1988, p. 405).

In regional terms, muleteers contributed to the creation of economic complementarity by moving goods in both directions of their itineraries. For example, those muleteers who arrive from Torre de don Miguel transport goods from, but also to the town, as evidenced by an ordinance: «a muleteer who comes to this town for wine [...] and brings any other goods to the town» (Torres González, 1988, p. 406). Also, in Valencia de Alcántara the muleteers not only transport local products to other places, but they bring merchandise from outside: «muleteers who come to this town or its surroundings or any places within its boundaries and jurisdiction, bringing fish, olive oil, salt and other goods and provisions, from either Castile or Portugal, must register said goods» (Bohorquez Jiménez, 1982, p. 216). From the south of the Maestrazgo, one of the products that is most transported is wheat, as evidenced, for example, by an order of the Royal Council in 1485 to the bachiller Juan López Navarro, to arrest certain residents of Brozas for transporting wheat to Portugal: «it has come to our attention from a report that certain residents from Broças and other border places were passing the border guards which our mayor Diego de Salzedo had installed to control the loads and things banned by the town of Albuquerque, with beasts loaded with wheat and others that were going to the kingdom of Portugal»[6].

1.2. The articulation of interregional connexions

In the previous section we drew a profile of the carriers and observed their work in the structuring of regional distribution networks. Next, we will examine their participation in interregional networks, both in the interior of Castile and

[6] AGS, RGS, Legajo 148605,360.

those that articulated Portugal with Castile, and the Iberian Peninsula with overseas regions. In the interregional ambit, wine production is the most prevalent. Muleteers from the Sierra de Gata transport wine to Salamanca and the markets of Medina del Campo, as demonstrated in a complaint that was sent to the Royal Council by the town councils of Gata and Robledillo (de Gata) in 1495: «neighbours and residents of the said towns, or some of them, say that they often go to the fairs of Medina and of Salamanca [...] and for their provisions they say that they take some wine in leather wine bags and other vessels, and other times they take the wine to sell in other places»[7].

The transporters of the border, through their work, achieved interregional integration from the end of the 15th century onwards, linking the Atlantic coast of Portugal to the interior of Castile through the border towns. This deduction is based on the goods that are mentioned in the ordinances, mostly fish, but also dyes and exotic goods such as cinnamon, ginger and cotton. The ordinances of Valencia de Alcántara are enlightening in that respect, since they mention those who arrive in town with «with loads of fish, olive oil, salt and other goods and provisions, from both Portugal and Castile» (Bohorquez Jiménez, 1982, p. 216). The types of fish that are mentioned include sardines, indicating their coastal origin. In title 40 of the ordinances of Ceclavín there is reference to pack animal drivers that sell fish: «muleteers came from other places with sardines and other fish for which this town has a need»[8].

These carriers could be foreign to the area, but the available documents indicate that in many cases the residents of border areas were specialized in the transportation of goods between the Portuguese coast and the Castilian interior. We have an early reference for Tierra de Ciudad Rodrigo which mentions the transport of goods between Portugal and Castile in 1495 by neighbours of the village of Herguijuela de Ciudad Rodrigo. That year Juan de Alcaraz, a *contino,* is ordered to return some mules that he had confiscated from María Sánchez and her partners -residents of Aguijuela- when they were crossing into Portugal to load sardines: «q*ue* yendo unos moços suyos e del d*ic*ho J*ua*n Velasco e de la d*ic*ha Mari Sànchez con cinco acémilas por el puerto de Çiudad Rodrigo por sardinas al reino de Portugal diz q*ue* a la pasada q*ue* pasaron a registrar las d*ic*has acémilas e dimos q*ue* llevaba*n* e diz q*ue* vos salistes con çiertos onbres de pie e de caballo cerca del mojón de Portugal, e les tomastes las d*ic*has cinco azèmilas a los d*ic*hos sus moços, porq*ue* llevaban çiertos panes cozidos e çierta çevada e paja p*ar*a las d*ic*has acémilas» (when some employees of theirs and of Juan Velasco and Mari Sánchez were crossing the pass of Ciudad Rodrigo with five mules to collect sardines from the kingdom of Portugal they say that they registered the said five mules and you came after them with some men on foot and on horseback near the boundary marker with Portugal, and you confiscated

[7] AGS, RGS, Legajo 149505,360.
[8] AHN, OM, AHT, Expediente 28791.

the aforementioned five mules and the *moços*, because they were carrying some bread and barley and straw for the mules)[9].

In the interregional integration, these muleteers move goods in both directions, that is, from our area of study to the costumary destinations and from those places towards our area of study. This indicates that these are specialized pack animal drivers because the diversity of goods suggests a broad knowledge of both places of supply and distribution possibilities for those products. We have a convincing reference in the complaint to the Royal Council by the town councils of Trevejo and San Martín in 1485: «the main livelihood and sustenance that the inhabitants of those places have is trading in the wine they make from their vines, and they usually export it and sell it in the kingdom of Portugal». Those who carry out this activity return afterwards to their places of origin with fish, cloth and wax: «these muleteers bring to our kingdoms fish and cloth and wax»[10].

Although the documents do not specify which destinations in Portugal the carriers are heading to, the fact that they return with fish suggests that these transportation circuits extend to the Atlantic coast. The question is whether these muleteers reach Portuguese seaports on their own, or are they part of one of the commercial networks that connect an unidentified point, or the coast, with the border. On this subject we have only a few comments dating from the second half of the 16th century and these are almost anecdotal, but which we should not rule out because of what they suggest about the existence of international distribution chains. The chronicler Alonso Barrantes Maldonado claimed in the decade of the 1560s regarding wine produced in the localities of *La Raya* (the border), that he had «drunk it in Flanders in the chamber of Emperor Charles V, who had it delivered from Alcantara (Martín Nieto *et al.*, 2010, p. 198). The same author described the roads that connect Castile with Portugal passing through the border town of Albuquerque, and he explicitly mentions Portuguese muleteers from the coast who crossed the Castilian border with fish: «This road is used by the muleteers that come from Setubal, who sell fish fresh from the sea» (Martín Nieto et al., 2010, p. 406).

The articulation of the trade by land between both kingdoms carried out by the transporters contributed to their integration in the multipolar system that characterized early globalization. We estimate that interregional movements were not the result of a merely passive circulation, in which people were obliged to pass through a town simply because of the geography of the area. On the contrary, we consider that the inhabitants of the border towns were not only a part of the trade networks in the interior of the Peninsula, but they made the networks possible. Some Portuguese sources are more explicit than the Castilian ones, but we will use both for the sake of comparison. For example, several houses in the town of Portalegre belonging to the merchant Turibio Lopez and his wife, Francisca Lopes, were sold in public auction because of a debt of 300,000 *reais* to Jorge de Melo who in 1543 had

[9] AGS, RGS, Legajo 149507, 272.
[10] AGS, RGS, Legajo 148503, 33.

lent them that amount to finance a trip to buy indigo, and which was to be followed by another journey to Castile[11]. This event shows how a married couple living in a border town between Portugal and Extremadura articulated commercial exchanges with the Atlantic and Indian Oceans (indigo being a product from overseas) and with the Castilian interior. It was not an isolated case, since similar examples have been analyzed in bibliographies pertaining to the social and economic history of cross-border trade (Caso Amador, 2017; Villegas Díaz, 2003).

The articulating capacity of the inhabitants of the border towns between the Kingdom of Portugal and the Crown of Castile and overseas trade can also be defined through the data and analysis of legal proceedings. Specifically, a lawsuit filed by the arrendador lessor of the Valencia de Alcántara pass against Manuel Díaz, a resident of Castelo de Vide, provides similar evidence to the case of Portalegre regarding the articulating function of border towns and other places in the Portuguese interior, such as Abrantes, in the organization of trade in the early days of globalization[12]. Thus, it is the residents of those places who are in charge of the transport of overseas goods, such as spices, cloth and manufactured consumables, for redistribution in the Castilian interior. The court records which we analyzed had an original annotated transcription of the official customs documents of Valencia de Alcántara issued to Portuguese merchants and muleteers passing through the border post during the first semester of 1572. The documents include the date of passage, the products being transported and the quantities. In some occasions they also mention the recipient of the products and their address, as we specify below.

TABLE 1. PRODUCTS THAT CROSSED THROUGH THE CUSTOMS OF VALENCIA DE ALCÁNTARA BETWEEN APRIL AND JULY OF 1572

Merchant	Vicinity	Products	Destination	Recipient
Manuel Díaz	Castelo de Vide	Indigo	Castile	--
Bastián Fernández	Castelo de Vide	Indigo	Toledo	Arias González
Pero Vaz	Abrantes	Indigo and wax	Castile	--
Bernardo de Acuña	Lisbon	Indigo, cinnamon and clove	Madrid	Juan Rodríguez
Baltasar Fernández	Abrantes	Cloths from India, cinnamon, clove, ginger, pepper, indigo and wax	Castile	--

Source: AHN, OM, AHT, 27991.

As Table 1 shows, between April and July of 1572 at least 5 muleteers coming from Portugal crossed the border, four of whom declared that their permanent residence was in towns in the interior of Portugal like Abrantes and Castelo de Vide. The nature of their loads reveal that they were dedicated to transporting

[11] ADP, MSBP, Cx. 16 maço 179,1210.
[12] AHN, OM, AHT, Expediente 27991.

overseas products such as spices, dyes and cotton cloth (cloths from India). It is not yet possible to determine if they actually reached the port of Lisbon, or if they had intermediaries. However, given the cases associated with the commercialization of salt and sea fish, and the fact that witnesses mention transporters who pass through Albuquerque on their way from Setubal, it is possible that the transporters of *La Raya* (border) travelled the whole distance between their destinations (Toledo, Madrid) and the port of Lisbon. Furthermore, these muleteers declare themselves as such at the customs, suggesting that they are not actually merchants, but rather agents specialized in the transportation of goods.

2. INFRASTRUCTURES

We have described how the transportation of goods by land stimulated a regional specialization in the production of wine in the Sierra de Gata and of grain in the southern areas of the district of Alcantara. We observed the transfer of that production to other areas of Extremadura (Plasencia and Cáceres), Castile (Ciudad Rodrigo and the markets of Medina) and Portugal, and the acquisition of products along the routes. At this point we consider it important to point out that for these logistics to function adequately there must be infrastructures that enable those exchanges to take place. These infrastructures are both physical (roads, accommodation, repairs, meals), and judicial (markets, norms for exportation and importation). As we have suggested for other forms of settlement, some of these places -such as the ventas or what we will refer to as "roadside towns"- emerged from the spontaneous settlement of local inhabitants along the roads. Their proliferation and growth can therefore be considered an indicator of increased in traffic and also commercialization and distribution of rural goods (Córdoba de la Llave, 1995, 109). So, in this section we will describe the new hospitality establishments (*ventas*), and settlements (La Codosera and Navas del Madroño) that emerge on various roads of the border area and change the settlement network, which we interpret as indicators of an increase in the circulation of people and goods across the border during the 16th century. In the following table we present the establishments discovered in the area, which we have grouped into three typologies (*ventas* or inns, roadside villages and *casas de postas* or staging posts). These dispersed clusters of settlements are found near roads that run East-West, that is, the roads that are used to circulate between Castile and Portugal.

TABLE 2. INFRASTRUCTURES THAT ENABLE THE LOGISTICAL PROCESS			
Typology	Place	First mention	Reference
Venta (inn)	Azagala (El Tejarejo)	1523	AGS, CMC-1, Leg 231
	Navas del Madroño	1520	AHN, OM, AHT, Exp. 26581
	Venta de Perea	1543	AGS, EXH, Leg 213
	Venta de los Calvos	1520	ARCHGR, Caja 1914, Pieza 005
	Venta de Benavente	1517	(Franco Silva, 2000, p. 50)
Roadside settlement	Azagala (El Tejarejo)	1520	AHN, OM, AHT, Exp. 30983
	Navas del Madroño	1540	AHN, OM, Libro 505
	La Codosera	1523	(Franco Silva, 2000)
Casa de postas	Azagala (El Tejarejo)	1540	AHN, OM, AHT, Exp. 30983

2.1. Ventas

Ventas were establishments located along roads, outside urban areas, intended to provide lodging and food for travelers, transporters, as well as their animals and cargo. And, as previously noted, they also function as exchange nodes between locally produced goods and the merchandise moving along the road networks in whose vicinity they became established (Córdoba de la Llave, 1995, 109). We encountered the existence of *ventas* for travelers during the first half of the 16th century. This may have been thanks to a proliferation of documents during this period, since much of the information derives from legal proceedings that are subsequent to the incorporation of the *Maestrazgo* of Alcántara to the Crown of Castile in 1494. However, an analysis of these cases invariably shows a more recent chronology of its construction, whereby we can affirm that most of the cases we document are from the first two decades of the 16th century (table 2). In one trial heard by the *Real Chancillería de Granada* (Royal Chancellery of Granada) there was a description of the construction in the first half of the 16th century of a *venta* called Venta de Juan Crespo next to the river Salor[13]. In 1519 Pablo de Pedraza, one of the witnesses in the trial, declared that thirty-five years before (around 1485) there had been only "a mill dam and an old mill which is in ruins». Shortly thereafter, Diego Martín, a resident of Brozas "built a mill where now the said Juan Crespo lives and built a small house for himself and his family and for other people who passed by there». A statement by the witness Miguel García, a shepherd from Villascastín who grazed his animals in the area, reveals that later the neighbor of Brozas sold only the mill and the little house to Juan Crespo «before the aforementioned Juan Crespo bought the property [...] he had not built more than the mill and a house». Juan Crespo appears to have

[13] ARCHGR, Caja 1914, pieza 005.

acquired the installations with the intention of starting a hospitality business, since all the witnesses coincided in the idea that it was he who enlarged the buildings for lodging and for provisioning travelers and their animals, as clearly stated by the witness Juan Pardo: «for two years this witness has seen Juan Crespo build the corral and straw barn, which had not been built before, and are new».

The *ventas* in the area under study are situated in places remote from the local communities, along the roads that lead to Portugal and pass through Valencia and Albuquerque. The Venta del Tejarero in the *dehesa* (grassland) of Azagala, halfway between Valencia de Alcántara and Albuquerque, was located on the «camino real» (royal road) and some witnesses' declarations from the *Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas* insist that the surroundings were uninhabited: «that there are no neighbors within the said limits of Azagala other than the owner of the venta de Tejarejo»[14]. The venta of Juan Crespo was next to the river Salor: «cabe el camino real q*ue* va p*ar*a Alburq*uer*q*ue* e p*ar*a Almaçanete e p*ar*a Villar del Rey e p*ar*a Valençia [de Alcántara]» (on the *camino real* that goes to Albuquerque and to Almacanete and to Villar del Rey and to Valencia de Alcantara)[15]. In the Tierra de Alburquerque, the *venta* of Benavente was on the border of Castile and Portugal, very near the road that connected both kingdoms. There, the witness Alonso Pérez claimed that he had known the place and its boundaries very well for over twenty years because he lived near La Codosera in a *venta* they called Benavente, and he thinks that if it was repopulated it would be beneficial to all the people who travel by there «because that way they will find repast and will travel more safely» (Franco Silva, 2000, p. 50). As we can see, the *ventas* had proliferated along these routes and served as support to those who traveled on them with their goods.

The case of the *ventas* presents us with a typology of settlement that initially consisted of establishments intended for lodging and food for travelers and installations for accommodating pack animals. Over time these establishments expand, evidence of the increase in traffic and commercial activity. In 1540 the *venta* of Tejarejo has a staging post with stables exclusively for the remount horses which are added to those initially belonging to the *venta*: "a reasonable house with a tiled roof where the said Juan Dávila has horse / mule remounts as well as another little house where there is a gardener and an oven». Everything indicates that Juan Dávila has combined his work of running the *venta* with tending the vegetable garden, until he decided to give up the garden, perhaps as a result of the intensification of activity in the *venta*. Juan Crespo's *venta* had a similar trajectory; after a period in which there was only a house that functioned as an inn, the owner expanded the installations to include "dos gra*n*des caballerizas e un grand corral e cortinas q*ue* caben más de çient vacas e bueyes" (two large stables and a big corral and a fenced area where more than one hundred cows and oxen could be held[16].

[14] AGS, CMC-1, Leg 231.
[15] ARCHGR, Caja 1914, pieza 005.
[16] ARCHGR, Caja 1914, pieza 005.

2.2 New settlements

Another element that we believe is an indicator of the increase of circulation of people and goods between Portugal and Castile on the roads that cross our area of study is the emergence of small population centers which, from the early 16th century onwards, begin to grow up around the *ventas* for travelers on foot, and which later, with the increase in traffic, become permanently inhabited. We discovered at least three new settlements that follow this pattern: La Codosera, Navas del Madroño and the now abandoned) El Tejarejo. The three cases provide evidence that allows us to reconstruct their development process. All three have a similar first phase in which there is only a *venta*, followed by a second stage in which settlers arrive and start to build their dwellings in the surroundings, and a third phase in which the population consolidates and demands the right to be acknowledged as a separate entity, a situation that is often called into question by towns in the close proximity. Next, we will analyze these processes, correlating them to the increase in circulation during the first half of the 16th century.

The first stage in the emergence of these settlements is the presence of a *venta* for foot-travelers. Navas del Madroño, La Codosera and El Tejarejo were all initially points of lodging and food for foot travelers next to a road. The inhabitants of Navas del Madroño, which was described in 1583 as a place that «is on a very principal and royal road», still remembered it as having only the buildings of the *venta*: «there were only two houses, which were a *venta* for foot-travelers»[17]. In the case of La Codosera, the Duke of Albuquerque asks permission of the Royal Council in 1517 to settle that place. The Council names a commissioner and initiates inquiries into this possibility, whereby he interrogates several witnesses. These all concur that an abundant traffic of goods passes through La Codosera between Portugal and Castile. Among the witnesses' statements is that of Alonso Pérez, who claims that he knows the place because he lived there for many years in a *venta* for foot travelers which is located precisely where a new settlement is going to be created, called Venta de Benavente (Franco Silva, 2000, p. 50). In the *dehesa* of Azagala there is no permanent settlement before 1520, and some witnesses insist «that there are no residents in the said townships of Azagala, except for the owner of the *venta* of Tejarejo[18]. Although there are periods of intermittent settlements in its surroundings, it is not until the 1520s that a settlement is consolidated around the *ventas,* which have remained a point of reference in the area.

After the second half of the 16th century the situation of settlement around *ventas* for foot travelers changes, and people begin to populate the surrounding areas, establishing permanent residence. In many cases they are involved in activities related to supplying the *ventas* and the travelers. Around 1520 some individuals set up small farms in the vicinity of the *venta* of El Tejarejo, who according to the witnesses

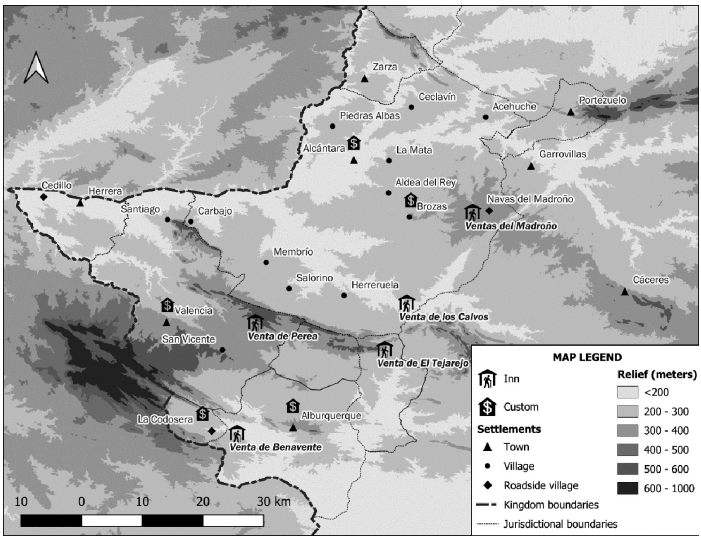
[17] AHN, OM, Libro 505.
[18] AGS, CMC-1, Leg 231.

grow produce to supply travelers and transhumance herders. The declarant Bartomé Martín appreciated this connection between market gardens and the circulation of people because «with the said market garden the travelers have ample refreshment». Hernando Alonso Bejarano made a similar assessment, which also enables us to contextualize this development as the result of the distance to the closest settlement: «the herders and shepherds who bring their livestock there obtain fruit and vegetables, which cannot be found until Albuquerque, which is four leagues away»[19]. One of the farmers also has an oven in his plot to make bread. In Navas del Madroño the pattern is similar. In the 1580s, in a conflict with the town of Brozas, the procurator of the latter affirms that in the place where the *ventas* were «against the will of said town [...] they have made houses and occupied the empty sites with fenced enclosures».[20] In the vicinity of the *venta* of Benavente, which will later become the community of La Codosera, it is estimated that the permanent presence of settlers was necessary because «there were no inhabited places in those surroundings to provide facilities and provisioning for pack animals» (Franco Silva, 2000, p. 51).

This pattern of spontaneous occupation, related to the circulation (of people and goods) results in permanently populated centers in all three cases, including the two towns (Navas del Madroño y La Codosera) which endured up the modern times. Those communities, which we call *poblaciones camineras*, are distinguished by a long layout, with houses built along the road and other streets parallel to that road. There is a visible fossilization both in the current urban plans of La Codosera and Navas del Madroño, both towns arose around the *venta*, and their economy being initially based on the traffic and supply (of goods) influenced the shape of the town because the population wanted to be as close as possible to the main road. This pattern suggests that settlers were attracted to these places in a spontaneous way, as a result of the stimulus provided by the traffic of people and goods. Consequently, these towns are not the customary round-shaped urban models of Medieval settlements.

A second indication of the spontaneity of settlements is the tension that their potential consolidation as villages causes in other towns and surrounding areas. La Codosera shows a consolidated settlement in the census of 1528 with 117 residents, although one decade earlier, in 1517 the commissioner Falconi insisted that it was uninhabited. It is possible that the report had some imprecisions because in 1509 the Duke of Albuquerque implemented a policy to attract people to the area, which indicates that the settlement was in its embryonic stage, a process which the landlord was trying to promote. Records from 1512 reveal the existence of a council, from which we reckon that the commission led by Falconi in 1517 was intended to obtain approval to consolidate a new border town, and not to declare void the convenience of repopulating. In Navas del Madroño the problems between the nearby towns and its inhabitants were recorded from the 1540s onwards, although they most likely

[19] AHN, OM, AHT, Expediente 30983.
[20] AHN, OM, Libro 505.



Map 1. Settlements and roadside inns in the study area around 1500.

started around 1530, since it is customary for the witnesses to use the expression «over the past 15 years»[21].

3. CONCLUSIONS

As stated at the outset of this study, our primary objective was to examine in depth the role, functions, and defining characteristics of professional land-based transporters of goods, with particular attention to those residing in the frontier towns situated between the kingdoms of Portugal and Castile, specifically in the region of Extremadura. These individuals, whose livelihoods depended on the movement of goods, played a fundamental role in sustaining and enabling the flow of commerce across this transboundary space. In addition to profiling these transporters and their socio-professional identity, we sought to trace and analyze the distribution networks in which they were embedded –networks that, while rooted in the local economic structures of Alta Extremadura, extended far beyond the immediate vicinity. These circuits connected rural and urban centers, linked local producers with distant consumers, and contributed to the integration of regional economies into broader inter-regional and even trans-Iberian commercial systems.

[21] AHN, OM, AHT, Exp. 26581.

The available evidence points to a clear and progressive professionalization of land-based transport during the late 15th and early 16th centuries. This is reflected not only in the emergence of a specialized occupational group –muleteers or *recueros*– but also in the increasing presence of infrastructural support mechanisms such as inns and roadside settlements, designed specifically to accommodate both the transporters and their animal or spontaneouslly emerged to take advantadge of this traffic. These establishments formed a crucial part of the logistical ecosystem that sustained long-distance overland trade, and, in long terms, sometimes had modified the settlement estructures. Moreover, repeated references to the activities of these pack animal drivers in municipal ordinances, council regulations, and documents issued by the Royal Council, underscore the growing importance and institutional visibility of trasnportation. Regulatory texts often sought to monitor, organize, or even protect the circulation of goods and those who transported them, indicating not only the volume of such movement but also its relevance to local authorities and the Crown.

The evidence gathered throughout our research supports the conclusion that, between the late 15th and early 16th centuries, a distinct professional group began to take shape: the *recueros* or muleteers. These were specialized transporters who used pack animals, primarily mules, to carry a wide variety of goods across rural and urban markets. It was a group of people who had the sufficient knowledge of road networks and transactions, which makes it difficult to assume that this was only a part-time occupation to complement their main activity. Far from being occasional or supplementary laborers, the *recueros* demonstrate a clear degree of professionalization. Their work required, at least, a detailed knowledge of the road systems, including the most efficient routes; familiarity with commercial practices, toll regulations, and local market dynamics. Also organizational skills to coordinate logistics and manage timing. Such skills and knowledge suggest that this occupation was not merely a way to supplement agricultural income, as has sometimes been assumed, but rather a full-time or primary profession with its own internal structures and socio-economic significance. Their activities were crucial to the functioning of these rural economies, as they enabled the flow of manufactured godos and agricultural products between production centers and consumer markets. Moreover, their presence in our frontier zone underscores their strategic role in integrating peripheral regions into broader commercial networks. In this sense, *recueros* not only served as carriers of goods, but also as agents of connection, facilitating the circulation of wealth, information, and cultural practices.

This increasement in traffic takes place in circulation and distribution networks, which, as mentioned above, join the Atlantic coast, the border area, and the interior of Castile. These networks enabled regional and inter-regional economic articulation, generating specialization in local production in border towns, at least in the wine and grain sectors. Wine and grain were sent to Portugal, and fish, salt and overseas goods were brought back to Castile. The local muleteers of the border have been key parts of this process of articulation between the Portuguese coast and the Castilian interior, acting as logistical pivots. We consider that the development of economic exchanges in the 15th century, which had emerged from an inorganic dimension, were consolidated and systematized from the 16th century onwards.

During the transition from the 15th to the 16th centuries, circulation among the border towns became structuring elements in the Peninsular commerce. The routes that would be the supply chain were established, generating an inter-regional market which was made possible, in part, by lodging infrastructures –*ventas*, new communities– and to the initiative and continuous negotiation of residents and neighbors along the main roads.

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WORKERS IN THE ALTO ALENTEJO BORDER TOWNS (14TH-16TH CENTURIES): ACTIVITIES, SPECIALISATION AND MOBILITY*

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Abstract

Although Portuguese medieval historiography includes works that have made a notable contribution to understanding professional activities since at least the mid-20th century, it has only been in recent years that their study and themes, especially in the field of craftsmen, have taken centre stage in research. The work carried out has made it possible to increase our knowledge of these workers at a spatial level and from various perspectives, but it has been rare to find studies on the *mesteres* in the borderlands, the relationship between the frontier and professional activities and their role in defining the urban hierarchy, partly due to the difficulty in finding sources. Based on an analysis of some northeastern Alentejo towns, this paper aims to contribute to understanding the professional activities that existed in small and medium-sized frontier towns in Medieval Portugal, distinguishing between those that were common to all and those that could only be found in certain localities, reflecting on the signs of specialisation, hierarchisation and complementarity between the different towns and also the mobility of professionals.

Keywords: Urban History, Labour History, Small Towns, Craftsman, Trade and smuggling.

TRABAJADORES EN LAS VILLAS FRONTERIZAS DEL ALTO ALENTEJO (SIGLOS XV-XVI): JERARQUÍA, ESPECIALIZACIÓN Y MOVILIDAD

Resumen

Aunque la historiografía medieval portuguesa cuenta con trabajos que han contribuido notablemente al conocimiento de las actividades profesionales desde al menos mediados del siglo xx, solo en los últimos años su estudio y su temática, especialmente en el ámbito de los artesanos, han ocupado un lugar central en la investigación. Los trabajos realizados han permitido ampliar nuestro conocimiento de estos trabajadores a nivel espacial y desde diversas perspectivas, pero han sido escasos los estudios sobre los mesteres en las tierras fronterizas, la relación entre la frontera y las actividades profesionales y su papel en la definición de la jerarquía urbana, en parte debido a la dificultad de encontrar fuentes. A partir del análisis de algunas villas del nordeste alentejano, pretendemos contribuir al conocimiento de las actividades profesionales que podían existir en las pequeñas y medianas villas fronterizas del Portugal medieval, distinguiendo entre las que eran comunes a todas y las que solo podían encontrarse en determinadas localidades, reflexionando sobre los signos de especialización, jerarquización y complementariedad entre las distintas villas y también sobre la movilidad de los profesionales.

Palabras clave: historia urbana, historia del trabajo, pequeñas ciudades, artesanos, comercio y contrabando.

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INTRODUCTION

According to Franz-Paul de Almeida Langhans, A.H. de Oliveira Marques, and Arnaldo Melo, in Medieval Portugal the terms *mesteirais* and *mesteres* were used to refer, respectively, to artisans and trades, crafts, or mechanical professions that required training and specialization. However, in the 15th century, both concepts could be used in a broader sense, encompassing workers and professions from other economic sectors, such as *almuinheiros* (alms collectors), *regatões* (street vendors), or fishermen (Marques 1984, vol. IV: 280-282; Langhans 1984, vol. IV: 282-283; Melo, 2022: 63-65). Throughout the following pages, the word *mesteiral* will be used in its broader sense. Although Portuguese Medieval historiography includes works that have contributed notably to the knowledge of these professionals since at least the mid-20th century[1], it is in recent years that their study and related issues, especially artisans, have assumed a prominent place in research, largely driven by the Medcrafts project, which brought together specialists from six universities and research centers.

Some historians have analyzed manufacturing activities within a single urban center, (and in rare cases, more than one), as well as focusing on specific economic sectors. These sectors include trades related to food, metals, construction (both civil and naval), leatherworking, and textiles. Among the published studies, moving from north to south of the Portuguese kingdom, the following cities and towns were selected as case studies: Braga, Guimaráes, Porto, Coimbra, Lisbon, Setúbal, Évora, and the Algarve[2]. These studies complemented information found in earlier studies on other urban centers such as Alenquer, Castelo de Vide, Elvas, Montemor-o-Novo, Torres Vedras, and Tomar, as well as regional studies which focused on the Baixo Mondego, Médio Tejo, and the area between the Zêzere and Tagus rivers (Coelho, 1989; Rodrigues, 1995; Ferro, 1996; Fonseca, 1998; Conde, 2000; Oliveira, 2012; Correia, 2013; Vicente, 2015). This has led to a significant extension of the space for understanding of the trades, though it still does not cover certain areas, nor does it offer a full perspective of the kingdom.

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[1] Given the extensive bibliography on this subject, we refer here, by way of example, to a few key studies and historiographical overviews where further references may be found, without claiming to be exhaustive. Cruz, 1940; Caetano, 1943, 1958; Langhans, 1943, 1948; Coelho, 1990; Rodrigues, 1993; Gonçalves, 2007; Melo, 2009; Barata, Henriques, 2011.

[2] See, among others, the studies published in: Melo, Campos, Sequeira, 2021; Melo, Sequeira, 2022-2023.

The geographical framework that was chosen herein focused on the main towns and cities of the Portuguese kingdom, giving greater emphasis to those located along the coast rather than the interior, as well as those situated on, or north of the Tagus River. Studies that focused on trades in frontier settlements, or that provided data about the existence of trades in such places have been rare, and are largely limited to monographs, such as the ones on Elvas and Castelo de Vide. The dearth of works on this subject is not due to a lack of interest on the part of Portuguese historiography[3], but rather to a limited output on artisans in these regions, which can be explained, in part, by the scarcity and brevity of the sources available for their study, such as regulations governing trade activities (e.g. municipal bylaws and council meeting records).

Along with the increase in space covered, medievalists adopted approaches that focused on, or intersected with many different aspects, such as identifying the presence of trades, signs of specialization and professional hierarchization, their forms of organization, especially guilds, political representation (e.g. in municipal councils), and the role of women in the workplace. Similarly, and in line with developments in other historiographies, such as the French one[4], there has been renewed interest in and questioning of the regulations governing trades, i.e., their origins, types, the authorities involved (especially the Crown and municipal councils), the agents responsible for drafting and enforcing them, and regulatory aspects (Melo, Campos, Sequeira, 2021; Melo, Sequeira, 2022-2023).

Although less frequently, some research has also focused on ecclesiastical taxation imposed on the trades (Campos, 2021: 287-303), and the relationship between urban centers, professional occupations, mobility, and urban hierarchies (Silva, 2021b: 58-76). Further studies of the role of professional activities in defining the economies of small and medium-sized settlements and their areas of influence, are still lacking. These studies are also necessary for the characterization and hierarchization of the urban network at both regional and national levels. Lastly, considering the aforementioned spatial distribution, it is worth reflecting on the impact the frontier had on shaping professional activities in urban centers, and its sphere of influence.

We therefore hope to provide a better understanding of professional activities and the mobility of professionals in frontier towns in Medieval Portugal by focusing on a group of towns located in the northeastern part of the *comarca*[5] of Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana. In terms of structure, we will begin by describing the area, the documentation that is available for studying the professionals who worked there, and exploring the challenges posed by those sources. Next, we will identify the main occupational activities in the Alentejan urban centers, distinguishing between those that were common to all the towns and those that could only be found in specific localities.

[3] Current historiographic status of the towns and cities of the Portuguese border, see: Costa, 2020: 259-286.

[4] See works resulting from the project: *Les formes de réglementation des métiers dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne, créations et renouvellements*, for example: Carvais *et al.* (2025).

[5] Major judicial and administrative circumscription in Portugal.

Finally, we will focus on the strategies employed by the authorities, i.e. the Crown and the municipal councils, to attract and retain certain trades and the mobility of professionals. This will help identify signs of specialization and hierarchy among the different localities.

1. FRONTIER TOWNS OF THE NORTHEASTERN ALENTEJO AND THE PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY OF THEIR INHABITANTS: CHALLENGES POSED BY DOCUMENTATION FOR THEIR STUDY

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the northeastern part of the *comarca* of Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana comprised thirteen towns located along the border with Castile: Montalvão, Nisa, Alpalhão, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Portalegre, Alegrete, Assumar, Arronches, Monforte, Ouguela, Campo Maior, and Elvas (the latter was not considered in this study due to its comparatively larger size) (Correia, 2013)[6]. We will not present the group of towns under study, as this was done previously by us and other historians in more detail in other texts published in this dossier, and elsewhere. We would like to point out that all these towns were, by European standards, considered small urban centers, though in the context of the Portuguese kingdom, Portalegre appears to have attained a medium size by the end of the period under study, with around 1,419 *fogos* (dwellings) in the *Numeramento*[7] of 1527-1532, a figure well above those of the main towns nearby, i.e. Castelo de Vide and Arronches, with 911 and 832 *fogos*, respectively. Most of the selected towns were under royal jurisdiction and situated along one of the main natural entry routes from Castile, which in the 15th century was one of the principal gateways into Portugal for Castilian textiles and other goods (Ferreira, 1983: 43, 54, 56; Fernandes, 2011: 566-567).

The documentation gathered by our team for the study of the towns in what is now the Alto Alentejo is revealing. It comprises around 4,000 documents from central archives, such as the Torre do Tombo and the National Library of Portugal, and, to a lesser extent, from district and local archives like the District Archive of Portalegre and the Laranjo Coelho Library in Castelo de Vide. However, these records tend to be mostly from the latter centuries of the Middle Ages, particularly the 15th century.

Regarding the origin of our sources, there is a predominance of royal documentation (over 90%), something already well known to Portuguese medievalists for other urban centres. Sources of ecclesiastical origin, with the exception of those produced by the military orders of Christ and, to a lesser extent, Santiago and Avis (Silva, in press), are scarce, both for the conventual network and for the parish churches of the region, whose medieval archives have largely been lost. The

[6] See Fig. 1 to identify the towns under study in the region and in the context of the kingdom, although the map includes information that will be discussed only later in the article.

[7] The first recorded census of the Portuguese population.

convent of Santa Clara in Portalegre appears to be the only monastic house to escape this scenario. Likewise, we have no documentation from charitable institutions, including those connected to trades, which differs from what is known for other cities and towns, such as Porto (Melo, 2009), Guimarães (Ferreira, 2010), and Coimbra (Rocha, 2021: 21-45). In fact, comparable to other southern towns such as Setúbal (Silveira, 2022) and those of the Algarve (Silva, 2021b: 58-76)[8], we find no references to such associations in the region, which may explain the absence of written records about them. In turn, municipal sources are limited to a single agreement established between Portalegre and Crato in the 14th century, and the municipal cartulary (tombo) of Castelo de Vide, drawn up in the 16th century. The available data also differs in geographical terms, providing more information on the most relevant towns, i.e. Portalegre and Castelo de Vide, at the expense of the others, e.g. Ouguela and Assumar.

Apart from these documentary asymmetries, our perception of professional occupations is limited by other factors which have also been observed in better-documented urban centers such as Torres Vedras (Rodrigues, 1995: 282), Porto (Melo 2009, vol. 1, 45-46), and those in the Algarve (Silva, 2021b: 58-76). These factors make it difficult to determine the chronology, diversity, importance of economic activities, their impact on the socio-professional makeup of local populations, and, consequently, the role of craftsmen (*mesteres*) within the community. Comparable to Porto and the Algarve, the data collected for the towns under study are at times limited to generic references to certain professions, without providing further detail about the number or identity of those engaged in them. For example, generic references to weavers in the royal letters of appointment of officials with jurisdiction over the textile trade in Alpalhão and Castelo de Vide, and regulatory guidelines (such as those concerning oil press workers and millers) included in the visitations of Nisa[9]. Such information does not allow us to identify the names of the professionals or to assess their weight within the overall population. The reverse, that is, the omission of the professional occupation, position, or function performed by a significant portion of the individuals mentioned in the documentation, is also frequent, especially in more modest population centers. For example, for the period between 1444 and 1521, we were only able to find two men whose professions were mentioned in Alegrete, three in Alpalhão, five in Assumar[10]. Moreover, the recurrence of homonymy, always so prevalent (Gonçalves 2010), sometimes makes it difficult to accurately identify the individuals under study.

[8] In these settlements we only find confraternities of seafarers.

[9] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 1, fl. 52v (Alpalhão, 1502); liv. 24, fl. 166 (Castelo de Vide, 1515), liv. 44, fl.84v (Castelo de Vide, 1518). *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 18, 20, 21, 24 (Nisa, 1505).

[10] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 24, fl. 20v (Alegrete, 1444), liv. 25, fl. 19 (Alpalhão, 1444), liv. 30, fl. 146 (Alegrete, 1474); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 6, fl. 137 (Alegrete, 1482), liv. 20, fl. 59 (Assumar, 1487); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 26, fl. 8 (Alpalhão, 1498); *Gavetas, Gaveta XX*, m. 13, n.º 103 (Assumar). *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 35 (Alpalhão, 1505).

Moreover, as demonstrated previously for other places, it is important to bear in mind that even individuals with a specific profession may have combined that occupation with other remunerated activities in different economic sectors, either as a way of securing their livelihood, or increasing their income. In fact, this scenario of multi-activity was common both within the Portuguese kingdom and beyond (Bernardi, 2023: 23-40); in 1509, for example, minutes of the visitation of the Order of Christ to Nisa and Portalegre reveal the presence of weavers, cloth (wool) weavers, millers, blacksmiths, ironsmith, muleteers, and merchants[11], investing in land, vineyards, and olive groves – either owned or leased from the military order – located in the peri-urban area and surrounding territory. Meanwhile, the geographic location, as in other towns near the border, allowed some men to try their luck in illicit economic activities, particularly smuggling prohibited goods like grain and, above all, livestock into Castile. At the end of the 15th century, we find examples such as a farmer from Alpalhão and a miller from Castelo de Vide[12].

The frontier towns selected for this study share additional challenges, which the available documentation shows more clearly than in other previously analyzed localities. Firstly, for the period between 1387 and 1521, the data showed only about 285 individuals with a profession – 226 residents in the towns, 5 who traveled from their land to practice their trades in the towns, and 53 who were forced to serve sentences (of exile) in Castelo de Vide, Ouguela, and especially Marvão and Arronches. These numbers are extremely scarce compared to those collected for other groups of towns and cities; for the Algarve more than 900 individuals with occupations were identified (Silva, 2021b: 58-76), and represent a very small sample of professionals when considering the number of urban centers under study, the population figures recorded in 1527, and the time span covered.

Moreover, as previously mentioned, the collected documentation displays a strong spatial and temporal asymmetry, with most of the information dating from the 15th and early 16th centuries. This situation hinders the study of the growth and specialization of certain economic and professional sectors, especially in the more modest localities and among workers living in the outskirts, particularly craftsmen. This scenario resembles what has been observed in the urban centers of the Algarve, but contrasts with what has been seen in other towns, such as Torres Vedras (Rodrigues 1995, 289-305). The compiled data also show an imbalance in information concerning various economic activities. For example, while we know almost nothing about the actual weight of trades in the area of food production in most of the towns under study, e.g. Campo Maior and Marvão, the documentation gives particular prominence to occupations related to agriculture and trade, especially in the more dynamic towns like Castelo de Vide and Portalegre. Finally, it should be noted that the scarce data on professional mobility comes to us almost exclusively

[11] *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 10, 12, 15 (Nisa), 194, 195, 198 (Portalegre).

[12] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 1, fl. 151 (Castelo de Vide, 1487); liv. 4, fl. 21 (Castelo de Vide, 1487); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 26, fl. 8 (Alpalhão, 1495).

through a few charters granted to carters and, primarily, letters of pardon. Although this scenario allows us to identify some professionals who relocated due to exile sentences, it reveals far less about those who chose to move to, or work in another urban center of their own accord.

Given the scarce and fragmented information, and the late and limited chronology of the empirical data provided by the sources, we should regard them as more indicative than representative of a complex reality. Nevertheless, like other researchers (i.e. Ana Maria Rodrigues and Arnaldo Melo (Rodrigues, 1995: 282, 305-313; Beirante, 1995: 404-439; Conde, 2000, vol. 1: 515-520; Melo, 2009, vol. I: 48-65; Silva, 2021b: 58-76), we believe that if properly contextualized, the data enables us to make some reflections.

2. OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITIES: RECONSTRUCTION, SPECIALIZATION AND HIERARCHY

Between 1387 and 1521 we identified 60 professional activities in the border towns of northeastern Alentejo, of which the majority were linked to the processing of raw materials (approximately 60%). When compared with towns in other regions, such as those in the Algarve, the number of occupational activities is lower, but the percentage of artisanal activities is higher (Silva, 2021b: 58-76). This can be explained by the limited presence of the maritime and river sector. According to historiography of the organization of Medieval Portuguese labor (Rodrigues, 1995: 282; Melo, 2009, vol. II: 13-345; Silva, 2021b: 58-76; Melo, Sequeira, 2022-2023), the professions identified can be broadly grouped into ten economic sectors, with the commercial sector, showing the greatest variety of professional occupations (Table 1).

TABLE 1: PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES FOUND IN THE FRONTIER TOWNS OF NORTHEASTERN ALENTEJO (1387-1521)*

Sectors	Professions
Sector 1: Agro-pastoral and Forest Management	Market gardener (*Hortelão*) Farmer (*Lavrador*) Pruner (*Podador*) Swinerd (*Porcariço*) Shepherd (*Pastor*) Warrener (*Coelheiro*) Sheep herder (*Ovelheiro*) Vintager (*Vinhateiro*)
Sector 2: Sea and river	Boatman (*Barqueiro*)
Sector 3: Food production	Miller (*Moleiro*) Female bread baker (*Padeira*) Oil mill worker (*Lagareiro*) Grinder (*Moedor*) Bread oven worker (*Forneiro(a)*) (*do pão*)

Continúa

TABLE 1: PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES FOUND IN THE FRONTIER TOWNS OF NORTHEASTERN ALENTEJO (1387-1521)*

Sectors	Professions
Sector 4: Leather and hides	Currier (*Surrador*) Saddler (*Albardeiro*) Shoemaker (*Sapateiro*) "Maker of leather straps" (*Ataqueiro*)** Scabbard maker (*Bainheiro*)
Sector 5: Textiles and clothing	Fuller (*Pisoeiro*) Sheep shearer (*Tosador*) Rag dealer (*Trapeiro*) Weaver (*Tecelão*) Cloth (wool) weaver (*Tecelão de panos*) Tailor (*Alfaiate*) Tailor specialised in doublets (*Gibiteiro*) Dyer (*Tintureiro*)
Sector 6: Construction	Sawyer (*Serrador*) Carpenter (*Carpinteiro*) Metal worker (*Serralheiro*) Brocklayer (*Alvanel*) Stonemason (*Pedreiro*) Tiler/roof tile maker (*Telheiro*)
Sector 7: Metals and weapons	Farrier (*Ferrador*) Blacksmith (*Ferreiro*) Ironsmith specialized in spearheads (*Ferreiro de Ferras de Lança*) *Coronheiro**** Armorer (*Armeiro*) Turner (*Torneiro*) Coppersmith (*Caldeireiro*) Spindler (*Fuseiro*) Goldsmith (*Ourives*)
Sector 8: Other artesanal trades	Potter (*Oleiro(a)*) Tile maker (*Telheiro*) Cooper (*Tanoeiro*) Wineskin maker (*Borracheiro*) Candle maker (*Cerieiro(a)*)
Sector 9: "Liberal professions"	Animal health attendant (*Alveitar*) Healer (*Curador*) Surgeon (*Cirugião*) Physician (*Físico*) Barber (*Barbeiro*)
Sector 10: Commerce	Butcher (*Carniceiro*) Female grain seller (*Fangueira*) Haberdasher (*Marceiro*) Apothecary (*Boticário*) Peddler (*Regatão/Regateira*) Wagoner (*Carreteiro*) Muleteer (*Almocreve*) Merchant (*Mercador*) Innkeeper (*Estalajadeiro*)

* We have placed the Portuguese designation of certain professions in parentheses, as it is not always easy to find an exact equivalent in the English language. The sources and the locations in which the crafts were recorded are indicated in the footnotes of the text.
** The *ataqueiro* was the craftsman who made *atacas*, that is, small leather or cloth straps used to fasten pieces of armour, garments, loads on pack animals.
*** Craftsman who carved the wooden parts of weapons.

According to the compiled documentation, several professional occupations could be found both in the region's more important urban centers (e.g. Arronches, Castelo de Vide and Portalegre), and in the smaller ones (e.g. Ouguela, Assumar and Alpalhão). Examples include farmers[13], sheep herders[14], shoemakers[15], ironsmith[16] and in the 15th century, wagoner[17]. Some of the professions were only mentioned in the sources for more dynamic urban centers, but they did actually exist in the other towns. For example, we found references to urban and peri urban facilities such as ovens[18], mills and water mills[19], fulling mills[20] and soap production sites (*saboarias*)[21], land with vegetable gardens and buildings where they worked, such as tanning pits[22] and butcher shops[23].

Many professions were probably part of normal life in the border towns of what is now the Alto Alentejo, either for their connection to the rural world (market

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[13] There are several documentary references to individuals that practiced this activity, and for the others we only refer to the first documentary reference to each urban center. ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 3, fl. 54v (Campo Maior, 1453), liv. 10, fl. 108 (Ouguela, 1454), liv. 16, fl. 66 (Arronches, 1471), liv. 31, fl. 4 (Monforte, 1469), liv. 33, fl. 99 (Castelo de Vide, 1473); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv.20, fl. 59 (Assumar, 1487); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 7, fl. 3v (Marvão, 1511), liv. 26, fl. 8 (Alpalhão, 1498), liv. 28, fl. 1 (Montalvão, século XV); liv. 45, fl. 86v (Nisa, 1501). *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Duarte*, Vol. 1, Tomo 2: 453 (Portalegre, 1436).

[14] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 15, fl. 72 (Campo Maior, 1488); *Gavetas*, *Gaveta XIV*, m. 5, n.º 5 (Ouguela, 1462).

[15] *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Duarte*, vol. 1, tomo 2: 316-317 (Portalegre, 1436); *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 35 (Alpalhão, 1505); *Gavetas, Gaveta XX*, m. 13, n.º 103. (Assumar, sem data); ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 14, fl. 65v (Marvão, 1466); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 45, fl. 116v (Castelo de Vide, 1501).

[16] *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 195 (Portalegre, 1509); ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 12, fl. 124 (Arronches, reign of D. João I), liv. 21, fl. 90v-91 (Marvão, 1471), liv. 24, fl. 20v (Alegrete, 1444), liv. 28, fl. 48 (Castelo de Vide, 1468); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 3, fl. 77 (Montalvão, 1482); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 11, fl. 125 (Campo Maior, 1515); *Corpo Cronológico, Parte II*, m. 82, n.º 104, fl. 4v (Nisa, 1520).

[17] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 1, fl. 123 (Assumar, 1463), liv. 30, fl. 145v (Castelo de Vide, 1475); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 1, fl. 151 (Portalegre, 1486); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 6, fl. 110 (Nisa, 1502), liv. 7, fl. 45 (Arronches, 1511), liv. 35, fl. 93 (Campo Maior, 1521).

[18] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 12, fl. 54 (Castelo de Vide, before 1490); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 40, fl. 62-63 (Castelo de Vide e Monforte, 1496).

[19] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 11, fl. 19 (Castelo de Vide, 1451), 95v (Arronches, 1450), liv. 19, fl. 88v (Arronches, 1450), liv. 20, fl. 111v (Portalegre, 1440), liv. 30, fl. 114 (Marvão, 1475); *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 37, 58 (Alpalhão, Montalvão, 1505).

[20] *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 57 (Nisa, 1505).

[21] Between 1496 and 1497, black soap production sites are mentioned in Portalegre, Arronches, Alegrete, Castelo de Vide, Nisa, Marvão and Campo Maior, as well as other neighboring settlements, i.e. Amieira, Alter do Chão, Crato, Vila Viçosa e Borba. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel*, liv. 29, fl. 51 (1496), 60v (1497); Oliveira, 2011: 85.

[22] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 4, fl. 37 (Monforte, before 1433), liv. 20, fl. 30v (Portalegre, 1440).

[23] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 29, fls. 256-256v (Arronches, 1472); *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 335 (Monforte, 1439).

gardeners[24], swinerds[25] and sheep herders[26]), or those associated with food production – the olive mill worker[27], miller[28], female bread baker[29] and bread oven worker. The same applied to construction, i.e. carpenter[30], stonemason[31] and potter[32] and to textiles, i.e. wool weaver[33], and fuller[34]. In the area of commerce there was no lack of vendors[35], but it is more difficult to determine if all the towns had muleteers[36] and merchants[37]. Boatsmen were only found in Nisa and Montalvão, (Gonçalves, 2003: 479-480; *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo,* 2002: 18, 57). In the early 16th century, we know that in more modest localities, like Monforte, Nisa and Ouguela, there were already physicians and/or surgeons[38], which was a result of the demographic growth, demonstrated by the number of licenses issued by the Crown during this period[39]. In Campo Maior, we know that there was a ironsmith specialized in spearheads[40].

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[24] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 7, fl. 122v (Arronches, 1492).

[25] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 22, fl. 64v-65 (Portalegre, 1484).

[26] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 15, fl. 72 (Campo Maior, 1488); *Gavetas*, *Gaveta XIV*, m. 5, n.º 5 (Ouguela, 1462).

[27] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 25, fl. 19 (Alpalhão, 1440).

[28] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 1, fl. 151 (Marvão, Castelo de Vide, 1484); *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 195 (Portalegre, 1505).

[29] Biblioteca Laranjo Coelho, *Tombo de Castelo de Vide de 1807,* fls. 174v-181 (Castelo de Vide, 1512).

[30] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 36, fl. 23 (Castelo de Vide, 1509); *Corpo Cronológico, Parte II*, m. 82, n.º 104, fl. 5 (Nisa, 1520); ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 2, fl. 110 (Ouguela, 1441); liv. 31, fl. 17v (Arronches, 1469); *Convento de Santa Clara de Portalegre*, m. F, doc. 6 (Portalegre, 1423).

[31] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 29, fl. 60 (Marvão, 1472); *Corpo Cronológico, Parte II*, m. 82, n.º 104, fl. 4v (Castelo de Vide, 1520); ANTT, *Convento de Santa Clara de Portalegre*, m. F, doc. 7 (Portalegre, 1412).

[32] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 14, fl. 59 (Portalegre, 1466), liv. 29, fl. 256-256v (Arronches, 1472); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 9, fl. 61 (Marvão, 1491); *Corpo Cronológico, Parte II*, m. 82, n.º 104, fl. 4 (Nisa, 1520).

[33] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 21, fl. 80-80v (Castelo de Vide, 1471); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 13, fl. 104 (Arronches, before 1490); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 28, fl. 92 (Campo Maior, 1497); *Gavetas, Gaveta XX*, m. 13, n.º 103(Montalvão, s.d.); *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Duarte* vol. 1, tomo 2: 318 (Portalegre, 1436); *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 198 (Portalegre, 1509). Tavares, 1984: 12 (Arronches, 1442), 37 (Campo Maior, 1442), 45 (Castelo de Vide 1442), 96 (Nisa, 1442), 270 (Monforte, 1442), 290-294 (Portalegre, 1441-1442).

[34] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 36, fl. 47 (Portalegre, 1509), liv. 44, fl. 84v (Castelo de Vide, 1518).

[35] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 36, fl. 142 (Portalegre, 1476).

[36] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 3, fl. 53 (Monforte, 1453); TT, *Convento de Santa Clara de Portalegre*, m. B, doc. 4 (Portalegre, 1387). Moreno, 1986: 105, 109 (Marvão, em 1431, e Arronches, 1436). *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 10 (Nisa, 1505).

[37] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 2, fl. 57 (Castelo de Vide, 1441); *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 10 (Nisa, 1505); Degredo: ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 5, fl. 55 (Marvão, 1492).

[38] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 2, fl. 4v (Nisa, 1502), liv. 12, fl. 12 (Monforte, 1500), liv. 25, fl. 35 (Ouguela, 1516).

[39] Sobre este tema, consulte-se: Gonçalves, 1988: 9-52; Moisão, 2018.

[40] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 11, fl. 125 (1515).

However, it was in the region's main urban centers, (Arronches and, above all, Castelo de Vide and Portalegre) that the most diverse and specialized range of economic activities could be observed. These towns, more populous and commercially dynamic, were located on, and actively participated in the main trade routes connecting the region to other towns in Portugal and along the Castilian border. They benefited from the road networks linking Lisbon to Cáceres/Badajoz and Évora to Castelo Branco/Guarda, as we have described in another text submitted in this dossier.

In these towns we find, in the sector of leatherworks and hides, saddlers[41] and in textiles and clothing, tailors[42], tailors specialised in doublets[43] and dyers (Oliveira, 2011: 84). In the construction sector, metal workers[44], wood cutters[45] and tiler/roof tile maker[46], in the field of metals and weapons, ironsmiths[47] and "master ironsmith skilled in making crossbows, muskets, and weapons"[48] and turners[49]. Other professions include healers[50], surgeons[51], physicians[52]. However, of all the urban centres, Portalegre appears to have had, by far, the most professions that are not documented in the other towns, such as animal health attendants[53], *coronheiros*[54], coppersmith[55], armorers[56], goldsmiths (Tavares, 1984: 290-294) and apothecaries[57]. This scenario is more noticeable in the leatherworks sector, i.e. "maker

[41] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico da Torre do Tombo*, Parte 2, m. 84, n.º 72 (Portalegre, 1519).

[42] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 2, fl. 55 (Monforte, 1441), liv. 17, fl. 86v (Nisa, 1471); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 37, fl.71v (Castelo de Vide, 1497); TT, *Convento de Santa Clara de Portalegre*, m. B, doc. 4, (Portalegre, 1387); Tavares, 1984: 12 (Arronches, 1442), 96 (Nisa, 1442), 270 (Monforte, 1441), 45 (Castelo de Vide, 1442), 290-294 (Portalegre, 1441).

[43] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 2, fl. 55 (Portalegre, 1441); Tavares, 1984: 12 e 290-294 (Arronches, 1442; Portalegre, 1441).

[44] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 7, fl. 30v (Portalegre, 1512); *Corpo Cronológico, Parte II*, m. 82, n.º 104, fl. 6 (Nisa, 1520).

[45] ANTT, *Convento de Santa Clara de Portalegre*, m. A, doc. 1 (Portalegre, 1510).

[46] *Gavetas, Gaveta XX*, m. 13, n.º 103. (Montalvão, s.d.).

[47] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 29, fl. 253v (Arronches, 1470), liv. 31, fl. 6v (Portalegre, 1469). *Tombos da Ordem de Cristo*, 2002: 12 (Nisa, 1505).

[48] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 29, fl. 253v (Arronches, 1470); Tavares, 1984: 12 (Arronches (1442).

[49] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 7, fl. 4v (Castelo de Vide, 1491).

[50] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 42, fl. 75 (Castelo de Vide, 1513), liv. 44, fl. 82v (Arronches, 1518).

[51] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 17, fl. 15 (Portalegre, 1471); ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 2, fl. 4v (Nisa, 1502), 26 (Castelo de Vide, 1502), liv. 12, fl. 12 (Monforte, 1500); liv. 31, fl. 141 (Arronches, 1498).

[52] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 2, fl. 4v (Nisa, 1502), 26 (Castelo de Vide, 1502), liv. 12, fl. 12 (Monforte, 1500).

[53] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 10, fl. 95 (Portalegre, 1454).

[54] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 7, fl. 51v (Portalegre, 1512).

[55] *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Duarte*, vol. 1, tomo 2: 314 (Portalegre, 1436).

[56] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 41, fl. 1v (Portalegre, 1511).

[57] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 24, fl. 90v (Portalegre, 1515).

of leather straps"[58], and scabbard makers[59], and in the textile sector, i.e. sheep shearer (Tavares, 1984: 292, Portalegre, 1442), dealers in rags[60] and the number of and tailors specialised in doublets[61], which is quite understandable given the fact that livestock farming and textiles were the two main economic activities of the region, particularly in Portalegre.

Indeed, in this latter sector, in 1441, we know that three *gibiteiros* were working in the town, all of them Jews, just as we find one working in Arronches. This leads us to emphasise two aspects. On the one hand, the presence of *gibeteiros* in Arronches and, especially, Portalegre is a clear sign of craft specialisation, which would only appear in more developed urban areas. A common tailor could produce *gibões* (doublets), but the existence of a tailor or more specialising exclusively in this type of garment suggests that there was sufficient demand to justify such a degree of specialisation. On the other hand, in the 15th century, these and other professionals associated with the textile sector were Jews, at times constituting the only documented workers in this field (such as tailors in Campo Maior) and in others (such as goldsmiths in Portalegre) (Tavares, 1984: 37, 290-294; 1989: 41, 43-45).

Building on the studies of Maria José Ferro Tavares, among the thirteen communities under study, one commune is documented in Portalegre in the 14th century, to which five more were added in the following century in Arronches, Campo Maior, Castelo de Vide, Monforte, and Nisa. The growth of these communes, the demographic increase of the Jewish population, and the advantages of their frontier locations are well established. The Jewish communities of Alto Alentejo were primarily engaged in textiles and commerce, yet their ranks also included professionals linked to the iron and arms trades, such as blacksmiths and ironsmiths, and to leatherworking, such as shoemakers (Tavares, 1989: 37-53).

Considering a broader context, throughout the 14th and 15th centuries the towns in the Serra de São Mamede took advantage of the region's natural resources and pasturelands for raising livestock, mainly cattle and sheep. In addition, this area had an abundance of small watercourses that flowed into the Tagus and Guadiana rivers, which could, among other things, power milling facilities, i.e. watermills and fulling mills. The combination of favorable conditions fomented the development of the area as a center for production of wool textiles and *burel* (a coarser woolen cloth). In the first two decades of the 16th century, comparable to the manufacture of *panos meirinhos* in the Beira region[62], the textile industry became so profitable that the monarch assigned several officials to reinforce tax revenue collection and regulate activity. The positions included that of *escrivão da sisa dos panos da terra* (clerk

[58] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 7, fl. 11v (Portalegre, 1510).

[59] *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. Duarte*, vol. 1, tomo 2: 313 (Portalegre, 1436).

[60] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 3, fl. 7 (Portalegre, 1510), liv. 44, fl. 84v (Castelo de Vide, 1518).

[61] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 2, fl. 55 (Portalegre, 1441). Tavares, 1984: 290-294 (Portalegre, 1441).

[62] Cloth made of merino wool (Sequeira, 2014: 268).

responsible for recording the sisa on locally produced textiles)[63], *selador dos panos da terra* (sealer of locally produced cloth)[64] and *vedor dos panos da terra* or *vedor dos panos e buréis que se vierem a fazer* (overseer of local textiles)[65]. In 1515, the *vedor dos panos* had its responsibilities defined in a regulation, the contents of which are unknown to us, but which required the official to visit the "house of the weavers" every eight days to *ferrar* (stamp and seal) the cloths and check if they were well woven before the artisans took them to the fullers[66].

The officials concerned with the taxation of textiles produced locally can be identified both in more modest towns, such as Alegrete, Alpalhão, Marvão, and Montalvão, and in more dynamic ones, such as Arronches, Castelo de Vide, Monforte, and, somewhat earlier, in Portalegre, which reveals the growth and widespread nature of textile activity in the region and highlights the prominent role of the latter town in this process.

3. THE KING, THE MUNICIPALITIES AND THE SHORTAGE AND RECRUITMENT OF *MESTERAIS*

Even after considering the limitations of the samples, we find that the townships of northeastern Alentejo sometimes considered the number of men available for agriculture, crafts, commerce, and other activities to be insufficient. From the mid-14th century onwards, and especially throughout the following century, when we examine the correspondence between the municipalities under study and the kings, we come across narratives that echo complaints about this issue – arguments that were common to other municipalities[67]. The communities complained about the lack of labor and maintained that there was a need to retain and attract certain professionals, citing depopulation, wars, famine, and, at times, the small size of the settlement as the main causes[68]. This situation is particularly evident in the more modest towns under study, such as Campo Maior and Ouguela[69], as well as in the towns that were in a phase of decline throughout the entire period under study, like

[63] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 1, fl. 60v (Portalegre, 1501).

[64] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 1, fl. 23 (Castelo de Vide, 1501) e 57 (Alpalhão, 1502), liv. 2, fl. 52v (Arronches, 1501), liv. 6, fl. 121 (Portalegre, 1502), liv. 15, fl. 186v (Monforte, 1514), liv. 42, fl. 5v (Portalegre, 1513) e 21 (Alegrete, 1513).

[65] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 25, fl. 156v (Montalvão, 1517), liv. 37, fl. 63v (Arronches, 1516), liv. 39, fl. 39v (Marvão, 1521), liv. 44, fl. 84v (Castelo de Vide, 1518).

[66] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 24, fl. 166v (Castelo de Vide).

[67] Among others, see, for example: Sousa, 1990, Vol. 1: 507, 512, 513; Coelho, 2001: 72-80.

[68] In 1439, in the *Cortes* of Lisbon, the procurators of Monforte lamented on the scarcity of artisans, such as butchers and ironsmiths, claiming that the place was so small that individuals who worked in those professions could not earn a livelihood. *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 334 (1439).

[69] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 11, fl. 125v (Campo Maior, 1515), liv. 25, fl. 35 (Ouguela, 1516).

Marvão (Vilar, 2014: 193-194), and in those that were most affected by military conflicts, (Alegrete, Arronches, Campo Maior, Castelo de Vide, Monforte, Portalegre, and Ouguela)[70].

Although the discourse and arguments used at the Court, and in the *Cortes,* were often tailored to obtain privileges and benefits more easily from the king, the truth is that the involvement of the northeastern Alentejo towns in the war effort affected their communities. In fact, during the various internal and external conflicts that took place in Portugal between 1281 and 1479, the towns under study were important battlegrounds in at least twelve confrontations: Dinis against Infante Afonso (1281, 1287, 1299), between Afonso IV and his half-brother, Afonso Sanches (1325) and with Alfonso XI (1336-1339), in the wars of Ferdinand I (1369-1370, 1372-1373, 1381-1382), João I (1383-1389, 1396-1402), and Afonso V (1475-1479) against Castile. Throughout the 15th century, it is likely that the towns of northeastern Alentejo also felt the repercussions of unrest in nearby Castilian towns, e.g. the turmoil caused by the Infantes of Aragon (1429-1432), the periods of instability during the reigns of John II (1406-1454) and Henry IV (1454-1474), and Alonso de Monroy's attempts to take control of the Order of Alcántara (1457-1480) (Rodríguez Casillas, 2013: 47-65; 2019: 66-134). However, it was the wars of João I and Afonso V that had the greatest impact on the Portuguese region, which suffered sieges, occupation of towns by Castilian troops (Monforte, Arronches, and Alegrete), destruction of property and farming and manufacturing equipment, theft of livestock, abuses, and disruption of daily life and professional activity.

During the *Cortes* of Santarém in 1482 after the Luso-Castilian war of 1475-1479, the procurators of Castelo de Vide recalled that: "the inhabitants of this town suffered as much or even more harm than any other place in the region of Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana during the past wars, both in terms of loss of lives and ransoms, as there were few in this town who were not taken prisoner (...). And likewise, all our livestock holdings, which were the main wealth of this place were lost"[71]. Among the towns analyzed, Ouguela, Arronches, and Alegrete were perhaps the most affected by this conflict. While Ouguela was conquered by Francisco de Solís and later reclaimed by Prince João in 1475 (Encarnação, 2014: 260-262), the other two towns were taken by Alonso de Monroy, with Alegrete being used as a base for military operations against Portuguese territory in 1476. In 1477, it was besieged and bombarded by Prince João II for two months[72]. Nonetheless, like in the previous conflicts, the towns managed to recover.

Apart from general references to a shortage of men to work, the correspondence exchanged between the municipalities of the Alentejo and the kings

[70] See, among others: Lopes, 1997: cap. XCV, pp. 149-151, 158-162; 281-282; Tavares, 1983: 45-89; Barroca, 2003: 66-68; Monteiro, 2003: 245-246; Encarnação, 2014: 260-262; Maldonado, 1978: cap. XXXIX, p. 136; Rodríguez Casillas, 2013: 127; 2019: 66-134.

[71] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 3, fl. 100.

[72] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 32, fl. 153v. Maldonado, 1978: cap. XXXIX, p. 136; Rodríguez Casillas, 2013: 127.

also reveals a concern with maintaining, and attracting certain professionals and specific types of labor considered essential for the survival and functioning of the community. These included muleteers[73], *alveitares*[74], physicians[75] and artisans like butchers[76], and especially, those associated with the sector of metals and weapons, such as ironsmiths[77], ironsmith specialised in spearheads[78] and turners[79]. The preference for trades associated with this field is well-documented in different towns throughout the 15th century, from coastal towns like Coimbra, Óbidos and Tavira, to others located on the border (i.e. Elvas) (Barros, 1992, tomo 4: 163-168; Monteiro, 2001: 15-17).

In the case of some physicians and ironsmiths, as documented for other towns and regions of the kingdom (Barros, 1992, vol. 4: 163-168; Silva, 2021b: 69-70), both the kings and municipal councils justified the support and privileges granted to these professionals by underscoring the good reputation they had already established in the town and the quality of their work, their provenance from more distant, populous, and sometimes foreign lands, such as Cáceres[80], and the distance they had to travel to find someone of comparable skill. In 1516, for example, Ouguela petitioned the king to authorize a certain *Mestre* Diogo to practice as a physician in the town, since the inhabitants had to travel seven to eight leagues to find a qualified professional, and he provided "good treatments," even to towns and villages in Castile[81].

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the strategy of municipal councils in northeastern Alentejo, such as Monforte and Portalegre, consisted in granting stipends and wages to artisans[82] and in requesting privileges from the king exempting them from: participating in municipal duties and obligations, from escorting prisoners and funds, providing lodging, assuming responsibilities such as guardianships, keeping arms and horses, and paying taxes, levies, and extraordinary contributions[83]. We are unaware of the adoption of other measures, namely the granting of houses to craftsmen, as observed in Tavira (Silva, 2021b: 70). In the case of physicians, when they went to the Court to request a license authorizing them to practice their profession, the municipalities issued to the physicians letters to present to the

[73] *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 334 (Monforte, 1439), Moreno, 1986: 105 (Marvão, 1431), 109 (Arronches, 1436).

[74] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv.10, fl. 95 (Portalegre, 1454).

[75] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 11, fl. 125v (Campo Maior, 1515), liv. 25, fl. 35 (Ouguela, 1516).

[76] *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 334 (Monforte, 1439).

[77] *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 334 (Monforte, 1439).

[78] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 11, fl. 125v (Campo Maior, 1515).

[79] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 7, fl. 4v (Castelo de Vide, 1491).

[80] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv.10, fl. 95 (Portalegre, 1454). In 1474, D. Afonso V grants to Diogo Nunes, ironsmith and resident in Alegrete, a t*ença* (royal stipend), claiming that he was "a man who know his profession". ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 30, fl. 146.

[81] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 25, fl. 35.

[82] In 1439, Alcáçovas, in the Alentejo, and Monsanto, in Beira, also mention doing the same thing. *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 150, 334, 340.

[83] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv.10, fl. 95 (Portalegre, 1454).

monarch, in which the council requested a favorable ruling and sought to justify its relevance[84]. It is possible that the municipalities even financed the journey of a physician to obtain royal permission, comparable to what is known to have occurred in other localities (Gonçalves, 1983: 16; Silva, 2021b: 70).

Likewise, and more palpably from the second half of the 15th century onwards, the Crown granted pensions and the aforementioned privileges to certain artisans in Alegrete, Campo Maior, and Portalegre, particularly to those associated with the iron and weapons sector[85]. In 1470, King Afonso V even exempted Bemrrey Juda, a jewish farrier and master in making crossbows, firearms, and weapons, residing in Alegrete, from paying tithes and tolls on steel, iron, and other metals, tools, and any goods necessary for his trade. In addition, he was allowed to transport and sell his products both in Castile and in Portugal[86]. This situation, which as far as we know was quite rare, may have resulted from the town's proximity to Albuquerque, where supporters and opponents of Enrique IV of Castile clashed, and where Afonso V had an interest in intervening and acted as a mediator (Rodriguez Villa, 1881: 93).

Note, however, that almost all the measures described were not unique to the region, and were already well known in various parts of the kingdom, although perhaps most frequent in the more dynamic towns, e.g. Coimbra and Lisbon (Barros, 1992, vol. 4: 163-168; Monteiro, 2001: 15-17). One of the decisions that had repercussions in this domain, was the creation of *coutos de homiziados* (places where criminals were required to serve exile), and common to several localities situated along the border. In the region under study, there were five such places: Marvão (1378) and Arronches (1385), each with capacity to accommodate 200 individuals; Ouguela (1420), with capacity for 50 individuals; and Monforte (1440) and Meadas (1476), with only four and ten respectively (Moreno, 1986: 106-106, 109-110, 114-115, 120-121, 124).

In the 15th century, the towns of northeastern Alentejo considered it advantageous for some of their craftsmen and those from other places to serve their exile (*degredo*) in their lands (Monteiro, 2001: 16-17). In 1431 and 1436, during discussions with the king, the councils of Marvão and Arronches succeeded in extending the privileges of their *coutos*, including the ability to select five exiled criminals (*homiziados*) as muleteers to ensure the supply of provisions, e.g. meat and fish (Moreno, 1986b: 105, 109). Shortly after, in 1439, at the Lisbon *Cortes*, the representatives of Monforte even asked permission from the king to create a *couto* for 10 or 12 exiled craftsmen, arguing that it was more advantageous than assigning salaries to maintain ironsmiths, butchers, and other professionals. The monarch authorized a *couto* for four craftsmen and granted it the privileges of the *couto* of

[84] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 11, fl. 125v (Campo Maior, 1515), liv. 25, fl. 35 (Ouguela, 1516).

[85] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 6, fl. 137 (Alegrete, 1482); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 11, fl. 125v (Campo Maior, 1515), liv. 41, fl.1v ((Portalegre, 1511).

[86] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 29, fl. 253v.

Arronches.[87]. In turn, in 1491, the council of Castelo de Vide requested that a turner residing in the town be allowed to serve his exile (*degredo*) there, partly because his trade was considered "very necessary"[88].

While in the cases of Arronches, Meadas, Monforte, and Ouguela we have no testimonies of the exiled professionals about the *coutos* and its features, for Marvão we do know that the town and its privileges were sometimes insufficient to entice these individuals to stay. In 1407, the monarch authorized *homiziados* with professions to cultivate land or raise livestock in neighboring towns, i.e. Nisa, Castelo de Vide, Crato, and Portalegre, since the territory of the municipality was considered small. However, in 1435, Marvão complained to the monarch that some of the exiles were residing with their wives in Portalegre and not in the town (Moreno, 1986b: 105). At the end of the century, in 1496, Gonçalo Alvares, a cart driver (*carreteiro)* and resident of Barcelos, solicited permission from the king to transfer his sentence from Marvão to Caminha, arguing that he was sick, poor, and did not know how to farm like the locals; he even went as far as to claim that he could "do nothing of his trade" in the town[89]. This grievance is indicative of the decline in population in Marvão, and the lack of appeal caused by its difficult access and peripheral location in relation to other large urban centers of the Portuguese kingdom (Vilar, 2014: 193-194).

Conversely to other parts of the kingdom, such as the Algarve, Alcácer do Sal, Porto, and Évora (Beirante, 1995: 174-183; Gonçalves, 1996: 139-152; Pereira, 2000: 170-172; Silva, 2021a, vol. 1: 188-191), documentation regarding the settlement of professionals from other regions is much scarcer (except for the *homiziados* (exiles) as will be examined further on), of whom we were able to identify just under a dozen between 1440 and 1516[90]. We find them both in the main towns, such as Monforte, Castelo de Vide, and especially Portalegre, as well as in more modest ones, i.e. Nisa, Montalvão, and Assumar. This group of workers from other regions includes farmers, ironsmiths, *alveitares*, cart drivers, turners, and above all, physicians and surgeons. While in one case their origin can be traced back to Leiria[91], all the others came from Castile, which was understandable given the proximity and daily interaction with communities from the neighboring kingdom. Although we have identified the passage of individuals from other realms, such as the Holy Roman Empire (Moreno, 1986a: 82, 86), through northeastern Alentejo, we are not aware of any who were working in the towns under study, something that contrasts, for example, with what is observed in similarly sized port towns such as those in the Algarve, Setúbal, and

[87] *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1439)*, 2016: 334 (Monforte, 1439).

[88] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 7, fl. 4v.

[89] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 32, fl. 62.

[90] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 1, fl. 123 (Portalegre, 1463), liv. 10, fl. 95 (Assumar, 1454), liv. 13, fl. 72v (Portalegre, 1456), liv. 25, fl. 77v (Portalegre, 1445); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 7, fl. 4v (Castelo de Vide, 1491); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 2, fl. 4v (Nisa, 1502), liv. 12, fl. 12 (Monforte, 1500), liv. 25, fl. 122v (Monforte, 1516), liv. 28, fl. 1 (Montalvão, 14??].

[91] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 13, fl. 72v (Portalegre, 1456).

Alcácer do Sal (Silva, 2021a, vol. 1: 191-192; Pereira, 2000: 171-172; Braga, 1998: 67-71), which were better connected with other European regions.

For the period between 1441 and 1496, we found at least 32 individuals associated with a profession and serving a sentence (exile) in the *coutos* of Ouguela, Marvão e Arronches[92]. The latter town shows the majority of known cases, followed by far by Marvão. For Ouguela, the numbers are minimal, possibly because the *couto* had fewer individuals. Among the *homiziados* we find gardeners, farmers, stone masons, carpenters, ironsmiths, shoemakers, potters, and innkeepers, but the number of artisans is lower than that of professionals in the sectors of agriculture and livestock farming, which accounts for more than half of the registered individuals. This distribution can be explained partly by the important role that agriculture played in the Medieval economy. As for the geographic origin of the *homiziados*, although in 1406 the king considered that Marvão should be used for individuals from Estremadura, the majority of the exiles came from settlements in the Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana region, probably due to the geographic proximity. The second largest number of *homiziados* came from Estremadura, and were followed, in minimal numbers, by individuals from the Algarve, Beira, and Entre-Douro-e-Minho. We are unaware of any cases of *homiziados* from Trás-os-Montes. The geographic distribution can largely be explained by the distance between the *coutos* in northeastern Alentejo and the settlements located in these other regions.

4. MOBILITY BETWEEN LEGALITY AND CRIMINALITY: THE CASE OF AGENTS INVOLVED IN TRANSPORT AND TRADE

Although there is little data on the mobility of farmers and artisans from the towns of northeastern Alentejo, it is certain that some of them traveled to specific locations within their municipality or to neighboring towns to carry out their trade and supplement their income. While some cultivated land and raised livestock, (i.e. Marvão), others sought to provide services and goods in places where these were lacking, and where greater profit could be obtained, as seen in the construction work on the church of Nisa. In 1519, in the register of expenses, the only two stonemasons and candle maker found working were recruited from Castelo de Vide[93]. Much more numerous and interesting are the pieces of information regarding individuals involved

[92] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 1, fl. 109 (1462) e 113 (1462), liv. 2, fl. 110 (1441), liv. 11 fl. 23v (1451) e 16 (1451), liv. 12, fl. 53 (1452), liv. 13, fl. 20 (1456) e 171 (1456), liv. 15, fl. 68 (1455), 76v (1455), 84 (1455), liv. 25, fl. 52 (1445), liv. 27, fl. 102v (1443), liv. 31, fl. 17v (1469), liv. 32, fl. 115 (1480), liv. 33, fl. 197 (1473), liv. 34, fl. 7v-8 (1450) e 114 (1450); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 3, fl. 1 (1482) e 34 (1482); liv. 5, fl.1 (1492); liv. 7, fl. 51v (1492) e 122v (1492); liv. 9, fl. 61 (1491); liv. 13, fl. 41v-42 (1490) e 126 (1490); liv. 16, fl. 36v (1490); liv. 20, fl. 74-74v (1487); liv. 25, fl. 78 (1491); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 43, fl. 37v (1496).

[93] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico da Torre do Tombo*, Parte 2, m. 84, n.º 72, fl. 4, 4v.

in the transport and trade of goods, and their movement. Let us focus on this group, starting with those who operated within the boundaries of legality.

The available data does not allow for a quantitative overview of professionals involved in transport, with the only exceptions being the muleteers in Marvão and Arronches, and boatmen in Nisa and Montalvão. In the first case, between 1431 and 1436, each town was required to have at least five muleteers, a number not very different from those recorded in other frontier towns, e.g. Mourão[94] and Noudar, or in similarly sized settlements like Arruda (Moreno, 1979: 15-17). In Nisa and Montalvão, there appear to have normally been two boatmen associated with the ferry service.

According to our sources, in the late 14th century and in the centuries that followed, muleteers and cart drivers (*carreteiros*) appear to have been the only ones able to obtain privileges from the monarch, partly as a way to offset the dangers posed by travel and prolonged absences from home. While muleteers were able to secure these benefits as early as the late 1300s, cart drivers were only granted them in the second half of the 15th century, as seen in Évora (Beirante, 1995: 445-447). The reasons for this different treatment remain unclear for now. The muleteers, as has been well documented (Moreno, 1979: 25-27), managed to obtain personal exemptions from the payment of extraordinary fiscal levies (such as *fintas*, *talhas*, *pedidos*, loans). They were also exempt from the obligation to provide lodging, escort prisoners, transport money, attend military displays (*alardos*), and serve the king in war. In 1382, while the Court was in Elvas, Afonso Eanes, a muleteer and resident of Portalegre[95], like the other residents of the town[96] and of Arronches[97], also obtained authorization and privileges for being an itinerant merchant at the service of the Court, which included exemption from the *fintas* and *talhas* taxes and guard duty[98]. In the 15th century, in Marvão and Arronches, the muleteers recruited from the *coutos de homiziados* were authorized to leave in search of provisions, as long as they did not go to the places where they had committed crimes. In the case of Arronches this authorization did not apply to *homiziado*s who had committed treachery (*aleive*), treason or slept with the women of those with whom they lived[99]. The cart drivers received, broadly speaking, the same benefits as the muleteers, such as exemption from escorting prisoners and transporting money and paying municipal taxes. However, their royal charters mention additional privileges; the cart drivers were authorized to lodge in *coutos* and *coutadas* (enclaves under special jurisdiction) provided they caused no damage, they were not subject to certain local ordinances,

[94] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 25, fl. 28v (1445).
[95] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Fernando*, liv. 3, fl. 14v.
[96] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Fernando*, liv. 3, fl. 14.
[97] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Fernando*, liv. 3, fl. 13v.
[98] On this matter, see: Barroca, 2003: 86-87.
[99] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 25, fl. 28v (1445); Moreno, 1986: 105, 109.

for example, those that prohibited the cutting of firewood,[100] and they could travel along any roads and paths, including through protected areas (*defesas*). In 1520, we know that Pedro Vaz, a resident of Nisa, was also authorized by the king to acquire wood to repair his carts wherever he needed[101].

The available data gives us a picture, albeit somewhat impressionistic, of the routes and range of activity of the cart drivers, muleteers, and merchants. This group operated on two levels. Firstly, at a regional level, they ensured connections between their towns and nearby settlements, both in Portugal, e.g. Crato and Alter do Chão, and Castile, e.g. Valencia de Alcántara and Albuquerque. Although it pertains to a later period, the 1533 customs record from Marvão reflects a much older reality, revealing that inhabitants of Portalegre and Castelo de Vide transported and sold textiles, namely linen and *judeia* cloth[102], to Castile. João da Orta even transported 5,500 *varas* of linen and three of *judeia*. On the return trip, the merchants brought back wool, and sumac (Manso, 1989: 78-80). The latter was an important raw material for the textile manufacturing, but its use was even more significant in leatherworking (Melo, 2021: 88-91).

At a more inter-regional level, the agents involved in transportation established contacts and economic connections with other localities in the regions of *Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana*, *Estremadura*, and *Beira*, where they likely sought goods that were scarce in their own lands, such as salt and fish[103], as well as more profitable markets. For example, from the second half of the 15th century onwards we find inhabitants of Castelo de Vide selling yearling cattle at the fairs of Guarda and Trancoso – the most important ones in the region (Oliveira, 2011: 85), as well as agents from Castelo de Vide and Portalegre participating in the supply of meat to Lisbon. In 1505, Francisco Vaz and Martim Duarte promised to deliver 10 head of cattle to the city's slaughter house in the winter and 500 sheep in the summer (Melo, 2017: 203). In fact, throughout the 15th century, the role of professionals involved in transport and trade, connecting the towns with the rest of the Alentejo and Lisbon, was recognized by the individuals themselves; some cart drivers actually highlighted this contribution when requesting privileges from the king[104].

The transport and sale of goods were not carried out solely by the aforementioned professionals; it is also possible to find individuals who operated

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[100] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 10 fl. 31 (Assumar, Portalegre, 1454), liv. 30, fl. 145v (Castelo de Vide, 1475), liv. 31, fl. 20v (Arronches, 1459); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 10, fl. 49 (Castelo de Vide, 1491), liv. 11, fl. 119v (Portalegre, 1491); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 6, fl. 110 (Nisa, 1502), liv. 7, fl. 45 (Arronches, 1512), liv. 28, fl. 40 (Portalegre, 1497), liv. 35, fl. 81 e 127v (Nisa, 1520).

[101] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 35, fl. 127v.

[102] Unfortunately, it was not possible to identify the type of clothing to which it refers.

[103] In 1421, when there is reference to the fact that the muleteers of Riba de Odiana and Castile went to Setúbal to sell wheat and buy fish and salt (Moreno, 1979: 53), it is possible that some of the localities under study were included.

[104] ANTT, Ch. de D. Afonso V, liv. 10, fl. 31 (Castelo de Vide, 1454); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 10, fl. 49 (Castelo de vide, 1491), liv. 11, fl. 119v (Portalegre, 1491); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 6, fl. 110 (Portalegre, 1502), liv. 7, fl. 45 (Arronches, 1502), liv. 35, fl. 127v (Nisa, 1520).

outside the law, i.e. smugglers and traffickers of prohibited goods. While smuggling involved transporting products to avoid paying taxes, the trafficking of banned items implied the export of goods prohibited by the Crown, which were essential for the kingdom's survival and could potentially strengthen its rivals and enemies. The list of prohibited goods, although subject to adjustments and changes depending on the period, typically included livestock, currency, precious metals, leather, cloth, and wheat (Braga, 1992: 1057-1072; Duarte, 1998: 451-452).

In turn, determining the number of such offenses committed proves to be much more difficult, as we are only aware of those that were identified and mentioned in letters of pardon and in royal appointment letters. According to the consulted documentation, between 1443 and 1516, we know of at least two cases of smuggling[105] and 44 cases of trafficking prohibited goods in the towns of the Alto Alentejo[106]. This sampling might be considered small given the number of localities under study, their population size, and the time period covered. However, we will take a closer look at the data for a glimpse of illegal trade.

In fact, 45 men involved in the trafficking of prohibited goods were found, most of them Portuguese. Only four Castilians are known, residents of Albuquerque and Valencia de Alcántara[107], and two others whose geographical origin could not be determined. On the Portuguese side, in nearly all the urban centers under study we find men who tried their luck in this illicit trade, apparently with a higher frequency in Castelo de Vide, as shown in Fig. 1. This situation in Castelo de Vide resulted from a combination of factors: its proximity to the border, its status as the second most populous urban center in the area under study, and the disadvantages of Marvão in terms of settlement and accessibility (Vilar, 2014: 193-196). Despite limited data, the evidence gathered seems to highlight the influence of Castelo de Vide over Marvão along the route leading to Valencia de Alcántara and, consequently, linking Portugal and Castile.

[105] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 13, fl. 74v (Arronches, 1456), liv. 15, fl. 88 (Campo Maior, 1453).

[106] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 1, fl. 3 (Marvão, c. 1454) e 24 (Portalegre, 1462), liv. 8, fl. 94 (Marvão, 1464), liv. 14, fl. 57 (Castelo de Vide, 1466), liv. 16, fl. 100v (Arronches, 1468), liv. 17, fl. 89 (Castelo de Vide, 1471), 22v (Castelo de Vide, 1471), liv. 22, fl. 117-117v (Castelo de Vide, 1471), 118v (Valência de Alcântara, 1471), 119v (Marvão, 1471), liv. 27, fl. 93v (Ouguela, 1443), liv. 28, fl. 45v (Castelo de Vide, 1468), liv. 29, fl. 75-75v (Castelo de Vide, 1472), liv. 30, fl. 79 (Portalegre, 1475), 87 (Castelo de Vide, 1475), 160v (Alegrete, 1475), liv. 31, fl. 112 (Albuquerque, 1469), liv. 32, fl. 73 (Castelo de Vide, 1480), liv. 33, fl. 69 (Castelo de Vide, c. 1462); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 2, fl. 70v (Campo Maior, 1482), liv. 1, fl. 13 (Castelo de Vide, 1486) e 151 (Castelo de Vide, c. 1485), liv. 4, fl. 21 (Castelo de Vide, c. 1485) e 93v (Castelo de Vide, 1486), liv. 12, fl. 31 (Castelo de Vide, 1489), liv. 19, fl.96 (Marvão, 1487), liv. 20, fl. 21 (Nisa, 1487), 23v-24 (Monforte, 1487), 180v (Albuquerque, 1487), liv. 23, fl. 1v (Castelo de Vide, 1484), liv. 24, fl. 94 (Castelo de Vide, 1483), liv. 25, fl. 50 (Castelo de Vide, 1483), liv. 26, fl.73-73v (Castelo de Vide, 1483), liv. 27, fl. 63 (Arronches, 1489); *Ch. de D. Manuel*, liv. 16, fl. 74 (Monforte, 1499), liv. 25, fl. 89 (Montalvão, 1516), liv. 26, fl. 8 (Alpalhão, 1495), liv. 35, fl. 44v e 46v (1503), liv. 45, fl. 25v (Monforte, 1501) e 43v (Portalegre, 1501).

[107] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 22, fl. 118v, liv. 31, fl. 112; *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 20, fl. 180v.

The offenders that were identified were mostly Christians, with only two cases involving Jews. Their range of occupations and social status, comparable to other regions (Duarte, 1998), proved to be diverse. We encountered farmers, artisans such as ironsmiths and millers, members of the local minor nobility, such as squires and gentlemen (*fidalgos*), and even some royal officials responsible for preventing the illegal trade of goods, including the *alcaide das sacas*[108] and the port clerk.

The most traded product by the Portuguese was livestock – hogs, sheep, goats, cattle, and horses. It is common knowledge that these were often stolen, since the region was an area of livestock farming, and selling to Castile yielded higher profits because prices were higher in the neighboring kingdom (Oliveira, 2013: 76-83, 87; Duarte, 1999b: 125). Considering the number of animals that we know were traded, it is tempting to believe that the quantities varied depending on the type of livestock. The sale of cattle, horses, and pigs appears to never have exceeded around twenty heads, but this was not the case for sheep and goats, for which we know much higher figures. In 1480 and 1483, Vasco Peres and Gonçalo Mendes, both from Castelo de Vide, respectively smuggled 45 goats and 200 sheep[109]. In sharp contrast, the sale of other prohibited goods, such as cloth, currency, and precious metals (gold and silver), appears to have been much less frequent. The consulted documentation indicates that these items were sent to Castile, though it almost always fails to specify the exact destinations. When such destinations are known and/or the route the offenders might have taken is indicated, they correspond to Albuquerque and, especially, Valencia de Alcántara. In 1486, Fernão Lourenço, a resident of Castelo de Vide, appears to be the only known case of someone who traveled to Valladolid[110].

5. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the late Middle Ages, the medium-sized towns of northeastern Alentejo, Castelo de Vide and Portalegre, showed greater economic vigor, with intense agricultural and pastoral activity, textile production, and the transport and sale of goods, whether within or outside legal boundaries. These towns exhibit a higher degree of specialization and hierarchy in the trades and occupations carried out by their inhabitants, offering more specialized products and services on two levels. Firstly, on a more local scale, the professions served the more modest settlements of the region under study, e.g. Nisa and Marvão, and, dissipating the role of the border, the neighboring Castilian towns, such as Valencia de Alcántara and Albuquerque. Secondly, on a broader scale, individuals with specialized occupations were active in the trade routes that connected the Alentejo, Beira, and Lisbon, and in Castile, could extended as far as Trujillo and Valladolid. The economic relations and

[108] Royal officer in charge of supervising the export of prohibited goods.
[109] ANTT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V,* liv. 32, fl. 73v (1480); *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 25, fl. 50 (1483).
[110] ANTT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 4, fl. 93v.

complementarity appear to be most evident, within the studied group, among those located in the Serra de São Mamede, while Campo Maior and Ouguela were more closely linked to another urban center – Elvas (Fernandes, 2011: 567).

The complementarity and specialization of some of the urban centers analyzed, combined with the growth, stimulation, and capacity to absorb local, regional, and international trade, led to a more intense occupation and exploitation of the surrounding lands and resources. This gradually reinforced the specialization of each urban center, boosted the textile sector, and required tighter control over certain economic activities[111].

As in other urban centers located along the borders, whether maritime or inland, the proximity to the frontier encouraged the granting of privileges to trades linked to the metals and arms sectors, e.g. Alegrete and Portalegre, which were important for their defense. It also fostered the presence of artisans and other professionals such as foreign physicians and highlighted the role of towns like Castelo de Vide in facilitating commercial ties between the two kingdoms. However, during periods of conflict between the Portuguese and Castilian monarchs, the geographical location negatively impacted the socioeconomic fabric of the towns in northeastern Alentejo, and the process of recovery was not equal in all of them, as the case of Marvão reveals.

In summary, the case of northeastern Alentejo helps us to better understand the types of labor activities that could be found in small and medium-sized frontier towns in Portugal, as well as their role in defining urban hierarchies and regional influence. Finally, it highlights how the border, along with other elements, such as soil type and water availability, played an important role in shaping the economy and life in the region, for better or for worse.

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[111] Read about this subject, for example, the case of Castelo de Vide: Oliveira, 2011: 70-89.

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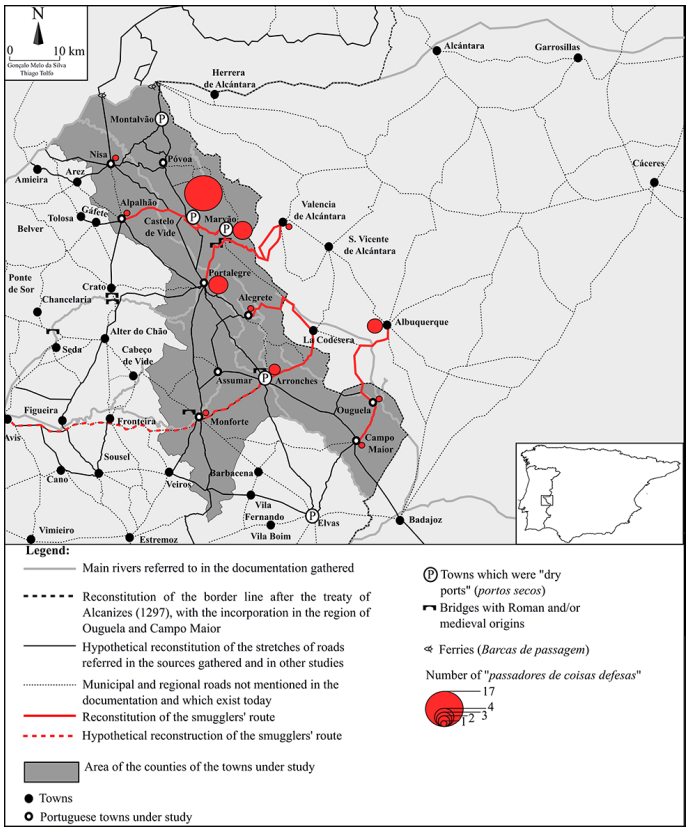


Fig. 1. "Passadores de coisas defesas" (Illicit traders in prohibited commodities) in the towns of north-eastern Alentejo (1443 and 1516).

CRAFTSMEN, MANUFACTURES AND MARKETS IN THE FRONTIER TOWNS OF ALTA EXTREMADURA (15TH–16TH CENTURIES)*

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Abstract

This article presents evidence indicating that certain towns along the Luso-Extremaduran border in Alta Extremadura have, since the late 15th century, become centres of manufacturing activity in the textile and leather sectors. These activities demonstrate a level of specialization that extends beyond local consumption, positioning them within broader interregional trade networks. The central hypothesis posits that this concentration of manufacturing is attributable to the formation of a critical mass of consumers, which initially generates demand and facilitates productive linkages with related industries and services. This process is further bolstered by trade agreements between neighboring jurisdictions. Through a comparative analysis with other towns in Alta Extremadura, and drawing on local ordinances, royal records, and judicial sources, this study provides a comprehensive survey of the most documented trades, an assessment of their relative significance, and an evaluation of the evidence concerning the distribution of their products beyond local boundaries.

Keywords: Castile, Middle Ages, Craftsmen, Manufacturing, Trade, Textiles, Leather.

ARTESANOS, MANUFACTURAS Y MERCADOS EN LAS VILLAS FRONTERIZAS DE LA ALTA EXTREMADURA (SIGLOS XV Y XVI)

Resumen

En este artículo se presentan evidencias de que algunas villas de la frontera de la Alta Extremadura han concentrado, desde finales del siglo xv, actividades manufactureras propias del sector textil y del cuero, con un grado de especialización que trasciende al abastecimiento local y las inserta en los circuitos comerciales interregionales. Nuestra hipótesis es que la concentración de esas actividades se debe a la formación de una masa crítica que genera una demanda inicial y posibilita los encadenamientos productivos con la industria y servicios asociados, realidad en la que también influyen positivamente los acuerdos comerciales entre jurisdicciones vecinas. Mediante una comparativa con otros concejos de la Alta Extremadura, y a partir de fuentes como ordenanzas concejiles, documentación regia y expedientes procesales, ofrecemos un levantamiento de los oficios de más frecuente aparición, una estimación sobre su relevancia y un repaso a las evidencias sobre la comercialización de sus productos más allá de los límites de los concejos.

Palabras clave: Castilla, Edad Media, artesanado, manufacturas, comercio, textil, cuero.

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0. INTRODUCTION[1]

Manufacturing, craftsmen, supply chains, and marketing circuits are well documented in the Crown of Castile when examining the major late-medieval production enclaves such as the textile towns of the northern sub-plateau, those located in La Mancha and Andalusia (Asenjo González, 1991; Diago Hernando, 2009; Fazzini, 2023; García Sanz, 1987; González Arce, 2010; Iradiel Murugarren, 1974; Rozas Español, 2024), or the clusters where the tanning sector is particularly well attested (González Arce, 2020; Martínez Martínez, 2002; Mendo Carmona, 1990; Salicrú Lluch, 2003; Villanueva Zubizarreta *et al.*, 2011; Viña González, 2024). More recently, attention has also been directed to the existence of rural manufacturing oriented toward everyday consumption, produced and marketed locally, and likewise present in many Castilian towns and cities (Córdoba de la Llave, 2017; Da Graca, 2016; Gómez Vozmediano, 2004; González Arce, 2020; Oliva Herrer, 2000; Puñal Fernández, 2018). This line of inquiry has gradually displaced a widespread topos in general accounts of the industrial history of late-medieval and early modern Castile, which portrayed the region as economically specialized in the production of raw materials for export, with the asymmetrical corollary of importing manufactured goods from other European areas (Diago Hernando, 2008, p. 639). While acknowledging that regional integration remained incomplete and interregional integration relatively weak (Asenjo González & Furió Diego, 2024, p. 74), current research has focused on workers engaged in rural manufacturing (Da Graca, 2016; Luchía, 2022), the development of commercial linkages, and the incorporation of local rural production into interregional exchange circuits. This analytical framework seeks to assess the capacity of these settlements to project themselves outward and generate spheres of economic influence that transcended the strictly local level (Clemente Ramos, 2007, p. 85; Igual Luis, 2023; Melo da Silva, 2021; Sequeira, 2014 p. 40).

Outside these better-known areas, however, the mosaic of manufacturing production and commercialization remains incomplete, as we lack a general overview of extensive rural areas in the western Crown of Castile. This is particularly true of present-day Extremadura, where the persistence of the topos of asymmetric exchange has long shaped interpretations of the region's late-medieval and early modern economy (García Barriga, 2020, p. 266). Extremadura has often appeared almost disconnected from the productive and commercial realities of the later

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Middle Ages, especially as one moves away from the peninsular heartland toward the Portuguese frontier. Indeed, the border itself has frequently been interpreted as one of the key factors conditioning this supposed disconnection, owing both to its distance from the main districts of production or consumption, and to the conflicts that punctuated relations between Portugal and Castile during the Middle Ages (Bernal Estévez, 1998, p. 50; Martín Martín, 1998). Such a perspective, however, sits uneasily with the patterns of regional specialization and interregional connection that characterized economic activity across western Europe during the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. It is possible, in fact, that more recent realities have been reprojected into the late-medieval context, since research on Extremadura's industrial development has long suggested that the emergence of a true "manufacturing desert" did not occur until the late eighteenth century (Llopis Agelán, 1993, p. 52), and that the frontier itself acted as a positive stimulus until the mid-seventeenth century, when political estrangement between the two kingdoms produced a cooling of economic and social relations (García Barriga, 2002). In this light, recent decades have witnessed a reassessment of Extremadura's economic dynamics. Scholarship now demonstrates the existence of a primary sector capable of generating surpluses, exporting its production, and establishing connections with the peninsular centre (Toledo, Ciudad Real), the Duero valley (Medina, Valladolid), neighbouring Portugal, and even the Americas (Caso Amador, 2017; Clemente Ramos, 2007, p. 85, 2009, 2013, 2015; García Barriga, 2020; Martín Martín, 2001, p. 237; Montaña Conchiña, 2005). Building on these perspectives, we argue that it is necessary to revisit the phenomenon of manufacturing production and commercialization in this extensive Castilian frontier region during the late Middle Ages. As an initial, exploratory approach, we focus on the frontier towns of Alta Extremadura, which are the least studied to date, but which we consider holding significant potential for research due to their functions as comarca-level centres and their possible connections with cross-border circuits.

In line with developments observed in other regions, we hypothesize that manufacturing activities tended to concentrate in the larger settlements of the frontier zone, regardless of their legal status as towns or villages, since these provided the productive linkages necessary to sustain the textile and tanning industries and to market their products beyond town hinterland boundaries. By contrast, in smaller settlements where manufacturing did not develop, the need to acquire manufactured goods through trade would have created demand that stimulated comarca-level commerce, which in turn fostered artisanal production in the centres where it was concentrated. Accordingly, this article pursues a dual objective: first, to identify the frontier towns of Alta Extremadura where artisanal activity was concentrated, and second, to systematize the trades established within them. We then examine the nature of commercial relations between these artisanal towns and those settlements where such trades did not consolidate, in order to determine whether manufacturing production was oriented exclusively toward local consumption or, conversely, generated surpluses destined for comarca-level and interregional markets. Methodologically, we base our analysis on a systematic review of local ordinances from the frontier towns of Alta Extremadura, seeking references to secondary-sector trades (Section 3) and

mentions of comarca-level and interregional commerce (Section 4). These sources are complemented with diplomatic and procedural records to assess whether production was restricted to local consumption or also produced many surpluses for regional markets. To advance this objective, we also draw comparisons with the larger Alta Extremaduran towns of Cáceres, Trujillo, Plasencia, and Galisteo, all of which have been the subject of systematic monographs in recent decades, providing a substantial knowledge base on late-medieval production in the region (Clemente Ramos, 2001; De Santos Canalejo, 1981; García Oliva, 1991; Sánchez Rubio, 1993).

1. MANUFACTURING AND MARKETS IN EXTREMADURA: A BRIEF RESEARCH SYNOPSIS

Studies of manufacturing and trade in the towns of Alta Extremadura during the late Middle Ages have emphasized an almost exclusive orientation toward local markets, that is, commerce confined within jurisdictional boundaries. Although it has been assumed that some capacity for export existed, the sources do not always permit a systematic analysis of the destinations of manufactured goods. As has been suggested for the Portuguese context, research on the organization of different economic sectors in small and medium-sized communities remains scarce. Likewise, the role of these activities within local economies and the actual extent of their spheres of influence has yet to be fully explored (Melo da Silva, 2021). This issue merits further investigation, as the towns of Extremadura examined in recent decades reveal a well-developed manufacturing sector by the end of the fifteenth century. Labor within each sector was highly specialized, particularly in textiles and leatherwork, as evidenced by the alcabalas (sales taxes) levied in the town of Cáceres (García Oliva, 1991a: 197). In Trujillo, textiles and leatherwork constituted the most prominent industries, as reflected in their specialization and frequent appearances in documentary records. Leather, however, appears to have been the more dynamic of the two, as indicated by the sale of leather goods at the fairs of Guadalupe and Deleitosa, and by council licenses permitting the export of leather products to Zafra and Córdoba (Sánchez Rubio, 1993: 413). Documentary evidence also confirms a significant development of the leather sector in Alcántara, as attested by shoemakers' ordinances preserved in the Archivo Histórico Nacional and analyzed in a graduate thesis at the Universidad de Chile (Lagos Villagrán, 2023).

Subsequent scholarship, however, has begun to demonstrate a different perspective, situating the towns of Extremadura within a broader commercialization paradigm and analyzing them with particular attention to patterns of economic complementarity. Thus, although the study of the Cáceres case echoed this interpretive change that we have been presenting, despite the discreet presence of the secondary sector in the town territory, it began to highlight its incorporation into the exchanges and the role of the town in its organization (García Oliva, 1991, p. 187). Similarly, the functioning of the economy of the Tierra de Trujillo has been interpreted along these lines, as the last decades of the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century reveal a clear pattern of productive specialization, which

may have even formed the basis of an incipient industrial sector (Sánchez Rubio, 1993, p. 405). More recently, for the Tierra de Medellín, evidence from the first half of the fifteenth century shows an extensive network of economic complementarity between this town and Guadalupe, but also between Medellín and several towns in La Mancha, particularly Ciudad Real, with these relationships grounded in the artisanal and commercial importance of the latter settlements (Clemente Ramos, 2007, p. 85). In the case of frontier towns, recent research has increasingly highlighted the positive linkages generated by relations with the Kingdom of Portugal, including the mobility of people and ideas as well as patterns of economic complementarity between neighboring cross-border populations (Caso Amador, 2017; García Barriga, 2002; Montaña Conchiña, 2014).

More recent works, however, have begun to show a new direction in these conceptions, as they include the communities of Extremadura in the paradigm of trade, and they pay special attention to relations of economic complementarity. Although the case of Caceres emphasized the scarcity of information about manufacturing activities, this study began to consider the importance of some leather goods for exportation trade, and the role of the town in its organization (García Oliva, 1991, p. 187). Appart from that, a constellation of textile-specialized activities and workers was identified for the city and its hinterland, such fullers, dyers, weavers, wool dressers and carders (García Oliva, 1991, p. 187). In this same line, the performance of the economy of Tierra de Trujillo was analyzed, ascertaining that there was a change in the interpretive model; the last decades of the 15th century and early 16th century revealed a clear specialization in production, which may even have constituted the early stage of industrialization (Sánchez Rubio, 1993, p. 405). More recently, for the case of Tierra de Medellín, from the first half of the 15th century onwards the existence of an extensive network of relations of economic complementarity between Tierra de Medellín and Guadalupe have been observed. The same was observed between the former town and other towns of La Mancha, particularly Ciudad Real - relations that were based on the crafts and trade of the latter.(Clemente Ramos, 2007, p. 85). Consequently, our knowledge of the development of artisanal activities in present day Extremadura during the Late Middle Ages, and the commercial connections of the towns in that region is still scarce. Despite important studies in the 1980s and 1990s, the idea persisted that manufacturing was mainly for local consumption. The sources on which pioneering works were based did not always allow for a closer look at the destinations of manufactured goods, and given the emphasis of town council on regulating the local market and safeguarding the sources of supply, it would be hard to assume that that production went beyond local boundaries. However, we consider that this vision is due to factors that may have influenced the conclusions, such as: 1) the studies focused on large towns and its hinterlands (Trujillo, Caceres, Plasencia, Ciudad Rodrigo) and lordship towns (Zafra, Burguillos), which generated a view that could at times be biased toward the self-sufficiency of the system, and 2) when smaller towns were analyzed (Galisteo, Medellin, all those of the *maestrazgo* of Alcantara), the objectives of this research was not focused on the artisanal sector. Therefore, we first consider it is necessary to deepen our understanding of manufacturing production and its distribution, starting with a systematization of

the trades in our area that illuminates their diversity, distribution, and integration into exchange circuits beyond the strictly local sphere.

2. CRAFTSMEN, CRAFTS AND THEIR LOCATIONS

In this section we will present a categorization of the professions associated with the manufacturing sector in the border towns between Portugal and Extremadura. For our study we mainly used local ordinances from the 15th century and first third of the 16th century, and other sources (literature, visits, legal processes) which offered information on this matter. This particular segment of time was chosen because in the early 1400s ordinances began to be compiled in books to categorize the local norms that were used in the Late Middle Ages to address new social and economic realities. During the 1530s some Medieval ordinances were enacted, many of which were from earlier dates, and others were added, to obtain royal confirmation, which is why most of the books of ordinances (for the area under study) are ascribed to this time segment. This was the case of the ordinances of Valencia de Alcantara, which were compiled in 1489 and confirmed in 1533. They include norms created at different times during the 15th century. Therefore, the data that we present comes from published ordinances (Valencia de Alcántara, Gata), and from other unpublished ordinances that are in complete books (Ceclavín), and in lose titles (Alcantara). Here we make a brief comment regarding Ceclavin: its ordinances are from a later date (around 1540) because it had previously been a village dependent on the town of Alcantara, without its own ordinances, until it was elevated to a township in 1536. Finally, we have increased the sample with data from literary news and visits from the Order of Alcantara, i.e. the case of Brozas, where there is mention of tax revenues from shoemaking in 1499 (López de Zuazo y Algar, 2007) and texts from the late 16th century that mention the presence of dyers from around 1520.

TABLE 1. REFERENCES TO PROFESSIONS IN SOME FRONTIER TOWNS OF ALTA EXTREMADURA DURING THE TRANSITION FROM THE 15TH TO THE 16TH CENTURY*

Place	Date	Professions
Valencia de Alcántara	1489	Carders, dyers, weavers, fullers, tanners, shoemakers, ironsmiths, potters.
Brozas	c. 1500	Dyers, shoemakers.
Alcántara	c. 1520	Carders, dyers, weavers (of cloth, linen, sackcloth and woolen fabric), fullers, tanners, shoemakers, ironsmiths, potters, weavers, metalworkers, blacksmiths.
Gata	1515	Shoemakers, coopers.
Ceclavín	1540	Carders, weavers (cloth, high quality woolen cloth and linen), fullers, shoemakers.

* The dates are indicated in a precise way when the main source are the ordinances. When the dates are listed with *circa* it means that the series has been elaborated with documentation from different places, as explained further on.

The data obtained, while not allowing us to quantify the number of craftsmen and the relative weight of each trade in the villages, allow us to offer some interpretations regarding both the type of trades, their location and the degree of internal division of labor. Based on the frequency of references, and sectorial divisions, the results show a higher percentage of professionals of the shoe and textile sectors in frontier towns. In all those communities we find shoemakers, and only in some is there a clear specialization in the textile sector, with division of labor. In the first place, noteworthy in the sources is the presence of leather workers, always shoemakers, who are often associated with other tasks related to the sector, such as tanners (in Valencia and in Alcantara). The second sector that has a notable presence in manufacturing is textiles; in three towns (Valencia, Alcántara y Ceclavín) out of the six towns analyzed we detected the presence of these specialists, which, as in leatherworks, included different professions: carders (Valencia y Ceclavín), cloth shearers (Ceclavín), fullers (Brozas, Ceclavín y Valencia), and dyers (Brozas, Alcántara y Valencia). In the cases of Alcantara and Valencia we did not find references to fullers, but we did encounter records of fulling mills and their owners. The ordinances of Valencia include a reference, in title 32, to water tainted by the fulling mills: «because of the said fulling mill runoff, harm is done to livestock and people who drink from the river» (Bohorquez Jiménez, 1982, p. 253). The presence of dyers in Brozas is documented by the testimony of Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (el Brocense), who states that he was born into a family of these specialists (Martínez Cuadrado, 2003, p. 22). To document the activity of tanners in Alcántara we used a letter of donation from 1480 in which María Dacosta and her husband, Martín de Prado, gave their servant, Fernando Morán, their share of the dehesa of La Melada. In the deed Alonso Tintorero figures among the witnesses[2]. The presence of a certain Juan de Crs, *tintorero*, in a census from 1496, confirms the existence of dyers in Alcantara (Martín Nieto *et al.*, 2010, p. 224). Apart from this information, for Alcantara we have a reference offered by Leandro de Santibáñez, an essayist from the 18th century, who in his *Retrato político de Alcántara* claims to have seen ordinances of the town: «the businesses, transactions, industries, arts, practices and mills of Alcantara are quite clear and distinct in its ordinances» (De Santibáñez, 1779, p. 28). Among the professions mentioned in these ordinances, he cites «tanners, shoemakers, potters, weavers, dyers, carders, ironworkers, farriers and weavers of cloth, linen, sackcloth and woolen cloth» (De Santibáñez, 1779, p. 29). He later mentions fulling mills, based on a local ordinance to transfer that activity to the river Alagón, but with no reference to a date, (De Santibáñez, 1779, p. 32)[3].

The data presented here remain provisional, pending the completion of full series, yet they are consistent with the findings of recent scholarship on Iberian

[2] AHN, Clero_Secular-Regular, Legajo722,19.

[3] Literally, «They were beaten in the waters of the Tagus, and there was so much water, and such a strong current that they were tainted. Thus, the council ordered the fulling mills to move to other locations, whereby they were established in the river Alagón».

manufacturing. This research has highlighted how, within an economy largely based on self-consumption, manufacturing poles nevertheless emerged with the capacity to supply regional and even supra-regional markets (Oliva Herrer *et al.*, 2024, p. 197; Sequeira, 2014, p. 40). The same can be said of the establishment of facilities devoted to secondary-sector activities, whose presence is well documented in Castilian rural areas (Córdoba de la Llave, 2017, p. 49; González Arce, 2020). In towns of Extremadura, several of which had already received historiographical attention regarding their manufacturing sectors, notably Cáceres, Trujillo, and Plasencia, the presence of leather and textile specialists is consistently attested. Samples drawn from these three jurisdictions, which together covered a large portion of the territory comprising late-medieval Alta Extremadura, reveal both a diversification of trades within local boundaries and a marked specialization in leatherworking and textiles. This is evidenced by references to the division of labour and the creation of local taxes specifically targeting these sectors. In Trujillo, for instance, alongside construction-related crafts, leatherworking and textiles were the most diversified sectors and the most frequently subjected to commercial exactions (Sánchez Rubio, 1993, pp. 407-413). In Cáceres, artisanal activities were likewise dominated by leather and textiles, a conclusion supported by evidence such as a town tax on leather exports and the diversification of occupations in the textile sector (García Oliva, 1991). In Plasencia, the period under study saw the prominence of shoemakers, weavers, tanners, and furriers (De Santos Canalejo, 1981).

The systematized references for the frontier area allow for an initial, albeit tentative, approach. The sample is based on a methodology designed solely to register the presence or absence of crafts and to reconstruct, through the logical sequence from raw material to finished product, the degree of specialization within certain sectors. On this basis, we can confirm both the consolidation of specific trades and the internal division of processes in those sectors that required greater specialization, such as footwear and textiles. The data also provide occasional information on products and prices, but they do not allow us to assess the relative weight of these sectors in comparison with other artisanal activities. For this reason, in what follows we offer an indicative approximation of the relative importance of these sectors within the wider craft economy, as reflected in Table 1. Although it is not possible to reconstruct reliable quantitative values for the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, certain indicators do point to the relative weight of artisanal activity. For instance, in Alcántara a testimony from the tax-farmers of the *alcabalas* in 1509 provides figures that, although not corroborated by other sources, clearly suggest the significance of the footwear sector in the town. That year, the *regidor* Diego Chamizo, lamenting the severe economic conjuncture, stated that "of the one hundred and forty shoemakers and potters, and of the other trades of the *cristianos nuevos*, who used to pay sixty thousand maravedís in tax assessment, only fourteen married men remain, and now they cannot pay more than sixteen or seventeen

thousand *maravedís,* for they can no longer continue their business dealings"[4]. This testimony is consistent with the limited quantitative evidence available, such as the reconstruction of socio-professional categories in the town of Fregenal de la Sierra, based on inquisitorial lists from 1491 to 1511. These registers record 104 artisans and 24 professionals in the service sector (Caso Amador, 2014, p. 249). In Trujillo, town records show forty-nine shoemakers in 1498-1499, and this figure including only those who applied to the council for licenses to export their products (Sánchez Rubio, 1993, p. 411).

Another indicator of the weight of the leather sector in towns close to the Portuguese border was the increase in sumac cultivation, which we documented from the end of the 15th century. Around the 1530s sumac began to be regulated by local ordinances because of the disputes that arose with the expansion of this crop. We believe that the leather tanners' demand for sumac fueled the growth of this crop, to the point that it figured in the district ordinances, along with vineyards, as one of the crops that were grouped into *pagos* (protected cultivation areas). The use of sumac appears in the ordinances of Valencia de Alcantara in 1489: «water from the bark and sumac, and other things extracted from the vats and pelts where the hides are tanned» (Bohorquez Jiménez, 1982, p. 228). In these ordinances there is no specific information about the cultivation of this crop, but from the early 16th century onwards, sumac begins to figure in council matters, as suggested by its inclusion in the ordinances of Alcántara, Ceclavín, Garrovillas and Brozas. The ordinances of Alcantara include, under title 130, provisions about «the sale of sumac plants» (López de Zuazo y Algar, 2007, p. 822). Another ordinance from 1540 mentions sumac as one of the crops for which private property can be given to residents of that town: «each neighbour to whom such a favor is granted should be given, if it is for a vineyard, what is requested, up to twelve days of work and no more [...] and for sumac, up to eight plots»[5]. Sumac becomes as important a crop for the council as wine, as shown by the provision of the council of Ceclavin that added a title to its ordinances which declared «of the vineyard plots and sumac fields»[6]. A similar measure was adopted in the neighbouring town of Garrovillas to create ordinances for vineyards and sumac groves, as evidenced in a memorandum from 1536: «Your Lordship will have knowledge of the ordinances we sent to Your Lordship for the protection of the vineyards and sumac trees» (Rol Benito, 2004). Apart from the ordinances, we have other empirical evidence that corroborates these findings: an investigation in Brozas in 1542 gives the same importance to sumac and vineyards in one of the *pagos:* «it seems to him that the sumac trees, figs and vineyards are planted as much or more than they should be, and that the best land is the one that is planted»[7]. There are even records of land being occupied in the 1540s to grow

[4] AGS, CCA, Legajo 1,195.
[5] AHN, OM, AHT, Expediente 26581.
[6] Ordinances of Ceclavín, in AHN, OM, AHT, Exp. 28791.
[7] AHN, OM, Libro 505, 68r.

this crop. For example, in a court case in 1540 heard by the Consejo de Ordenes, following a complaint by the council of Alcantara, the judge accused several residents (mostly from Brozas) of occupying small extensions of uncultivated land without complying with the ordinances of the town. All of them were planted with crops that intensified the production and profitability of the land, i.e. vineyards and sumac[8].

What factors influenced the locations of the professions? At first glance, it is tempting to adopt a classical interpretation of the rural-city dichotomy, whereby Medieval towns concentrated secondary and tertiary activities –craftsmanship, markets– while the villages saw those developments limited. In the frontier zone, trades are not located exclusively in the towns, and we can confirm that they can also be found in the villages. The first evidence of rural manufacturing is shoemaking and textile professionals in the villages of Brozas and Ceclavin. Both villages were dependencies of the town of Alcantara until the mid-1530s, when they acquired their charter of township during the process of alienation of jurisdictions of the military orders during the reign of Carlos I. As the ordinances of Ceclavin were drafted in the 1540s, and this settlement had been elevated to the status of town five years earlier, it seems evident that the development of that craftsmanship had been taking shape long before, when Ceclavin was still a village dependent on Alcantara. The same occurs with references to the leather sector in Brozas, as both the revenue from shoemaking and the references to dyers (that we document in the table) are prior to the charter of township. Moreover, other references pointing in the same direction can be detected in other areas of the Tierra de Alcántara in the 1560s, when a case presented before the Council of Orders places some cloth manufacturers in the Alcántara village of Membrío[9]. This situation is repeated in Tierra de Plasencia, where the ordinances reveal the presence of rural industry in its villages: «female weavers who lived in the places of the land» (Lora Serrano, 2005, p. 195). In short, despite the establishment of weekly markets, or the development of asymmetric taxation, which may have favoured the rise of secondary activities in the towns, it does not appear that the mere fact of being a town was sufficient to concentrate the manufacturing activity.

Demographic concentration appears to be the most relevant factor for the development of manufacturing in the frontier zone. This fact, which is noticeable in the villages of Alcantara, i.e. Brozas and Ceclavin, is a determinant not only in the increase in demand, but also in the emergence of chains of production, such as the connection with producers of raw materials, with transportation specialists and with craftsmen responsible for other stages of the productive process in sectors that leant towards division of labour. In the following table we collect the demographic data of the localities that were analysed, as well as the manufacturing sectors identified in those places.

[8] AHN, OM, AHT, Exp. 26581.
[9] AHN, OM, AHT, Exp. 27424.

TABLE 2. SETTLEMENTS (BY NUMBERS OF RESIDENTS) AND MANUFACTURING SUBSECTORS FOUND IN SOME FRONTIER TOWNS OF ALTA EXTREMADURA*

Settlements	Residents	Sectors
Moraleja	246	No mention in its ordinances
Ceclavín	500	Textiles and leather
Alcántara	800	Textiles and leather
Brozas	722	Textiles and leather
Gata	360	Textiles, leather, timber.
Valencia de Alcántara	800	Textiles and leather

* The demographic data is from the series elaborated by Pablo Blanco based on the inquiry of 1528 (Blanco Carrasco, 1999).

It is not the fact of being a town, but rather the concentration of a critical mass. For example, the ordinances of Moraleja only mention agricultural professions, and although we don't have information about other frontier towns (i.e. Cilleros, Zarza la Mayor and Valverde), this pattern is followed in neighbouring settlements like Galisteo, where there is no sign of textile manufacturing, only reference to leatherwork: «çapateros o pelliteros» (shoe makers and leather workers) (Clemente Ramos, 2001, p. 107). A solid textile and leather manufacturing sector in Ceclavin, (formerly a village under the jurisdiction of Alcantara), indicates that towns may not have put restrictions on secondary activities in the villages within their districts. Therefore, the concentration of artisanal activities was more about the critical mass and professional specialization than limitations imposed by guilds, corporations and councils. We find at least two cloth manufacturers in the village of Membrío, and a rural textile industry dispersed throughout the hinterland of Plasencia. Once the location of the professions in the border towns is established, and compared with other communities of Alta Extremadura, we need to decide whether we are looking at a region of isolated towns that sell their production in local markets, or if they produce a surplus that can be sold outside the hinterland.

3. THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTION

The studies devoted to the economies of the town of Alta Extremadura, together with the documentation gathered for this research, reveal a panorama that differs substantially from the prevalent image in late twentieth-century scholarship of a manufacturing sector oriented exclusively toward local supply. The central question, therefore, is whether this production was indeed of low quality and confined to local consumption, or whether, by contrast, the artisanal sector generated some surpluses to supply interregional markets at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. To offer a provisional response to this issue, we may draw on several types of evidence: (1) applications for licenses authorizing the commercialization of artisanal products beyond the jurisdiction of the town council; (2) agreements and

conflicts among neighbouring towns over the import and export of raw materials and manufactured goods, particularly footwear; and (3) scattered indications of a degree of economic complementarity, at least among adjacent towns, in the sphere of artisanal production.

First, the evidence assembled, though still fragmentary, suggests that some locally manufactured goods were indeed sold in external markets. References of this kind frequently concern attempts to regulate the export of manufactured products, likely with the dual aim of ensuring council revenues from commercial taxation and safeguarding internal supply, especially when these goods formed part of wider value chains, such as tanned leather or materials for the wine industry. One of the clearest examples comes from the town of Gata, whose ordinances contain provisions restricting the external sale of leather: "that no person may take tanned hides out of this town, under penalty of two hundred *maravedís* for each offense, unless duly announced before the council" (Clemente Ramos, 2008, p. 1653). A similar case is documented in Valencia de Alcántara, where the 1489 ordinances devote extensive chapters to regulating the trade of tanned hides outside the jurisdiction. Some of these provisions imply the presence of foreign buyers in the area: "if the said exporters are foreigners, even if they are not seized, the townsmen who sold them the hides shall incur the penalty of six hundred *maravedís*" (Bohórquez Jiménez, 1982, p. 197). Finally, mention should also be made of a tax on the "export of hides" (*saca de la corambre*), recorded among the town revenues of Alcántara in the early sixteenth century (López de Zuazo y Algar, 2007, p. 847). Comparable regulations are also found in the case of wooden hoops for wine casks, whose sale outside the locality was restricted to specific periods of the year, most likely to ensure the availability of casks for the wine sector: "no person who makes hoops from the said forest may sell them to anyone from outside until All Saints' Day" (Clemente Ramos, 2008, p. 1656).

The cases cited regarding the commercialization of manufactured goods beyond local supply, though not abundant, are consistent with findings from studies on individual towns. These have highlighted the existence of local taxes and licenses authorizing the export of locally produced goods (such as tanned hides, footwear, and textiles) beyond the jurisdiction of the town. For instance, the ordinances of Trujillo contain no restrictions on the sale of local textiles, since such provisions generally affected raw materials and goods of daily consumption. However, the existence of certain prohibitions has been linked to potential losses in *alcabala* revenues, and it is precisely this restriction that allows us to discern a production oriented toward external markets rather than exclusively local consumption. Indeed, in the 1490s cloth merchants applied for several licenses to sell their products at the fairs of Medellín and Deleitosa (Sánchez Rubio, 1993, p. 409). Likewise, requests for export and import licenses enable us to trace the distribution networks of leatherworkers and shoemakers. In 1498, applications were recorded to sell footwear at the fairs of Guadalupe and Deleitosa, together with two petitions to export tanned cordovan to Córdoba and others to import hides from Zafra and Córdoba (Sánchez Rubio, 1993, p. 413). In Plasencia, although the scale and destinations of production remain unknown, the existence of exports of hides and footwear can be confirmed through local ordinances, which explicitly prohibit external sales without license: "that no

shoemaker or any other person shall dare to take footwear, either finished or cut, out of this city for sale elsewhere [...] and if they take it out with license, they shall pay the *maltrota* at the rate set for each pair of shoes, according to the ordinance" (Lora Serrano, 2005, p. 241). The same ordinances include tariff provisions suggesting that textiles were likewise exported, given that they levy duties on all "outsiders, not residents of this city and its lands, who purchase or export any of the aforesaid goods," which included "cloths, fustians, tow linen, coarse woollens" (Lora Serrano, 2005, p. 264). Another relevant piece of evidence is the creation by the Cáceres town council of a tax on the export of footwear and tanned goods, explicitly linked to their surplus character and ease of commercialization (García Oliva, 1991, p. 194). Of similar purpose was the *maltrota*, documented in Plasencia's ordinances, which applied to hides exported outside the hinterland: "whoever takes out of this city or its district tanned or raw cordovan and other hides" (Lora Serrano, 2005, p. 236). The *maltrota* is likewise recorded in Coria, where in 1531 it was defined as "a certain sum paid for the hides which the inhabitants of the city and its lands take out to sell elsewhere"[10]. That this tax was not marginal is confirmed by references to a specific revenue stream in Plasencia, denominated the "renta de los cueros que se sacan fuera desta ciudad"[11] (Lora Serrano, 2005, p. 239). Similarly, the same document for Coria remarks that "in recent times this tax has risen far higher than before." Galisteo's ordinances of 1536 also attest to the external sale of leather products: "shoemakers, furriers, or others of similar crafts may export the goods of their trade sold in this town to outsiders" (Clemente Ramos, 2001, p. 107).

A second indicator of a manufacturing sector oriented toward interregional commerce emerges from references to the transit of goods, documented in both conflicts and agreements concerning circulation. Such evidence is found, for example, in royal letters issued by the Crown to mediate disputes between neighboring towns over free circulation, which was often contested and became subject to transit duties. One such case involved a commission assigned to the licentiate Juan de Herrera in early 1498, to investigate and resolve a conflict between the councils of Cáceres and Alcántara. The dispute concerned merchandise moving from a Portuguese frontier town to other areas of Castile's interior, which the Cáceres council sought to tax through a new levy called the "roda." This is clearly expressed in the *petitio* of the royal letter appointing the commission: Alcántara protested that "in recent times, when some residents of the said town pass through the town of Cáceres with their beasts and merchandise, they are charged and required to pay certain rights called *roda* [which] had never before been levied nor customarily collected"[12]. Similar fiscal burdens on transit are attested in the town of Torre de Don Miguel, where inspectors recorded among the town privileges a judgment by the warden of Galisteo, clarifying "that the inhabitants of Torre shall not be obliged to pay tolls in Galisteo or its district"

[10] AHPC, Archivo Municipal de Coria, Caja 7,16.
[11] The revenue from the leathers exported out of this city.
[12] AGS, RGS, LEG,149801,153.

(Torres González, 1988, p. 335). While these cases do not specify the merchandise involved, the clearest evidence for the large-scale circulation of manufactures comes from *acuerdos de vecindad*[13] between councils. These reciprocal agreements allowed residents to circulate with market goods between jurisdictions without paying taxes or requesting licenses, and occasionally they provide explicit information about the products in question. For example, an agreement signed in 1482 between the councils of Cáceres and Trujillo exempted from tolls not only foodstuffs but also manufactured goods such as shoes, tanned hides, iron, and textiles: "two pairs of shoes, and two pairs of soles, and one measure of salt, and two cheeses, and two small flasks of oil, and one pair of kids, and two pairs of goslings, and two pairs of hens, and two pairs of chickens, and two measures of figs, and six fleeces of wool, and fruit to the value of ten maravedís, and two tanned or raw goat or sheep hides, and up to half an arroba of iron, and all linen, cloths, and tablecloths" (García Oliva, 1987, p. 39). A similar agreement was signed in 1493 between the councils of Cáceres and Mérida, essentially reproducing the earlier terms (García Oliva, 1987, p. 196). The Cáceres council also reached an agreement with the herdsmen's guild of the Mesta, permitting its members to bring in and take out goods such as wine and footwear during their seasonal stays: "those who pasture in the jurisdiction of this town may take in hides and footwear for use while they remain there, but not beyond nor for other persons" (García Oliva, 1987, p. 85). A similar provision is implied in the ordinances of Valencia de Alcántara: "the shoemakers of the said town may sell soles and pieces to the herdsmen grazing in its jurisdiction" (Bohórquez Jiménez, 1982, p. 197). Although such clauses typically limited purchases to personal use and exempted them from taxation, they nonetheless point to the existence of a broader traffic in manufactured goods, one that was indeed subject to taxation.

This evidence also allows us to suggest the existence of a certain degree of regional complementarity, in which some localities developed specialized artisanal production in the textile and tanning sectors that went beyond supplying their own hinterlands. The argument rests on relatively scattered references in space and chronology, but they nonetheless point to the horizontal mobility of artisans, manufactured goods, and associated services, a phenomenon that seem to have expanded during the sixteenth century, as most surviving references cluster in its final quarter. Although more speculative in nature, indirect evidence can also be drawn from the absence of certain crafts in the ordinances of smaller towns, which suggests reliance on regional markets or on itinerant artisans. In 1498, for instance, a neighbourhood agreement between the councils of Cáceres and Montánchez reveals a degree of specialization in textile processes in Cáceres, where artisans carried out tasks for the surrounding region. The document allowed the free circulation of textiles "taken to weave, dye, and shear" (García Oliva, 1987, p. 199). While the direction of the movement (from Cáceres to Montánchez or vice versa) is not specified, Cáceres' ordinances confirm this specialization, mentioning "outsiders" who brought products

[13] Neighbourly agreements.

to the town for processing. Dyers, for example, are said to work cloths "belonging to the residents of this town as well as to those from elsewhere" (García Oliva, 1987, p. 180); a similar pattern appears in references to individuals washing wool "brought from outside this town and its district".

If habitual, such practices would place the towns of northern Extremadura in line with patterns observed elsewhere in Castile, where towns like Burgos or Madrid, despite specializing in everyday cloths, also became centres of cloth reworking (Puñal Fernández, 2018, p. 276). Comparable complementarities are also visible in the leather sector: the town of Fregenal de la Sierra, in Lower Extremadura, seems to have specialized in the production of soles that circulated as far as Alta Extremadura. Thus, the ordinances of Ceclavín refer to soles from Fregenal as commonly used by local shoemakers, even fixing the rate at which they were to be applied: "if the soles are from Fregenal, they shall be priced at forty *maravedís*"[14]. A lawsuit of Alcántara's shoemakers in 1562 likewise records this trade, when they complained of earning only "a modest profit from the cost of soles and leathers obtained in Fregenal and elsewhere"[15]. Plasencia's ordinances, for their part, refer to hides brought into the city for tanning, requiring those "who bring from outside hides, sheepskins, or cordovan to be tanned" to pay the *maltrota* tax (Lora Serrano, 2005, p. 239). This practice appears to have intensified throughout the sixteenth and into the mid-seventeenth century, as suggested by evidence of commercial companies formed for this purpose (García Barriga, 2020, p. 280). In Trujillo, too, tanning services are attested in 1499, when hides, shoes, and soles from Montánchez were taken there to be finished and worked (Sánchez Rubio, 1993, p. 411).

Complementarity and specialization in manufacturing processes did not disappear in the sixteenth century. On the contrary, by its mid-point the region's artisanal sector still seems to have had the capacity to import products for further transformation. In the textile industry, for example, we find evidence of the circuits involved in cloth production in the borderlands: in 1589, a lawsuit between Pedro Sánchez of Cilleros and María Gómez of San Martín de Trevejo reveals the latter operated a fulling mill with assistants who collected cloth from Cilleros (15 kilometers away) "and other places" fulled it, and returned it. The case also offers a glimpse of organizational structures in which at least a weaver and the fuller worked under the coordination of Pedro Sánchez, who appears in the proceedings as complainant and owner of the cloth, even though the weaving had been carried out "in the house of Lorenzo Muñoz, resident of the said town, who had woven it" [16]. In Plasencia, commercial companies for tanning and selling imported hides from the Americas remained common in the early seventeenth century (García Barriga, 2020, p. 281). The available evidence also allows us to glimpse cross-border trade with Portugal: in

[14] Ordenanzas de Ceclavín. in AHN, OM, AHT, Exp. 28791.
[15] AHN, OM, AHT, 32949.
[16] ARCHVA, Registro de ejecutorias, CAJA 1642,72.

1571, for instance, a register of fines in Valencia de Alcántara records the confiscation of "84 dozen hides" from Gaspar Vaz, a muleteer from the town[17].

Within this context, itinerant artisans also circulated, as suggested by several local tariffs. It is likely that we are observing a specialized sector adopting hybrid strategies comparable to those analysed for peasantry (Luchía, 2022, p. 109). Thus, the tariff of Gata, updated by royal inspectors in 1538, stipulated dues for "any craftsmen who bring their trade with them" (Cotano Olivera, 2004, p. 563). In Alcántara, the toll register explicitly mentions such itinerant artisans in both the textile and metal trades: "carders who weave wool, and blacksmiths, one *maravedí* shall be paid for the trades they practice"[18]. These itinerants also crossed the Portuguese border, as Alcántara's customs tariff likewise lists "weavers, carders, and other such craftsmen".[19] The practice continued through the sixteenth century. In 1576, for example, a lawsuit between the tax collector of the shoemaking *alcabala* in Valencia de Alcántara and Juan Álvarez, a shoemaker of the town, preserves a ledger as evidence; it records, under the month of August: "In August I was absent, in the Kingdom of Portugal." Other lawsuits confirm that Portugal was a recognized outlet for both artisans and their products: in 1562, Alcántara's shoemakers, protesting against town restrictions, claimed that if conditions did not improve, "the said footwear would be sold secretly or taken into the Kingdom of Portugal, which is nearby"[20].

4. CONCLUSSIONS

In this article, we have gathered and systematized data on the presence of crafts associated with the manufacturing sector in the towns of the Portuguese borderlands of Alta Extremadura during the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, comparing these findings with results already available for other localities in the region. The evidence points to a predominance of the leather and textile trades among the crafts identified in the frontier towns, in line with patterns documented elsewhere in Extremadura. We can therefore affirm that specialization in leatherworking and in the processing of wool and linen textiles was the defining feature of the *rayano* towns at the threshold between the medieval and the early modern period. This is confirmed by the concentration of artisanal activity reflected in the ordinances of Ceclavín, which list a wide range of textile products, as well as by references to dyers and fullers in Brozas and Alcántara, suggesting a cloth production of some quality rather than merely low-competitive goods. Leatherworking and shoemaking appear across all of the towns studied, and in most cases, we find evidence for the commercialization of leather products, at the very least, exported to other

[17] AHN, OM, AHT, Exp. 31561.
[18] AHN, OO. MM. LIBRO 505, folio 131r.
[19] AHN, OO. MM. LIBRO 505, folio 132v.
[20] AHN, OM, AHT, 32949.

districts, whether through regional fairs or by transport to more distant destinations such as Córdoba and Portugal. From this, we may conclude that the frontier did not constrain artisanal development in the later Middle Ages. The concentration of manufacturing activity seems to have been more closely tied to demographic growth, opportunities for local specialization, and access to markets than to the legal condition of the populations where workshops were located. Nor do we observe any negative impact from intermittent cross-border conflicts.

We are also able to affirm that commercial relations between the towns and districts of Alta Extremadura reveal the emergence of an incipient form of regional economic complementarity. The proliferation of regulations on crafts, along with disputes and agreements concerning the trade of their products at the close of the fifteenth century, suggests that it was at this moment that a *rayano* commercial take-off occurred or, put differently, that local production began to generate marketable surpluses. It is precisely in this period that ordinances introduce new taxes on the transit and sale of goods in general, and on leather and textiles in particular. The *maltrota* in Coria, designed to tax tanned hides, and the roda in Cáceres, applied to goods from Alcántara, are two clear indicators of the dynamism reached by the export of manufactures in Alta Extremadura from the late fifteenth century onward. This trend persisted throughout the sixteenth century, when the expansion of industrial crops such as flax and sumac, together with references to cross-border trade in hides and the mobility of specialized workers, point to a measure of vitality in the secondary sector rather than its stagnation. These findings invite us to reconsider the traditional interpretation that saw artisanal production as exclusively oriented to local supply, and instead to recognize the presence of social groups capable of generating surpluses for commercialization, consistent with what existing scholarship has already shown for the primary sector. If this pattern of specialization and complementarity was eventually curtailed, it seems more likely attributable to the increasing fiscal burdens imposed on inter-district trade by local authorities and on international exchange by the Crown.

In sum, the evidence suggests that the artisanal economies of the *rayano* towns were not confined to local supply but were increasingly capable of producing marketable surpluses. The specialization in leather and textiles by the end of 15th century, coupled with emerging patterns of regional complementarity and new fiscal regimes, indicates a commercial dynamism at the Extremenian frontier towns. Far from representing a marginal periphery, the Alta Extremadura borderlands participated actively in the broader processes of economic integration that marked the transition from the medieval to the early modern period in western Europe.

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TWO SIDES OF THE MIRROR: WAR AND MOBILITY IN ALENTEJO AND EXTREMADURA DURING THE LATE MIDDLE AGES*

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Abstract

In the border territory of the Alentejo (Portugal) and of Extremadura (Castile), which was the object of various conflicts over the centuries, war emerged as an inevitability. Movement, or sometimes the lack of it, tells us a lot about the *praxis* (practice) of the conflict in the region, as well as the policies of the monarchies regarding their respective defences. Generally, it can be said that the inhabitants were affected by the war on both a micro and a macro scale. On the one hand, they were obliged to serve locally by patrolling the walls of the town; on the other hand, they were disadvantaged by various obligations, such as repairing walls, towers and castles, and participating in military campaigns.

Keywords: Alentejo, Extremadura, War, Mobility, Late Middle Ages.

LOS DOS LADOS DEL ESPEJO: GUERRA Y MOVILIDAD EN EL ALENTEJO Y EXTREMADURA DURANTE LA BAJA EDAD MEDIA

Resumen

En el territorio fronterizo del Alentejo (Portugal) y de Extremadura (Castilla), objeto de diversos conflictos a lo largo de los siglos, la guerra surgió como algo inevitable. El movimiento, o a veces la falta de él, nos dice mucho sobre la praxis (práctica) del conflicto en la región, así como sobre las políticas de las monarquías en relación con sus respectivas defensas. En general, puede decirse que los habitantes se vieron afectados por la guerra tanto a escala micro como macro. Por un lado, se veían obligados a servir localmente patrullando las murallas de la ciudad; por otro, se veían perjudicados por diversas obligaciones, como reparar murallas, torres y castillos, y participar en campañas militares.

Palabras clave: Alentejo, Extremadura, guerra, movilidad, Baja Edad Media.

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0. INTRODUCTION

In 1443, Álvaro Pais, a resident of Montemor-o-Novo, received his letter of retirement from the military service issued by Afonso V, king of Portugal, after reaching the age of seventy. The document mentions the operations and military campaigns in which Álvaro Pais had participated in, namely Zafra, Arroyo del Puerco, and Cáceres, and adds «em companha do condestabre» (in the company of the constable)[1]. It may refer to Alvaro Pais' presence in one or in several incursions carried out by Nuno Álvares Pereira on Castilian soil in the late 1390s. Another example, dating from the late 15th century, has to do with Teresa de Aldana, widow of Gutierre de Saavedra. She wrote a letter claiming that her husband had served the Catholic Kings in several wars. She referred to the sieges of Montánchez and Medellín during the War of the Castilian Succession (which began in 1475), as well as the military campaigns of Alhama (1482), Álora (1484) and Baza (1489), in the Granada War[2].

We mention these cases because they show us the degree of mobility to which medieval warriors were subjected. This mobility was not exclusive to them; it spread to other activities and sectors of society, thereby unravelling the reductive notion that the *Homo Medievalis* rarely moved or travelled great distances (Lopes, 2020: 55-61). Obliged to fulfil their service to the monarch, unless specifically exempted, warriors sometimes travelled great distances in the king's company, or in that of some other powerful person who was part of the king's army, participating in sieges, *chevauchées* and pitched battles[3]. From another angle, an absence of mobility can also be a useful indicator, albeit a somewhat ambiguous one, regarding both civilian populations and the Crown.

In this case we will analyse how war directly or indirectly influenced the movement of the populations of the Portuguese Alentejo and the Castilian Extremadura, two regions that shared a border and a considerable history of organized violence during the Late Middle Ages[4]. The scenario only grew more complex over time,

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[1] ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, liv. 27, fl. 121 (1443.06.17).

[2] AGS, Contaduría del Sueldo, 1ª Serie, leg. 7.

[3] As an example, see the studies about the itineraries of the kings of Portugal and other members of the royal family, such as Prince Pedro, which clearly show the symbiotic relation between wars and these individuals' travels (Galego et al., 1988; Moreno, 1988 and 1997: 169-276; Gomes, 2006: 246-257).

[4] On this subject, see Monteiro, 1995: 373-398; Montaña Conchiña, 2008: 11-28, 2009: 501-519; Rodríguez Casillas, 2013a, 2019: 247-267, 2022a; Nisa, 2020, 2022: 455-472, 2025.

especially in the 15th century when fights broke out among several families of the nobility in Extremadura over jurisdictional control of the territory. These conflicts also involved the military orders, whose domains in that region were quite sizable (Pino Garcia, 1991: 83-86; Rodríguez Casillas, 2022a: 37-41). Furthermore, the geography of this vast area, with few natural barriers, made it favourable for military operations, and its climate was propitious for those operations to take place during many months of the year. It is therefore fundamental to understand that, for the military leaders of that period, planning was of major importance. Just like the cycle of seasons, and harvests, the mobilization of the armies was also seasonal: it began in the Spring, intensified during the Summer, and ended in the Autumn before the rigors of Winter (García Fitz, 2009: 136; Afonso, 2022: 159).

There is a logical explanation for this behavioural pattern. Mobilizing the armies during the Spring and Summer enabled the soldiers to obtain provisions from the land where the military campaign was taking place, and they could feed their war animals in the abundant pastures they found along the way[5]. As stated in *El Libro de los Doce Sabios*, «when you have to invade another kingdom or conquer another land, you should go strongly and with people who have the qualities we have mentioned. And don't go where there is no water, for sustenance is necessary. And enter only when you can find green or dry grass and some provisions for your people» (Uría Maqua y González Álvarez, 2009: tit. XXXII)[6].

However, the geography that we are focusing on lies in the southwest of the Iberian Peninsula and is quite unique in this aspect: if the autumns were not very severe, only the harshest winters would thwart military movements, especially because of the rise in the flow of watercourses, and heavy rains that made circulation along the roads a logistical nightmare[7]. These and other factors were acknowledged

[5] In the late Middle Ages, a warhorse needed to consume approximately 15 kg of food per day (Bachrach and Bachrach, 2017: 159). Likewise, John Haldon (1999: 168) mentions that 20 horses would graze one acre per day (four-five hours of grazing). Of course, the animal's feeding, on campaign, would always depend on geography, weather, time, etc. And the shortage of food could hinder or severely compromise a military campaign, as shown by Bertrand Schnerb for the Burgundian case (2015: 73-74).

[6] «Cuando hubieres de hacer entrada a otro reino o conquistar alguna tierra y fueres por tu persona, cumple que vayas poderosamente y con tal gente como habemos dicho. Y no entres por parte donde no hubiere agua, que todavía el mantenimiento es necesario. Y entra en tiempo que halles hierba verde o seca o algún mantenimiento para tu gente».

[7] The Portuguese geographer Orlando Ribeiro (1945: 232), claimed that the «originality of the Alentejo, which is geographically connected to the Beira Baixa, is both the immensity of the flat land or slight undulations, and the climate, which, lacking centres of condensations of humidity in the air, puts out oceanic influences». That is not to say that the winters could not be particularly cold. Fernão Lopes (2023a: 346) claimed that during the entry in Castile at the end of 1397, at Ouguela, the constable «slept near a place called Alboter, which is on a very cold river, where they spent a most bitter night, it being the month of December». Rui de Pina (2024: 243) states that, in January 1441, Prince Pedro wanted to promptly conquer the Hospitallers' castles in Alentejo (Belver, Crato and Amieira do Tejo) because it was wintertime.

by contemporaries, as the anonymous author of the *Livro de Arautos* summarized in the early 15th century when he referred to the Alentejo:

> The fifth and last province or region of the kingdom is called Entre-Tejo-e-Guadiana because it is situated between the two rivers, the Tagus [Tejo] and the Guadiana. Beyond the Guadiana there are castles belonging to the kingdom of Portugal. This province borders with Castile on the East and the South, and on the West with the kingdom of the Algarve, which is on the other side of high mountain ranges, and faces the great sea, and to its North the river Tagus. It is flatter and hotter that all the other regions of the kingdom. It is fertile in everything, but especially in wheat, which is perfectly preserved in silos for fifteen years or more, which constitutes a great wealth. [...] This kingdom has several strong and nice castles, towns and districts; it is well populated, but it would be a long and tedious task to enumerate everything (Nascimento, 1977: 256-258)[8].

1. DEFENSIVE ACTIVITY

The first situation that we address herein concerns the obligatory service that individuals had to render to the king of Portugal, called *anúduva*. Basically, it was a duty that every resident of a given place or region had to take part in the restoration of castles, moats, walls, towers, bridges and roads. Although it was the responsibility of the residents of a town and its periphery to repair their own defensive structures, in reality, sometimes people from remote *comarcas* (jurisdictions) were recruited (Monteiro, 1999: 175-179). The working days were stipulated by the king and could be substituted by paying a given amount, an option that was not within everyone's means. The costs associated with travelling, accommodation and meals were borne by the workers, including the costs of caring for their animals. As could be expected, this was not a very popular duty, especially given the distance required to accomplish it, which in some cases was substantial[9]. Also, it meant a considerable disruption in the professional activity of many individuals, most of whom were farmers and livestock breeders (Martins, 2016: 91). In 1337, Afonso IV wrote a letter to the Master of the Order of Avis citing a series of grievances presented by the town of Cabeço de Vide, which was integrated in the domain of Avis. Among the reasons

[8] «A quinta e última província ou região do reino é chamada Entre-Tejo-e-Guadiana, porque fica compreendida entre os dois rios, a saber, o Tejo e o Guadiana. Para além do Guadiana, há castelos pertencentes ao reino de Portugal. Esta província confina a oriente e sul com o reino de Castela, a poente, com o reino do Algarve, através de altas serras, e com o grande mar, a norte, com o rio Tejo. É mais plana e mais quente que todas as outras regiões do reino. É fértil em tudo, mas especialmente em trigo que se conserva em silos durante quinze anos ou mais, perfeito e em bom estado, o que constitui uma grande riqueza. [...] Este reino tem aqui vários castelos muito fortes e aprazíveis, vilas e concelhos; é muito habitado, mas seria longo e fastidioso enumerar tudo».

[9] Prince Pedro, on the letter sent to his brother Duarte, from Bruges, in 1426, regarded that the people wouldn't be too displeased if this service was only carried out one or two days per month (Monteiro, 1999: 164).

for complaints was the obligation of its residents to spend six weeks in Noudar, 200 km away, to dig a moat and repair the walls, an obligation that was rescinded by order of the king (Marques and Rodrigues, 1992: doc. nr. 105). As it was a recurring and always uncomfortable issue, some years later, in 1408, D. João I determined that the towns which were part of the lordship of Avis would pay for the works on the castle of Noudar, precluding its residents from travelling such a great distance[10].

In Castile there was a similar service: the *anubda*. However, historians disagree about its significance and scope. While some claim that it was a tribute intended to pay for guarding and mobilization services, others believe that it was an obligation intended to build and repair walls, moats, towers and other defensive structures (Pascual Sarría, 2003: 157). However, apart from discussions of terminology about this issue, it is clear that the population's involvement in these types of tasks was quite common on the Castilian side of the border. From a general point of view, the *Partidas* of Afonso X, for example, show that even, though the king was ultimately responsible for the upkeep of walls and fortifications, it was really the population as a whole who had to pay for restoration works, including the clergy, knights, widows and orphans (García Fitz, 2000: 286). In a more specific perspective, documents of the Order of Alcántara reveal equally important provisions regarding that reality. In 1467, the Master of the Order stipulated that the residents of the town of Alcántara were exempted from the new obligation to provide the workforce to repair the castle and convent of the Order, re-establishing the previous rule whereby they only had to contribute to the restoration of the walls and ramparts. In 1486 the Master Juan de Stúñiga stipulated that, contrary to the intentions of the *Comendador* of Brozas[11], the town's residents were only obliged to supply labour for the construction and restoration of the town's defensive structures (Torres y Tapia, 1999: 386 and 513). In principle, these functions were to be carried out by the local population. However, special situations required extraordinary measures. In the context of the Castilian War of Succession, in 1477, after two years of intense cross-border violence, Isabel I of Castile ordered the town of Cáceres and the territories in the province of Leon that were under the control of the Order of Santiago and the Order of Alcántara, to come to the aid of the population of Badajoz, since the defensive structures of that city had deteriorated and needed urgent intervention. She requested that workers, stonemasons and foremen be sent immediately to Badajoz, which was over 50 km away, so as to build an inner rampart (*atajo*) to better protect the town from Portuguese attacks (Palacios Martín, 2003: 323-325)[12].

[10] ANTT, Convento e Ordem de S. Bento de Avis, mç. 8, n.º 786 (1408.05.19).

[11] The person in charge of an administrative territorial unit known as *comenda*, in Portuguese, or *encomienda*, in Castilian.

[12] This mobility of artifices for the construction and repair of walls also showed to be extremely important. See the case of Gonçalo Fernandes, a stonemason from Évora who was in charge of the construction of 12 crenels and *castelonas* (merlons) in the neighbouring castle of Arraiolos, in 1385 (Bilou, 2011). For an example on the mobility and hiring of stonemasons, see the example of Douai (Salamagne, 2001: 117-118)

Also during this conflict, Alonso de Monroy, *Clavero*[13] of the Order of Alcántara, took by surprise, during the night, the town of Alegrete in the northeastern Alentejo (Maldonado, 1978: 126-129; Rodríguez Casillas, 2013b: 127-128). Considering how strategic the location of that town was, Afonso V authorized Pedro Tavares, the *alcaide* (governor) of the castle of Portalegre, to build a fortress there if and when it was reconquered from the Castilians. For this work he counted on the labor of everyone who resided within a radius of five leagues (approximately 25 km), and included the communities of Arronches, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Portalegre and Crato[14]. For the construction of the moat of Olivença, in 1485, the king reduces the required contributions from the two nearby towns of Elvas and Campo Maior, since they had been more damaged by the war, and increased the contributions of the populations of Estremoz, Évora, Portel, Redondo and Evoramonte[15]. Additionally, in Elvas, the *aquantiados em cavalo* (mounted urban militiamen) complained that they had to comply with *anúduva* obligations, doing the works in the town and cutting wood like simple *peões* (foot soldiers, often labourers) (Dias, 2006a: doc. nr. 502).

For that reason, whenever possible attempts were made to get the king to lighten their military contributions. The most common exemptions in Portugal included relief from owning horses and weapons and undertaking military service on land and at sea. These exemptions could be attributed individually, or collectively to an area (Monteiro, 1998: 91-92). On the other hand, some militias had special privileges. For example, *besteiros de cavalo* (mounted crossbowmen) were excused from serving unless in the presence of the king or his sons (Nisa, 2021: 113-116). These exemptions were translated as financial compensation for the services which they were excused from. The crossbowmen from Montemor-o-Novo, for example, travelled to Coruche and Palmela, which were 40 and 60 km away from their place of residence, to transport prisoners and money. The usual number of crossbowmen that performed this service was between one and three (Fonseca, 1998: 160-162)[16]. From another perspective, the privilege of not having to be part of military campaigns was usually granted for two reasons: firstly, demographical factors; secondly, defensive issues. For instance, there was the case of the village of Ponte de Sor, which was exempted in 1370 by King Fernando I from any kind of military obligations –including *anúduva* and serving on the border– as it had lost much of its population due to the «many deaths and plundering and other bad things that were done in that *comarca*»[17]. The case of Arronches is a prime example of this situation: in 1385 the community was exempted from serving on land and sea so that the inhabitants could «guard the town well» (Dias, 2005a: doc. nr. 852) and, a few years later, in 1405, the king excused the residents from contributing to the repair

[13] One of the most important dignities in the military orders, responsible for guarding the keys (*clavis*) to the convent and fortresses, although its functions varied according to the period.

[14] ANTT, Leitura Nova, Odiana, liv. 4, fl. 131-132 (1476.04.03).

[15] AHME, Tombos e alvarás, liv. 3 (1586/82), fl. 427-427v (1485.03.25).

[16] An identical situation occurred further south, in Loulé, in the Algarve (Silva, 2022: 102).

[17] ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, liv. 1, fl. 57-57v (1370.05.06).

and construction of roads, bridges, walls, etc.[18]; in 1416 they are excused from owning horses or any kind of weapon[19]. That is, in 30 years the population of Arronches stopped having any kind of active military obligation, and defence was insured by their immobilization.

Another duty that displeased the populations was garrison service. In theory the *alcaide* was responsible for the patrolling of the castle, and the town walls were the responsibility of the town, but things were not always that simple. The residents of a municipality were particularly affected by these measures, having to travel several kilometres to fulfil their military obligations in the seat of the district[20]. Furthermore, certain extraordinary circumstances burdened the inhabitants of the Alentejo. In 1396, after a coordinated and simultaneous military operation against Albuquerque and Badajoz, the Portuguese managed to capture the latter (Rodríguez Casillas, 2022b). The *Crónica de D. João I* mentions that, after the conquest, the Portuguese constable Nuno Álvares Pereira summoned Martim Afonso de Melo to Elvas and «spoke [to him] about how to guard the town, giving him troops who were suitable for the time being» (Lopes, 2023a: 340). Slightly vague, but through other archival sources we know where the men came from to defend Badajoz in the following years: the towns and cities of the region, especially those closest to it, and it is precisely from their complaints –particularly Évora and Elvas– that we learn about this state of affairs (Nisa, 2022: 465-466; Pereira, 1885: 99). In order to avoid the obligation of having to guard the walls of the towns, some people abandoned the areas inside the walls and went to live in the outskirts - one case of micromobility. This situation was complicated for the Crown, and was resolved by granting special privileges –*ofícios do concelho*– only to those who resided within the city walls. For example, in 1371 the residents of Arraiolos were also exempted from *aposentadoria*[21], from guarding and transporting prisoners and money, etc[22]. In Elvas, whoever resided in the area of the *alcáçova* (the fortified area within the city) had special privileges, such as exemption from paying *pedidos* (extraordinary taxes) (Dias, 2006b: doc. nr. 891).

During the time of the Wars of King Fernando (1369-1382), the residents of Marvão who lived permanently inside the walls were exempted from paying tolls in all of Portugal, thus ensuring that the town would be better «populated, defended and guarded»[23]. During the war of 1475-1479 with Castile, the Portuguese king took more "professional" measures to guard the fortresses and the territory. Ten garrison

[18] ANTT, Leitura Nova, Odiana, liv. 1, fl. 137v (1405.03.12).

[19] ANTT, Leitura Nova, Odiana, liv. 1, fl. 62v (1416.01.29).

[20] Or situations such as in Vila Boim, where the residents were obliged to travel to Elvas, which was about 10 km away, to watch, patrol and protect a gate of that town, even though it was not a time of war nor was that place a municipality, which caused great duress to the residents, who already had «a lot of work to guard their houses and livestock during the night and day because they were very close to the border of Castile». ANTT, Leitura Nova, Odiana, liv. 3, fl. 294-294v (1444.01.08).

[21] The obligation to host nobles, churchmen and their entourages, including the free provision of food, bedding, and whatever else the guests deemed necessary during their stay.

[22] ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, liv. 1, fl. 73v (1371.06.04).

[23] ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, liv. 1, fl. 126v-127 (1373.03.01).

lances[24] were sent to Redondo, adding to the five that were already there. The captain of the town had to regularly order ten men on foot to patrol the territory and the dry ports of the Guadiana (Salgado and Salgado, 1983: 50). Outlaws (and criminals) also provided an important service in garrisons, especially in times of war. During the Third War of King Fernando (1381-1382) many outlaws were sent to serve in Arronches, Campo Maior and Olivença, as was the case of Domingos Bartolomeu, implicated in the murder of a Castilian called Afonso, and subsequently condemned to serve in the town of Olivença with the *alcaide* of the castle, Pedro Rodrigues da Fonseca for the duration of the war[25]. These men were also deployed in offensive actions: for example, some of these individuals participated in the reconquest of Alegrete and Ouguela in 1476[26]. Their usefulness had already been acknowledged earlier: when D. João I reorganizes the *coutos de homiziados* (territories of assylum that provided refuge for outlaws) in Portugal in 1406, he mentions that these places were in the frontier of the kingdom and had gotten depopulated because of the war, but they were good places to gather intelligence and therefore a guarantee for the safety of the territory (Fonseca et al., 2013: 359-368).

2. OFFENSIVE ACTIVITY

From another angle, we can take a closer look at the participation of the men of these border regions in the campaigns and wars of their period. From the 15th century onwards, the Alentejo and Extremadura military contingents were mobilized for various theatres of war, i.e. North Africa, Granada, Italy, America and Asia. However, before that, the men of the Alentejo already took part in campaigns as part of the royal host, and more frequently, in actions against their Iberian neighbours. For example, in 1345, the residents of Reguengo de Alcáçovas reminded the king about their participation in the Salado campaign[27]. Five years earlier, there had been a comparable situation in Évora, where the residents had immortalized their presence in the battle (1500 men) in the city's cathedral (Barroca, 2000: 1605-1614; Martins, 2014: 135). Their participation in military actions outside of Portugal was also a consequence of the political ties and diplomatic agreements signed between Portugal and other kingdoms of the Peninsula. In 1362, Gonçalo Vasques da Silveira, a squire from Redondo, was part of a force of lances sent by the Portuguese king, who went to the aid of Castile during the War of the Two Pedros (1356-1366). Silveira was killed at the walls of Calatayud, on the border with Aragon, after being struck in the head by a rock hurled by the defenders of that town. His body was brought

[24] The lance was a unit composed of several combatants, which varied in number depending on the chronology and the geography.

[25] ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Fernando, liv. 3, fl. 17v (1382.02.24).

[26] Men like Vasco Afonso, from Monforte, who was pardoned by the king due to this participation in the siege of Alegrete. ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, liv. 32, fl. 153v (1480.07.14).

[27] ANTT, Leitura Nova, Odiana, liv. 1, fl. 17v-18 (1345.03.12).

back to Redondo, and he was buried in the town's church[28]. One of his companions in the Aragonese adventure was very likely Pedro Rodrigues from Elvas, a vassal of the king, whom, during his absence, was granted the privileges and legal exemptions of *couto* to half of his estate in Olivença, for services rendered to the monarch (Marques, 1984: doc. nr. 859). The participation in military campaigns and its importance in the individual and collective memory of the populations, began to coalesce and crystalize, and became a mental framework. João Vicente, a resident of Arraiolos, could not recall the exact year in which he had made an agreement with the squire Afonso Eanes, but he knew that it had been in the same year that they had gone to Alcántara (1400), some fourteen years before[29]. And could any experience be more momentous than having participated in the Battle of Aljubarrota? Fernão Lopes Lobo, a knight from Évora, did not think so, and he left instructions in his will that a mass should be celebrated every year in August, on the feast day of Holy Mary, in the monastery of S. Francisco of Évora, to memorialize his participation in that battle, where he had fought when he was seventeen or eighteen years old[30].

We are definitely looking at a cross-border scenario of frequent violence. As could be expected, this environment of conflict had an enormous influence on the lives of the inhabitants of the area. The most evident effect was the high state of militarization of the population. As a general rule, men between the ages of 18 and 60-70 were obliged to fulfil military service, whereby they did six weeks of service per year, which would only be paid on the first day after they had completed the six weeks of service (Monteiro, 1998: 50; Martins, 2014: 149)[31]. In addition, they had to present themselves routinely once a year to the *coudéis* (military inspectors) for military review, as well as three more reviews intended for the mounted local militia: one after the Holy Mary feast in September, another during the Octaves of Christmas, and another on the feast of Holy Mary in March (Monteiro, 1998: 55). In the case of Castile, the inhabitants of the towns and cities were classified into different strata and military categories, in accordance with their economic situation. The wealthier ones were required to have a horse suited for war and full harness, while the less privileged at the bottom of the scale were required to have spears and javelins. These obligations enabled the Crown to mobilize a force of over 10 000 men (638 on horseback and 9507 foot soldiers) in Extremadura, at least in the three

[28] ANTT, Casa Abrantes, cx. 123, n. 4987, fl. 2.

[29] BPE, Convento de Nossa Senhora de Arraiolos, liv. 12, n. 19 (1414.03.03).

[30] BPE, Pergaminhos Avulsos, pasta 15, n.º 44, fl. 2v. On the association of the Lobo family with this important event, see Coelho, 2017: 74-75.

[31] Therefore, sieges could cause a disruption in this *status quo*, especially if they dragged out for longer than expected, and a military commander could count on desertions (Afonso, 2022: 161). An interesting case study regarding Ferrante of Naples' military itineraries (1458-1465) clearly shows that the use of artillery helped to reduce the amount of time spent in this type of operation, generally less than twenty days (Senatore and Storti, 2002: 78). The siege of Campo Maior, in 1388, for instance, conducted by the Portuguese, took more than two months to be resolved, and the attackers only managed to settle the affair because the castle's *alcaide* negotiated its surrender after he realized no help would arrive (Lopes, 2023a: 296-298).

main municipalities (Cáceres, Badajoz and Trujillo). And like in the neighbouring kingdom, the residents of these communities were subject to periodic military reviews or *alardes* in locations previously arranged with the authorities (Rodríguez Casillas, 2022a: 114).

The obvious disruption to daily life caused by military obligations became a reason for many of these men to fail to show up for the reviews, and subsequently defaulting on their duties. The residents of Beringel in the municipality of Beja complained about this, and in the *Cortes* of 1439 the residents of Castelo de Vide claimed that men from all levels of *aquantiamento* (wealth assessment for military service) had fallen into default, whereby they asked to be forgiven the payment (Dias and Pinto, 2016: 192, 225). In the case of Cáceres, of the 2000 men who had been summoned for review in 1502, only 400 showed up, because most of the infantry of that city was occupied with their day-to-day agricultural work: «After the roll call, when no more foot soldiers were there due to it raining hard on that day and most of the town having to attend to their grape harvest, others were working in the fields, and others did not leave on time» (Ladero Quesada, 2004: 164)[32].

A particularly interesting feature was the way inhabitants viewed going off to war. Once the campaign was planned, the authorities informed the populations so that they could prepare their contingents by a determined deadline. When the day came, the companies left in formation, probably accompanied by their neighbours and to the sound of ringing bells. In the case of the districts of Extremadura, at least in 1485, it appears that they were organized in *cuadrillas*, military units usually consisting of 50 men[33].

In terms of marching paces, these are difficult to determine, since numerous factors were involved, such as the size of the expedition, weather conditions, inaccessible terrain and roads in bad state. Based on estimates, we can establish by approximation that marches varied between 10 and 50 kilometres per day[34]. For example, in the case of the Portuguese invasion (of Castile) in the Spring of 1475 Afonso V's armies took around 15 days from the border to the city of Plasencia, an average of 10 km per day. Another slow march, similar to other large armies, was that of the company of 8000 warriors commanded by Nuno Álvares Pereira which passed southwards of Badajoz in 1385, sometimes managing to cover 50 km in one day, but mostly covering only 10 km daily (Rodríguez Casillas, 2022a: 184). In 1485, the militias of the town of Trujillo were to convene on the 25th of August and be in Cordoba on the 30th, which indicates that they covered 250 km in five days, an average of 50 km per day (Fernández-Daza, 1986: 350).

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[32] «Hecha la pesquisa cómo no estaban allí más peones hallóse que porque el día tal que llovía mucho agua e todos e la mayor parte de la villa por la neçesidad que tenían todos de vendimiar sus viñas no venían ni paresçían allí, otros andavan al campo, e otros no salieron en tiempo».

[33] AHMC, caja 3, exp. 29; AHMT, Actas del Concejo, 1485, fl. 2.

[34] These figures may vary according to the type of units deployed (infantry, infantry, and cavalry or just cavalry) and whether the movement is undertaken in friendly or unfriendly territory (Settia, 2006: 207-210).

3. RAIDS AS A FORM OF BORDER WARFARE

The political differences between Castile and Portugal in the second half of the 14th century resulted in intense military activity which had repercussions on the border. From the late 14th to the early 15th century there was a permanent climate of hostility between the two powers, and this lasted almost 40 years. In our specific geographic context, this violence was manifested usually in actions of devastation and destruction in enemy territory. In fact, the devastation of territory was one of the most common practices in warfare throughout the Middle Ages. It was a way of inflicting great damage on adversaries without much risk: it sufficed to burn the enemy's crops, steal their livestock and terrorize the population. The use of this type of action was traditionally associated with contexts of territorial expansion, inasmuch as it weakened the enemy and facilitated the capture of fortresses. However, in the case of the border areas it was used mainly with a political objective, as a method of punishment and intimidation, and became a terrible and agonizing form of exchanging strikes between two adversaries: «Around that period –16 of May [of 1478]– King Fernando returned to Seville and learned that the people of Cáceres had been successful against the Portuguese at the border (...) because the enemy tried in vain to ravage our fields. The people of Cáceres immediately entered enemy territory under the command of Fernando Carrillo and devastated an even larger extension of terrain (Palencia, 1974: 39)»[35].

In this violent atmosphere, military activity in the border districts was closely linked to raids[36]. The road system that had been built by the Romans was widely used during the wars, as were the new roads that were opened during the Middle Ages, all used in the circulation of people and goods ... and contraband. The routes were well known by both sides. During a Portuguese incursion into Castile at the end of 1398, the forces commanded by Gonçalo Vasques de Melo went, during the cover of night, to steal livestock, and if possible, bring captives. But they encountered a problem: while travelling back from Portugal along the bottom of a valley, they were immediately detected by Castilians who happened to be on top of a hill, returning from Portugal with a large number of stolen cattle (Lopes, 2023a: 376). Undeniably, preparation was vital for this type of operations: in some cases, enemies (*línguas*, literally tongues, in Portuguese) were captured to obtain information about the enemy's movements. Among other practices, prisoners were taken between places to prevent news of attacks to reach the intended target area (Monteiro, 2002: 174). The *Regimento da Guerra* itself (regulations that probably date

[35] «Casi por la misma época –a saber el 16 de mayo [de 1478]– el rey Fernando volvió a Sevilla y se enteró de que a los de Cáceres les había ido bien contra los fronterizos portugueses (...) pues en vano intentó el enemigo devastar nuestros campos. Inmediatamente los cacereños, entrando en las tierras enemigas bajo el mando de Fernando Carrillo, la devastaron en más grande extensión».

[36] On this type of operation, see Monteiro (1998: 373-378); García Fitz (2005: 59-170); Martins (2014: 338-398); Rogers (2014); Afonso (2022: 395-420); Etxeberria Gallastegi (2022: 147-191); Rodríguez Casillas (2022a: 194-215); Nisa and Ölbei (2023: 84-101).

to the late 14th century or early 15th century) which was included in the *Ordenações Afonsinas* is very clear in this question: the survival of a company or of a gathered force depended largely on the service of guides or *adaíl* (Monteiro, 1998: 226-228). These were local men who knew the places of passage, and the locations of water supply[37]. Though often referred to in 12th and 13th century sources, their documentary footprint gradually disappeared with the definitive conquest of Portuguese territory. It is likely that the increase in belligerent activity in the early 1370s motivated the reappearance of this *métier*, as evidenced by the presence of the *adaíl* Lopo Afonso in 1426, in a document where several elements associated with the constable Nuno Álvares Pereira take part[38]. This is possibly the same individual that was mentioned by Fernão Lopes during the incursion into Castile in October of 1385, some forty years earlier (Lopes, 2023a: 161). This chronicler also mentions an *almocadém*, a guide, who was in charge of escorting Álvaro Coitado by night from Vila Viçosa back to Castilian soil (Lopes, 2023b: 195).

The raids organized by constables, *alcaides*, masters of military orders or local squires varied in scale, ambit, organization, and numbers of participants. The bigger raids had an average duration of two weeks, while the shorter ones could last less than one day, with the attack planned for the night and the retreat before dawn[39]. While the objective of the small raids was clearly to advance and retreat as fast as possible, avoiding confrontations with the local populations, the larger raids had everything but stealth as their objective. The mobilization of men, which was sometimes announced publicly, (as Antão Vasques did in Évora in October of 1385), removed the element of surprise from the operation (Lopes, 2023a: 161). In this case, they acted with impunity because they were aware that the enemy would either be unable to organize themselves defensively or, on the other hand, preferred to sacrifice their animals and crops to the detriment of their own lives[40]. Some of these operations covered considerable distances: at the end of 1369 Gil Fernandes, the alcaide of Elvas, travelled over 100 km to plunder the outskirts of Medellín, returning by the same route, whereby the companions of the young alcaide claimed that he «had been wrong to expose them to such danger by taking them so deep into enemy territory» (Lopes, 2023c: 69).

Large scale expeditions were not always organized in a uniform host and could be dispersed in smaller companies to cover vaster territories. Alonso de Cárde-

[37] In France, the *écorcheurs* would use local populations in their advantage, since they would provide them with geographical information that might give them a cutting edge when preparing a *chevauchée* (Furon, 2023: 135-136).

[38] BPE, Pergaminhos Avulsos, pasta 3, n.º 54 (1426.03.11).

[39] In the 15th century, operations undertook by Castile against the Muslim Kingdom of Granada would take an average of three to thirteen days (Etxeberria Gallastegi, 2022: 177).

[40] In order to prevent a significant destruction of fields, the city of Seville paid Vasco Rodriguez de Orantes, *aguazil-mor* for D. Álvaro Perez de Guzmán, for going around the region to order crops to be collected before the incursions of the people from Portugal. AMS, Papeles del Mayordomazgo, rollo 198 (1386-1384), n.º 13 (1386.06.22).

nas, who had led a large contingent of men against Portugal in 1478, realized that he would meet no resistance and decided to spread his troops in the interior of Portugal, with the aim of devastating the border with greater ferocity. The number of men deployed in these units was formidable. Alonso de Cárdenas was a war lord who sometimes employed a force of 500 knights to lay waste to areas that were far away from the border, where the Portuguese kept their livestock, probably as a safety measure. Nuno Álvares Pereira, in turn, in one of his incursions into Extremadura, ordered that part of his troops separate from the main formation into detachments of 600 men to pillage a much larger area, approximately 25 kilometres away (Rodríguez Casillas, 2022a: 197). Regarding the Portuguese forces stationed in Alcántara, that were also commanded by Nuno Álvares Pereira, Portuguese skirmishers managed to enter 16 leagues (approximately 80 km) into enemy territory, to the surprise of the Castilians (Lopes, 2023a: 396).

This geographical aspect of the raids almost allows us to map with precision the areas of destruction inflicted by medieval armies. During the conflict of 1475-1479 Portuguese attacks were carried out against Encinasola and Cumbres de San Bartolomé, and they even got as far as Fregenal and Higuera la Real, 30 km from the border. The destruction caused by the latter raid is estimated to have prevented the payment of 8000 maravedis in revenues (Fernández Gómez, 2013: 107). During that conflict, the *Crónica da Ordem de Santiago* mentions that the Master of Santiago departed from Mérida towards the Portuguese border, where he razed a strip of land of around 50 km., which included the towns of Olivença, Elvas, Campo Maior and Ouguela (Orozco and Parra, 1978: 409).

To get a notion of the devastation caused by the raids, we have an example from 1478 in which the grain needed to supply the border town of Elvas had to come from the granaries of Avis, a town located at more than 70 km from the border[41]. But this was no anomaly: in 1385 the fortress of Arronches, which was provisioned by ... Évora, a city almost 100 kilometres away, and a caravan carrying supplies destined to the former was captured (Lopes, 2023a: 64). If we use Badajoz as a point of reference, –one of the border areas most affected by the succession conflict in 1475– we ascertain that the systematic devastation of fields halted normal agricultural activity in that area for a long period. The fact that the land could not be cultivated for two consecutive years caused the population to suffer a process of acute scarcity of food. The scarcity must have been so bad that in 1477, with the truces signed with Portugal, the Catholic Kings ordered the city of Cáceres, (about 80 km away from Badajoz), and other relatively distant areas, to urgently send provisions to sustain the people of Badajoz (Palacios Martín, 2003: 322-323). Another measure used to prevent the enemy's advance was burning crops to cut off the opponent's source of supply, ambushing groups of skirmishers, or even the use of siege-engines in peripheral areas, both as a defensive tactic and a way of making the enemy lose precious

[41] AHME, Tombos de provisões, cartas régias, alvarás e ordens, liv. 3 (1586-82), fl. 443-443v (1478.10.30).

time[42]. It could make the difference between success and disaster, since just a few hours would be enough for the defenders to alert neighbouring communities and to get help through to them.

4. FLEEING THE WAR

The fear caused by the advent of a military campaign led farmers and peasants to flee their homes[43]. When Nuno Álvares Pereira was roaming the region of Badajoz in 1385, and arrived at the village of Villagarcía, he found that all of its inhabitants had abandoned the settlement, leaving behind all their goods and possessions. Shortly afterwards, when Álvares Pereira was plundering northern Extremadura, the inhabitants of Arroyo del Puerco fled in panic in the direction of Cáceres, since it was the most fortified place in the whole region (Montaña Conchiña, 2008: 21). That event brings to mind what happened in Alegrete in 1476 during the conquering expedition of the *Clavero,* since, according to Maldonado's text, the inhabitants of the region had sought shelter in this enclave because it was a strong place (Maldonado, 1978: 129). Usually, flight was an occasional and temporary occurrence, although in some cases, due to the violence of the attacks on the populations and on the land, depopulation became permanent. For example, there was the case of the incident with the town and land of Badajoz, one of the territories most affected by the incessant military campaigns carried out by Castile and Portugal at the end of the Middle Ages. In the context of the Wars of King Fernando, a document from 1370 mentions that the castle of Badajoz was very deserted and uninhabited, with many empty houses (Carande, 1927: 265). What happened in Badajoz was not an isolated event. In fact, two of the most significant resettlement processes carried out by the Suárez de Figueroa family to attract population to their properties coincided with some of the most aggressive military campaigns of the Portuguese armies. The first, from 1404, was a letter of resettlement granted to Oliva de la Frontera and Valencia del Mombuey, two villages that had been recently acquired by the Lord of Feria and had suffered an agonizing demographic deficit as a result of the war with Portugal. The second took place in 1481, right after the end of the War of Succession (Mazo Romero, 1980: 380-386). In the region of Cáceres, there was the case of Aliseda, a village which had a deficient demographic balance for a good part of the 15th century as a result of the trans-border conflicts: «The village and hinterland of the said town is destroyed and burned and robbed and depopulated by the war that our King has waged with the Kingdom of Portugal. The aforementioned village is near the Kingdom of Portugal, in the mountains and range called San Pedro and

[42] In 1398, the Tierra de Barros, the fields were burned to prevent the invading Portuguese forces from getting provisions (Mazo Romero 1980: 76).

[43] The war caused a high number of displaced people and refugees, who in their haste to get to a protected place within the walls of a town or city, could only carry some food and personal belongings (Martins, 2001: 93).

another village is in the Pass and Road that goes from here to Caceres and Albuquerque» (Floriano Cumbreño, 1987: 147)[44].

The territory became so depopulated that it seemed almost like a no-man's-land. In fact, the lack of people living in frontier towns, which had been abandoned by the constant pressure of war on their populations, was one of the main guiding principles in the establishment of *coutos de homiziados* in those areas. This type of privileges is known to have been granted in some areas in the Alentejo, such as Marvão (1378), Arronches (1385), Fronteira (1385), Juromenha (1388), Monsaraz (1414), Ouguela (1420) and Mértola (1420) (Baquero Moreno, 1986: 94-115). The example of Fronteira is fairly illustrative of the brutality of the conflicts, and the deep and long-lasting consequences that military operations left. Although this town was not exactly on the border, it had been besieged by the Castilians right before the battle of Atoleiros (6 April of 1384), just a few kilometres away. For that reason, the city council requested the new King João I to create a *couto de homiziados* in the town, arguing that it was depopulated after the war that started in 1383, and other previous wars, in which the residents many times had been made captives and their goods stolen by the enemy. Consequently, many had abandoned the town and gone to other places where they would feel more secure (Dias, 2005a: doc. nr. 830). This is reiterated in a document of King Duarte regarding a chapel built in Fronteira by Inês Lourenço, which mentions the non-compliance of certain clauses because «most cattle, goods and chattels had been lost in previous wars»[45]. Closer to the border the problems were amplified, as demonstrated by the very bleak state of the town of Redondo in 1394, an «area near the frontier and because of the wars it was depopulated and very damaged and destroyed» (Dias, 2005b: doc. nr. 703).

5. CONCLUSIONS

During the Middle Ages, war was a constant factor that shaped the lives of its men and women, to the point that historians describe Medieval society as a society forged / moulded by, and for, war. The border between Portugal and Extremadura was not foreign to this reality. The political differences between Castile and Portugal during the 14th and 15th centuries unleashed a wave of violence that profoundly altered the lives of the border populations. In this context, the border communities were obliged to fulfil a series of military obligations, both defensive and offensive. For example, it was common that they be charged with the repair of defensive structures, even in relatively remote areas from their place of residence. Furthermore, they had

[44] «La aldea e termino de esta dicha villa es estruida e quemada e robada e despoblada por la guerra que nuestro señor rrey avido con el Reyno de Portugal. Por quanto la dicha aldea es cerca del Reyno de Portugal en vera de las montañas e sierras que diçen de San Pedro e otro sila dicha aldea es en el Puerto e Camino que va de aquí de caçeres a Alburquerque».

[45] «Gaados e mooves os mais delles e se perderam nas guerras passadas». ANTT, Leitura Nova, Odiana, liv. 6, fl. 154-154v (1433.11.16).

to defend local castles and fortresses with garrison duties, and they could be mobilized in groups to attack the neighbouring kingdom for days, or even weeks at a time.

One interesting aspect worth pointing out is that, when the conflicts between the two powers ended in the late 15th century, especially after the end of the War of Succession which began in 1475, the residents of these villages, towns and cities, brought up in this hostile environment, offered the crown all their efforts and war experience, applying them in increasingly distant lands: North Africa, Granada, Italy, America and Asia. On the other hand, constant war, characterized by incursions and plundering in enemy territory obliged many farmers and peasants to abandon their houses, some temporarily and others definitively, to seek security in fortified enclaves, or at least places that were less exposed to attacks.

In short, wars fomented, directly and indirectly –but most of the time in a forced way– a great mobility of the population. The idea that a medieval society was static, confined to their native region, is therefore a myth which must be refuted.

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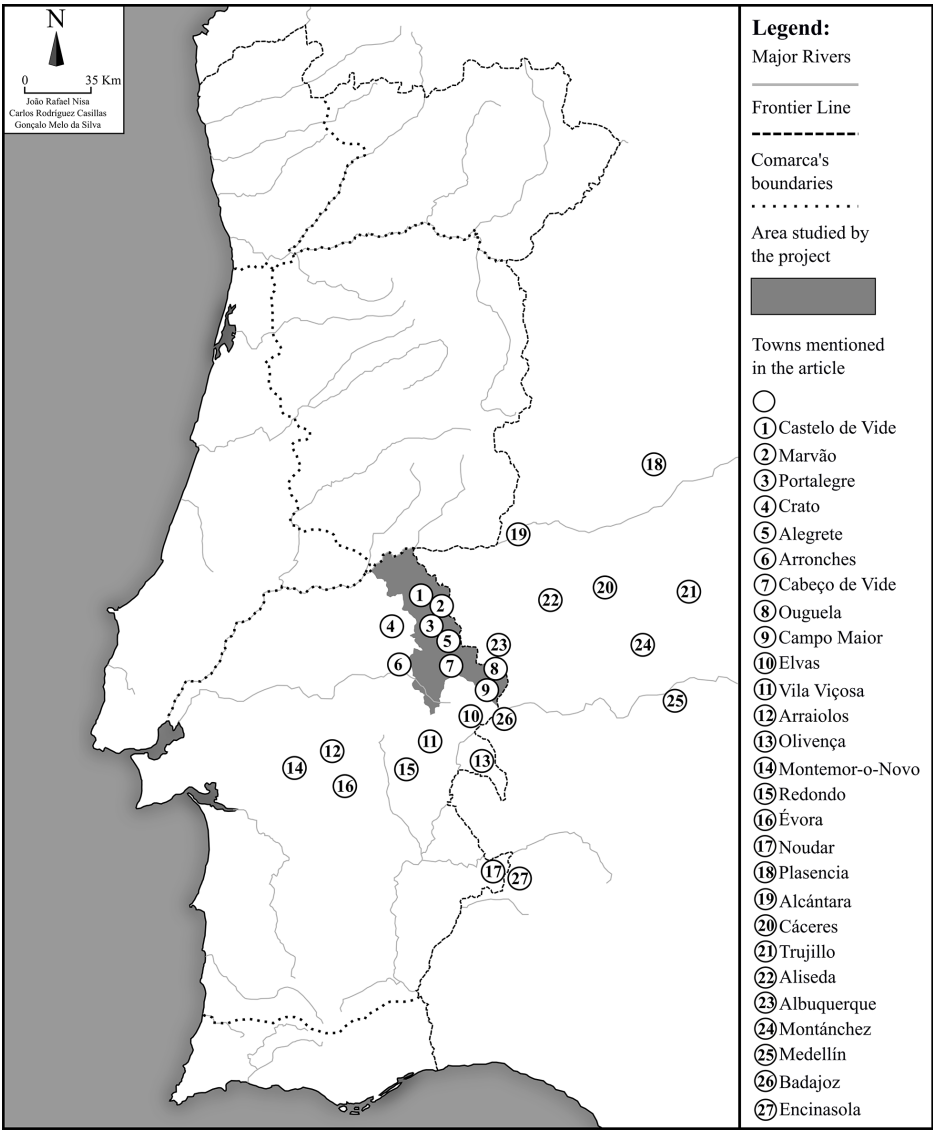


Image 1. Most important towns mentioned in the text.

THE CRIMINALS IN THE *COUTOS DE HOMIZIADOS* IN THE ALTO ALENTEJO: MOBILITY, PROFILE AND CRIMES (15TH CENTURY)*

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Abstract

This article is a brief reflection on the coutos de homiziados (territories designated for the forced exile of criminals) that were created in the northeastern Alentejo, i.e. Marvão, Arronches and Ouguela, and how they were a manifestation of a political and military policy during the 15th century. We will determine who the criminals that were sent to those coutos were: their names and functions, the types of crimes they had committed, and above all, their provenance, the flexibility of sentences and the movement of homiziados between Coutos. The letters of pardon are the main source consulted. Although it is a small sampling, a comparative analysis of these three coutos allowed us to establish similarities and differences among them, and to determine the social profiles of the criminals and their mobility in Portugal in the late Middle Ages. On this last point, for example, research showed that most of the outlaws came from the southern part of the realm. In some cases, criminals requested to be transferred to cities controlled by the Portuguese in North Africa.

Keywords: urban history, social history, history of justice, medieval Portugal, criminality, banishment.

CRIMINALES EN LOS *COUTOS DE HOMIZIADOS* DEL ALTO ALENTEJO: DINÁMICAS DE MOVILIDAD, PERFILES Y CRÍMENES (SIGLO XV)

Resumen

Este artículo ofrece una breve reflexión sobre los coutos de homiziados (territorios designados para el exilio forzoso de criminales) establecidos en el noreste del Alentejo, concretamente en Marvão, Arronches y Ouguela, y los analiza como manifestaciones de una estrategia político-militar desarrollada durante el siglo xv. El estudio identifica a los individuos enviados a estos coutos, examinando sus nombres, funciones, delitos cometidos y, especialmente, su procedencia geográfica, la flexibilidad de las penas impuestas y la movilidad de los homiziados entre los distintos coutos. Las cartas de perdón son las fuentes más consultadas. Aunque la muestra es limitada, el análisis comparativo de estos tres coutos permite identificar elementos comunes y divergencias significativas, así como establecer los perfiles sociales de los criminales y de movilidad dentro del reino en la Baja Edad Media. Cabe destacar, por ejemplo, que la mayoría de los homiziados procedían de las regiones meridionales del reino y que, en algunos casos, solicitaron su traslado a ciudades bajo control portugués en el norte de África.

Palabras clave: historia urbana, historia social, historia de la justicia, Portugal medieval, criminalidad, destierro.

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INTRODUCTION

The study of *coutos de homiziados*[1] in the Portuguese kingdom has been developed by different authors since, at least, the 1980s. The pioneer of the studies on this topic was Professor Humberto Baquero Moreno (1986: 93-138), followed by Professor Luís Miguel Duarte (1993; 1999), who set the stage for later works that had different approaches and perspectives[2].

In this article we address the subject of the establishment of *coutos de homiziados* in the area of northeastern Alentejo (Fig. 1). Throughout all of the Middle Ages this region had a constant need to increase its population, which implied efforts of administrative organization (Leitão, 2022: 299-325). We will focus on the *coutos* of the towns of Marvão, Arronches and Ouguela, because these were the ones that were situated on the frontier zone. The chronology of this text covers only the 15th century, since there is documentation from this period which permits us to obtain more relevant results. In fact, from the point of view of royal justice, the towns in this area are often mentioned, which provides information about the profile and mobility of the *homiziados*. In the first part we will cover the actual *coutos*, and then the subject of identification and mobility and/or the connection among them.

The creation of *coutos de homiziados* in Marvão, Arronches and Ouguela was a manifestation of a political and military strategy in the area under analysis. The late 14th century had been a time of great hardship in Portugal, characterized by crises and wars, evidenced by the permanent state of conflict between the kingdom and Castille. Communal life of the border populations included taking on the building and maintenance of walls and towers, whereby residents were involved in the defense of their towns, as well as the logistics of supplying water and provisions. The population was also subjected to ordinances issued in times of war, to the action of the *alcaides* (royal officers entrusted with military responsibilities), and to the role carried out by the Military Orders who had large dominions in these border zones.

Apart from these constraints, the most pressing problem was the settlement of people, and their subsistence. In fact, these communities had to safeguard, on a regular daily basis, a territory whose inclusion in the kingdom of Portugal could not be taken for granted. The role played by the communities who supported the

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[1] Localities typically situated in remote and sparsely populated border regions, to which certain criminals (man and women) were sent to serve their sentence of exile.

[2] Of which we point out the following ones: Ventura, 1998: 601-625; Braga, Braga, 2004: 78-87; Monteiro, Martins, 2010; Moreira, 2011; Alves, 2011: 39-53; Dias, 2015; Leitão, 2014: 273-289; Gomes, 2015.

borders, and the conditions for the safety of these communities were very important topics for Portuguese historiography[3].

This leads us to the subject of the *coutos de homiziados.*

In 1378, D. Fernando I (1367-1383) established the first *couto de homiziados* in Marvão (the fourth to be created in the realm since 1308), a town in the northeastern Alentejo, in the ambit of a royal policy for the defense of the Portuguese border. A few years later, in 1385, D. João I (1385-1433) created a second *couto* to the south of the mountain range of S. Mamede, in Arronches. The *couto* in Ouguela was established in 1420 by D. João I, with a new and different approach in terms of defense.

1. A CONTEXTUAL VIEW OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE *COUTOS DE HOMIZIADOS*

According to Humberto Baquero Moreno, spanning the period from the reign of King Dinis (r. 1279-1325) to that of King João III (r. 1521-1557) at least seventy *coutos de homiziados* were created[4]. Geostrategic and territorial occupation issues that fomented the establishment of *coutos*, were felt especially after the bubonic plague pandemic and major political and military crises, exacerbating the demographic problem. King D. Fernando (r. 1367-1383), and especially the monarchs of the new Portuguese dynasty that was initiated in 1385, were faced with these problems. Despite the various constraints, Portugal began a period of territorial expansion with the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, while expeditions to the coast of Morocco and to the Canary Islands led to the discovery and reconnaissance of the archipelagos of Madeira (1418) and Azores (1427). These events obviously created a demand for people to defend (Ceuta) and colonize (Madeira and Azores), at a time when there was a shortage of manpower.

Resorting to criminals, a «surplus» (of men, i.e. manpower) that would otherwise remain inactive, could contribute to the defense of Portugal and to the

[3] See for example: Macedo, 1993.

[4] Moreno, 1986: 93-138. According to the author, the coutos created in the kingdom were as follows. By King Dinis: Noudar and Sabugal (?); By King Fernando: Guarda, Marvão, Miranda do Douro, Penamacor; By King João I: Arronches, Fronteira, Castelo Mendo, Belmonte, Caminha, Freixo de Espada à Cinta, Penarroias, Chaves, Monsaraz, Monforte de Rio Livre, Ouguela, Mértola, Segura, Outeiro de Miranda, Castro Marim, Penha Garcia, and Melgaço; By King Duarte: Numão; By the Regent Prince Pedro: Bragança, Mirandela, Monforte, Mourão, Vilar Maior, Celorico de Basto, and Palma; By King Afonso V: Mos (?), Lavre (?), Colmeal das Donas, Alcoutim, Vilar de Mouros, Odemira, Adiça de Almada (present-day Fonte da Telha), Monsanto, Meadas, Belver, Idanha-a-Velha, and Vila Nova de Portimão (the precise dates for the establishment of the coutos of Mos and Lavre are unknown, and their attribution to Afonso V remains uncertain); By King João II: Vila Nova de Milfontes, Caldas da Rainha, Vimioso, and Mexilhoeira; By King Manuel I: Sesimbra, Lapela, Lafões, Valença, Beja, Elvas, Castelo Branco, Serpa, Areninha, Ferreira, and Alfaiates; By King João III: Silves. In reality, a few additional coutos also existed, such as Sortelha (Moreno, 1993: 345-350) and Melgaço.

colonization of new territories. Depending upon the crimes they had committed, their punishment could be exchanged for being sent to sparsely populated territories. According to the *Ordenações Afonsinas*[5], criminals were sentenced to banishment for a great diversity of crimes[6]; the destinations, conditions and duration of their sentences was sometimes related to gender[7] and to social status, (nobility, clergy, and people related to them had different treatment from that of the "peões" ("common people"). Even religion and/or ethnicity influenced the punishments, i.e. Jews and Moors often had harsher sentences. Underlying this practice was the idea of atonement[8] for a crime by rendering service to the king during a determined period. This subject was well studied, as noted above, by Luís Miguel Duarte in his works about criminality[9].

After its conquest, Ceuta also began to be referred to as *couto de homiziados*, although it clearly did not function like the *coutos* in Portugal. However, it should be noted that in numerous cases the sentence of banishment in Ceuta was commuted to other *coutos* in the kingdom, in a ratio of one year in Ceuta for two in Portugal. This situation was studied by Paulo Drummond Braga (1993: 147-153), thereby insinuating that royal clemency was often higher than the need for re-population in Ceuta, or perhaps those needs were fulfilled by other means, i.e. the commutation of harsher sentences for banishment in Ceuta, which is not to say that royal clemency ceased to be occur.

Finally, some *coutos* were established with economic objectives and were adapted to a specific professional profile. For example, in 1439 a *couto* was created in Monforte for four craftsmen[10], and in 1465 a *couto* was founded for agricultural workers in the Quinta de Odemira of D. Sancho de Noronha, authorized by Afonso V[11]. There were some cases of *coutos* being established for fishermen, emphasizing the concern that these men should not interrupt their professions

[5] A compilation of royal laws promulgated in the mid-15th century.

[6] See: Moreno, 1986: 96-99.

[7] Women enjoyed the same rights as men, except in the case of the couto of Caminha, located in northern Portugal. Moreno, 1986: 99.

[8] The intention here is not to focus on the proves of royal pardons, nor the questions that lead to their administrative and logistic procedures, since this subject has been well developed by Luís Miguel Duarte (1993, 1999) and well systematized by Margarida Garcez (1998: 601-626) and by Filomena Delgado (2003: 113-120).

[9] There are several theses and papers that address this topic, in addition to articles and academic studies published both in reviews and in books, which has helped divulge and make this subject attractive: In Portugal, stands out Duarte, 1991: 43-74; 1993, 1996: 231-248, 1999, 2006: 81-102, 2019: 451-474; Moreno, 1985, 1990a, 1990b, 2005; Ventura, 2003: 601-625. Just to mention some of the most relevant ones.

[10] For example, in the Cortes of Lisbon in 1439 the town of Monforte asked King D. Pedro for the creation of a *couto de homiziados* given the lack of manpower and the "gramdes soldadas que damos de trigo e denheiros a ferreiros e carniceiros e a outros officios" (great amounts of wheat and money that we give to blacksmiths and to butchers and to men of other trades); D. Pedro gave authorization for Monforte to take in "quatro omiziados mesteirais"(four convicted craftsmen). Moreno, 1986: 121.

[11] He was one of the first twenty-seven knights to receive the Order of the Tower and Sword. Sousa, 1946, Tomo III: 7

because of their status of *homiziados,* an example of which was the *couto* of Caminha[12] founded by D. João I in 1406. These *coutos* were destined for sailors and fishermen from Entre Douro and Minho, Estremadura and Algarve, who could dedicate themselves to fishing anywhere in the kingdom, as long as they did not disembark in the ports where they were harbored (Moreno, 1986: 112).

2. THE COUTOS

2.1. *Couto* of Marvão

The rocky ridge of Marvão had always been propitious for providing shelter, and as a strategic military point. The physical characteristics of the escarpment offered a significant defensive advantage. However, during periods of peace, they hindered access to the settlement, which, when combined with other factors, contributed to the progressive depopulation of the town. The establishment of a couto served to reinforce the number of inhabitants of the urban space. Even so, the harshness of life in Marvão dissuaded certain *homiziados* from choosing to serve their period of banishment there. To make it more attractive, the king would have to grant other privileges to this town and its residents, such as increase the *numerus clausus* of the *couto* and to grant privileges to *homiziados* who undertook trades lacking in the town (Moreno, 1986: 105-107).

Of the three *coutos* in the northeastern Alentejo that we selected, the royal charter that instituted the *couto* of Marvão is the first one to mention the right of asylum, since in earlier *coutos* in the realm the only *homiziados* that were excluded were those who had practiced slander or treason[13]. Thus, asylum was granted in the *coutos* for pragmatic reasons of settlement and defense and could be extended to criminals that the Church did not accept, and even to infidels, a subject that was extensively developed by Margarida Garcez Ventura (1998: 601-625). The earliest information on the *couto* of Marvão is from 1378, in a charter granted by D. Fernando I to the town council of Marvão, which mentions the provision for two hundred *homiziados*[14]. In the following century, in 1436, D. Duarte granted to five muleteers *homiziados* living in Marvão permission to travel anywhere, except to where they had done wrong[15].

Regarding the men's process of entry and time spent in the *couto*, we have not been able to glean much from our sources. We did, however, identify some officials associated with the administration of the *homiziados*. For example, in 1451 Diogo Fernandes Caldeira was appointed to the position of clerk of the *homiziados*

[12] "...pera cimquoenta lauradores e mais nam que hy vierem pouoar e laurar" ("...for fifty farmers and no more, who may come there to settle and cultivate the land"). Moreno, 1986: 123.

[13] In this case, it refers to Noudar, Guarda e Sabugal. Ventura, 1998: 605.

[14] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Fernando I*, liv. 29, fl. 75v.

[15] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Duarte*, liv. 1, fls. 159.

for the town of Marvão by D. Afonso V in 1451, replacing Pero Vasques, who had deceased[16]. In turn, when Diogo Fernandes died in 1471, Fernão Pereira, a resident of Portalegre, was appointed to the office[17]. Previously, on 2 June 1453, the privilege of granting leaves of absence to the *homiziados* of Marvão by the *homens bons* ("good men") and judges of the town of Marvão, which had been established at the time of its creation, was withdrawn[18].

2.2. Couto of Arronches

The walled town of Arronches was established as a *couto de homiziados* on 3 April 1385, because its population had shrunk as a result of the wars[19], and according to another document, it was very damaged[20]. The *homiziados* of Arronches and Marvão enjoyed the same privileges and, as in the case of this town, their numbers grew during the 15th century to promote settlement and to attract individuals capable of performing essential trades that were absent, such as muleteers (Moreno, 1986: 109-110).

Regarding officialdom and the *homiziados* in Arronches, we know of a letter from 1439 that alludes to the position of clerk of the *homiziados* of that *couto* (Andrade, 2025: 67). In 1481, during the reign of D. Afonso V, Diogo da Sertã, squire of Diogo Lopes de Sousa,[21] was appointed to the office of clerk of the royal *sisas* (a sales tax collected from all residents of the kingdom), replacing Afonso Vasques, who had been clerk of the "porto seco" ("dry port") of the town of Arronches, of the *homiziados* and judge between Christians and Moors of that town, where he lived[22]. In 1482, D. João II sends two letters to the town council of Arronches, the first of which gave instructions for five *homiziados* to serve as muleteers[23], and the second indicated that this group could bring weapons[24].

[16] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 11, fl. 66. See also: (Andrade, 2025: 67)
[17] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 16, fl. 85v.
[18] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 4, fl. 56v.
[19] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João I*, liv. 1, fls. 123-123v.
[20] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João I*, liv. 1, fl. 124.
[21] Diogo Lopes de Sousa, royal counsellor, *mordomo-mor* (high steward) of the king and *alcaide-mor* of Arronches.
[22] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V,* liv.26, fls. 79-79v.
[23] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, liv. 1, fl. 93.
[24] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 5, fl. 258.

2.3. Couto of Ouguela

Ouguela is situated on a small hill and was always an advanced stronghold of the border zone. Earlier settlements had existed, but it was after the Christian *Reconquista* that the town played an important role in the defense of the frontier with Castile. Unlike most of the reconquered regions, Ouguela and Campo Maior (a neighboring town) were part of the Leonese *Reconquista*. Only in 1297, under the Treaty of Alcañices, did Ouguela became part of the Portuguese kingdom (Vieira, 1985: 11-14). Although the castle of Ouguela underwent later restoration work, the main part dates to the early 14th century. D. João I established a *couto de homiziados* in Ouguela in 1420, arguing that «[...] a nossa villa d ouguela he despobrada e he no termo de castella em lugar que compre mujto a nosso serujço [...]» ("our town of Ouguela is depopulated and lies on the border with Castile, in a location of great strategic importance to our service")[25].

On 23 November 1471, Ouguela received confirmation of the privilege for the *homiziados* of its *couto* to travel outside and inside the kingdom and to live in the town and its county[26]. In 1497, the letter was ratified to include those who lived, then or in the future, in Ouguela, with their houses, wives and property; among other benefits, it permitted them to not serve, nor be called to serve anywhere at sea or on land and not be crossbowmen[27].

3. THE *HOMIZIADOS*

3.1. Profiles

The identification of the men who went to live, permanently or provisionally, in the *coutos* under study was normally limited to knowing their names and, in some cases, their professions, social status, client networks, and places of origin. Ideally, if the *Livros dos Homiziados,* (records that existed in the *coutos* where all these men were inscribed by a specific clerck with this task), had survived, this study would have been more thorough and accurate, and especially, more complete. We therefore had to use what sources were available, such as the royal chanceries, especially the letters of pardon. The small sampling of *coutos* presented in this work shows the difficulty in analyzing this subject, as seen by the lacunae in data and chronologies.

To begin with, we will consider the profiles of the *homiziados*.

In Marvão we find references to 31 *homiziados*, 15 with no other information and 16 with more personal data: one taylor, one cobbler, two farmers, one potter and

[25] *Chancelarias Portuguesas, D. João* I, (2004) Vol. I, Tomo I: 275.

[26] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, liv. 17, fl. 99.

[27] Law presented in Lisbon, on 1 November 1485. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I,* liv. 17, fl. 99v.

one *monteiro* (royal huntsman or gamekeepeer). There were also six squires, one of whom was identified as the squire of the Infante D. Fernando[28], and another servant of Fernão de Melo[29], who was a nobleman of the Royal Household, *alcaide-mor* in the city of Évora, and a receiver of taxes - *sisa* and *dízima dos panos* (customs tariff levied on imported textiles, in this case, from Castille) in the "dry port" of Marvão. And finally, a young woman, referred to as «moça de João Mendes» ("young woman under the service or patronage of João Mendes"), who was a resident of Olivença[30]. This is the only known case of a woman in the coutos examined in this article.

In Arronches, out of a total of 32 individuals, only 21 were mentioned just as *homiziados*. The remaining 11 have references to professions, marital status, provenance, and connections to clients: one knife-maker, two farmers, one sailor, two jailer, one *alcaide,* two squires (one associated with the Marquis of Valença and the other with a certain D. Garcia) and finally, one servant of D. Catarina de Sousa[31].

In Ouguela, out of a total of 19 *homiziados,* only nine were referred exclusively in that manner. The others included one carpenter, one *mouro forro* (a freed Moor), a servant of the Count of Vila Real[32], four squires of Diogo Lopes de Sousa and the *amo* (master) of a lady-in-waiting to Infanta D. Catarina[33]. Finally, one individual is identified solely as the son of Gonçalo Afonso, a butcher, and another as a single man.

Based on these examples we can conclude that the profile of these men was diversified, and included craftsmen, artisans, farmers, members of the royal officialdom, and individuals associated with noble houses and the Royal Household. In Marvão, probably due to the harsh living conditions and scarcity of professionals, most of the *homiziados* were men of the trades, while in Ouguela there was a predominance of individuals from a higher social condition, connected to royal officials and noble houses. In the case of Arronches, there was heterogeneity, which reflects the lack of all sorts of residents. If the number of *homiziados* recorded is representative, there is a bigger population in the *couto* of Arronches, followed by

[28] Reference to the Beato Fernando de Portugal, known as Infante Santo (Santarém, 29 September, 1402–Fez, 5 June, 1443). He was the eighth son of King João I of Portugal and of his wife, Philippa of Lancaster, and the youngest of the members of the Illustrious Generation.

[29] Married to D. Constança de Castro

[30] On 25 September 1475, in Estremoz, Leonor, the girl of João Mendes, a resident of Olivença, had a year pardoned from her sentence. She had been sentenced to the *couto* of Marvão for smuggling files and saws into the prison of the royal court, resulting in the escape of several prisoners, and in subsequent sentences for not completing the term of their punishment. ANTT*, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 30, fl. 24v.

[31] Probable reference to Dona Catarina de Sousa, wife of João Freire de Andrade, lord of Bobadela and Higher Bailiff of D. João I.

[32] Azevedo, 1915, Vol. I, doc. CXV: 149-150. The Count of Vila Real was D. Fernando de Noronha, second count of Vila Real, held the positions of Counsellor of the king, Lord Chamberlain to the Infante D. Duarte, Captain and third Governor of Ceuta, by royal order received by letter from D. Duarte, where he died in 1445.

[33] Lady in waiting of Infanta D. Catarina of Portugal, who was a daughter of King D. Duarte I and his wife D. Leonor of Aragon, and a sister of the king D. Afonso V.

the *couto* of Marvão, and then the one of Ouguela. The names that were identified in the sources reveal that they were mostly men (Table 1).

In the period of the samples, the years with the highest frequency of letters of pardon that mention *homiziados* (whether they were fugitives, were serving a sentence, or by royal decision there was a commutation of another sentence for remaining in these *coutos*), are also differentiated. For Marvão the most relevant years were: 1439, 1440, 1450, 1471, 1472 and 1475; in Arronches it was: 1450, 1453, 1454, 1464, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1476 and 1480; for Ouguela: 1440, 1443, 1475 and 1491. In the cases of Marvão and Arronches there was a clear predominance in 1471, because the king had granted a general pardon to all fugitives who had served in the navy and army during the conquest of the citys of Asilah and Tangier (1471). This pardon was most noticeable in the case of criminals who were required to serve their sentence in Arronches. In Marvão alone the years 1476 and 1480 were also significant.

In the table below (Table 1) the *homiziados* are identified at least by name, year and connection to a *couto*.

3.2. Provenance of the *homiziados*

The provenance of the *homiziados* is displayed in Charts 1, 2 e 3.

Regarding the convicts of the *couto* of Marvão, and according to the samplings from the period between 1435 and 1497, the majority of *homiziados* were residents of Marvão (around 30%). Seven percent came, respectively, from Barcelos an Penamacor, and the rest, in an equal proportion of 4% came from other places, such as Loulé, Lisbon, Elvas, Coina, Casal de Sandinho, Casal de Grou (?), Borba, Benespera, Beja, Alenquer, Viana de Alvito, Santiago do Cacém, Posadela and Montemor-o-Novo.

In the case of the convicts of Arronches, for approximately the same period (1439 to 1480), the highest percentage were residents of that town (approximately 19%), followed by 11% from Castelo de Vide and by 8% from Benavente. All the rest in the same proportion of 3% came from different places, such as Alvito, Estremoz, Vila Franca de Xira, Sintra, Tomar, Serpa, Vale de Elvas, Santarém, Lugar do Cerco, Lisboa, Évora, Chão de Ornis, Atalaia, Caldelas and Borba.

In Ouguela, between 1440 and 1496, 21% of the *homiziados* were residents of that town, and another 21% were from Arronches. The rest were from Campo Maior (11%), and Alenquer and Almada (6%). Finally, in the same proportion, corresponding to about 5% each, were the *homiziados* that came from Vila Viçosa, Torrão, Tavira, Beja, Elvas, Montemor-o-Velho and Bombarral.

From what we analyzed, the *homiziados* who lived in these *coutos* (Marvão and Ouguela), were mostly residents from the towns and other regions close by, while in Arronches the provenance of the convicts was more diverse and distant. However, in all three cases, the majority of the *homiziados* were from the Alentejo and Ribatejo, largely due to their proximity, but some cases were also from the Algarve and from Lisbon. Conversely, the areas north of the Tagus is less represented.

The assignment of the destination was based on proximity, and the need for people and trades, but also on the type of crime for which the *homiziados* were

convicted and the punishment that was applied (Moreno, 1986: 93-138). According to the sources we consulted, the most common crime committed by the *homiziados* of Marvão, Arronches and Ouguela was homicide.

The length of sentences in these *coutos* varied. For Arronches we found that sentences mostly fluctuated between one, two and four year, although there were a few cases of sentences of six and seven years months. For Marvão the variation was smaller, with the great majority of sentences having a duration of one and two years, and just a few sentences of three years, and others of two months. In the case of Ouguela, many sentences were of one, three, and four years, with a few extending up to ten years.

3.3. Mobility

The most frequent commutation of sentences featured in the letters of pardon that were consulted was the substitution of more onerous punishments for sentences to places where they would be deprived of their freedom, albeit with some flexibility.

We will now examine the mobility and transference of convicts between the *coutos* under study and between them and other. Afterwards, we will present the data that was obtained.

We found that at least three *homiziados* went from the *couto* of Marvão to Arronches, and one went to Caminha. To Arronches went three *homiziados* from Marvão, one from Tangier and six from Ceuta. From Arronches three *homiziados* were moved to Marvão, one was moved to Sabugal, one to Noudar, and at least six to Ceuta. One convict went to Ceuta from Ouguela, and two convicts were transferred from Ceuta to Ouguela. This sampling shows the transference of *homiziados* that took place between the *coutos* of Alto Alentejo and those of North Africa, which fits perfectly in the historical context of the conquest of the Portuguese outposts in North Africa[34].

Following are the movements of these convicts, in chronological order, with their names, the crimes they committed (when that information was available), their sentences, and the places where they served those sentences.

In 1439, Fernão Miguéis, a resident of Cadaval, was pardoned four years of a five-year sentence. He had been sentenced to Ceuta after being found guilty of the murders of Vicente Afonso and Vicente Gonçalves Arroído, also residents of Cadaval, under the condition that he would serve two years in the *couto* of Arronches[35]. In 1444 Vasco Correia, from Ponte de Lima, had a two-year sentence in Ceuta changed to three years in Marvão, due to his age (70)[36]. In 1450, Fernão Eanes, a farmer and resident in Ordasqueira, a village of Torres Vedras, was granted

[34] As can be verified in Braga, 1993: 147-153.
[35] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V,* liv. 19, fl. 53v.
[36] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 25, fl. 14v.

a letter of security and a change in his sentence from four years in Ceuta to eight years in the *couto* of Marvão, on the condition that for two months he would not enter the place where Álvaro Pires had been killed[37]. In 1452, Martim Eanes Goulão, a resident of Alcochete accused of homicide, had his sentence changed from seven years in the *couto* of Arronches to one year in Marvão[38]; on the same date, João Gonçalves, a resident of Alcochete accused of homicide, had his sentence in the *couto* of Arronches (seven years) shortened to one year in Marvão[39], and Rui Pais, a royal squire[40], had his sentence of one year in Marvão prolonged to four years in the *couto* of Mértola[41]. In 1453, by request of Álvaro Pires de Távora[42], a nobleman of the Royal Household, João Afonso-o-Moço, a resident of Aldeia de Galegos (a village of Vila Real) had his sentence changed from three years in Ceuta, to Marvão[43], and on the same day, Álvaro Gonçalves, from Ramalde, a village of Vila Real, accused of the death of João Gonçalves, had his sentence changed from Ceuta to the *couto* of Marvão[44]. Also in 1453, in Sardoal, Nuno Fernandes de Morais[45], a squire and resident of Montemor-o-Novo, had his four-year sentence in the *couto* of Marvão moved to the *couto* of Arronches[46]. In 1454, the four years in Ceuta to which Pedro Eanes, from Gateira, a village of Leiria, had been sentenced, was substituted for six months in the *couto* of Marvão[47]. In 1455, Pedro Eanes, who was a squire of the Marquis of Vila Viçosa[48], had his sentence changed from Marvão to the *couto* of

[37] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 34, fl. 114.

[38] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 12, fl. 49v.

[39] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 12, fl. 50.

[40] Reference to the legitimization of João Rodrigues, son of Rui Pais, squire of D. Afonso V and resident in Lisbon, and his lover Catarina Fernandes (1471).

[41] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 12, fl. 43.

[42] Álvaro Pires de Távora, royal nobleman, second Lord of Mogadouro, *alcaide* of Miranda do Douro, Mirandela and of Alfândega da Fé, he was *reposteiro-mor* of D. João I, D. Duarte and D. Afonso V, from whom he received many privileges. He was the brother-in-law of Martim Afonso de Sousa, nobleman of the house of the Count of Barcelos having married his sister Violante Lopes de Távora.

[43] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 3, fl. 57.

[44] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 3, fl. 56v.

[45] Squire, married to Margarida Anes, residents and landowners in Montemor-o-Novo, parents of Martim Lopes Lobo and Violante Nunes de Morais. According to André Madruga Coelho in his Master's thesis in Islamic and Medieval Mediterranean History (2015). The estates of Nuno Fernandes de Morais were inheritatd by Gomes Martins Lobo and João Lobo, his son (ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 34, fls. 54v-55; *Odiana*, liv. 2, fls. 263v-264v), while those of Margarida Anes, part of an entail (morgadio) institutd by her. Went to Garcia Lobo (I), Fernão Lobo (I) and Garcia Lobo (II) (ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 9, fls. 145-146; *Odiana,* liv. 1, fls. 261v-263.) Again there was a division of the estate among the heirs, this time in a way that revealed the intention of the grandparents to divide the estate among each of the grandchildren.

[46] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 4, fl. 59v.

[47] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 10, fls. 122-122v.

[48] The title of Marquis of Vila Viçosa was originally instated in 1455, in favor of Fernando I of Bragança, Count of Arraiolos, son of Afonso I of Bragança, Duke of Bragança, as a reward for his service to the Crown.

Arronches, by request of his employer. Pedro Eanes was granted a letter of security on the condition that he would not go to the city of Évora[49]; that same year Rodrigo Eanes, a farmer and resident of the town of Leiria, was authorized to substitute the remainder of his sentence in Marvão for a fine of 2000 *reais brancos* to be paid to the royal Chancellery[50], which had already been paid; also in 1455 Fernando Eanes, a resident of Ordasqueira (a village of Torres Vedras), was pardoned four years of an eight year sentence in Marvão[51]; that same year the king gave a letter of security to Fernando Álvares, a squire of the Marquis of Valença, substituting his two-year sentence in Ceuta for the same amount of time in Arronches, where he was to register in the *livro de homiziados* upon arrival, and remain in there uninterruptedly for the whole period[52]. Beatriz Fernandes, the wife of Gonçalo Fernandes, a sailor and resident in the town of Tavira, had been accused of sleeping with her *compadre*. In 1469 her four-year sentence in Marvão was changed to two years in Ceuta[53]; in 1473, the sentence of João Franco, a resident in the town of Oeiras, was changed from one year in Tangier to two years in Marvão[54]; and in 1480, Gonçalo Marques, a resident in the town of Avis had his sentence altered from two years in Ceuta to four years in the *couto* of Marvão[55].

We can, therefore, ascertain that there was actual mobility between the various *coutos,* for several reasons, such as, for example, lack of manpower in certain places[56], the reduction of sentences, and transfers due to old age[57]; however, the most common reason for transferences was to reward the participation of *homiziados* in the campaigns in North Africa, as revealed in other studies that address the topic of war[58]. Faced with the need to repopulate other towns, the king turned to the surplus of *homiziados* in existing *coutos*, a practice which was usually initiated with 50 men,

[49] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 15, fl. 40v.
[50] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 15, fl. 76v.
[51] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 15, fl. 84.
[52] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 13, fls. 74-74v.
[53] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 31, fl. 36v.
[54] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 33, fl. 131.
[55] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 32, fl. 127.
[56] An example was on 3 May 1451, in Santarém, the sentence of João Fernandes, potter, from the city of Évora, was changed from the *couto* of Marvão to that of Arronches because of his profession.
[57] For example, the case of Vasco Correia, who in 1444, had his two-year sentence in Ceuta changed to three years in Marvão, due to his age (70 years old) (ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 25, fl. 14v.)
[58] As was the case, for example, of the article of João Gouveia Monteiro and Miguel Gomes Martins (2010).

as mentioned above[59]. This happened, for example, in Moura[60] and in Vila Nova de Milfontes[61], and earlier in Juromenha and Mértola, among others[62].

This subject need works about *coutos* situated in other regions[63], comparative and more extensive studies, that use other types of sources.

3.4. Crimes

Luís Miguel Duarte (1999: 259-265) established a classification of crimes[64] for the 15th century: crimes against the king, authority and public order, crimes against God, crimes against human beings, crimes against property and «economic order», and finally, crimes against «morality and good customs». The application of this typology clearly reveals the existence of that there was both differences and common points in the crimes committed by the *homiziados* of Marvão, Arronches and Ouguela, as seen in chart n.º 4.

In the case of Marvão we ascertain that the most common crimes were homicide, followed by various kinds of aggression, escapes from prison, and theft. In Arronches most criminal incidences were homicide and were followed by prison breaks and injuries caused by various kinds of aggression, as well as cases of quarrels and adultery. In Ouguela there is more homogeneity in the number and types of crime, although homicide still leads. In general, the predominance of physical crimes is common, with this type of violence being very frequent in the Middle Ages[65].

From the sampling that was gathered, we can ascertain that homicide was the main reason why criminals were sentenced to serve exile in these coutos. It was to these places of difficult survival that criminals who had committed the most physically violent offenses were sent, a factor that was often considered when choosing the residents who would defend these places. Given the poor conditions of the prisons, it is not surprising that there was a high incidence of escapes, which involved breaking out and beating prison guards. There were notably many cases of corruption, involving even jailers and *alcaides,* at least according to the versions conveyed in the *cartas de perdão*. Finally, quarrels were frequent, often resulting in

[59] According to royal documentation, in 1450, D. Afonso V favored the good men of the town of Moura, so that it would be populated with 50 *homiziados* from the town of Arronches (ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, liv. 34, fl. 50).

[60] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V,* liv. 34, fl. 50.

[61] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I,* liv. 30, fls. 39v-40.

[62] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João I*, liv. 1, fls. 194-194v. a *couto* for 50 *homiziados* was authorized in Juromenha in 1388.

[63] First and foremost, a presentation done by Ana Santos Leitão (2023) entitled *The Homiziados, Exiled, and Other Pardoned Individuals from Loulé in the Middle Ages (15th Century)* at the 6th conference on the History of Loulé.

[64] Like Oliveira Marques had done (1987: 25).

[65] As we have confirmed from works such as Moreira, 2011; Gomes, 2015.

acts of aggression and injuries, with the sentences in the *coutos* under study providing the clearest indication of that fact.

4. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

What we could glean from the data that was compiled and analyzed, was that these three *coutos* had some points in common. For example, in terms of provenance, the *homiziados* were mostly residents of the very towns that the *coutos* were in, followed in varying percentages, by residents from nearby locations. The criminals were men, with only a single woman having been identified. This sampling enables us to draw a profile of these men, which included craftsmen and farmers, and people associated with noble or royal households and with officials of the crown. We concluded that homicide was the most punished crime in all three *coutos*. In terms of mobility, and Ceuta being one of the main *coutos* outside of the kingdom, we found that there was some mobility between *coutos* in frontier zones of Alto Alentejo and the North African outpost. After this brief analysis of the three Frontier *coutos*, we reiterate that this subject needs a more in-depth study, and especially more comparing with data from the remaining coutos. Both from a regional point of view, and a comparison of the typology of the sources, which need an even more thorough analysis, to firmly confirm the interpretations we have arrived at from this sampling.

Let us finish with the image of the *coutos de homiziados* portrayed by the municipalities, i.e. those of the border. The powerful elite of the cities and towns revealed what they thought in the general chapters of the *Cortes* of Coimbra-Évora de 1472. The «people» complain that the large number of *coutos,* especially the most recent ones to be created, inspire the audacity of criminals, to the point that they become «lairs of the theives» (Ventura, 1998: 601-625). The procurators of the municipalities alleged, in the parliament, that it was only necessary to keep the older coutos, confirmed by the king, because the coutos (like the ones of Marvão, Arronches and Ouguela) were situated in «extreme places» and were «depopulated and hard to live in». They suggested extinguishing those coutos that were in populated areas in the interior of the kingdom. To paraphrase, for example, the residents of Arronches, they «had to perform hard labor in those extremes where they lived, forced to constantly repair and defend the walls of the towns»[66]. Only the danger of depopulation justified the creation of *coutos de homiziados.*

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[66] ANTT, *Cortes*, m. 2, n. º14, fls. 57-129 (Capítulos Gerais do Povo, n.º 38).

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APPENDIX

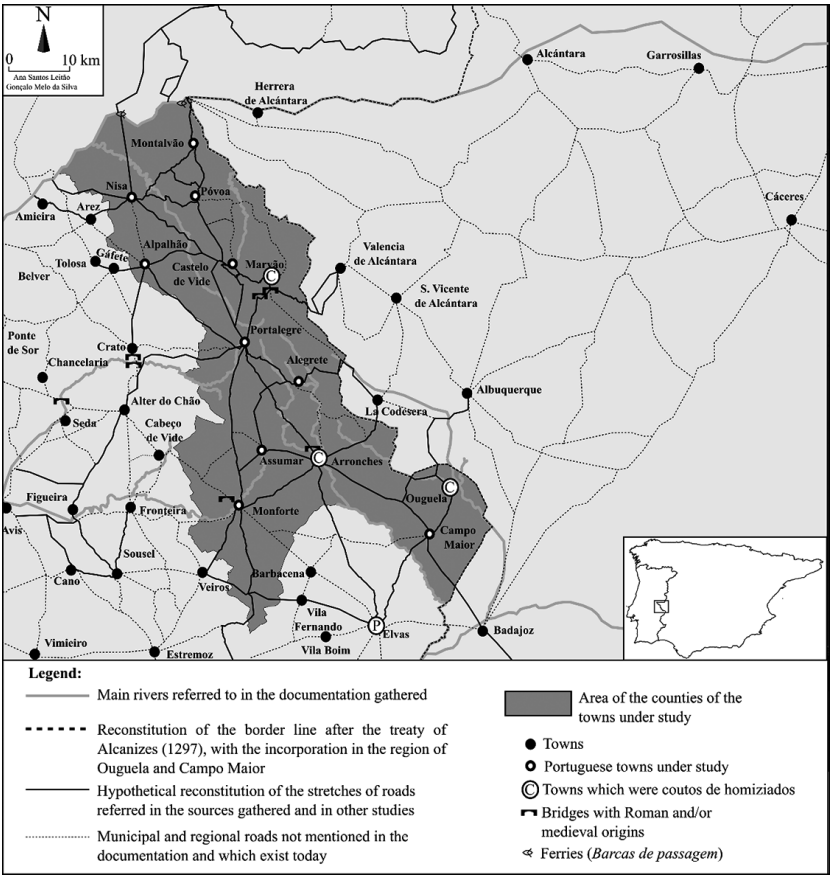


Fig. 1. Coutos de Homiziados in Northeastern Alentejo (14th-15th Centuries).

TABLE 1: LIST OF HOMIZIADOS IN THE COUTOS OF MARVÃO, ARRONCHES, AND OUGUELA (15TH CENTURY)

Couto de Homiziados	Name	Socio-professional status or occupation
Marvão	João Afonso	Tailor
Marvão	Vasco Afonso	
Marvão	João Eanes	

Continued on the next page

TABLE 1: LIST OF HOMIZIADOS IN THE COUTOS OF MARVÃO, ARRONCHES, AND OUGUELA (15TH CENTURY)

Couto de Homiziados	Name	Socio-professional status or occupation
Marvão	Diogo Gonçalves	Receiver of taxes
Marvão	Diogo Vasques	
Marvão	Vasco Afonso	Judge
Marvão	Gonçalo Eanes	
Marvão	Gonçalo Martins	Squire to Infante D. Fernando
Marvão	Fernando Eanes	Farmer
Marvão	João Fernandes	Potter
Marvão	Fernão Domingues	
Marvão	Nuno Fernandes de Morais	Royal squire
Marvão	Cristóvão Rodrigues	
Marvão	João Álvares	Farmer
Marvão	João Afonso	
Marvão	Rui Lopes	Squire
Marvão	Álvaro Fernandes Mafrado	
Marvão	Álvaro Lourenço	
Marvão	Lopo Vasques	Monteiro
Marvão	Gonçalo "Monieiro"	
Marvão	Diogo Lopes Calvo	Squire
Marvão	João Lopes Tornay	
Marvão	Fernando Álvares de Marques	
Marvão	João Lopes	*Criado* of Fernão de Melo, *alcaide-mor* of Évora
Marvão	Afonso Tomé	
Marvão	Diogo Lopes	Squire
Marvão	João Franco	
Marvão	João de Pica Bilhuço	
Marvão	Leonor	*Moça* of João Mendes
Marvão	Gonçalo Álvares	Cobbler
Marvão	Lourenço Fernandes	Farmer
Arronches	Estêvão Rodrigues	Cutler
Arronches	Rodrigo Eanes	
Arronches	Gonçalo Vasques	Criado of Dona Catarina de Sousa
Arronches	João Esteves	
Arronches	João Afonso	

Continued on the next page

TABLE 1: LIST OF HOMIZIADOS IN THE COUTOS OF MARVÃO, ARRONCHES, AND OUGUELA (15TH CENTURY)		
Couto de Homiziados	Name	Socio-professional status or occupation
Arronches	Gonçalo Vasques da Pena	
Arronches	Manuel Afonso	
Arronches	Gil de Lamoso	
Arronches	Nuno Gonçalves	Squire to D. Garcia and jailer in Santarém
Arronches	Afonso Eanes	Alcaide of Benavente
Arronches	Rui Vasques	
Arronches	Gonçalves	
Arronches	Fernando Álvares	Squire to the Marquis of Valença
Arronches	João Afonso	
Arronches	Fernando	
Arronches	Gonçalo	
Arronches	Afonso Silva	Jailer in Sintra
Arronches	Luis Álvares	
Arronches	João das Ilhas	
Arronches	Diogo Fernandes Frangalho	Farmer
Arronches	Pero Vasques	
Arronches	João Gonçalves	
Arronches	Diogo Gonçalves	
Arronches	Estêvão Coelho	Jailer in Santarém
Arronches	Nuno Álvares	Farmer
Arronches	Luís Álvares	
Arronches	Gonçalo Martins Rochas	
Arronches	Fernão Dias Rocano	
Arronches	Pero Vaz [Frausto]	
Arronches	João Dias	
Arronches	Lourenço Eanes [dito Freira]	
Arronches	Álvaro Rodrigues	Sailor
Ouguela	João Esteves	*Criado* of the Count of Vila Real
Ouguela	Azemede	Mouro forro
Ouguela	Fernão Gonçalves	Carpinteiro
Ouguela	Pedro Soudinho	
Ouguela	Fernão Gonçalves	master of a lady-in-waiting to Infanta D. Catarina
Ouguela	Fernão Gonçalves	

Continued on the next page

TABLE 1: LIST OF HOMIZIADOS IN THE COUTOS OF MARVÃO, ARRONCHES, AND OUGUELA (15TH CENTURY)		
Couto de Homiziados	Name	Socio-professional status or occupation
Ouguela	Fernando Álvares	
Ouguela	Martim Rodrigues	
Ouguela	João Fidalgo	
Ouguela	João Carvalho	
Ouguela	Afonso Moreno	
Ouguela	Diogo Afonso Belo	
Ouguela	João Lopes	
Ouguela	Rodrigo Anes	
Ouguela	Sueiro Eanes	Squire to Diogo Lopes de Sousa
Ouguela	Gil Soares	Squire to Diogo Lopes de Sousa
Ouguela	Aires Tinoco	Squire to Diogo Lopes de Sousa
Ouguela	Sueiro Tinoco	Squire to Diogo Lopes de Sousa
Ouguela	João Nosqueira	

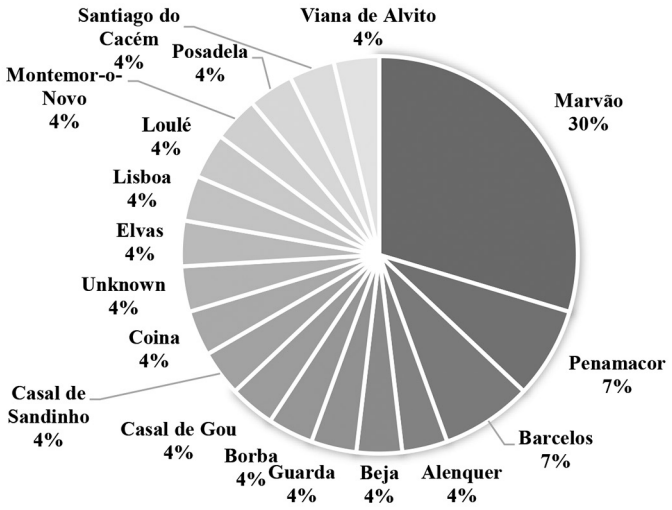


Chart n.º 1. Provenance of *homiziados* sentenced to the Couto of Marvão (1435-1497).

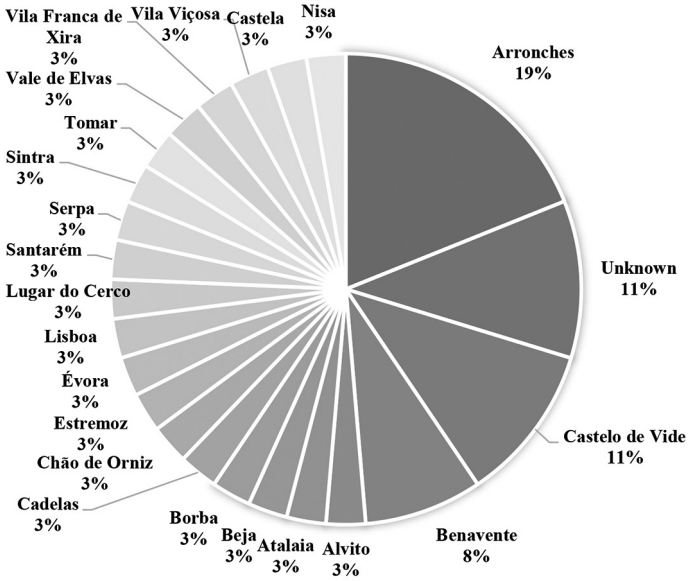


Chart n.º 2. Provenance of *homiziados* sentenced to the Couto of Arronches (1438-1490).

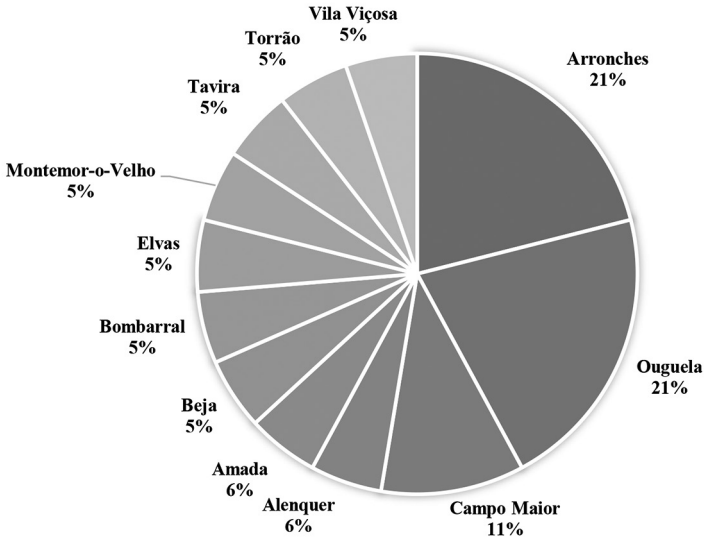


Chart n.º 3. Provenance of *homiziados* sentenced to the Couto of Ouguela (1440-1496).

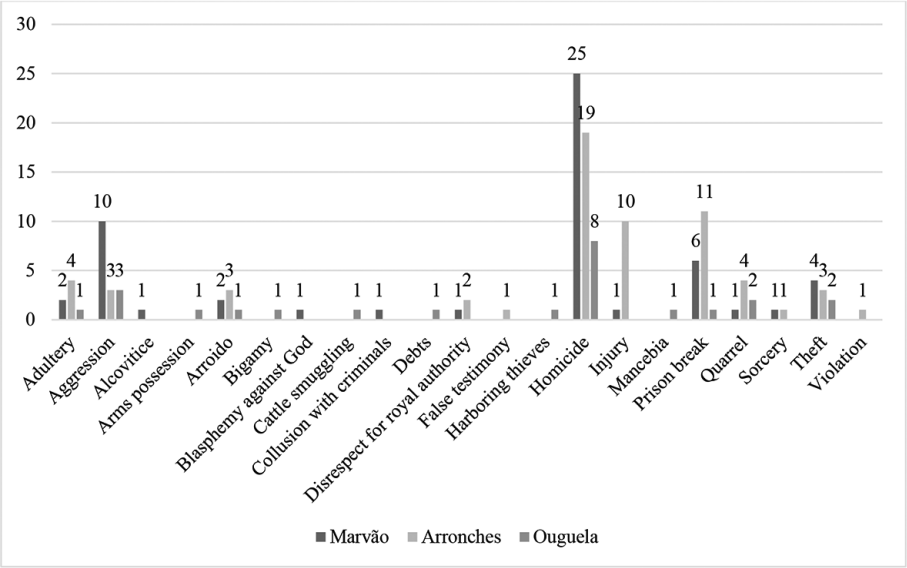


Chart n.º 4: Typology of Crimes committed by *Homiziados* in the Coutos of Marvão, Arronches and Ouguela (15th Century).

ONOMASTICS AND MOBILITY OF THE POPULATION IN CÁCERES (13TH CENTURY-1525)*

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Abstract

This study analyses demographic mobility in Cáceres from its Christian conquest in 1229 to the early 16th century, with particular focus on immigration. During the 13th and 14th centuries, settlement was gradual and driven primarily by immigrants from León, Galicia and Castile, whose presence is also reflected in local toponymy. By the 15th century, although León continued to be the main source of settlers, migration became more diversified, including arrivals from New Castile, Galicia, neighbouring Extremadura towns, Andalusia and Portugal. Unlike earlier centuries, immigration in this period no longer responded to the structural need to repopulate newly conquered lands, but rather to economic opportunities, service in noble households, and artisan or labour mobility. Although the town no longer experienced a structurally positive migratory balance, the continuous arrival of newcomers contributed to the renewal and consolidation of Cáceres as a key urban centre in late-medieval Extremadura.

Keywords: Onomastics, Mobility, Middle Ages, Extremadura, Castille.

ONOMÁSTICA Y MOVILIDAD DE LA POBLACIÓN EN CÁCERES (SIGLO XIII-1525)

Resumen

Este estudio analiza la movilidad demográfica en Cáceres desde su conquista cristiana en 1229 hasta los inicios del siglo XVI, con especial atención a la inmigración. Durante los siglos XIII y XIV, el poblamiento fue gradual y estuvo impulsado principalmente por inmigrantes procedentes de León, Galicia y Castilla, cuya huella se refleja también en la toponimia local. En el siglo XV, aunque León siguió siendo el principal origen de los repobladores, la procedencia se diversificó, incluyendo a Nueva Castilla, Galicia, localidades extremeñas, Andalucía e incluso Portugal. A diferencia de los siglos anteriores, la inmigración ya no respondió a la necesidad estructural de repoblar territorios recién conquistados, sino a oportunidades económicas, al servicio en casas nobiliarias y a la movilidad de artesanos y trabajadores. Aunque Cáceres dejó de experimentar un saldo migratorio estructuralmente positivo, la llegada continua de nuevos pobladores favoreció la renovación y consolidación de la ciudad como centro urbano de referencia en la Extremadura bajomedieval.

Palabras clave: onomástica, movilidad, Edad Media, Extremadura, Castilla.

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INTRODUCTION

Onomastics is an important research tool in Medieval studies. Beyond being a component of social structures, it serves as a crucial source for analysing population mobility, particularly in the absence of other records, such as the parish registers available to Modern historians. Onomastics has been employed internationally in research for decades, and this methodological approach has been fully developed within Peninsular Medievalism.

The phenomenon known as the Reconquista was closely linked to the resettlement of reconquered territories, which, owing to partial depopulation or to processes of ethnic cleansing, was probably undertaken by demographic groups from the north of the Iberian Peninsula. The history of the Peninsula cannot be understood without this mobility, which extended from the 10th to the 19th centuries. For its study, we possess little specific information apart from toponymy and anthroponymy.

A pioneering analysis of the subject, though sometimes forgotten, was the remarkable work of Julio González on the *repartimiento* (redistribution of land) in Seville, in which he examined the origins of the new settlers (González, 1951, vol. I: 317-324 and 314-3155, map). A systematic analysis of population mobility and careful use of toponymic and onomastic records was later undertaken by Ángel Barrios for the diocese of Ávila (Barrios García, 1983-1984, vol. I: 128-137). This research was subsequently expanded by Barrios and Luis Miguel Villar García to encompass the whole of Historic Extremadura (Barrios García, 1985; Villar García, 1986: 102-116). Since then, the use of these sources has become standard practice in the study of resettlement and, more broadly, of population mobility.

The use of onomastics to study demographic movement has at times raised doubts. Nevertheless, in some cases it has been possible to demonstrate its reliability. By comparing it with other sources (*cartas de vecindad* or available records concerning immigrants), researchers have found a high degree of consistency (Rucquoi, 1983: 36-37; Collantes de Terán Sánchez, 1984: 143-144). In general, the application of onomastics has produced consistent results in recent decades. In our case, the correlation between our conclusions and studies based on more precise sources for the Modern era reinforces its credibility. It should be borne in mind, however, that onomastic evidence reflects population mobility with a certain delay. This has led us to extend our analysis into the first quarter of the 16th century, thereby covering the Medieval period more comprehensively.

Our study seeks to analyse demographic mobility between the Christian conquest of Cáceres and the first quarter of the 15th century. We distinguish two

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clearly distinct phases. The first encompasses the 13th and 14th centuries, during which Hispano-Christian resettlement took place. The near-total disappearance of the Muslim population opened the way for immigration into the area under study from the north, a process which continued at a steady pace throughout the 14th century. During these centuries, migration exhibited a positive net balance, consistent with an area of new settlement. For this initial period, we will also draw on toponymy, which functions as a fossilised record, given its tendency to persist or to change only slowly. After the Hispano-Christian conquest, the only centres of population that endured were the cities, towns and castles that structured the territory. The toponymy of villages and smaller settlements, almost exclusively Romance in form, becomes an invaluable source for establishing the origins of the settlers. The data yielded by these sources in Extremadura is not abundant, owing to the relatively small number of documented villages, but it is nonetheless vital in view of the scarcity of other records.

From the 15th century onwards, Extremadura developed a stable settlement pattern and a level of occupation comparable to that of northern regions, despite the growth of *adehesamiento*. Regarding mobility, however, it can no longer be characterised as structurally positive. Studies on demographic mobility are very scarce for Extremadura, and not numerous for the Crown of Castile as a whole. In many cases the information is minimal, offering only qualitative assessments. This situation hampers a proper understanding of demographic processes, since only a few available studies trace the full lines of mobility or estimate the number of emigrants and immigrants in the different centres and territories examined.

In our case, by focusing exclusively on documentation from Cáceres, we will concentrate solely on immigration. The sources available are relatively rich. Notarial records begin later, but municipal documentation, despite the abundance of public records only from the second quarter of the 16th century onwards, provides useful information. Private documents, the most valuable for our subject, are plentiful only for the Late Middle Ages. Noble records are scarce until the 15th century, becoming more numerous after 1450, particularly in the final quarter of the century. Some of these are preserved in the *Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza*. The *Archivo Municipal Histórico de Cáceres* also houses the Pereros Collection. The Fundación Tatiana Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno has moreover made its extensive documentation concerning various Cáceres lineages available online.

The possibilities afforded by the documentation from Cáceres have encouraged us to address a subject that has, to date, received relatively little attention, but which is central to establishing the relationships among different economic and geographical environments and urban hierarchies. We are aware that only through a proliferation of studies on this topic will it become possible to correlate immigration with emigration and assign proper weight to the data presented. Nonetheless, we consider that conducting localised studies is imperative to advance research into a subject that remains insufficiently explored, despite its importance.

1. REPOPULATION AND NORTHERN IMMIGRATION (13TH - 14TH CENTURIES)

The initial settlement of Cáceres following its conquest in 1229 was gradual. By the middle of the 13th century, according to Julio González, there were around 200 settlers, rising to nearly 1,000 by the end of the century (González, 1951, vol. I: 317).

Several factors contributed to this slow resettlement. The first was the political instability created by the conflicts between the monarchy and the nobility during the reign of Alfonso X, which affected large parts of the realm. A second factor was the insecurity generated by the proximity of the frontier with Islam, a circumstance that persisted until the definitive conquest of Seville in 1248 and, to a lesser extent, until that of Cádiz in 1262. Finally, the allocation of Cáceres to the Order of Santiago also slowed the repopulation process, since its military orders prioritised the establishment of fortified centres rather than the development of surrounding rural settlements (Barrios, 1983: 137-138).

Despite these difficulties, the population of Cáceres grew throughout the 13th century, largely because of immigration from the north of the Peninsula. The documentary record shows that most settlers originated from León, Galicia and Castile, with León being particularly prominent (Villar García, 1986: 102-110). This pattern corresponds closely to the general trends observed for Extremadura. The predominance of settlers from León is logical, not only because of geographical proximity but also because of the historical ties that linked León and Extremadura during the period of the Reconquista and resettlement.

The study of toponymy also sheds light on this process. The majority of place names in the surrounding territory are Romance in origin, reflecting the cultural imprint of the Christian settlers. These names function as a fossilised record of the colonisation, since only a handful of toponyms of Arabic origin survived the conquest. The exceptions are almost always associated with hydronyms or oronyms, which tend to persist despite political and demographic changes.

The demographic movement that followed the conquest of Cáceres thus exemplifies a broader phenomenon characteristic of Extremadura and of other resettled territories. The predominance of immigrants from León and, to a lesser extent, Galicia and Castile, highlights the extent of the migratory flows that reshaped the social fabric of the town and its hinterland during the 13th century.

The study of this phase, for which we count on a general study at a regional level (De la Montaña Conchiña, 2003), aims to provide a more accurate profile of the repopulation of Extremadura. As indicated previously, apart from anthroponomy, we will use, the abundant toponyms that are only registered later, in documentation of the Late Middle Ages, the origin of which we have established as being from the High Medieval Period. This source will help us show a more documented and richer image of northern immigration.

We do not have a clear and detailed image of the demographic input in the period of repopulation of the region of Cáceres. The scarcity of documents, particularly private records, drastically limits our information. On the other hand, the emergence of a network of settlements with a small number of communities,

and the disappearance of others that were never documented, reduces toponymic examples. Few toponyms indicate a clear geographic origin. The Castilian dominance in the Eastern part of Alta Extremadura seems clear. In the western area there is a diversity of input, and it has not been possible to arrive at such precise assessments as those for historic Extremadura (Montaña, 2003: 151-159). The repopulation of the northern area of Leonese Extremadura (diocese of Coria) has a very similar chronology to that attributed to Historic Extremadura (Duero - Central System Mountain range), although the chronology is later in the eastern part of Extremadura (diocese of Plasencia). We consider that the input of new inhabitants was similar in both regions. Ángel Barrios noted a predominance of Galicians in historic Leonese Extremadura, particularly in the border zone with Portugal, which decreased towards the east (Salamanca and even more so in Alba de Tormes). The most western region of Castile (Ávila, Medina del Campo) shows a certain Castilian-Galician balance, with a slight predominance of the former (Barrios García, 1985: 64-75, especially 73-74).

Caceres is geographically located in the middle of the eastern and the western parts of the province. Situated on the Ruta de la Plata (Silver Route), which separates Leon from Castile in the north (the Leonese towns of Granadilla and Galisteo across from the Castilian town of Plasencia), is on a border area. We have already pointed out the Castilian predominance in the eastern part of the province. Based on the information available for Historic Extremadura, Cáceres shows a certain balance. Until the mid-14th century, over a century after the conquest of Cáceres, there is a balance between the Galician and Castilian components. We have used toponymy as a fossil which was established in the early stages of occupation, and we have assigned it to this stage. North/south mobility is predominant. The result is a certain balance between the Galician and Castilian components. We have registered a dominance of the regions of the kingdom of Leon. Here we see a clear Galician predominance, in detriment to the strict Leonese territory, which has little weight. The Castilian input is notable, with almost a third of the cases. Immigration from Castilla la Nueva (present day Castilla-La Mancha and Madrid), like Extremadura, in the first half of the 13th century only had a settlement to the north of the Tagus River and is almost residual. This was a regional space in full process of repopulation (González, 1975). We can only link two toponyms to this area. Navarra is the only region with a demographic contribution from outside the crown of Castile, and it is residual.

TABLE 1. CACERES: IMMIGRATION (13TH CENTURY-1350)

Concept/years	Galicia	Leon	Castile (North)	Navarra	Castile (South)
Toponymy	8	1	5	-	2
...-1300	¿surname?	-	-	-	-
1301-1350	3	2	4	1	-
TOTAL	11	3	9	1	2
%	42,31	11,54	34,61	3,85	7,69

Sources: Floriano, 1987: docs. 12, 19, 28, 30, 31 y 40; Mayoralgo y Lodo, 1985: doc. 4, p. 149.

Regional and internal mobility in the land of Caceres do not seem to have been significant. In the area north of the Tagus River there was a network of basic settlement in the Leonese side, and weak occupation in the area of Plasencia (Clemente Ramos; De la Montaña Conchiña, 2000)[1]. There is a fairly large number of people from the villages around Caceres who appear in the rare documentation for Caceres. Ordinarily the records do not specify whether they are residents of the town of Caceres. In fact, it was normal for villagers to travel to the town. There are records of Miguel Muñoz del Casar, Pero Mingo de Aliseda, Vicente Iván Pérez from Aldea del Cano and Benito Fernández de Arroyo del Puerco, having been in Caceres (Floriano, 1987: docs. 12 y 16; AFT-CC, c. 17, nº 5; Mayoralgo y Lodo, 1985: doc. 4). One case offers no doubt: Domingo Martín "de Torredalgas" (Torreorgaz) appears among the good men of Caceres who reach an agreement with the Order of Santiago (Floriano, 1987: doc. 35). The town had centrality in the region and an attraction for the surrounding villages that can not be underestimated. Regional immigration in this period also seems very limited. There are records of a Juanes Domingo from Gargüera (región of Plasencia) and a Lázaro López from Trujillo, as residents of Caceres (Floriano, 1987: docs. 3 y 35).

Until the mid-14th century, immigration to Caceres is part of the general dynamic of occupation of southern regions by people from the north. This north/south mobility is clear and exceeds 80%. Regional mobility, including the jurisdiction of Caceres itself, and that of Castilla la Nueva, is very limited. Noteworthy is the inflow from the kingdom of Leon, and especially from Galicia, which was the largest incoming faction after an also important contribution from Castile. Caceres is, therefore, part of the documented repopulating dynamic south of the Duero, and in the region Extremadura.

2. MOBILITY AND IMMIGRATION IN CACERES IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

The second half of the 14th century, for which we have very little data, seems to show a transition to the model of mobility of the Late Middle Ages. Northern immigration, which must have decreased notably due to a recessive demographic tendency, seemed to remain constant. However, there are no records of immigration in the western areas of Leon. Documented immigrants come from Castile, with an important inflow from Historic Extremadura – Riaza, Osma, Piedrahita and Castilla la Nueva – Toledo, Corcoles, and the Basque area –Oñate– (Floriano, 1987: doc. 54 y 57; Mayoralgo y Lodo, 1985: doc. 8; AFT-CC, c. 8, nº 1).

[1] A situation like this does not exclude mobility, as can be seen clearly in the *repartimiento* of Seville (González, 1951: vol. I, 314-315 –mapa–). Few centers, however, would have the attraction of this city.

From the 15th century onwards, mobility is no longer influenced by repopulation. The southern areas reach normalized demographic quotas, within extensive systems of development. Patterns of demographic mobility will emerge which will, in broad terms, continue throughout the Modern Era. The model of immigration will be evident in the urban profile of Caceres, and in economic and commercial relations. Due to its modest economy, Caceres has little capacity for attraction to its close surroundings. Its production is directly and indirectly associated with agriculture and livestock. Textile activity is developed and attains some importance, but commercialization does not go much beyond the surrounding area. Textiles from Extremadura are not sold outside the region.

The available data indicate that interregional migration carried more weight than migration from neighbouring areas, which is unlike the usual situation[2]. International immigration (from outside the Crown of Castile) follows a very coherent pattern. It has limited weight and is basically represented by the neighboring kingdom of Portugal, which in some cases is quite close, and never further away than some interregional provenances. Interregional immigration also follows predictable patterns, as we will see.

TABLE 2. IMMIGRATION IN CACERES (1400-1525)

Geographic origen	Nº	%
Regional	139	27,63
Interregional (Crown of Castile)	332	66,00
Foreign (outside Castile)	32	6,36
TOTAL	503	100

Two out of every three registered immigrants have interregional provenance, a fact for which we have no clear explanation[3]. However, only about one out of every fifteen are not from the crown of Castile. Of those, slightly more than half come from Portugal. Those with extra-peninsular provenances comprise only 1,59%, approximately one out of every sixty-two immigrants. This is a marginal proportion, as would be expected in towns whose economy was based on agriculture.

Immigration remains steady throughout the 15th and first quarter of the 16th centuries, whereby we can consider it uniform. The increase in registered cases was a result of documentary proliferation. It is possible, however, that the limited

[2] Predominance of the closest area tends to be a repeated occurrence in the Late Middle Ages and early Modern Era: Casado Alonso, 1987: 89-91; Rucquoi, 1983: 38-39; Olmos Herguedas, 1998: 125-127; Collantes de Terán Sánchez, 1984: 144-146; Vera Yagüe, 1999: 40 y 117-118. The situation is less clear in Ciudad Rodrigo and among the Basque *hidalgos* (noblemen): Bernal Estévez, *Ciudad Rodrigo*, 225; González Zalacaín, 2012: 36-37 (cuadro p. 36).

[3] Something similar is recorded in this period in the town of Medellín, with a dominance of immigration from different regions of the crown of Castile, while in the villages mobility between districts predominated (Clemente Ramos, 2007: 88).

foreign input, excluding Portugal, was consolidated from the last quarter of the 15th century onwards. Almost 90% of extra-peninsular immigration was recorded between 1476 and 1525.

TABLE 3. EVOLUTION OF IMMIGRATION (1400-1525)				
Period	Regional	Inter-regional	Foreign	TOTAL
1401-1450	21	30	1	52
1451-1475	34	52	1	86
1476-1500	42	119	14	174
1501-1525	43	131	17	191
TOTAL	140	332	33	503

The different types of immigration show a coherent structure, which also coincides with the lines studied for the Modern Era. The patterns of mobility recorded during the 15th century, which were a change from those of the previous period, remain steady until the contemporary period.

Regional immigration follows lines that we can consider normal. Areas that are closer have more weight. Approximately less than a quarter of immigrants come from the region of Caceres. We must not forget the great extension of many jurisdictions in Extremadura, including the one under study. Distances are greater than in other territories and vary between over five and twenty kilometers. Along with the villages recorded in the census of 1528-1532 there were the *heredamientos,* old rural settlements (which appear as villages until the second half of the 15th century), and became estates of the local oligarchy (Clemente Ramos, 2022: 181-3; y 2024). A major part of the population of those centers ended up settling in the town (of Caceres). In fact, in the last quarter of the 15th century, communal property of the residents of Corchuela was held by residents of Caceres (Clemente Ramos, 2024). Although information on these villages is scarce due to a lack of judicial sources, there is clear evidence of mobility in the jurisdiction of Caceres, from the villages to the town. We only have two documented people from Caceres who live in Casar, the most populated village, with a demographic level close to that of the town (of Caceres) in the first third of the 16th century[4]. This degree of mobility remained steady throughout the 15th century. The smaller number of cases for the first half of the 15th century can easily be explained by the lack of available documentation. In general, villages with bigger populations, and to some degree, the closer ones had more weight in terms of mobility.

[4] We have documented in this village a Francisco de Caceres (AFT-CC, c. 18, nº 2-14, a. 1487) and a Jerónimo Holguín, "natural... de Caçeres y morador que al presente soy en el lugar del Casar" (Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cáceres, Hacienda [Clero], c. 62, nº 2-2, f. 1r, a. 1527).

TABLE 4. CÁCERES: VILLAGE-TOWN MOBILITY (15TH CENTURY)					
Origin	Kms	Immigrants	Origin	Kms	Immigrants
Casar de C.	10	6	Aliseda	28,5	2
Malpartida de C.	12,5	-	Aldea del Cano	21	2
Arroyo de la Luz*	18,5	4	Zamarilla**	14	6
Sierra de Fuentes	9	3	Aldehuela**	6	1
Torreorgaz	15	3	Parrón**	11,5	1
Torrequemada	17,5	3	Corchuela**	5	1

* Old village of Caceres
** *Heredamientos*

Regional mobility concentrates in the closest space, with a bigger influence of physiographic factors, such as the Tagus River and the Montes de Toledo (mountain range) in Extremadura. Half of the immigrants come from the southern basin of the Tagus. The northern basin of the Tagus River, or the jurisdictions of councils situated next to the Guadiana each contribute slightly less than one quarter. The southern part of the province of Badajoz plays a marginal role. Over the course of the 15th century, the basin of the Guadiana loses weight in benefit of Alta Extremadura (less than 15% between 1502-1525).

TABLE 5. CÁCERES (15TH CENTURY): REGIONAL IMMIGRATION (EXCLUDING THE LAND OF CÁCERES)					
Period	Tagus/South	Tagus/North	Badajoz, Mérida, Medellín	Rest of Badajoz	TOTAL
1401-1450	5	2	8	1	16
1451-1475	15	3	3	5	26
1476-1500	20	3	7	3	33
1501-1525	16	16	5	0	37
TOTAL	56	24	23	9	112

Immigration from the southern basin of the Tagus River shows an important influx from the jurisdiction of Trujillo, which remains at a steady 50% (approximately) throughout the 15th century. This rate appears to decrease in the first quarter of that century, which is perhaps just statistical randomness. Trujillo's contribution is noteworthy; approximately ¾ of all immigration comes from its jurisdiction, although in 1532 it was only 8,80% of the population. The contribution of the municipality of Montánchez, the only *Santiaguista* (of the Order of Santiago) area of the province of Caceres is anecdotal. The rest of the areas have very similar contributions. Immigration from the *maestrazgo* of Alcantara came almost exclusively from the municipality of Alcantara, which is next to (the province of) Caceres. Valencia de Alcantara, on the border with Portugal, has a marginal presence. It is likely that the mobility in this town had a unique profile due to its location on the frontier (*rayana*) zone. In short, we can link the special relationship between Caceres

and the town of Trujillo, which contributes a third of the immigrants from Caceres province between 1401 and 1525, with proximity being an important factor.

TABLE 6. CÁCERES (15TH CENTURY): IMMIGRATION FROM THE SOUTHERN BASIN OF THE TAGUS

Period	Orden Alcant.	Garrovillas	Montánchez	Trujillo (town)	Eastern area	TOTAL
1401-1450	1	0	0	3 (3)	1	5
1451-1475	2	5	0	8 (6)	0	15
1476-1500	7	1	0	11 (8)	2	21
1501-1525	3	4	1	3 (2)	5	16
TOTAL	13	10	1	25 (19)	8	57

Interregional immigration has different patterns to those of the previous phase. This immigration comes mainly from the old kingdom of Leon (Galicia, Asturias and the provinces of Leon, Zamora and Salamanca), Castile (northern plateau) and Castilla la Nueva. Regarding the previous period, Galician emigration loses strength and becomes one more element, compared to the greater weight of Leon[5]. Proximity plays an important role. The weight of Castile prevails, but it is a more extensive and populated region. Overall, there is a clear predominance of northern immigration, which accounts for three out of every four immigrants[6]. However, despite the weight of the Leonese area there was demographic movement towards the east. Castilla la Nueva contributes 17.80% of the immigration. Although important, it plays a secondary role. The contribution of southern regions (Andalucia and Murcia) is limited and does not reach 10%. While the marginal role of Murcia was to be expected because of the absence of economic relations in that region, the demographic links with Andalucia seem considerably less strong than in Baja Extremadura. The provenance of the immigrants of Caceres remains steady throughout the Modern period, with growing weight of the Rioja region (Blanco Carrasco y Santillana Pérez, 2011: 46, mapa II; Rodríguez Sánchez, 1977: 180-1).

TABLE 7. CACERES: INTERREGIONAL IMMIGRATION (1400-1525)

Period	Galicia	Asturias	León	Norte-León	Castilla	País Vasco	Cast. Nueva	Murcia	Anda-lucía	Total
1401-1425	2	0	1	-	3	1	1	0	0	8
1426-1450	1	0	6	1	7	1	6	1	0	23

[5] Emigration from Extremadura is a smaller component in modern Galicia, where other closer destinations are favored, or where there are more work opportunities (Pérez García, 2011: 237-8).

[6] A similar dynamic can be seen in the *maestrazgo* of Alcantara (Clemente Quijada, 2020: 115).

TABLE 7. CACERES: INTERREGIONAL IMMIGRATION (1400-1525)										
Period	Galicia	Asturias	León	Norte-León	Castilla	País Vasco	Cast. Nueva	Murcia	Anda-lucía	Total
1451-1475	5	2	15	-	14	2	11	0	3	52
1476-1500	6	3	24	2	47	4	22	2	11	121
1501-1525	12	0	34	2	47	9	20	0	9	133
TOTAL	26	5	80	5	118	17	60	3	23	337

A more detailed analysis of the places of origin of immigrants shows a significant dispersal, which is compatible with the important weight in some of the communities. We have no information about Galicia, since there is only a general reference to regional origins, and only occasionally to their place of provenance. In the Leonese area, the following stand out: Salamanca (thirteen cases), Leon (fifteen), Toro (ten), Villalobos-Zamora (eleven) and the district of Sanabria (sixteen). There is a bigger weight for the northern zone. This dispersal of the Leonese area can also be seen in Castilla la Nueva. Toledo and the area next to the borders of Toledo and Talavera, which currently belong to the provinces of Extremadura, accounted for about a third of the cases. Also important are the contributions of Cuenca (six cases), Madrid (six cases), Molina (five cases) and Villareal-Ciudad Real (seven cases). Within the high rate of dispersal, proximity seems to be an important factor, unlike in the Leonese region. Southern regions have a limited weight. This is especially notable for Andalucia, given its proximity, and the existence of important cities like Seville[7]

Castilian immigration is concentrated in several areas. Because of its proximity, the region of Avila, contributes important numbers of immigrants, reaching almost a third of the input from all of Castile. Avila supplies the most cases (fourteen), but other towns and villages of the region also contribute. The area of Segovia is less represented, with less than half the cases of the region of Avila; only Sepulveda has a relevant role (6 cases). The other important region is Burgos and its surrounding areas. Burgos (city) contributes eleven cases, half of the immigration from that area. Soria is represented by Osma (fifteen cases), although it is possible that this contribution is due to the fossilization of that surname, which is also the name of a *dehesa.* No other centers of the area appear, including Soria (city). Immigrants from Palencia, Valladolid and other nearby nuclei appear in limited numbers. Perhaps Medina de Campo is a special case. It only has seven cases, but five are from the first quarter of the 16th century, possibly as a result of the increasing importance of its markets during the 15th century. The Cantabria region is represented by the Basque country, a traditional area of emigrants in the Middle Ages. The role of western

[7] The presence of Andalusia appears to be more important in Medellín, but not in Merida, where immigration comes mainly from the sub-plateau of northern Castile. There is a nominal Leonese presence (Bernal Estévez, 2013: 184-185).

Castile (province of Santander) is marginal. The contribution from the Rioja is also irrelevant (three cases).

In summary, interregional immigration is influenced in some cases by proximity (regions of Avila and Toledo, including the frontier, which in now part of Extremadura). But there were cases that were the opposite, examples of which are the north of Leon (provinces of Zamora and Salamanca), and the region of Burgos. The protagonism of Burgos and Medina del Campo from the first quarter of the 16th century onwards seems to be linked to the commercial and/or financial importance of these centers, which were vital for connecting Castile with international markets[8]. It is remarkable that the people from Medina del Campo were highly qualified (physicist, graduate, bachelor, Jew, goldsmith, abbess/prioress)[9]. The bigger weight of northern Castile, as compared to the smaller and less populated, but closer, Leon, might be associated with the practice of transhumance, an important practice in Extremadura. In general, the most represented Castilian areas are related to this activity, especially in Avila, but also in Segovia, Soria and Burgos[10]. On the other hand, Leonese transhumant herders are limited in Extremadura. The economic role of some cities like Burgos, or later, Medina del Campo, should also be considered.

As mentioned previously, immigration from outside the crown of Castile comes mainly from Portugal. Portuguese immigration is both moderate,[11] and dispersed. Provenance is evenly spread among the northern regions of Portugal (Braganza, Chaves), the center region (Cadaval, all merchants) and the Alentejo (Silves, Alvito). The area bordering Extremadura contributes moderately (Elvas, [Castelo] Branco and Sabugal). This frontier (*rayana*) zone is demographically depressed[12], which explains its limited contribution. Distance does not seem a factor that influences Portugese immigration.

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[8] Casado Alonso 2007: 129-138, Caunedo del Potro, 1983: 39-45.

[9] For example: AFT-CC, c. 1, nº 13, f. 1r (Mose de Medina y Salomón de Medina, Jews, a. 1470); c. 18, nº 48, f. 4r (María de Medina, aves of the convent of San Pablo, a. 1492); o c. 51, nº 2, f. 13r (licenciate Francisco de Medina "fesico", a. 1522).

[10] García Oliva, 2015: 258-9; Pereira Iglesias, 1990: 182. The Leonese transhumant herders are not registered in Caceres. Clemente Quijada, 2020: 241-2422, has documented herders from Salamanca in 1485 in the *partido* of Alcantara. It is symptomatic and determinant that in the assemblies of the Mesta in the first decades of the 16th century, herders from Soria and Segovia had the representation of the *partido* of Leon as there were not enough herders in the region (Diago Hernando, 2004: 1048). Clemente Quijada, 2020: 115, also recorded for La Serena the concurrence between mobility and transhumance.

[11] The scarcity of Portuguese immigration in Caceres, Trujillo and Plasencia remains steady in the second half of the 16th century (Le Flem, 1967: 257). The Castilian-Luso border, on the other hand, has significant mobility, but we don't know if it only affected the *rayana* districts or if it had an impact on more distant areas (Bernal Estévez, 1989: 225; Martín Martín, 2007: 159-160). The border city of Badajoz had an important Portuguese immigration in the Modern Era (Blanco Carrasco, 2003: 103).

[12] This situation resulted in the creation of *cotos de homiciados* in the second half of the 14th century, as a measure of defense. Some of them are located on the *raya* (border) of Portugal and Exremadura, such as Penamacor, Penha Garcia, Marvao or Arronches (Baquero Moreno, 2003: 88; Santos Leitão, 2013: 277-279).

The rest of international immigration is divided into those who come from Navarra and the crown of Aragon, on one hand, and extra-peninsular arrivals on the other, approximately each comprising a fourth of the total. The demographic weight of this immigration is limited. It is possible that the latter had professions that were linked to commerce, which explains its importance in Seville and the ports of Cadiz, although that does not figure in our documentation[13]. There is only a record for a Brabant shoemaker[14].

3. IMMIGRATION AND THE LABOR MARKET

Who are the settlers in Caceres? What kind of professional profile did they have? The professions can give us some ideas about the reasons for demographic mobility, and about their contribution to the society of Caceres. Although we should not forget that the professional activities that were recorded do not necessarily coincide with the original professions, the results are consistent with the original professions and social profile of Caceres.

TABLE 8. TRADES AND IMMIGRATION IN CÁCERES (1400-1525)

Trade/Activity	Regional	Reino León	Castilla (Norte)	Zona sur	Extranjero	TOTAL	TOTAL Grupos
Scribe	4	4	9***	3		20	23
Procurator	1	2				3	
Mayordomo de concejo (royal official)	1			1		2	2
Licenciate			2	1		3	11
Bachiller (Bachelor)	1	1	3	3		8	
Doctor/physician			2			2	5
Apothecary			1***	2		3	
Cleric	2	4	7			13	22
Frair/nun	3	1	4	1		9	
Squire	1	1**				2	2

[13] However, extra-peninsular foreigners are not abundant, at least until 1500, in important commercial cities in the interior such as Burgos, Valladolid and Medina del Campo (Bello León, 1994: 38-49). Bello León, 1994: 102, collects debts from residents of Caceres with Genovese merchants, two of them residing in Seville.

[14] AHMCC, c. 16/56, nº 2, f. 3v, a. 1516 ("Enrique de Brevante, çapatero").

TABLE 8. TRADES AND IMMIGRATION IN CÁCERES (1400-1525)							
Trade/Activity	Regional	Reino León	Castilla (Norte)	Zona sur	Extranjero	TOTAL	TOTAL Grupos
Servant	15	15*	15****	7	3	55	56
Ama (housekeeper)	1					1	
Weaver	1	1				2	10
Taylor	1				3	3	
Wool worker/cloth maker		1				1	
Cloth shearer		1	1			2	
Money changers		1*		1		2	
Shoemaker	2	1	1			4	6
Boot maker				1		1	
Leatherworker			1			1	
Stone cutter		1	1	1		3	5
Whitewasher				1		1	
Painter	1					1	
Iron worker				1		1	3
Farrier			1			1	
Armeror		1				1	
Potter		1				1	5
Goldbeaters			1			1	
Silversmith				1		1	
Barber	1	1				2	
Merchant					3	3	6
Mesonero (innkeeper)			1			1	
Muleteer		1			1	2	
Jew	2		2		1	5	5
TOTAL	37	38	52	24	10	155*****	157*****

* On servant, gamekeeper and moneychanger.
** One squire-servant.
*** One scribe-squire.
**** One servant and later squire.
***** The 4 remaining cases are subtracted.

The trades that immigrants worked in can be divided into several groups. The first comprised those people who had important qualifications and worked in the service sector. These included scribes and notaries, many of whom came from outside, and also procurators, who worked in legal representation. All together they

constitute about a seventh part of the total and mostly comprised scribes (12,26%). The second group was represented by people with university degrees, some licentiates and a higher number of bachelors, reaching 7,10% (bachelor: 5.16%). The third group was made up of people with training in health, (insofar as that field was understood at the time), which with five cases only amounted to 3.23%. If we group this set of qualified individuals together and then add the *mayordomos del consejo* (high ranking royal officials), their weight reaches 25.81%, slightly above one quarter.

The ecclesiastic group is significant. Clerics and friars/nuns have twenty-two cases (14,19%), approximately a seventh. This immigration is not surprising. Clerics are a group that has great mobility, regional and extra-regional, who seek lucrative and stable benefits. Regarding the second group, friars and nuns, there was a proliferation of convents in Caceres after the mid-15th century (San Francisco, San Pablo, Santa Maria de Jesus, and Santo Domingo)[15], which took in people who wanted, or were obliged to choose a life of retreat. The available information allows for a detailed analysis of this group, particularly of the women. We should point out that we also find people from Caceres in convents in other locations.

The sector that we can consider as services, and does not include production, represents an important part of all immigration. Altogether, including squires, it reaches 41.29%. This group has a degree of privilege, compared to the average population, though this is relative, since some scribes lived poorly, as did the residents of some convents. The sector of services was represented by scribes, university graduates and clerics. The scarce representation in the health sector is not surprising.[16].

The rest of the immigrants are associated to different activities of production and commerce. The most remarkable feature is the importance of the so-called servants, people without qualifications who are involved in different domestic and production activities. Their weight would have to be associated with the powerful families of the middle nobility of Caceres, who required the services of this group. This category reached 35.48% of the total (36.13% for the cited category of *ama* / housekeeper), that is, over one third. This means that a very important part of immigration has no specific professional qualification. Undoubtedly, their weight is due to the demand for work in the area.

A second group is comprised of artisans and has twenty-five cases; it only represents 16.13%, slightly less than a sixth, and less than half of the category of servants. Caceres in not a center with much demand for artisanal work. This data shows how modest this sector is compared to the economic and social power of the local oligarchy. It is not surprising that the different trades are represented in an order that follows their economic weight. The textile sector (eight cases) and leather (six cases), which become quite important in Cáceres, are the most represented, followed

[15] They have not been studied beyond their art. Some interesting information in García Mogollón, 2005.

[16] It is not surprising, and this explains that their work is not registered in the episodes of the plague during the first half of the 16th century (Clemente Ramos, 2023: 327)

by sectors that are always indispensable, such as construction and metallurgy. We consider that the weight of the artisanal sector in general, and of the different trades in particular, complies with their economic weight in Caceres.

The sector associated with commerce has less weight. We recorded three merchants, one *mesonero* (innkeeper) and two muleteers, resulting in a very modest 3.87%. It is very likely that many of the documented Jews were involved in mercantile activity (five cases), which despite increasing the weight of merchants, this category was still modest.

Altogether, the activities of the immigrant sector follow the local labor market, emphasizing the weight of the service sector (scribes, clerics), the local oligarchy's role of employer (in competition with other minorities of a much lower economic level) ,and the limited demand for sectors associated with the urban economy. Thus, the activity of the immigrants defines the local economic model.

4. CONCLUSIONS

Immigration in Caceres between the 13th century and 1525 has two distinctive stages. Until the mid-14th century there was a process of re-population. The input from Galicia and Leon predominated in general. The Castilian component, with a more extensive region and a bigger population, is also important, although inferior in terms of demographic contribution. Southern input is limited, as would be expected, given its smaller population. It (Immigration) is sustained by the area of Castile and La Mancha, while there are no recorded immigrants from Andalucia during this stage. In general lines, the Galician dominance, with a strong Castilian input, follows the patterns established for the Salamanca area, with a Galician dominance that wanes towards the east.

Immigration in the Late Middle Ages appears to be influenced by the urban model of Caceres, mainly agricultural, and by a demand for unqualified labor (servants). There is a clear predominance of interregional immigration, perhaps due to demographic weakness of the closest areas, and to the local economic model. Foreign immigration, from outside the kingdom of Castile, is limited, even for immigrants of Portuguese origin. There seems to be a feeling of frontier in Caceres, contrary to the border (*rayana*) areas where there is more fluidity.

Immigration is characterized by a clear recession in the Galician input and the dominance of Castilian regions, especially from the north, but also of Castile and La Mancha. Andalucian influx is quite limited, which differentiates it from some areas of the Guadiana valley. Within the region of Caceres, proximity is a factor of attraction. Most of the immigration comes from the southern basin of the Tagus River, with an important weight from Trujillo, while the input from the region of the Guadiana valley is marginal.

The professional activity of the immigrants follows the local economic model. The weight of servants, about a third, is very important. Noteworthy in this group is the weight of scribes and clerics, who do not necessarily enjoy a comfortable economic situation. The small demand for artisanal workers, as opposed to the importance

of the textile and leather sectors, is evidenced in a weight that we consider limited (slightly below 1/6).

The predominance of immigration from the north was a constant in Caceres from the 13th century onwards, although the dominance of Leonese and Galician immigration gives way to a bigger inflow of Castilian immigration, especially from the north. However, in the Late Middle Ages there is also immigration from Castile and La Mancha. The input of southern regions is limited. The southern basin of the Tagus River appears to be a predominant place of origin within regional immigration, especially the area of Trujillo, which is close by.

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THE NOTARIES AND THEIR CLIENTS IN THE ALTO ALENTEJO REGION DURING THE LATE MIDDLE AGES (15TH-16TH CENTURIES): MOBILITY AND CIRCULATION PATTERNS

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Abstract

The study of Portuguese medieval notarial activity already boasts a solid body of bibliographical work. Nonetheless, there are still geographical areas and methodological approaches that remain to be explored in detail. This article aims to introduce a new interpretative approach to the subject by attempting to reconstruct the patterns and trends of mobility observed among notaries and their clients in the region today known as *Alto Alentejo* during the second half of the 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th century. This will be carried out with the data provided by the letters of royal pardon recorded in the royal chancelleries of D. Afonso V (1438-1481), D. João II (1481-1495), and D. Manuel I (1495-1521), in articulation with the chapters of the *Cortes* meetings, and, finally, in the legislative and normative texts in force during this chronological period.

Keywords: social history, urban history, Medieval Portugal, Late Middles Ages, public notaries, Medieval Writing.

LOS NOTARIOS Y SUS CLIENTES EN EL ALTO ALENTEJO TARDOMEDIEVAL (SIGLOS XV-XVI): MOVIMIENTOS Y FLUJOS

Resumen

El estudio del notariado medieval portugués ya cuenta con una sólida producción bibliográfica, sin embargo, aún existen espacios geográficos y enfoques metodológicos por explorar en detalle. El presente artículo tiene como objetivo presentar una nueva propuesta interpretativa sobre el tema, al intentar reconstruir los patrones y tendencias de movilidad observadas entre los notarios y sus clientes en la región hoy conocida como el Alto Alentejo, durante la segunda mitad del siglo xv y el primer cuarto del siglo xvi. A través de los datos proporcionados por las cartas de perdón real consignadas en las cancillerías reales de D. Afonso V (1438-1481), D. João II (1481-1495) y D. Manuel I (1495-1521), en articulación con los capítulos de reuniones de Cortes y, por último, en los textos legislativos y normativos vigentes durante este período cronológico.

Palabras clave: historia social; historia urbana, Portugal en la Edad Media, Baja Edad Media, notarios públicos, escritura medieval.

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0. INTRODUCTION[1]

The objective of this article is to examine the differences and trends in the travels of notaries, and the clients who sought their services in the region known today as the *Alto Alentejo* between 1438 and 1521. This area under study comprises twelve towns: Alegrete, Alpalhão, Arronches, Assumar, Campo Maior, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Monforte, Montalvão, Nisa, Ouguela and Portalegre. It is the first study with a methodological perspective, which we will develop further on, hitherto barely addressed in the ambit of studies of Portuguese Medieval notarial activity. It is based on an analysis of notarial documents produced in the aforementioned regions and the requests of the inhabitants of those towns, which are partially preserved in the letters of pardon in the books of the royal chancelleries of the reigns of King Afonso V (1438-1481), King João II (1481-1495) and King Manuel I (1495-1521). We have also relied on the records of meetings of the *Cortes* in which notaries participated as representatives for the towns of the *Alto Alentejo*[2], as well as contemporary legislation that regulated the mobility and circulation of notaries during the second half of the 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th century.

Portuguese historiography has scarcely addressed medieval notarial activity in the region known today as the *Alto Alentejo*, which has resulted in a lack of knowledge about how notaries public functioned during the Middle Ages in the Portuguese frontier towns of this northeastern region of the Alentejo. The scant bibliography that does exist provides dispersed, but interesting data about the activity of notaries in this limitrophe area of the Portuguese kingdom. Firstly, we have the classic work by Barros (1950) that focuses on the administrative structure of the Portuguese Medieval kingdom. This comprehensive study dedicates some pages to notarial activity, which include occurrences and documentary records of the towns under study, such as Castelo de Vide and Marvão. Only at the transition to the 21st century did new contributions appear in the study of the notarial profession in the region of the *Alto Alentejo*, thanks to a unique study by Nogueira (2008) which offers a collective view of the creation and subsequent proliferation of the activity of notaries public in Portugal throughout the 13th century. In this study we find important information about the embryonic phase of the profession, and its subsequent expansion and consolidation in the aforementioned region.

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[2] The Portuguese towns under study in the ambit of the project are: Alegrete; Alpalhão; Arronches; Assumar; Campo Maior; Castelo de Vide; Marvão; Monforte; Montalvão; Nisa; Ouguela; and Portalegre. On the Castilian side they include Albuquerque, Alcántara, Cáceres, Garosillas, Herrera de Alcántara, La Codesera, S. Vicente de Alcántara and Valencia de Alcántara. On this project see: https://frontowns.fcsh.unl.pt/.

A work written by Leitão (2013) entirely dedicated to the town of Portalegre, provides a list of the men who performed notarial activity in that town during the 15th century. Finally, we point out the master's dissertation of Romão (2013), which through a thorough analysis of the royal letters of appointment of notaries, compiled in the chancellery of King Afonso V, provides one of the most complete surveys for the identification of notaries public who carried out their activity in the towns under study. More recently we had the opportunity to carry out a study (Alves, in the press) that examined notarial activity in the towns under study during the reign of King Afonso V. With this work we reached some interesting conclusions about the geographic distribution of notarial offices, the average duration of careers, and characteristics of the process of the assignment and heredity of positions. Thanks to the contribution of the master's dissertation of Andrade (2024), the study was further broadened to include an analysis of notaries and royal clerks, new thematic perspectives, and an extension of the chronology and space, providing an overview of notarial activity in the Northeastern Alentejo.

The other aspect of our analysis, i.e. the topic of travel and movement of notaries and their clients in Medieval Portugal, has been addressed in several bibliographical sources. On one hand, we can group the works that focused on the study of normative texts and legislation that regulated the circulation of notaries, which include the works of Alarcão (1959), Pereira (1989), Bono (1989), Torres (1992), Coelho (2001), and Gonçalves (2010; 2011). From another angle, there are the works dedicated to the study of notarial activity in determined regions, cities and towns; these contain information about where notarial activity was more prevalent, as well as the itineraries and travel expenses recorded by the notaries, both within urban spaces and outside the walls of Medieval towns and surrounding areas. In these studies the authors resorted to topical dates recorded in the instruments and documents produced by the notaries. The extensive list of works includes examples pertaining to the Algarve (Cunha, 1986-1987), to Arouca (Rêpas, 1998), to Braga (Cunha, 1990), to Bragança (Cunha, 2006), to Coimbra (Santos, 1990-1992; Santos, 2005), to Guimarães (Rodrigues, 2022), to Lamego (Saraiva, 1998), to Lisboa (Cunha & Seabra, 2018) (Ferreira, 2018, 2023) (Fresco, 2006), to Porto (Seabra, 2024a; Seabra, 2012; Seabra, 2014; Lopes & Seabra, 2012; Silva, 2013), and to Santarém (Mata, 1997-1998; Barata, 2011). Most recently, Seabra (2025) provided us with an interesting approach to this line of research by analysing the locations where the notaries' activity took place, as well as the costs of travelled that they charged, within the regions of *Galicia*, in northern Spain, and *Trás-os-Montes*, in the northernmost region of the Portuguese kingdom.

Moreover, in her study of Medieval Portuguese urbanism Luísa Trindade (2013: 653-654) raises considerations about the difficult and slow process of notaries' establishment in one place and their activity within urban spaces, resulting in several grievances presented in the *Cortes* (Barros, 1950: 431-434). Finally, we cite the studies that focus in greater detail on the actual subject of circulation. There is the very interesting book by Maria José Azevedo Santos (2005: 33-34; 40-41) that contains witnesses' accounts of journeys, with the respective distances and costs, of notaries from different locations in Portugal in the 14th century. A

study by Cunha (2018) addresses the notarial activity in the *Transmontana* region of Torre de Moncorvo in the 1300s; this author provides a detailed report of the places where there were notarial offices, as well as some examples of these men's itineraries and their costs, correlating them with royal legislation. An article written by Cristina Cunha and Ricardo Seabra, (Cunha & Seabra, 2021), which considers the costs associated with notarial activity in Portugal during the 1400s, dedicates an entire section to the costs of the notaries' journeys. The most recent contribution is provided by Ricardo Seabra, who published a text entitled "Os caminhos dos tabeliães: circulação de notários pelas circunscrições áreas da Comarca do Entre-Douro-e-Minho no século xv" (The routes of the notaries: travels through the areas of the District of *Entre-Douro-e-Minho* in the 15th century) (Seabra, 2024b) where he focuses on the movements of notaries in the most northern district of the Portuguese kingdom in the late Middle Ages.

1. DOCUMENTARY CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

Given the scarcity of notarial documentation for the geographic area and chronology under study, we were obliged to use other documentary typologies for our research. We resorted to royal documentation as our preferred research source, i.e. records of royal pardons from the royal chancelleries of Kings Afonso V, João II, and Manuel I.

This documental typology has the advantage of containing useful data about the notaries' activity, production and clientele. The information was easy to obtain from the letters, which provided lists of the names of victims and offenders, and their respective places of residence or provenance. Data regarding the notaries can be collated from references found in two types of documents that ordinarily accompany these cases: the *instrumento público de perdão entre as partes* (public instrument of pardon between the parties), and the *instrumento público de certidão* (public certificate document). Both show the name of the holder and the territorial jurisdiction of the notarial office, as well as the date that said document was issued. To complete the information provided by the aforementioned records, we also consulted the royal letters of appointment and confirmation to notarial positions, as well as the records of the *Cortes,* where we find the names of notaries from municipal delegations attending the plenary were registered.

Before advancing further with our study, we believe that it is important to take a closer look at our sources. Firstly, a public instrument of pardon between parties was indispensable for obtaining royal pardons. Basically, this represented and officialized the reconciliation between victim/accuser and aggressor/target of the accusation. The party holding the right to accuse the petitioner withdrew from future legal action of its own accord, or at least this was what was the expected normative procedure, (although in practice it did not always work like that, since intimidation, bribery and other illegal practices were sometimes used). This agreement was then usually officialized before a notary, thus making it a certified public document proving and attesting to the truth of the reconciliation. It was imperative that both parties

involved in the dispute were present before the notary at the time the document was drawn up, or were represented by a legal proxy acting on their behalf (Duarte, 1999: 35-56; 462-489).

Another source for our research was public certificate documents, which were written by notaries serving in towns that housed *coutos de homiziados* (territories designated for the forced exile of criminals)[3]. Some of these *coutos* were located in towns that are included in our study, i.e. Arronches, Marvão, Monforte and Ouguela (Moreno: 1986). This notarial instrument was essential for anyone who wanted to commute their exile (replace or reduce the punishment of exile with a less severe penalty), since it was proof of how much sentence time the petitioner had served. The document was produced by one of the notaries serving in that town, who thus validated it with his *pública fé* (public faith), in the presence of two ordinary judges, providing proof of the date in which exile began by recording it in the book of *homiziados* of that same town[4] (Duarte, 1999: 441-447). This book was a codex that contained all the information about the individuals serving sentences in the different *coutos* in the kingdom[5] (Moreno, 1986: 97). Occasionally, this proof included oral accounts by other people, mostly residents of the town, who helped confirm the accuracy of the testimony given[6].

From a quantitative point of view, the sampling used includes a total of 516 references of both of the aforementioned documentary typologies. Of those, 428 are records of public instruments of pardon between parties, thus comprising 82,9% of the sample, and another 88 records of public certificate document, comprising the remaining 17,1% of the sample.

An analysis of graphs 1 and 2 shows that a large amount of data corresponds to the reign of King João II; this is because only in the last decades of King Afonso V's reign did records of royal pardons become a constant presence in the chancellery, which in addition to the extensive reforms that were carried out in that chancellery, helps explain the disparity in documental volume. We attribute the lower numbers of the chancellery of King Manuel I, to the lack of detail and minutiae of the indexes and descriptive data bases available to navigate this massive chancellery (which comprised 47 books)[7]. We were not able to carry out an equally thorough search to those done in the two previous cases, and surely many other references were not compiled.

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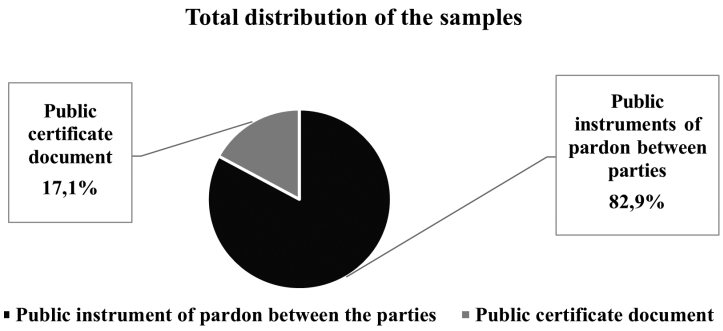
[3] For further developing the topic of "homiziados" and "coutos de homiziados", see in this thematic dossier Leitão, 2026.

[4] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, Liv. 43, fl. 79; Liv. 45, fl. 56.

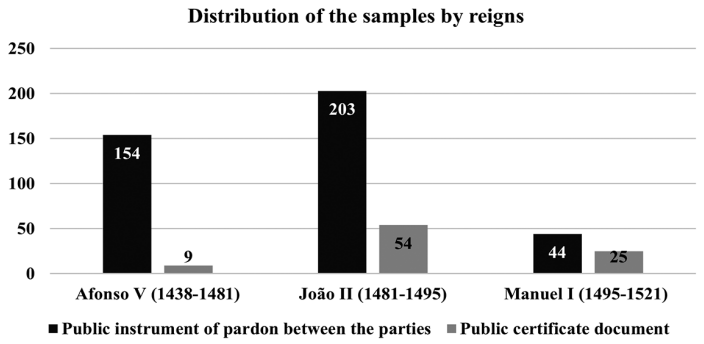
[5] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Livro V, Título LXI, art. 23, pp. 251-252.

[6] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 12, fl. 159-159v; Liv. 9, fl. 154v-155; ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, Liv. 45, fl. 116; Liv. 45, fl. 30-30v.

[7] The chancery records from the reign of King Manuel I were included in the study because they are within the chronological limits of the research project "FRONTOWNS", in the context of which this article was produced. And even though it gives us a smaller volume of data in comparison with the other two chanceries, it still holds much value to the overall scope of the investigation. The text that immediately follows after the graphic gives a critical appreciation of it, as well as explain its capabilities and limitations evidenced by the data gathered in the chancery of Manuel I.



Graph number 1. Source: A.N.T.T. *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, Chancelaria de D. João II, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I.*



Graph number 2. Source: A.N.T.T. *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, Chancelaria de D. João II, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I.*

Regarding the use of records of the *Cortes*, in the cases in which the documentation does not explicitly state that the municipal representative is a notary, we compare the names of the representatives mentioned with an extensive list of proposographic data on the notaries of these towns for a period of 83 years. We developed this study in the ambit of the project *Frontowns* (Alves, in press; Andrade, 2024), in order to reach the most feasible and secure hypothesis possible in the identification of these men.

2. THE REGULATIONS CONCERNING NOTARIAL WRITING AND TRAVELS RELATED THEREWITH

With the growing demand for written documents during the Middle Ages, the Portuguese Crown soon created legislation to standardize and expand its control over this proliferating occupation. Travelling and circulation of the notaries were one of the aspects that were regulated by these laws, i.e. establishing regulations in the locations where the notaries carried out their activity, and establishing limits on the payments collected for their trips to produce documents. The earliest legislation of this kind is found in the *Regimento* of notaries of 1305; it stipulated that towns that had two or more notaries were obliged to have a building called *Casa* or *Paço* of the notaries, as a way of simplifying clients' access to notarial services (Silva & Rodrigues, 1971: 67). This measure was replicated and reinforced by all legislative reforms until the end of the Middle Ages (Bono, 1989: 154; Trindade, 2013: 653-654).

Another document from the period of King Dinis, produced in January 1305, stipulated that the fees for journeys made by notaries within a town for the production of documents, could amount to a cost of 2 *soldos* (wages), with a proviso in the case of the town having two notaries. In that case both men had to travel together and each one could receive 2 *soldos* (Pereira, 1989:680). When travelling involved going beyond the perimeter of a town, the fees increased to 4 *soldos* for every league travelled, in addition to which the client was required to provide a mount for the clerk's return trip (Pereira, 1989:680 e Barros, 1950: 378). On the 27th of August 1326 these same legal stipulations would be confirmed by Dinis' son and successor King Afonso IV (Viegas & Gomes, 2016: 92-94; Seabra, 2025: 14). The legislation from King Dinis' period also established instances in which notaries were legally prohibited from charging their client for their travel[8] (Pereira, 1989:680). The monarch appears to have advocated for the enforcement of these normative guidelines, as evidenced by the forceful admonition sent in a letter dated 26 of February of 1315 to the notaries of Covilhã, a town not very far from the group of towns under study. Where, accompanied by other grievances against these clerks, it was claimed that for the journeys of two notaries "ffora da vila com alguem que vos ha mester" (outside the village with someone that has need for their service) the charged fees exceeded the amounts stipulated by the royal "tousaçom", a practice that was punished by King Dinis with "pena de corpos" (physical punishments) (Vicente, 2012: 144).

The regulatory measures were updated in 1366 with a fee index in which it was stipulated that in cases of travel for the purpose of document production, a notary could charge up to 4 *soldos* - 2 *soldos* to cover the outward journey and another 2 *soldos* to cover the return. However, this new norm did not clarify whether these prices referred to movement within the towns where notaries provided their services, or if it applied to longer trips outside the urban perimeter (Alarcão, 1959: 303-304). In 1440 a new fee index for notaries was issued for the judicial notaries;

[8] *Ordenações de D. Duarte*, pp. 202-204.

the amount they could charge for visiting reputable individuals who were excused from going to the *Paço* to make declarations, was increased to 3 *reais* and 6 *pretos* (Dias, 1999: 104-105; Pereira, 1989: 663-664).

In the *Ordenações Afonsinas* these (travel) expenses were indexed at 4 *reais brancos*, in instances when documents had a judicial nature, and required delivery to the client within the town or its surroundings[9]. This fee, and the geographic restrictions are reiterated in the regulations regarding notarial activity specifically established for notaries of the *Paço*[10]. If the range of action extended beyond the town limits the cost was higher, as seen in the *Ordenação:* "*porque se mais longe for, levará mais solairo, como se adiante dirá*"[11] (the further he goes, the higher the salary he'll receive, as will be mentioned later). According to José Bono (1989:157), the field of action of the notaries of the *Paço* differed a little from that of those employed by their judicial notaries, since the former were restricted to the town and respective area where they had been assigned. Regarding the activity of court notaries, these were directly limited by the jurisdiction of the judicial organism which they served.

Those same provisions are stated in Title XXXXII – *"De que levarom os Taballiaaẽs, e Escripvaaẽs, e Enqueredores por seu trabalho, quando forem fora do Lugar fazer algũa escriptura"* (How much should be required by Scribes and Interrogators, for their work, to go away from the Place to do some deed). According to the guidelines therein, the fee charged for travelling increased to 20 *reais brancos* for a half-day of work, and were double that amount for a full day of work, (40 *reais brancos*), if the logistics required a notary to provide himself with an assistant and an animal (for transportation) at his own expense. If the requester of the service provided a mount for the notary, the amount charged was 20 *reais brancos* for a full day of work. One curious fact had to do with the notaries' meals: they were prohibited by law from sharing or accepting a meal provided by a client because it was considered that this could lead to instances of professional misconduct. However, if there was no other alternative, the notary could accept this type of offer, but was obliged to alter his fee according to the cost of the meal[12]. Parties seeking notarial services were not always able to go to the *Paço dos Tabeliães*, a situation that was provided for by the legislators; reputable individuals and infirm people who "cannot and must go to the aforesaid *Paço*" were authorized to request the presence in their homes of the notary so he could draw up and authenticate their contract and testaments[13].(Bono, 1989: 168-169).

In turn, the *Ordenações Manuelinas* present a clear distinction in the regulation of circulation between the civil matter notaries and their judicial counterparts. Let us begin with the legislation concerning civil notaries. The fee limit for trips made within a town or its outskirts was set at 7 *reais*, to which the costs related to the

[9] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Livro 1, Tít. XXXV, cap. 4, 13, 14, p. 216 and 219-220.
[10] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Livro 1, Tít. XXXVII, cap. 1,2,3, pp. 224-225.
[11] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Livro 1, Tít. XXXV, cap. 14, p. 220.
[12] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Livro 1, Tít. XXXXII, cap. 1-4, pp. 234-235.
[13] *Ordenações Afonsinas*, Livro 1, Tít. XXXXVII, cap. 16, p. 266.

actual production of the documents would be added[14]. As in the previous legislative code, provisions were made for situations in which clients were unable to go to the *Paço* (Notaries' Office) for a valid reason, particularly in the case of the infirm and "certain reputable individuals". In these instances, notaries were authorized to visit their client[15]. One of the legislative innovations made it obligatory for civil notaries to live "continuously", that is, permanently, in the jurisdiction to which they had been assigned. Any notary who did not comply with this measure, and unduly accumulated another jurisdiction under his competence would be punished with the loss of his position[16].

The Manueline reforms introduced a new directive that was likely to have contributed to reducing the movement of notaries to peripheral areas of the city, town, or village where they practiced, thus limiting the expansion of their client base. Under this directive, the Crown authorized the municipal officers of any village with 20 or more inhabitants, located one league or more from any city, to appoint a person to draw up the wills of villagers who were bedridden and, therefore, unable to appear before a notary. The individual appointed to this task would be vested with the same authority and trust to draw up such documents as the notary of the city or town whose jurisdiction included the aforementioned village. They would enjoy a status equivalent to that of official scribes, specifically with regard to drawing up the last wills of their infirm clients. As such, they would also be subject to all the obligations, penalties, and sanctions applicable to an ordinary notary. However, it is important to note that the residents of the village could request that their wills be drawn up by the notaries of the city or town, without any impediments[17].

We now turn to the notaries associated with judicial activity. The legislation provided that a judicial notary could be called upon to travel to a nearby location within their jurisdiction to temporarily replace their local counterpart if the latter was under suspicion in any given dispute. However, this was considered an option of last resort, to be employed only after all alternatives involving other local scribal officers, namely other public notaries without judicial functions (Tabeliães das Notas) and the municipal clerk, had been exhausted[18]. The possibility of mobility for these men was granted for a period of up to eight days, renewable annually, during which they could be absent from the place where they served as notaries without requiring permission from the judge for whom they worked. With the proper authorization granted by the local magistrate, this period could be extended to up to three months. In both cases, failure to meet deadlines or comply with the established timeframes

[14] *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LIX, cap. 17 e 19, pp. 407-408; *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LXIII, cap.4, p.449-450.

[15] *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LIX, cap. 8, p. 403.

[16] Exceptionally, in smaller places and councils that were within two leagues of each other civil matter notaries could carry out their activity without restrictions to their place of residence. *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LIX, cap. 22, p. 409.

[17] *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LIX, cap. 36, pp. 418-419.

[18] *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LX, cap. 3, p. 421.

would result in a one-year suspension from office and the obligation to compensate all losses and damages suffered by the parties during their unjustified absence[19].

Just like their counterparts who were responsible for civil acts, judicial notaries were prohibited from holding jurisdictions outside their place of residence under penalty of losing their office. And an additional specification applied: in municipalities composed of more than one settlement, notaries were required to reside in a location no more than two leagues from the site where court hearings took place, and they were not allowed to charge any fees for the travel involved[20]. However, the accumulation of jurisdictions was permitted in exceptional cases, particularly when the notary's place of residence was no more than two leagues from the locations where hearings were held in small and nearby municipalities. In such cases of overlapping jurisdictions, notaries were required to attend all hearing sessions conducted by the judges in each of the locations where they held office. And, as in the previous situation, they were prohibited from charging any fees for visits to the parties involved in the proceedings[21]. As for longer and more time-consuming journeys carried out outside the notary's designated area, a scenario very similar to that found in the Afonso-era legislative compilation emerges. If the notary undertook the journey with a beast and an assistant, they were entitled to claim 62 *reais* for each recorded day of work. The amount would decrease to 45 *reais* per day if no animal was required for transportation. For a half-day of work, the amount was set at half the full rate, that is, 31 *reais*. This amount could be reduced if the client provided the beast for the journey, bringing the daily rate down to 36 *reais*. Once again, notaries were prohibited from accepting or sharing a meal offered by the client –except in cases where there was no other way to secure sustenance. If the client provided meals for the notary, their assistant, and the beast, the service fee could be reduced to 36 *reais*. In the absence of the animal, the total cost would amount to 27 *reais*[22].

3. TYPES OF CIRCULATION

In the documentary sources consulted, we were able to identify the existence of different types of circulation and mobility undertaken by both notaries and their clients in the region under study. Common to all of these was the production or acquisition of a written document; however, they could range from simple movements between neighboring communities to journeys to more distant towns, or even require crossing the kingdom's border, covering distances that could take anywhere from a few hours to several days to complete. In some cases, the journey seemed to require the movement of only one individual, whether notary or client, while in others, it

[19] *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LX, cap. 12, pp. 424-425.
[20] *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LX, cap. 27 e 28, p. 432.
[21] *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LX, cap. 26, p.431-432.
[22] *Ordenações Manuelinas*, Liv. 1, Tit. LXIII, cap. 27, p. 461.

involved a larger group, as we will explain later. The financial cost of these journeys was borne by the party requesting the notary's services, as illustrated in the previous section. These trips were made on foot or with the aid of horses or mules, with daily travel averages ranging from 25 kilometers for slower walkers to an impressive 70 kilometers per day for those equipped with a fast horse (Conde, 2000: 344). This was done along roads and pathways whose quality and maintenance appeared to be quite satisfactory for the times, according to the observations of Duarte de Armas during his travels along the routes connecting the towns under study (Gonçalves, 2005-2006: 98).

Exceptionally, the notary –usually accompanied by other members of the municipal elite– could travel to more distant locations, such as the royal Court, where he would stay for considerable periods to represent municipal interests, with the costs covered by the municipal authority. Therefore, in order to provide a more careful analysis and presentation of the data collected and the hypotheses proposed, which will be accompanied by maps and graphs, we have decided to organize the types of mobility exhibited by the notaries into three main categories.

3.1. The notaries of the *Alto Alentejo* in the *Cortes*

The first type of mobility we will address is the one that appeared least frequently in the documentary sources, but which allowed us to trace the longest journeys undertaken by notaries. We refer to their missions as representatives of their respective municipalities at the meetings of the *Cortes* held throughout the late Middle Ages in the Portuguese kingdom. Their constant contact with writing and matters of judicial, administrative, and political nature enabled them to gather and construct a documentary *corpus* capable of supporting the validity of arguments presented to the monarch. Furthermore, these men had a deep knowledge of the realities and daily life of their town, which made notaries excellent candidates to serve as external representatives of the town before the Crown. (Seabra, 2021: 39).

The towns under study were not an exception to this practice. In fact, we were able to identify instances of its application as early as the 14th century, when, on the occasion of the *Cortes* of Santarém in 1383, the municipality of Arronches elected Afonso Esteves, a *tabeliam* (notary) and resident of the said town (Marques, 1993: 39; Roldão, 2006: 230 and 240), as one of the two representatives who would act on the town's behalf at that assembly. Within the chronological scope of our study, it is during the early years of the reign of King Afonso V, at the *Cortes* of Lisbon in 1439, that we find the case of Alegrete, which appointed Gil Fernandes as sole procurator (Dias, 2016: 47). The *Cortes* records explicitly identify him as a *tabaliam* (notary) (Dias, 2016: 151-152)[23]. Drawing on the prosopographical work

[23] In this record he is identified as Gonçalo Fernandes, notary, procurator for the aforementioned town. We believe that the difference in the name was due to a mistake made by the

previously conducted on this figure, we can deduct that he served as notary for civil and criminal matters in Alegrete and its jurisdiction, by royal authority, with activity recorded between December 1443 and October 1444[24]. On the occasion of the 1439 *Cortes*, we also find the case of Marvão, which appointed João Belo, as its sole municipal representative (Dias, 2016: 46). This identification is not as solid as the previous one, since the records of the *Cortes* do not explicitly describe him as holding the office of notary. However, there are contemporary records of a man with the same name who served as a notary in Marvão, appointed by royal authority, between 1440 e 1475[25], evidence that appears to confirm our proposed identification.

Later examples of this practice have proven difficult to trace, mainly because the assembly records rarely preserved the names of the municipal representatives. Nevertheless, we were able to gather credible evidence of this practice during the reign of King Manuel I, on the occasion of the *Cortes* of 1498. In this instance, the town of Monforte elected a João Ribeiro as one of two representatives (Dias, 2002: 136; 455). Now, this may be the same João Ribeiro who, on April 28, 1496, is identified as a servant of Afonso de Vilhaforte, a nobleman of the Royal Household, and who was appointed by the king to the office of notary in that same town[26]. However, further data would be required to confirm the proposed hypothesis in a secure and conclusive manner.

As the documentation suggests, it appears that the preference for notaries as political representatives in these towns remained modest, since we were only able to identify three possible instances of this practice out of a total of 28 *Cortes* assemblies convened during the period under analysis (Sousa, 1990). Another curious phenomenon concerns the composition of the delegations sent to the *Cortes* by these municipalities. As Armindo de Sousa's analysis demonstrated for the *Cortes* held between the last quarter of the 14th century and the end of the 15th century, the number of procurators sent by "the more important cities and towns" was generally two (Sousa, 1990: 226). It is important to note that this delegation was always accompanied by other indispensable figures such as clerks, servants, and messengers, among others, forming a retinue that could quickly reach five or six individuals (Sousa, 1990: 226-227). This resulted in a significant increase in expenses associated with travel, accommodation, sustenance, and other logistical costs, all of which weighed heavily on municipal treasuries (Sousa, 1990: 122-123). These expenses would certainly have proven extremely difficult to bear for small, sparsely populated municipalities, like the majority of those considered in our study. One way to ease the burden on the municipal budget was to send only a single procurator, elected from among the "residents capable of reading and writing", which in most cases meant choosing a local writing professional. This option proved to be far more

clerk who was doing the registry, since prosopographic records corroborate the identification of Gil Fernandes in the list of procurators present in the 1439 *Cortes* in Lisbon.

[24] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 24, fl. 43; Liv. 25, fl. 19.

[25] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 29, fl. 140; Liv. 30, fl. 131v.

[26] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, Liv. 40, fl. 35v.

economical for municipalities and became a common practice among those with fewer financial resources (Sousa, 1990: 217, 220–221). Thus, it is not surprising that this approach was adopted by the towns of Alegrete and Marvão on the occasion of the 1439 *Cortes* in Lisbon.

This type of travel is different from the others we will present further on, as it proved to be much longer, more time-consuming, costly, and sporadic over time. Moreover, its expenses were not borne by individual clients requesting the services of a writing official, but rather by the municipal authority.

3.2. Accumulating jurisdictions

It was not unusual for a notary to practice in more than one town, especially in smaller ones like those studied here. In total, we recorded seven cases of overlapping jurisdictions, four during the reign of King Afonso V and three during that of his successor. Holding office in two different locations simultaneously would certainly require notaries to move regularly between the two jurisdictions where they were authorized to practice the *ars notariae*.

These types of situations are difficult to identify with complete certainty, as the documentation we rely on rarely provides explicit evidence of such jurisdictional overlaps. In fact, we were only able to identify one case in which the accumulation is directly stated in the documentation: the case of Afonso Vicente, referred to as a notary in Campo Maior and in the town and *couto* of Ouguela in a royal pardon dated June 1443[27]. Two other cases were discernible thanks to homonymy and the close chronological proximity of the records, namely those of Gonçalo Boto and João Fadundes/Fagundes[28]. The first one saw his service oscillate between the town of Nisa and that of Alpalhão[29]. As the place where Gonçalo Boto seems to have carry out most of his professional activity, it was likely that Nisa was also his place of residence; however, this could not be confirmed satisfactorily, as it is not clear or explicit in the documentation. This dual assignment remained a feature of Gonçalo Boto's career at least until the early years of King João II's reign during which he continued to draw up and certify documents with public faith between Nisa and Alpalhão[30], on dates quite close to one another. By occasionally consulting royal appointment letters, we were able to detect the same pattern in the case of João Fadundes/Fagundes, who likewise divided his activity between Nisa and Alpalhão

[27] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 27, fl. 111.

[28] The sources show both spelling for the name of this individual. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 15, fl. 45v; Liv. 13, fl. 178v.

[29] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 8, fl. 133; Liv. 32, fl. 135v (1463-1480); Liv. 4, fl. 23; Liv. 21, fl. 80-80v (1453-1471). These references pertain to the chronological interval of notarial activity in the towns of Nisa and Alpalhão, respectively.

[30] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 22, fl. 79; Liv. 3, fl. 77 (1481-1484); Liv. 1, fl. 107 (1486).

during the period between 1452-1456[31]. It is interesting to note that, in addition to the overlap in jurisdictions, both individuals coexisted, albeit for a brief period, which seems to suggest a strong dependence of Alpalhão on Nisa to meet its needs for the production of written documentation.

The involvement of notaries authorized to offer their services in Nisa in this phenomenon (of dual assignments) does not end here. We can point to the case of João Martins or João Martins Daldara[32], who at least between 1469 and 1471 presented himself as a notary holding jurisdiction in both Nisa and Montalvão[33]. With an equal division of services, already recorded during the reign of King John II, Diogo Gonçalves appears serving the towns of Montalvão in 1482[34], and Nisa, with records of activity dated between 1489 e 1492[35].

During the reign of King João II, we also identified two ambiguous cases where, despite a match in both name and chronology, the distance between the shared jurisdictions raises some doubts regarding the accuracy of the identification, requiring further investigation to reach more conclusive results. One such case is that of Diogo Fragoso, who is believed to have held office in both Portalegre and Crato in the year 1482[36], and João Rodrigues or João Rodrigues Manteigas[37] who is believed to have shared notarial duties between Castelo de Vide, his place of residence[38], and Montalvão between 1486 and 1487[39]. A slightly different case, detected only through the occasional use of royal letters of appointment, but equally indicative of the mobility of notaries in this region, is that of Afonso Henriques. While residing in Fronteira, he was appointed, by royal decree, as civil matter notary and *inquiridor* (interrogator) in Portalegre in June 1486[40], although his activity as a notary in the town of Portalegre had begun earlier, in 1482. Despite the distance separating the two towns, this man appears to have maintained a prolific practice, having produced 16 public instruments of pardon over the course of a decade[41].

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[31] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 15, fl. 45v; Liv. 23, fl. 178v.

[32] The sources consulted show both spelling for the name of this individual.

[33] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 8, fl. 133; Liv. 21, fl. 80-80v; Liv. 31, fl. 35; Liv. 21, fl. 7. These references pertain to the chronological interval of notarial activity in the towns of Nisa (prior to 1464-1471) and Montalvão (1469-1471), respectively.

[34] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 3, fl. 63.

[35] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 25, fl. 12v e fl. 34; Liv. 9, fl. 171; Liv. 7, fl. 85v.

[36] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 2, fl. 44; Liv. 1, fl. 99.

[37] Curiously, this individual begins to use the nickname of "Manteigas" only in the last two years of his recorded professional activity, i.e. in 1491 and 1492, and exclusively while he was a notary in the town of Castelo de Vide. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 10, fl. 122; Liv. 5, fl. 92.

[38] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 22, fl. 55.

[39] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 4, fl. 74v; Liv. 5, fl. 92 (1482-1492); Liv. 19, fl. 149v-150; Liv. 24, fl. 131v-132 (1486-1487). These references as associated with the chronological interval of his professional activity in the towns of Castelo de Vide and Montalvão, respectively.

[40] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 4, fl. 40v.

[41] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 21, fl. 89v; Liv. 5, fl. 71. These references are associated with the chronological interval of the writing work of this man in Portalegre. (1482-1492).

It is important to note that for the reign of King Manuel I we did not find any occurrences of this practice (of dual assignments). This may be due to the aforementioned difficulties in accessing and collecting data from the Manueline Chancellery, caused by the lack of indexing and research tools compared to those available for the chanceries of his two predecessors. However, we also believe that the impact of the legislation introduced through the *Ordenações Manuelinas* should not be overlooked. These ordinances stipulated that notaries were required to maintain permanent residence in the town where they held office, except in the case of small localities not more than two leagues apart. Failure to comply would result in the loss of office. For notaries handling judicial matters, the same restrictions applied, with the additional obligation of attending all court sessions held within their jurisdictions, without being permitted to charge fees for such travel. Another decisive factor may have been the demographic growth recorded in the final decades of the 15th century and the early 16th century, which was reflected in an increase in the number of officials available to the royal administration and the implementation of a broad program of administrative reforms. These reforms included a significant expansion in the number of notarial positions throughout the Portuguese kingdom. According to data collected by João José Alves Dias, between 1496 and 1521, 20 new notarial posts were created in the Alentejo region alone. This number, according to the author, likely underestimates the actual scenario, as the records of the royal chancellery are incomplete (Dias, 1996: 136-147).

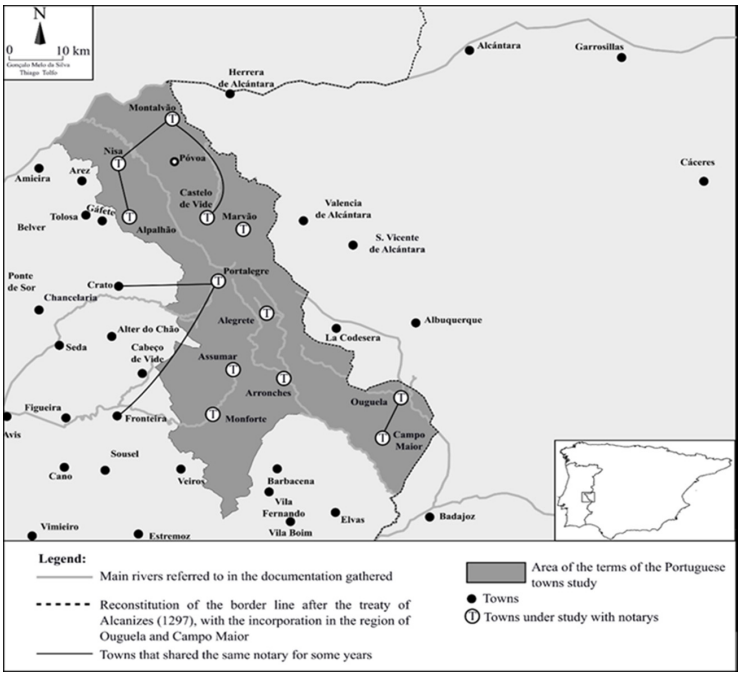
Lastly, it is important to mention that our work has been based primarily on data almost exclusively extracted from records of royal pardon letters, which means that other instances of overlapping notarial jurisdictions may have gone unidentified. To conduct a thorough investigation of this phenomenon, the records of appointment and confirmation letters preserved in the royal chanceries would need to be systematically analyzed, as they often contain revealing clues in this regard. However, this task falls entirely outside the scope of this study.

3.3. General notaries

The presence of writing professionals holding special jurisdictions, known as general notaries, is also noteworthy. These men were authorized by the king to exercise their office throughout the entire kingdom, within the entirety of a given geographic administrative division, such as a *comarca* or judicial district, or even in lands that were part of a single lordship (Barros, 1950: 439-441; Seabra, 2024a: 47). The titles encountered in the region under study vary between "general notary" (4 instances)[42], "notary of the *comarca* of *Entre Tejo e Guadiana*" (2 instances)[43],

[42] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 17, fl. 72v; Liv. 30, fl. 64v; Liv. 21, fl. 90v-91; Liv. 29, fl. 60.

[43] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 30, fl. 64v. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 2, fl. 102.



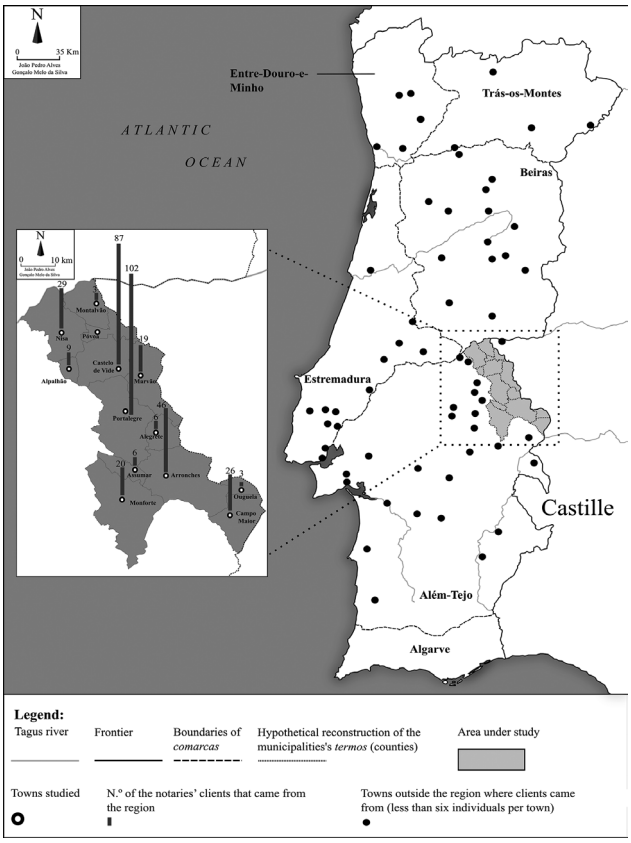
Map 1. Accumulation of jurisdictions by the notaries of the northeastern Alentejo (1438-1521).

"general notary in all the kingdoms" (1 instance)[44], "notary in the royal Court" (1 instance)[45] and "notary in the *mestrado das partes* [*sic*][46] (notary in the lands of the Order of [*sic*](1 instance). Among the regulations imposed on the practice of their profession, it was stipulated that they could never remain in the same place for more than two months, requiring mandatory movement by direct royal order. General notaries were thus, by nature, itinerant notaries (Dias, 1996: 135; Seabra, 2024b: 126-127). This clause arose in response to numerous complaints lodged by

[44] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 32, fl. 49.

[45] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 32, fl. 49. Curiously, this notary of the royal Court, with confirmed activity in 1477, must be the same Gonçalo Boto who would later provide writing services in the towns of Nisa and Alpalhão, as mentioned previously. On the career of this man (Andrade, 2024: 101-102).

[46] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 8, fl. 46. The document does not specify which military order this notary worked for, but considering that its territorial and patrimonial base was in the region under study, we believe that this reference alludes to the Order of Christ. This militia exercised lordly jurisdiction in the towns of Alpalhão, Montalvão and Nisa (Gonçalves, 2002: VIII) and had the commandery of Santa Maria-a-Grande in Portalegre. (Cumbre, 1999).



Map 2. The geographic origins of the notaries' clients in the towns of the northeastern Alentejo (1438-1521). We were unable to georeference the toponyms of: "Fragos" and "Taveira".

local notaries, who saw their work opportunities diminished and felt wronged by the fact that these general notaries were exempt from paying the annual pension owed to the king. (Barros, 1950: 444-446; Seabra, 2024a: 47).

In the cases we recorded, these men appear to have been primarily involved in drafting instruments of pardon, among which the most prevalent types of criminality were homicides, prison escapes, or the forcible removal of prisoners from the custody of judicial officers. The lack of detail in the descriptions of these acts does not allow for in-depth conclusions, but we believe that the use of this type of notary was partly due to issues of availability and promptness in the production of documentation. It is also noteworthy that the involvement of general notaries in the production of this type of document tends to decline over the years, to the point that, during the reign of King Manuel I, there are no references to their activity.

3.4. Travelling clients

We will now turn our focus to the clients of these notaries, i.e. their geographic provenance and circulation patterns revealed by the documentation, which is illustrated graphically in map nº 2.

A total of 76 different places of origin were identified for the clientele of the writing officials of the northeastern *Alto Alentejo* during the late Middle Ages, dispersed across nearly all regions of the kingdom, from the district of *Entre Douro e Minho* to *Entre Tejo e Guadiana*, and including *Estremadura* and *Beira*. Notably, there is an absence of any towns or villages from the *Algarve* region. A brief survey of the records quickly reveals that the highest concentration of clients came from the 12 towns selected as the focus of our study.

We can organize the clients' places of origin into three groups: the first was Portalegre (102 clients), Castelo de Vide (87 clients), and Arronches (46 clients), which account for the origin of the vast majority of the clientele served by notaries in the far northeastern Alentejo. The second, intermediate group is also made up exclusively of towns from this region, such as Nisa, Campo Maior, Monforte, and Marvão. In this case, the number of instances from each village ranges from a maximum of 29 clients, represented by Nisa, and a lowest value set at 19 clients, by Marvão. Lastly, the third group consists of the remaining 69 localities of origin mentioned, with the number of clients ranging from 1 to 8 individuals. It seems, therefore, that as far as judicial writing is concerned, the activity of drawing up documents was very localized, with their client networks essentially restricted to their immediate geographic area. This boundary was occasionally crossed by individuals from towns situated in the *Entre Tejo e Guadiana* district, with only a single reference recorded north of the Tagus, in Sardoal, place of residence of a certain Diogo Gonçalves, a cleric originally from Portalegre, that had his murderer, Nuno Vasques, travel to the deceased's birth village in order to secure a pardon from the victim's family[47].

The origin of the remaining list of clients who requested public instruments of pardon, who came from outside the universe of the 12 northeastern Alentejo towns, varies between Alter do Chão[48] (2 cases), Borba[49] (3 cases), Cabeço de Vide[50]

[47] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 16, fl. 125v.

[48] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 3, fl. 98; Liv. 22, fl. 142v. In both cases recorded for clients from the town of Alter do Chão it is important to note that it is the aggrieved parties who appear to travel to the town of residence of their aggressor to reach an agreement, in Portalegre and Castelo de Vide, respectively.

[49] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 6, fl. 16; Liv. 21, fl. 90v-91. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, Liv. 43, fl. 7v-8. This latter case is especially curious because it refers to an instance of resistance, with the use of arms, against the deputy *alcaide* of Borba when he was trying to imprison the father of his aggressor. The agreement between the parties was signed in a "neutral" location, before Luís Álvares, notary of Campo Maior.

[50] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 12, fl. 155v-156.

(1 case), Elvas[51] (3 cases), Fronteira[52] (2 cases), Montemor-o-Novo[53] (1 case) and Sousel[54] (1 case). The types of crimes associated with these pardons consist primarily of homicides and aiding or being responsible for the escape of prisoners, offenses which, as we will explain further on, typically required greater mobility from the individuals seeking a pardon for their crimes. It is worth noting that nearly all of these movements occurred within a radius of just over 50 kilometers around the population centers under study. We also find reference to a client from beyond the borders of the kingdom: João Rodrigues, a native of Nisa, residing in Ferreira in the kingdoms of Castile[55], who returned to his native town to arrange a pardon with Nuno Rodrigues, a *cristão-novo* (New Christian), whom he had physically assaulted[56].

Most of the territorial dispersion of this clientele (illustrated on map nº2), beyond the geographical limits of northeastern Alentejo, is easily explained by the exile certificate instruments (*instrumentos de certidão de degredo*), drawn up in the *coutos de homiziados* in this border region of the kingdom. We determined that the notaries of Arronches, and especially, Marvão were the main authors of this type of documentation. Individuals serving sentences in these locations would turn to the notaries' services. Obtaining this document was vital, since it, along with an exposition of the motives for wanting to end their exile, was required for the petitioners to secure a successful request for their early release. This resulted in significant contact between these local notaries and individuals from all over the kingdom, a phenomenon particularly characteristic of towns where there were *coutos de homiziados*.

As we have already mentioned, the predominance of clients of local origins is quite evident. In fact, as the analysis based on the public pardon instruments demonstrates, more than half of the documentary samples mention cases in which the entire process involved only individuals from the same town –namely the petitioner/aggressor, the victim/accuser or a relative or representative thereof, and the notary.

Nevertheless, at times it would be the aggressor/accused who traveled to the town where the victim/accuser resided, and there they would draw up the instrument together with a local notary. This behavior is to be expected, as in legal and procedural terms, it was the obligation of the accused to take the initiative in seeking reconciliation with the aggrieved party. The vast majority of these journeys are related to cases of homicide, in which the accused had to seek pardon from relatives of the deceased up to the fourth degree, and issue proclamations in order to determine the existence of any relatives of the murdered individual in a given town,

[51] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 20, fl. 138v-139. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, Liv. 26, fl. 47v; Liv. 26, fl. 83.

[52] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 26, fl. 102v-103; Liv. 17, fl. 56-56v.

[53] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 19, fl. 166v.

[54] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 12, fl. 80.

[55] We believe it refers to the Castilian frontier town of Herrera de Alcântara, very close to the population centers under study.

[56] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Manuel I*, Liv. 46, fl. 37v-38.

CHART 1. TYPES OF MOBILITY RECORDED IN PUBLIC INSTRUMENTS OF PARDON AND THEIR TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES

Tows	Number of intances in which all parties involved belong to the same town	Number of instances of dispalcements by the Aggressor/ Accused	Number of instances of displacements/use of a "neutral" jurisdiction notaray*	Number of instances of displacement by the Victim/ Aggrieved party	Number of instances in which it was impossible to determine the origin of the client
Alegrete	4	2	2	1	1
Alpalhão	5	1	1	-	-
Arronches	37	5	-	1	4
Assumar	2	-	-	-	-
Campo Maior	24	2	2	1	1
Castelo de Vide	70	7	3	1	3
Marvão	13	7	1	-	2
Monforte	18	5	1	-	3
Montalvão	8	-	-	-	1
Nisa	21	10	3	2	3
Ouguela	2	3	2	0	0
Portalegre	92	12	4	3	9
Total	296	54	19	9	27

* We used the word "neutral" to encompass all the cases of journeys carried out by both the aggessor/accused and the victim/aggrieved parties; to go to a notary whose juristiction was in a town beyond that of both agents. In this field we list the instances of the activity of notaries who held general or special jurisdictions.

which usually led them on lengthy journeys (Duarte, 1999: 470). Prison breaks required similar efforts in travel and procurement of multiple instruments of pardon; those who assisted in such evasions, or even the jailer responsible for guarding the prisoners, were obliged to request pardon from all those harmed by the fugitive[57].

Another form of mobility identified refers to the movement, either of the accused or of the victim, to meet with a notary from a "neutral" jurisdiction, that is, one in which neither party appeared to reside, or if the record was drawn up before a public notary holding a general/special jurisdiction. References to this type of behavior are not abundant; we were able to identify 19 records of such movements, with a nearly equal distribution across most of the towns under study. Then there

[57] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 21, fl. 90-91v; Liv. 32, fl. 95.

are cases in which it appears to be the victim/aggrieved party who traveled to the location of the accused and the respective notary of that town. These are the rarest instances, with only 9 cases identified for the entire period under study, and in none of them was it possible to determine the reasons behind this "breach" of legal protocol. Convenience, proximity/availability of a notary, or perhaps a genuine sign of reconciliation with the accused –all remain open questions. Finally, there are instances in which it was impossible to determine with certainty the client's place of origin. These cases refer to records where this information was entirely omitted, or where the individual is identified only by name and subsequently described as a "servant of" or a "squire to"[58], without any indication of their geographic provenance.

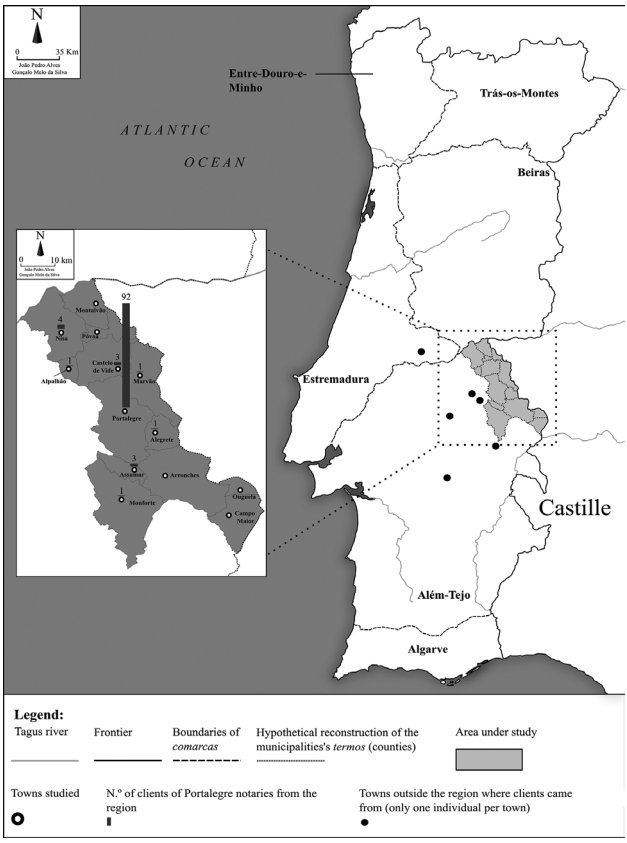
From an analysis on a macro scale, we will shift to a more focused examination of the client networks present in the towns of Portalegre and Marvão, two towns with the most significant scenarios of documentary production in the entire sample, though in completely opposite fields: the former being almost exclusively dedicated to public instruments of pardon, and the latter predominantly dedicated to public instruments certifying exile. This analysis will allow us to understand, from a comparative perspective, the main similarities and divergences in the demand for written documentation and the patterns of mobility shown by both the writing professionals and their respective clients in these two population centers.

3.5. The notarial office in Portalegre

The most prevalent production of judicial writing in Portalegre were public instruments of pardon, with only one instance of a public certificate of exile found, which we will address later. The predominance of a local clientele for public instruments of pardon is evident in Chart nº 1, with a total of 92 individuals originating from Portalegre, a pattern that is also reflected in almost all the other towns under study. The remaining localities present little data, with fluctuations between 4 and 1 occurrences. We note the presence of individuals from seven of the towns under study (Alegrete, Alpalhão, Assumar, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Monforte, and Nisa), which allows us to infer that there was contact between the inhabitants of the towns under study regarding the resolution of criminal disputes.

On the other hand, the town of Portalegre shows a smaller capacity to attract clients from towns and localities outside the northeastern Alentejo region; most of these clients were from the district of *Entre Tejo e Guadiana*, with the exception of an individual from Sardoal thus extending the distance of these connections to about 68 kilometers. Meanwhile, the one case of a certificate of exile issued by a Portalegre notary pushes this distance up to 90 kilometers, as it involved a client from Évora –Isabel Nunes, an unmarried woman accused of being the concubine of Fernando

[58] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 22, fl. 39v-40; Liv. 31, fl. 47v. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 1, fl. 31; Liv. Liv. 11, fl. 16.



Map 3. The geographic origins of the notaries' clients in the town of Portalegre (1438-1521).

Álvares, a married man, both of them residents of the city of Évora, and for which she was sentenced to one year of exile from the said city and its surrounding area[59].

Portalegre also proved to be an attractive location for general notaries, with a high incidence of their activity in this town[60]. The strong demand for the services of writing professionals in Portalegre, made it a desirable stop on the notaries' circuits across the vast geographic areas where they were authorized to conduct their duties, giving rise to what local councils viewed as unfair external competition with resident notaries (Barros, 1950: 439-446). Another indicator of the dynamism of the writing

[59] ANTT, *Chancelaria D. João II*, Liv. 3, fl. 69.

[60] ANTT, *Chancelaria D. Afonso V*, Liv. 17, fl. 72v; Liv. 32, fl. 49. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 8, fl. 86.

market in Portalegre is the existence of a *distribuidor* (distributor), first referenced in 1457[61]. This was an official chosen by the Crown from among the notaries, tasked with distributing writing assignments fairly among his peers, although this mission was often not properly fulfilled (Seabra, 2024a: 39).

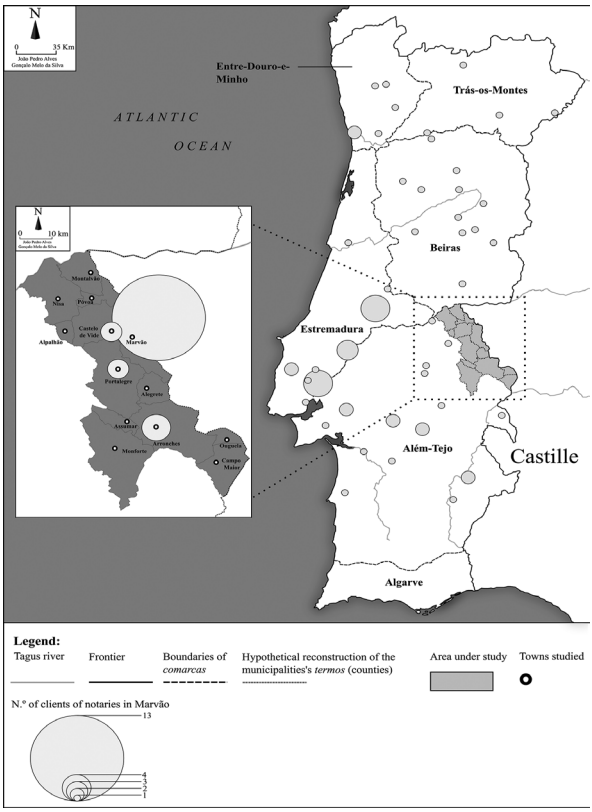
We believe that this predominance may by due, at least in part, to the favorable demographic balance recorded of 1,419 *fogos* (dwellings), a figure well above that of the other towns in our study (Dias, 1996: 231; 540), according to records from the first third of the 16th century. Furthermore, Portalegre gradually became the most prominent town among the urban centers located in the northwesternmost part of the Alentejo region (Fernandes, 2011: 566-567), a status that was consolidated both administratively and ecclesiastically throughout the 16th century (Dias, 1996: 197-280).

3.6. The notarial office in Marvão

Marvão, in turn, showed a contrasting documentary landscape, where the production of public certificate documents prevailed over the other type of document under focus. This fact stems from the presence of the *coutos de homiziados* established in this town atop the Serra do Sapoio (Moreno, 1986: 105-106). Among the three towns in our study that possessed a *couto de homiziados* and have records of public certificate instruments, the town of Marvão shows a production far greater than that of Arronches and Ouguela, being responsible for about 77% of the records of this type of document.

As mentioned above, the notaries of Marvão served a clientele from 50 different localities, covering nearly all the regions of the kingdom, with the exception of the *Algarve*. It is important to note that the number of instances for each represented town is low, ranging between 1 and 4 occurrences. As such, we were unable to detect any pattern or preferred geographic area from which these individuals originated. Unlike the clients of Portalegre, the journey of these individuals was not primarily motivated by the search for a notary's services, but was, rather, related to exile dictated by royal sentence (Duarte, 1999: 441; 443-444). Public instruments of banishment certification were issued later, with the individual's release. A clear similarity with Portalegre arises when we consider the production of pardon instruments: here, the majority of requests for documentation are made by inhabitants of Marvão, resulting in a marked graphical inflection in the number of clients originating from this town compared to the other 49, where the numbers

[61] ANTT, *Chancelaria D. Afonso V*, Liv. 13, fl. 75. In the group of villages analysed, this official would likewise have existed in the villages of Castelo de Vide and Campo Maior; however, the first mention of both appears only in the second decade of the 16th century, in 1520 and 1521, respectively. This clearly reveals a greater dynamism in the demand for written records in Portalegre compared to the surrounding population centers. ANTT, *Chancelaria D. Manuel I*, Liv. 36, fl. 96; Liv. 37, fl. 104.



Map 4. The geographic origins of the notaries' clients in the town of Marvão (1438-1521). We were unable to georeference the toponym of: "Taveira".

range between 1 and 4 requests. Here too, criminal disputes appear to have remained within the jurisdiction of a single town.

At first, we found curious the exclusivity enjoyed by the notaries in the writing of public certificate documents; since the reign of King Afonso V there is evidence, in Marvão, of the existence of clerks of the *homiziados*, who, in theory, would have been at least partially responsible for the production of documents required by the *homiziados* (Duarte, 1999: 443). How can we explain this apparent overlap of functions? Well, after comparing this with the prosopographic data collected by Andrade (2024), we realize that the records of public certificate instruments preserved in the royal chancelleries always identify the office of the issuer of the document as "notary", omitting their role as clerks of the *homiziados*.

In total, we were able to identify three cases of this omission of functions through homonymic, geographic, and chronological correspondence. These refer to

João Afonso, who was appointed to the office of clerk of the *homiziados* of Marvão by royal letter in 1455 (Andrade, 2024: 114), but whose activity in drawing up certificates of banishment appears to have been already recorded during the reign of King João II[62]. He had a prolific career, and was responsible for nearly half of all certificates of banishment issued in the *couto* of Marvão during the reign of King João II. Some doubts arise regarding the continuation of his activity into the Manueline reign; a notary with the same name who signed, on April 22, 1496, the certificate of sentence completion in the Marvão *couto* for João Dias, a resident of Palmela[63], which would imply a 41-year-long career –something not unheard of, but difficult to verify, especially considering that we only have one record produced during the reign of King Manuel I. The second case is that of Pedro Vasques, who died prior to December 24, 1451, the date on which Diogo Fernandes Caldeira was appointed as his successor in the office of *escrivão* of the *homiziados* of Marvão and its district[64] (Andrade: 2024, 191). Would this have been the same person who before January 30 of 1440[65] was responsible for drafting an instrument that proved the completion of the period of exile in Marvão of João Afonso, a resident in *casal de Sandinho*, in Castelo de Vide?[66] Lastly, we find Rui Pires, whose date of appointment to the office of scribe of the *homiziados* is unknown; we only know that he was dismissed from this position in 1503 due to errors he committed in the performance of his duties[67] (Andrade, 2024: 202-204). The earliest records in the Manueline chancellery of his activity go back to 1496[68], and continue until 1501[69]. Although his career came to a troubled end, he proved to be a very active professional, having been responsible, over this period, for issuing 88.9% of all exile certificate instruments drawn up during the reign of King Manuel I, according to the evidence. The data seems to suggest that the office of scribe for the *homiziados* in Marvão was held by a man who also occupied the position of public notary in the town, a role he had previously held, and a pattern observed in two of the individuals identified above. The limited number of traceable letters of appointment, confirmation, and dismissal for the office of scribe of the *homiziados* prevented us from determining whether a similar pattern was common among the remaining individuals.

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[62] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, Liv. 17, fl. 6v (1480); Liv. 5, fl. 13 (1491). These references refer to the chronological interval in which it was possible to document his activity.

[63] ANTT, *Chancelaria D. Manuel I*, Liv. 34, fl. 67v.

[64] This man also accumulated the work of notary of civil and criminal matters in Marvão with that of scribe of the port and tax clerk of Marvão (Andrade, 2024: 191).

[65] We refer here to the date of registry in the chancellery, since the date of the instrument of certificate of banishment was omitted.

[66] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, Liv. 20, fl. 78.

[67] To this position he added that of the public and judicial notary of Marvão, clerk of the taxes of Marvão, clerk of the market magistracy of Marvão, and clerk of the municipal council of Marvão (Andrade, 2024: 202-203).

[68] ANTT, *Chancelaria D. Manuel I*, Liv. 26, fl. 46.

[69] ANTT, *Chancelaria D. Manuel I*, Liv. 46, fl. 33-33v.

4. CONCLUSION

In this article we present a summary of new hypotheses, possibilities, and working methodologies for the study of the mobility and circulation of notaries, and their clients, in a peripheral region of the Portuguese kingdom during the Late Middle Ages. By combining heterogeneous perspectives drawn from royal legislation, records from the *Cortes*, a strong prosopographical inventory of the writing officials from the northeastern-most region of the Alentejo, and, above all, the brief but valuable references to notarial judicial activity, i.e. public instruments of pardon and public instruments certifying exile preserved in royal pardon processes compiled in the chancery books. This methodology allowed us to overcome the limitations imposed by the scarcity of notarial documentation for the twelve urban centers under study. Such records have traditionally been considered the primary source for studying notarial practice at the local level, especially concerning the movement of writing professionals, along with data on royal emoluments, which include travel expenses, preserved in legislative texts and compilations issued by the Crown.

Since we had to adapt our approach to the available documentary *corpus*, it was impossible to assess the movements of the individuals under study within a single town, so we considered their movements on a broader scale, between localities, towns, and regions. Moreover, it was not possible for us to quantify or draw conclusions regarding the costs associated with these movements and the production of documents, as no records of such expenses have been preserved. Another aspect to consider is that the core body of documentation on which our study is based upon is of judicial nature, thereby excluding other types of records, such as civil, commercial, or property-related documents which could show different, or similar realities to those presented herein.

However, despite the limitations of this approach, we believe it has validity, and could be a useful resource to overcome the dearth of Medieval notarial records that are found, to varying degrees, across almost the entire Portuguese territory. That said, let us now turn to the conclusions we were able to draw from this initial study.

For now, it seems safe to suggest that much like their professional counterparts in other regions of the kingdom, the late Medieval notary in the northeastern-most part of the *Alto Alentejo* was a *Homo Viator* (Santos, 2005: 33). Notaries acted as representatives appointed by their peers to advocate for their towns' political interests before the Crown, and other powers of the realm, when the *Cortes* assembled. A notary would embark on occasional journeys of medium to long duration, covering far greater distances than was required in his regular routine. Some of the travelling undertaken by these men also resulted from an accumulation of jurisdictions, through which they sought to expand their client base and thus increase their business volume, perhaps also compensating for an apparent scarcity of writing services recorded in the smaller towns. In this context, an interesting relationship was noted between the notarial offices of Nisa and those of Alpalhão and Montalvão; perhaps the fact that these belonged to the Order of Christ contributed to the sharing of a single writing official.

This trend of clustering jurisdictions declined over time, becoming nonexistent by the reign of Manuel I. A similar trajectory is observed in the records documenting the activity of general notaries in this geographical area, who appear to have chosen the town of Portalegre as their primary location for offering services, which then disappears entirely after the coronation of King Manuel I. Given the difficulties encountered in collecting documentation from the Manueline chancery, we cannot offer concrete explanations for these changes. However, we believe that they were influenced, at least in part, by the enforcement of restrictions on the travel habits of notaries introduced through the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, which sought to settle these men in a single town. Added to this was the growth in the number of notaries recorded at the turn of the 16th century, which we believe helped to mitigate the phenomenon of jurisdictional accumulation and, consequently, the circulation of writing agents associated with it.

Sometimes clients were also compelled to travel with the purpose of meeting up with the men of *ars scribendi*. In these cases, the clients –criminals serving sentences of exile in some of the towns under study– came from more than 70 localities scattered across the kingdom. When we consider the instruments of pardon requested, the individuals who requested them were primarily residents living within the area under examination. Although there are some exceptions, these cases typically involved individuals originating from the comarca of *Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana*. The primary example of this type of "market" is the town of Portalegre, which benefited from an abundance of local clients, and occasional patrons from outside the area, and where itinerant notaries converged to offer their services. Without a doubt, it presents the most dynamic writing landscape, establishing its central role within the region under study. The reverse is seen in the case of public instruments of banishment certificates, which grant notaries who were assigned to the *coutos de homiziados* access to a diverse clientele spread across nearly all the jurisdictions of the kingdom, culminating in the town of Marvão with its *couto de homiziados*. This contrast reflects the different patterns in demand for judicial writing observed in the towns of the northeastern Alentejo.

The possibilities for the study of this particular subject have not been depleted. To begin with, this work could be complemented by a thorough exploration of the archives of the Order of Christ, which we believe would provide some interesting insights into the notarial activity of this region. Another area of study that could be addressed is the trends in the demand for judicial writing shown by the inhabitants of these 12 towns in exogenous spaces. Lastly, an interesting research avenue would be to relate the movements identified in the documentation with a reconstruction of the network of Medieval roads, thus allowing for a fuller understanding of the phenomenon and its relationship with the surrounding space. Many other paths thus remain open for exploration to obtain a more complete understanding of the mobility of Portuguese notaries and their clients during the transitional period between the Medieval era and Modernity.

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THE *ALCAIDES* AND CLERKS OF *SACAS* IN THE SMALL BORDER TOWNS OF NORTHEASTERN ALENTEJO (1438-1521): FUNCTIONS, RECRUITMENT, AND MOBILITY*

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Abstract

In Portugal, although the topic of the royal officialdom has attracted historiographical interest since the eighteenth century, and despite some studies focusing on certain local and regional officials connected to the treasury, much remains unclear regarding the Crown's peripheral administrative structure in this area. Therefore, this article examines the alcaides and clerks of the sacas in a specific region: the border towns of northeastern Alentejo. First, we present the spatial context and the documentary typology used, as well as their potential and challenges for studying the royal officialdom linked to the sacas. Next, we seek to reconstruct the development of this network of officials, their functions, and their establishment in the towns analyzed. Finally, we aim to understand the social profile of the individuals who held these positions.

Keywords: Uban history, Medieval Portugal, Taxation, Peripheral Royal Officialdom, Borderlands.

LOS ALCAIDES Y ESCRIBANOS DE *SACAS* EN LAS PEQUEÑAS VILLAS FRONTERIZAS DEL NORDESTE ALENTEJANO (1438-1521): FUNCIONES, RECLUTAMIENTO Y MOVILIDAD

Resumen

En Portugal, aunque el tema del oficialato real ha despertado el interés de la historiografía desde el siglo xviii, y a pesar de que existen algunos estudios sobre determinados oficiales locales y regionales vinculados a la hacienda, aún queda mucho por aclarar sobre la estructura administrativa periférica de la Corona en este ámbito. Así, el presente artículo recurre a estos datos para estudiar los alcaides y escribanos de las sacas en una región determinada: las villas fronterizas del noreste del Alentejo. En primer lugar, se presenta el espacio y la tipología documental empleada, así como sus potencialidades y desafíos para el estudio del oficialato real vinculado a las sacas. A continuación, se procura reconstruir el desarrollo de la red de estos oficiales, sus funciones y el perfil social de sus titulares.

Palabras clave: historia urbana, Portugal medieval, Fiscalidad, oficialidad real periférica, zonas fronterizas.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the eighteenth-century Portuguese historiography has shown considerable interest in the topic of royal officialdom, as evidenced by the works of João Pedro Ribeiro (1857) and Henrique Gama Barros (1885). Until the mid-twentieth century, the study of the royal office remained almost exclusively in the hands of legal historians (Homem, 2011: 186-189), such as Paulo Merêa (1929: 445-524), Marcelo Caetano (1981), and Ruy Albuquerque and Martim de Albuquerque (1983), with rare exceptions, such as Virgínia Rau (2009). These authors sought to understand the origins, evolution, and functions of the royal officialdom.

In the 1980s, comparable to what occurred in other areas of Portuguese medieval historiography (Mattoso, 2011), there was a significant increase in scholarly production on the officers of various institutions. Regarding the crown's central agents, the pioneering work of Armando Carvalho Homem on the *Desembargo Régio* (Royal Chancery) (Homem, 1974, 1990) stands out, followed by several studies on the same subject conducted under his guidance.

Concurrently, other scholars have studied the body of royal officers at central, regional, and local levels, addressing all areas of activity, including finance. Among these are Iria Gonçalves (1964a, 1964b: 7-87, 1999: 95-107), Saul António Gomes (1988: 1101-1017, 2009), Isabel Vaz de Freitas (2004), António Castro Henriques (2008), Rodrigo Dominguez (2013), Ricardo Vicente (2013), and Catarina Rosa (2020). Their studies have helped to elucidate the creation, development, and functioning of the fiscal administrative network, as well as to analyze the responsibilities of officials working in this area, such as the *almoxarifes*.

Nonetheless, as Amélia Aguiar Andrade (2023: 36) recently emphasized, much remains to be clarified regarding the peripheral administrative structure of the Crown related to fiscal matters. This is especially curious in the case of treasury officers operating in border regions. On one hand, Portuguese historiography has maintained a sustained interest in these spaces[1], highlighting the Crown's role in strengthening surveillance and control over people and goods moving between the two kingdoms. On the other hand, the chancery records of Afonso V (1438-1481), João II (1481-1495), and Manuel I (1495-1521) preserve a substantial number of appointment letters for various officials (including those linked to border regions) that could help answer some of the outstanding questions.

This historiographical context hinders a more comprehensive understanding of the process of creation and evolution of certain offices, their geographic distribution, functions, recruitment methods, and the social background and literacy of the individuals who held them. The scarcity of studies makes it difficult to grasp

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[1] For a historiographic overview on this topic, consult: Costa, 2020: 259-286.

the relationship and articulation between royal fiscal agents and other urban powers, such as municipal authorities, as well as the Crown's capacity to respond to irregularities, such as errors or corruption in office. One example of this issue - already addressed by other researchers (Trindade, 1981: 1-95; Duarte, 1998: 451-474; 1996b: 125-146) –is the case of *alcaides* and *escrivães das sacas* (customs officers and clerks).

This study aims to contribute to the expansion of knowledge regarding royal officers involved in fiscal affairs, particularly within a group of small urban centers along the border. Given the impossibility of examining every position identified, we have limited our analysis to the officialdom of the *sacas*, due to the reasons mentioned above and their role in controlling goods entering and leaving the kingdom through its ports to Castile.

This text is divided into three main sections. The first focuses on characterizing the geographical area under analysis and the types of sources used, highlighting their contributions and limitations for investigating the issue at hand. Next, we reconstruct the evolution of the network of these royal officers, with particular attention to their responsibilities and how they integrated into the localities studied. In the final section, we concentrate on the socio-professional profile of those who held these offices.

1. *SACAS* OFFICIALS IN THE BORDER TOWNS OF NORTHEASTERN ALENTEJO: THE AVAILABLE INFORMATION

The area of observation for the present study consists of a group of towns located in the present-day region of Alto Alentejo: Alegrete, Alpalhão, Arronches, Assumar, Campo Maior, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Monforte, Montalvão, Nisa, Ouguela, and Portalegre, as shown in Figure 1. Since the fourteenth century, these localities were part of the *comarca* of Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana (one of the six major administrative and judicial divisions in the realm), but in fiscal terms, they were divided among at least three *almoxarifados* (royal fiscal districts): Portalegre, Estremoz, and, later, Nisa. While Alegrete, Alpalhão, Arronches, Assumar, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Monforte, Montalvão, and Nisa belonged to the *almoxarifado* of Portalegre, Campo Maior and Ouguela were part of Estremoz. These latter towns were more socially and economically connected to Elvas, the major urban center of northeastern Alentejo (Correia, 2013; Fernandes, 2011: 567).

The border towns of northeastern Alentejo have been described in demographic, jurisdictional, and socioeconomic terms in other texts included in this volume (Silva, Tolfo, 2026a, 2026b; Costa, 2026), as well as by previous scholars (Freire, 1929, vol. 2: 23; Oliveira, 2011: 70-117; Coelho, 2023: 309, 317, 323-324, 338, 340, 376, 380-382, 419, 427, 433, 434). It is worth recalling that these towns were linked to the Crown and members of the royal family, to the military orders, and, at different points in time, to noble households such as the Silva Meneses and the Bragança. These were small urban communities by national standards, and very small in a broader European context. According to the *Numeramento* (census) of 1527-1532 (Dias, 1996: 540–545), the aforementioned towns ranged from 115 households in

the case of Alpalhão to 1,419, but apart from Portalegre, Castelo de Vide, Arronches, and Campo Maior, most communities struggled to reach 500 households.

It is important to note, however, that there was no strong correlation between population size and the existence of certain offices with supra-local jurisdiction, such as the *almoxarife*. For instance, Nisa –unlike Arronches– was the seat of an *almoxarifado* in the early sixteenth century (Dominguez, 2013: 184). Likewise, within the same *comarca*, Portalegre (with 1,419 households) retained an *almoxarife*, while Montemor-o-Novo (1594) and Elvas (2,354) did not.

The northeastern border towns of the Alentejo primarily focused on agricultural production and livestock raising, combining these activities with artisanal production (especially textiles) and commerce. Their geographical location allowed these towns to serve as transit and connection points on routes linking the Beira region to Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana, and also between Portugal and Castile, particularly in the routes connecting Lisbon and Cáceres (Silva, Tolfo, 2026a, 2026b). Maria José Lagos Trindade (1981: 44) noted that Marvão, alongside Elvas, was one of the main entry points for Castilian livestock into the region. Our investigation confirms this was also the case for Arronches, Montalvão, Castelo de Vide, and Alegrete, where officials related to the livestock trade are likewise recorded[2].

Given the role these towns played in connecting and facilitating transit between the two kingdoms, the Crown classified some of them as *portos secos* ("dry ports"). This designation referred to towns and cities located along the land border between Portugal and Castile, where individuals were required to declare goods and pay the corresponding customs duties (Lencastre, 1891: 16; Ferreira, 1983: 52-55). Within the group of localities studied, to the three already known cases of "dry ports" – Castelo de Vide, Marvão and Arronches (Ferreira, 1983: 52-55) – we can add Alegrete and Montalvão, as they had *contadores de gados* (livestock counters), an office that was only established in locations designated as "dry ports"[3]. Thus, in order to carry out more effective control over trade and tax collection, the Crown created a body of specialized agents in these towns during the fifteenth century.

These officials can be identified through letters of appointment, especially from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These documents (by which the monarch appointed a new official to a given post) were preserved in the royal chanceries, and typically include information such as the name of the official, the office in question, and the locality (or localities) where the office was to be performed. Often, they also mention the official's social status – *escudeiro* (squire), *cavaleiro* (knight), or royal servant – and place of origin. Less frequently, they include information on patronage ties (to the royal household or to secular or ecclesiastical lords) and family

[2] Contador do gado: TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 14, fl. 80 (Arronches, 1466); liv. 32, fl. 44v (Montalvão, 1480); TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 6, fl. 122 (Marvão, 1482); liv. 24, fl. 107 (Castelo de Vide, 1483); liv. 13, fl. 147 (Alegrete, 1490). Escrivão do gado: TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 43, fl. 65 (Marvão, 1496).

[3] Alongside the documents mentioned in the previous note, see also: *Ordenações Manuelinas*, liv. 5, tit. 89: 271-272; Andrade, 2025: 27.

relationships (for example, when the previous officeholder was a relative), as well as the name of their predecessor and the reason for replacement. Examples include João Teixeira and Diogo Camelo. In 1487, João Teixeira, *alcaide das sacas* (customs officer) in Marvão, was dismissed for accepting bribes and allowing livestock to cross the border into the neighboring kingdom[4]. In 1517, Diogo Camelo, a knight of the royal household, was appointed *alcaide das sacas* for Portalegre, Alegrete, and Assumar, replacing João Rodrigues, who had died[5].

The letters of appointment of *alcaides* and *escrivães de sacas*, as well as other normative sources, did not explicitly stipulate either the remuneration or the duration of the officials' terms of office. Nevertheless, in the latter case, the reconstruction of known careers suggests that these offices were, in all likelihood, held for life. Indeed, it was possible to determine the length of service for five officials. While the *alcaides* occupied their posts for periods ranging from one to nineteen years[6], in the case of the *escrivão* it is known only that he served for two years[7]. The factors leading to the termination of these appointments included dismissal for errors committed (three cases), death (two cases), and resignation (one case). However, it should be emphasised that, given the small size of the sample, the conclusions that may be drawn from it are necessarily limited.

Research into the documents preserved in the chanceries of Afonso V, João II, and Manuel I, as well as in the *Gavetas* and *Corpo Cronológico* collections of the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, made it possible to identify 23 *alcaides das sacas* and 14 *escrivães* (clerks). Letters of appointment have survived for 19 *alcaides das sacas* and 11 *escrivães*; the others were identified through references in other types of documents, such as letters of pardon, official correspondence, and royal orders. The number of appointment letters found was lower than expected and, in fact, considerably fewer compared to other offices. This scarcity may be attributed to three main factors. First, monarchs only began appointing *alcaides* and clerks of *sacas* in a systematic way in the late fifteenth century. Second, the lifelong nature of the office likely accounted for the reduced number of appointment letters issued. Finally, the reforms made to the chancery registers in the following centuries – and the resulting loss of documentation[8] – may also have contributed to the disappearance of some of these records.

[4] TT, *Ch. D. João II*, liv. 19, fl. 96.

[5] TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 10, fl. 83.

[6] Vasco Pires (182-1501) (TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 2, fl. 138; TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 1, fl. 27); Diogo Baço (1486-1487) (TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 1, fl. 152v; TT, *Ch. D. João II*, liv. 19, fl. 41); João Rodrigues (1486-1487) (TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 1, fl. 157; TT, *Ch. D. João II*, liv. 20, fl. 112v); Martim Vasques Barradas (1502-1503) (TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 2, fl. 46; TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 23, fl. 6); João Rodrigues (II) (1513-1517) (TT, *Ch. D. Manuel I*, liv. 42, fl. 13; TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 10, fl. 83).

[7] João Luís de Cárceres (1496-1498) (TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 43, fl. 30v).

[8] On this subject, see the work and the studies cited in: Faria, 2013: 15-21.

2. *ALCAIDES*, *ALCAIDES-MORES* AND *ESCRIVÃES DAS SACAS*: OFFICES AND FUNCTIONS

Since the reign of King Afonso IV (1325-1357), a group of *mercadorias defesas* ("prohibited goods") had been defined. These included, primarily, precious metals, coins, cereals, vessels, arms, and livestock (Duarte, 2019: 451-453). The Crown sought to prevent the export of these items from Portugal, as they played a fundamental role in maintaining the kingdom's wealth, and their export would strengthen neighboring and potentially hostile realms (Duarte, 1999b: 136). Nonetheless, the monarch retained the authority to grant a *saca*, that is, a license allowing the bearer to export these goods abroad. The *Cortes* (the Portuguese parliament) of 1472-1473 and 1481-1482 registered complaints from the people against the issuance of such licenses (Barros, 1885, vol. IV: 111). Among other criticisms, they argued that the royal license holders – particularly *fronteiros* and *alcaides-mores* (offices related to military defense) – exceeded the permitted quotas for trade stipulated in the licences they received (Duarte, 1999b: 136). In response to such abuses, and others, and in order to enhance fiscal control along the border, it became necessary to establish a corps of officials to monitor and regulate both the trade in prohibited goods and the licenses issued. We will now turn our attention to this group, beginning with the *alcaide* and *escrivão das sacas* (clerk of the export licenses) and concluding with the *alcaide-mor das sacas*, the official responsible for their oversight.

Although the matter remains unclear, it appears that the *alcaides-mores* – responsible for the military defense of urban centers (Duarte, 1992a: 161) – were initially tasked with overseeing export licenses. This responsibility would later pass to the *alcaides das sacas*. For example, in 1443, D. Diogo Lopes de Sousa, royal steward and counselor, was appointed on the same day as both *alcaide-mor* and as *alcaide das sacas* of Elvas[9]. This marks the first recorded mention of this office in the sources. Scholars who have studied these officials, such as Maria José Lagos Trindade (1981: 41-46) and Luís Miguel Duarte (1999b; 2019: 454), have not proposed a definitive date for the emergence of this office, but affirm it was in existence in the second half of the fifteenth century. However, the above-mentioned case allows us to date the creation of the post to the first half of the century and suggests that Elvas was the first town to have an *alcaide das sacas*, which is understandable given its role as the kingdom's principal inland customs station (Ferreira, 1983: 48). Thus, in Portugal, the office of *alcaide das sacas* emerged later than in Castile, where it was mentioned as early as 1351 (Pino Abad, 2000: 207-217; Sánchez Benito, 2017: 432).

In 1450, we find the first normative text referring to the *alcaides das sacas*, specifically in the letter of appointment of João de Melo (a nobleman of the royal household, chief cupbearer and *alcaide-mor* of Serpa) as *alcaide das sacas* of Serpa and Redondo[10]. According to this document, the official could station guards in

[9] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 27, fl. 154.
[10] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 34, fl. 81v.

the towns under his jurisdiction and seize prohibited goods that were being traded illegally. Two-thirds of such commodities would be retained by the *alcaide das sacas*, while one-third was to be delivered to the treasurer of public works in the locality. The *alcaide das sacas* was also required to take a *fiança* (financial bond) from anyone seeking to transport arms or horses to Castile, with the purpose of ensuring that the owners would bring those goods on the return journey[11].

In the second half of the fifteenth century, further responsibilities were outlined in the *regimento* (regulatory text) granted to Lopo Álvares de Moura, which we will examine in greater detail below (Duarte, 1999b: 138). When judges and notaries identified individuals involved in the illicit trade of livestock or prohibited goods during their investigations, they were to submit a list of suspects to the *alcaide das sacas*, so that he could publicly accuse them before the court. Additionally, the *alcaide das sacas* was responsible for recording Castilian livestock entering Portuguese territory for seasonal grazing. With the help of his men, he had to count and register "very truthfully and in detail" the number of animals, so that the same number could be verified on their return (Duarte, 1999b: 138).

The provisions from Lopo Álvares de Moura's *regimento* regarding the *alcaides das sacas* were later reproduced almost verbatim in the *Regimento sobre os gados que vêm de Castela* (Ordinance on the cattle arriving from Castile) (1503)[12] and in the *Regimento dos alcaides das sacas sobre a passagem dos gados e outras coisas defesas para fora do reino* (Ordinance of the *alcaides das sacas* concerning the passage of livestock and other prohibited goods outside the kingdom), published in the *Ordenações Manuelinas*[13] (book 5: 268-281), which we will revisit below. These later texts added a clause stipulating that *alcaides das sacas* could only be appointed to frontier towns, thereby excluding the rest of the realm, a demand made by towns and cities during the *Cortes* since at least 1490 (Sousa, 1990, vol. II: 498).

As Figure 2 shows, archival research confirms the appointment of *alcaides das sacas* in all the towns under study. The first occurred in 1476 with the appointment of Gonçalo Tavares, who held jurisdiction over the towns of Alegrete and Portalegre[14], where he also served as *alcaide* (Góis, 2014). These officials typically had jurisdiction over a single town, although some held authority over as many as three. Examples include Álvaro Pires, Diogo Camelo, and João Rodrigues, who were *alcaides das sacas* of Alegrete, Assumar, and Portalegre between 1496[15] and 1517[16].

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[11] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 34, fl. 81v.

[12] TT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte III, mç. 2, doc. 29.

[13] Code of laws issued by King Manuel.

14 TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 26, fl. 184v (Alegrete e Portalegre, 1476); TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 2, fl. 138 (Castelo de Vide, 1482); liv. 2, fl. 161 (Montalvão, 1482); liv. 1, fl. 152 (Nisa, 1486); liv. 1, fl. 157 (Monforte, 1486); liv. 4, fl. 6 (Marvão, 1486); TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 40, fl. 56 (Alpalhão, 1496); liv. 27, fl. 26v (Assumar, 1496); liv. 15, fl. 75 (Arronches, 1514).

[15] TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 27, fl. 26v.

[16] TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 10, fl. 83.

The geographic proximity of these towns likely explains the consolidation of offices under a single official.

The *alcaide das sacas* was assisted by the *escrivão das sacas*. The first known case dates to 1440, when João Álvares, a servant of Pero Peixoto, was appointed to this position in the inland port of Sabugal, in the Beira region[17]. Indeed, the office of *escrivão* appears to have been established in Portugal a few years before that of *alcaide das sacas*. It is not surprising that the first reference to the post concerns a "dry port" in Beira, as this was the main point of overland importation from Castile during the fifteenth century, particularly for textiles (Ferreira, 1983: 56-65).

The first normative text to mention the *escrivães das sacas* is the *regimento* granted to Lopo Álvares de Moura (Duarte, 1999a: 657). According to its provisions, these officials, alongside the *alcaide das sacas*, were responsible for fiscal surveillance along the border. They assisted in registering shepherds and livestock moving between Castile and Portugal (Duarte, 1999b: 136). In their records, the *escrivães* had to identify the shepherds, record the number of animals, take note of their owners' names, and specify their place of origin to ensure that no more livestock exited than had entered (Duarte, 1992b: 139). These duties were later reproduced in the 1503 *regimento* and in the *Ordenações Manuelinas* (book 5: 279).

The first record of an *escrivão das sacas* in the study region dates to 1471, with the confirmation of Martim Fragoso as *escrivão das sacas* of Campo Maior[18]. As seen in Figure 3, during the period under analysis, appointments were also made for Alegrete, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Nisa, and Portalegre[19]. The presence of these officials in such towns is attributable, as noted above for the *alcaides das sacas*, to their strategic location along the routes connecting the two kingdoms (Silva, Tolfo, 2023a). It is likely that in other towns – Assumar, Monforte, Montalvão, and Nisa – their functions were performed by local notaries, although this cannot be definitively confirmed.

In this region as well, the appointment of *escrivães das sacas* often preceded that of *alcaides das sacas*. While the reasons for this practice remain uncertain and may only be clarified through a broader-scale study, it is possible that *alcaides das sacas* duties were still being performed by regular *alcaides* prior to the establishment of the new office.

Above the *alcaides* and *escrivães das sacas* stood the *alcaide-mor das sacas* of the *comarca*. Although the date of its creation remains unknown, a holder of the office was already in place in the *comarca* of Entre-o-Tejo-e-Odiana by 1454[20]. Once again, as with the *alcaides das sacas*, the appointment of an *alcaide-mor das sacas* for

[17] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 20, fl. 109.

[18] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 22, fl. 115v.

[19] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 22, fl. 115v (Campo Maior, 1471); TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 6, fl. 21 (Alegrete, 1482); liv. 6, fl. 19 (Arronches, 1482); liv. 22, fl. 58v (Castelo de Vide, 1484); liv. 1, fl. 35 (Portalegre, 1486); liv. 4, fl. 103v (Nisa, 1486).

[20] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 10, fl. 78.

the Alentejo preceded those for other regions, such as Beira (1462)[21], Entre-Douro-e-Minho (1463)[22], and Trás-os-Montes (1464)[23].

The responsibilities of the *alcaides-mores das sacas* were first outlined in the letter of appointment of Lopo Álvares de Moura. In 1477, he was appointed to the post in the *comarca* of Entre-Tejo-e-Odiana and the kingdom of the Algarve[24], and held the office until his death in 1516[25]. According to the appointment, he was to present candidates to the king for the position of *alcaide das sacas* in towns where such officials were deemed necessary. He was later granted a *regimento* governing both his own duties and those of the *alcaides* under his authority. Luís Miguel Duarte (1999b: 137) dated this document between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, possibly between 1477 and 1503[26].

Although similar appointments were made in other regions, there is no record of equivalent *regimentos* for officials in those areas (Duarte, 1999b: 139). According to this particular document, the *alcaide-mor* was to oversee the activities of the *alcaides das sacas* in the towns of his *comarca*, and in the case of misconduct, suspend them and appoint a replacement in conjunction with local judges. The contents of this *regimento* were later incorporated into the *Regimento sobre os gados que vêm de Castela* (1503)[27], and published in the *Ordenações Manuelinas* (book 5: 279), now addressed to the *alcaides-mores das sacas* of those *comarcas* "where such officials exist" (*Ordenações Manuelinas*, book 5: 268-281). Thus, up to this point, and in contrast with what occurred in fifteenth-century Castile, the responsibility for overseeing and sanctioning potential misconduct by *alcaides das sacas* does not appear to have been entrusted to judicial officials, namely the *corregedores* and *juízes de fora* (Dino Abad, 2000: 207-217).

Finally, it is worth noting that in 1482, King João II authorized the officialdom of the *sacas* of the *comarca* of Entre-Tejo-e-Guadiana to carry arms, day or night, in whatever number was necessary for their defense and the proper exercise of their duties[28]. This illustrates that the fulfillment of their responsibilities was not always peaceful or uncontested.

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[21] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 9, fl. 21.

[22] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 8, fl. 49.

[23] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 8, fl. 175 e liv. 29, fl. 39v.

[24] TT, *Ch. de D. Afonso V*, liv. 2, fl. 21.

[25] TT, *Ch. de D. João III*, liv. 37, fl. 73.

[26] The proposed critical dating is based, in the case of the initial date indicated, on the year the official was appointed to the post, and, in the case of the final date, on its coincidence with the publication of the *Regimento sobre os gados que vêm de Castela* (TT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte III, mç. 2, doc. 29), which reproduces the document in question almost verbatim.

[27] TT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte III, mç. 2, doc. 29.

[28] TT, *L.N.*, liv. 7 de Guadiana, fl. 98v.

3. THE MEN OF THE *SACAS*: THE POSSIBLE SOCIAL PROFILE

Between 1476 and 1517, we identified 23 *alcaides das sacas*, with the towns of Alegrete (seven) and Marvão (seven) having the highest number of known officials. Archival documentation reveals the geographic origin of 14 of them. Most held office in the municipality in which they resided, with only two exceptions. The royal ordinances did not stipulate that the individual appointed to the position had to be a resident of the town, but if no one was deemed suitable, it was perhaps likely that someone would be recruited from outside. This practice also seems to have been used to address or correct failings of previous officeholders and to prevent cronyism. Indeed, in 1487, for example, João David, a resident of Fronteira, was appointed *alcaide das sacas* of Marvão after his predecessor was accused of collusion[29]. However, this approach may not always have been effective, as seen in the case of João Rodrigues. A native of the kingdom of Castile, he was appointed *alcaide das sacas* of Monforte between 1486 and 1487 but was later dismissed for having accepted multiple bribes[30].

We were able to determine the social status of the *alcaides das sacas*, in 17 cases. Most were *escudeiros* (squires), while three were *criados* (retainers), one was a knight, and one was a *fidalgo* (nobleman). All were connected to the Crown, except in two cases, both *criados*, respectively, of Nuno Pereira[31] and of the *clavero* (an office) of the Order of Christ[32]. Like other lords, the *claveiro* secured the appointment of trusted individuals to royal offices in towns under the jurisdiction of the Order, such as Nisa, in order to strengthen the militia's influence in the locality.

In general, these individuals had held other posts in royal service in areas such as defense, finance, justice, and writing, prior to their appointment as *alcaides das sacas*. However, work related to writing was the most frequently recorded (five cases). It is possible that the office of *alcaide das sacas* was considered prestigious, serving as a kind of career apex for these men. While we know of prior appointments in most cases, we lack evidence of further offices held afterward, except in the case of Álvaro Rodrigues, who was later appointed to the offices of *coudel*[33] (local military officer), *vedor dos vassalos e das lanças*[34] (inspector of vassals and armed forces), and *juiz das sisas* (magistrate tasked with hearing cases related to this tax) in Nisa[35].

As for the *escrivães das sacas*, we identified 14 officials appointed to these towns between 1471 and 1501, with the highest number known in Marvão (four). Information on geographic origin is available for eight of them, and the majority held office in their town of origin. Two exceptions are known: in 1486, João Afonso

[29] TT, *Ch. D. João II*, liv. 19, fl. 96.
[30] TT, *Ch. D. João II*, liv. 20, fl. 112v.
[31] TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 1, fl. 157 (João Rodrigues, 1486).
[32] TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 12, fl. 14 (Álvaro Rodrigues, 1500).
[33] TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 12, fl. 170 (1490).
[34] TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 9, fl. 81 (1491).
[35] TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 5, fl. 32 (1492).

served as *escrivão das sacas* in Castelo de Vide, his hometown, and in Portalegre as well[36]. Meanwhile, Diogo Fernandes, a native of Portalegre, resigned in 1501 from the position of *escrivão das sacas* in Marvão (Leitão, 2022: Annexes, Table VI). In both cases, the reasons for these overlapping appointments are unclear, but two possible explanations may be suggested: the geographic proximity of the towns and the fact that they were under the jurisdiction of the same *alcaide das sacas* during this period.

Regarding the social status of the *escrivães*, we found that nine were *escudeiros* or *criados*, affiliated either with the royal household or with courtly nobility who held influence in the towns where their clients were appointed. Among these noble figures were Nuno Martins da Silveira, *alcaide-mor* of Castelo de Vide (Oliveira, 2011: 118), Afonso Teles de Meneses, *alcaide-mor* of Campo Maior (Moreno, 1973), and Pedro de Moura[37], *alcaide-mor* and captain of Marvão. Like the *alcaides das sacas*, the *escrivães* held offices related to finance, defense, justice, and especially writing (three are known to have served as notaries). Indeed, noblemen sought to secure the appointment of their own clients to writing-related offices as part of broader strategies to reinforce their power in towns where they held interests[38]. This practice was widespread and has been documented in other regions of the kingdom, such as Beira (Oliveira, 1999: 133-138). However, the available documentation does not allow us to determine whether these individuals held other offices before or after serving as *escrivães*, making it difficult to trace any possible *cursus honorum*. Only one case is known in which, after serving as *escrivão*, the official was appointed *recebedor das sisas*[39] (revenue collector for this sales tax).

4. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study has allowed us to observe how royal letters of appointment partially reconstruct the network of royal officials in a region, the pace of their appointments, the profiles of their protagonists, the clientelistic networks to which they belonged, and their experience in service to the Crown.

We focused on fiscal offices, specifically those linked to the *sacas* in the border towns of the northeastern Alentejo region. The *alcaides das sacas* of each locality and the clerks of the office were indispensable royal agents tasked with overseeing the trade of goods and the transhumance of livestock along the border. We conclude that these offices originated in the first half of the fifteenth century but only expanded in the studied territory by the end of the century. The office of *escrivão das sacas* appears to have emerged earlier than that of *alcaide das sacas*, although the latter function was already being carried out by the *alcaide*. Indeed, the office of *alcaide das*

[36] TT, *Ch. de D. João II*, liv. 1, fl. 35.
[37] TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 40, fl. 127v.
[38] For more on this issue, see: Andrade, 2025: 89-97.
[39] TT, *Ch. de D. Manuel I*, liv. 43, fl. 65v (Diogo Fernandes, 1520).

sacas appears to have been established significantly later in Portugal than in Castile, where documentary evidence confirms its existence from as early as 1351. The roles and responsibilities of the *sacas* offices are gleaned from the regulations, later incorporated into the *Ordenações*, as well as from practical records that mostly concern breaches of the law and corruption. With the creation of the office of *alcaide-mor das sacas* in the second half of the fifteenth century, the responsibilities of overseeing the conduct of, and punishing any offences committed by, the *alcaides das sacas* were assigned to this office. Judicial officials, such as the *corregedores* and *juízes de fora*, appear not to have held authority in this regard, contrary to the situation in Castile.

Through the letters of appointment, some information was gathered about the social status, affiliations, and areas of professional development of the individuals prior to their connection to the *sacas*. In this regard, it is important to emphasise two aspects. Firstly, the individuals appointed to these positions resided in the localities where they served and belonged to the local elites. The appointment of individuals from other towns was rare, which seems to suggest that these offices were not generally associated with high levels of mobility. Secondly, those appointed were often connected to the royal household and to nobles within the courtly sphere - some of whom held the post of *alcaide* in the very towns where the *oficiais das sacas* were appointed. This enabled both the Crown and the nobility to strengthen their influence in these towns.

Future research is required to address new questions: How were the royal clerks' offices established in other border points of the kingdom? How did royal offices linked to the border develop in other parts of the realm? What was the relationship between the men of writing and the other officials with whom they interacted? These aspects may guide forthcoming studies.

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APPENDIX

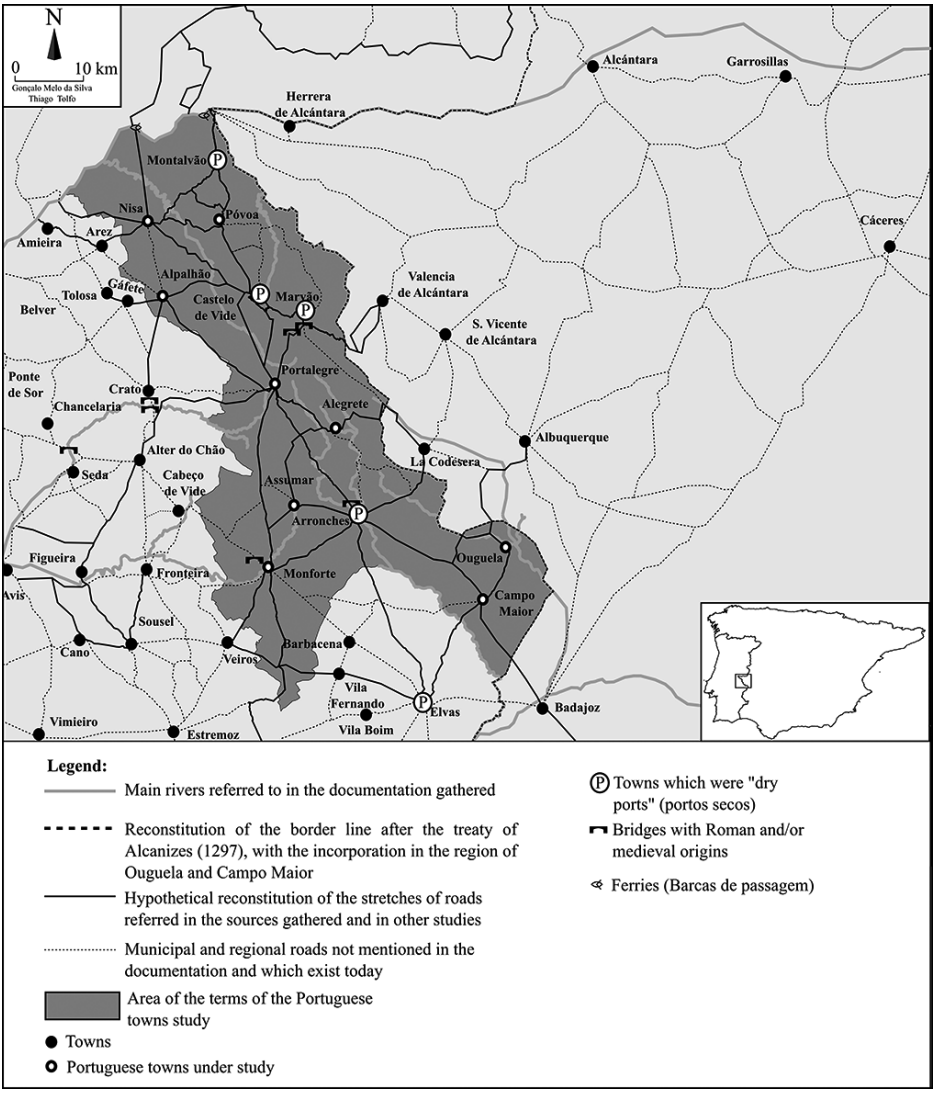


Figure 1. Circulation routes and "dry ports" in northeastern Alentejo (15th century).

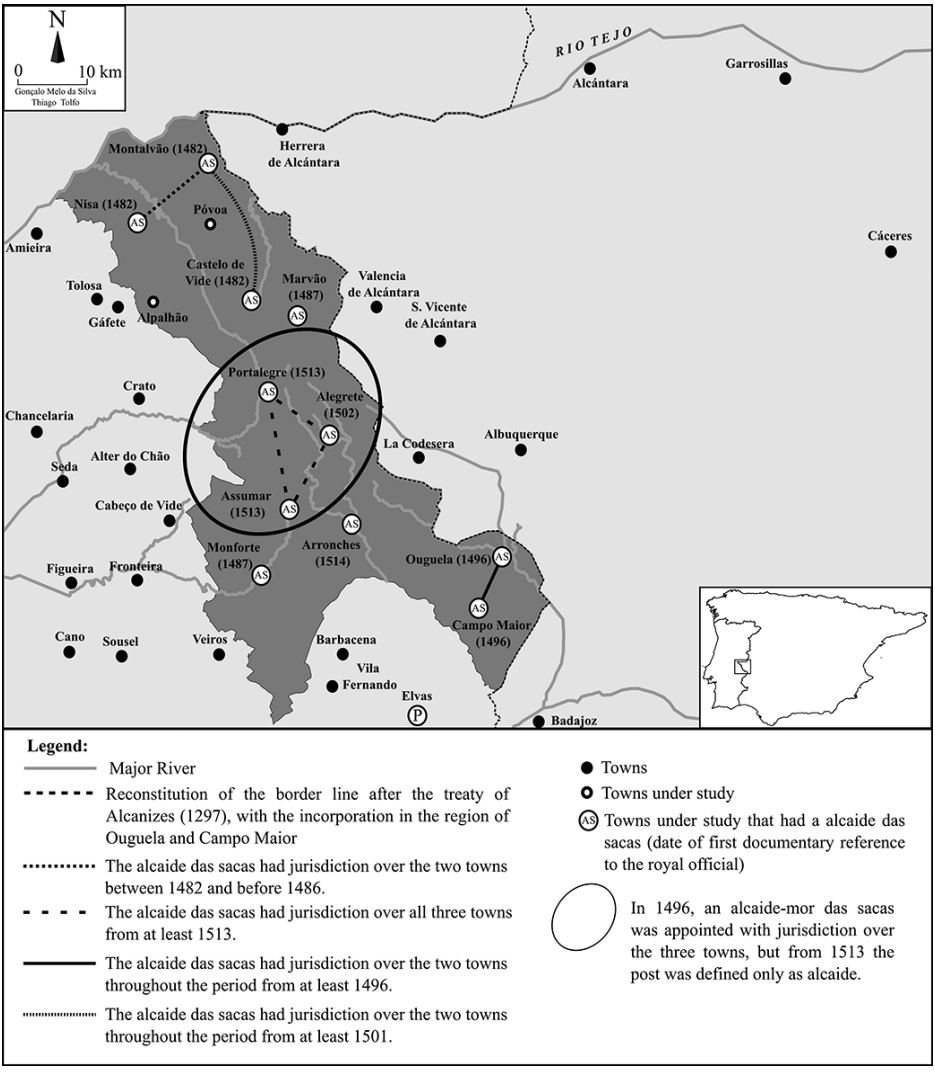


Figure 2. Towns for which *alcaides das sacas* were appointed (1476-1513).

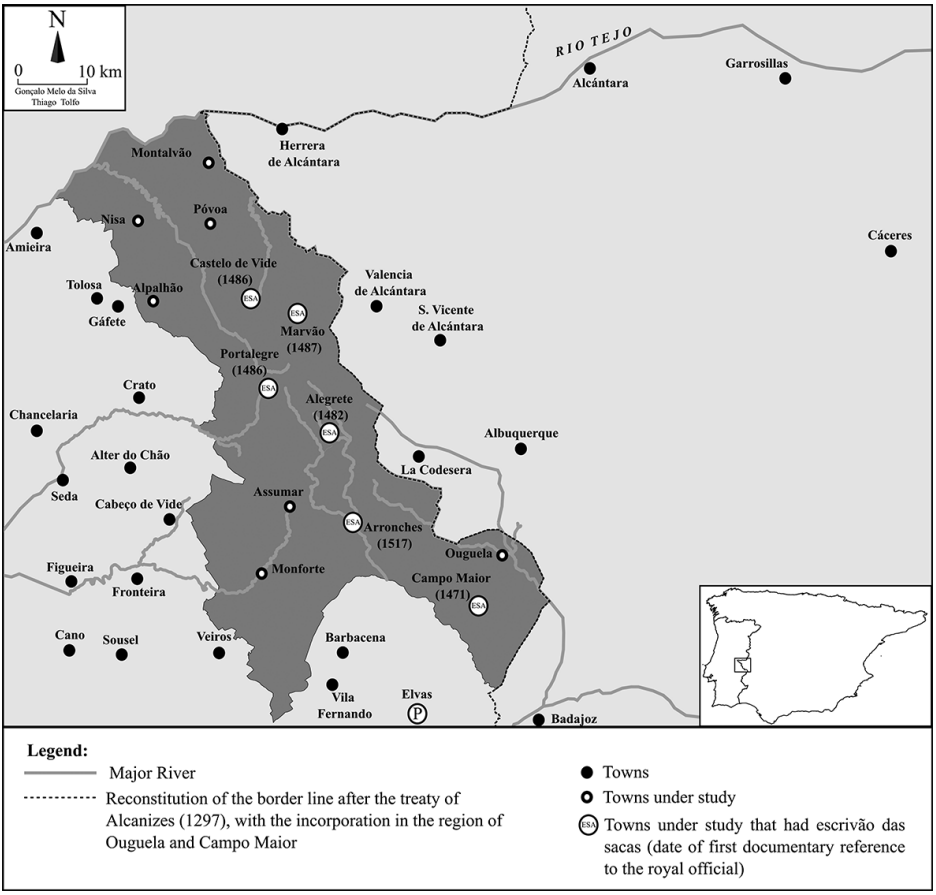


Figure 3. Towns for which *escrivães das sacas* were appointed (1471-1517).

PERIPHERAL AGENTS OF ROYAL JUSTICE IN THE SMALL FRONTIER TOWNS OF THE ALTO ALENTEJO IN THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES (*JUIZES DE FORA* IN ACTION)

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Abstract

The aim of this article is to evaluate the action and mobility of the *juízes de fora* in and towards the small towns located in the border area of Alto Alentejo in the 15th and 16th centuries. It thus forms part of an area of research which, despite having already acquired classic status, continues to grow and is the subject of renewed perspectives of approach: the process of granting greater effectiveness to the peripheral administration of the crown throughout the Middle Ages and early modern period. The problem will be analysed at a focal point delimited in terms of the territory of the kingdom, but the mechanisms and agents will be studied. Ultimately, the peripheral magistrates of the crown interest us because they (also) contribute to the study of the links and flows between the various localities in this area.

Keywords: peripheral administration of the crown, small towns, political links and flows.

AGENTES DE LA JUSTICIA REAL PERIFÉRICA EN LAS PEQUEÑAS CIUDADES FRONTERIZAS DEL ALTO ALENTEJO EN LOS SIGLOS XV Y XVI (*JUÍZES DE FORA* EN ACCIÓN)

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es evaluar la acción y la movilidad de los *Juízes de fora* en y hacia las pequeñas ciudades situadas en la zona fronteriza del Alto Alentejo en los siglos XV y XVI. Se inscribe así en un ámbito de investigación que, pese a haber adquirido ya categoría de clásico, sigue creciendo y es objeto de renovadas perspectivas de abordaje: el proceso de otorgamiento de mayor eficacia a la administración periférica de la corona a lo largo de la Edad Media y comienzos de la Edad Moderna. El problema se analizará en un punto focal delimitado en cuanto al territorio del reino, pero se estudiarán los mecanismos y los agentes. En última instancia, las magistraturas periféricas de la corona nos interesan porque (también) contribuyen al estudio de los vínculos y flujos entre las distintas localidades de esta zona.

Palabras clave: administración periférica de la corona, pequeñas villas, enlaces y flujos políticos.

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INTRODUCTION[1]

The objective of this article is to assess the activity and the movement of the *juízes de fora* (judges appointed by the Crown from outside the municipality) in the small towns[2] located along the border region of the Alto Alentejo during the 15th and 16th centuries. The towns considered herein are located in the region encompassed by the Frontowns project, and include Alegrete, Alpalhão, Arronches, Assumar, Campo Maior, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Monforte, Montalvão, Nisa, Ouguela, and Portalegre.

The distinct relationship that these peripheral agents of the Crown established with each of the towns under study can be perceived both in light of jurisdictional control over the localities, and of a pre-existing hierarchy of townships, which, throughout this period became increasingly more pronounced. The settlements which were under the jurisdiction of the Order of Christ (Alpalhão, Montalvão, and Nisa) were exempted from the action of these magistrates. The remaining towns came under the authority of the *juízes de fora* appointed by the king. These towns had varying degrees of connection between each other, including the two that were recurrently under the dominion of the House of Bragança[3] (Monforte and Assumar). Thus, throughout the period under analysis (roughly a century), some towns had their own external magistrate, while other towns shared a *juiz de fora,* and later on had an *ouvidor* (inspector) who also served as *juiz de fora* in another locality.

What is known about the duties of these agents of the Crown derives from two types of sources whose data are not always chronologically consistent: on one hand, the tasks of the *juízes de fora* can be gleaned from the rules stated in the legislation, and on the other hand, from documents pertaining to administrative practices. In this text, we will use both types of sources, and we will offer a brief synthesis that greatly benefits from both older and more recent studies developed by Portuguese historiography.

The exact chronology of this article results from cross-referencing two distinct variables: firstly, the availability of data and its prior analysis in other studies; secondly, the changes observed in the functioning of the judicial system in the periphery. Thus, the 15th and 16th centuries (as mentioned in the title) are narrowed down to the period between 1440 and 1533. In 1440 the first reference appears to a *juiz de*

[1] This article is funded by national funds through FCT – Foundation for Science and Technology, I.P., within the scope of Project: FRONTOWNS – Think big on small frontier towns: Alto Alentejo and Alta Extremadura leonesa (13th – 16th centuries) — PTDC/HAR-HIS/3024/2020, DOI 10.54499/PTDC/HAR-HIS/3024/2020 (http://doi.org/10.54499/PTDC/HAR-HIS/3024/2020). Handwritten and printed sources are first cited in full, and in subsequent notes, previously specified abbreviations are used.

[2] The coeval designation of town is used, which depends more on jurisdictional criteria and less on economic and social criteria. A town will be a municipality with a terminus, expressly designated as such by the monarch, but this does not imply criteria of urbanity in principle related to them.

[3] The most important Portuguese manorial family, related to the royal family.

fora appointed to the frontier towns of Alto Alentejo during the reign of Afonso V (1438-1481); from this period onwards, we begin to have the systematization and interpretation of information. The year of 1533 coincides with the creation of two *comarcas* (judicial districts) –Portalegre and Elvas– which would henceforth incorporate the towns under study, two of the five into which the region of *Entre Tejo e Odiana* was subdivided (Dias, 1996: 229-230 and 231). A reform of the *comarcas* divided the former six large medieval districts into 28 regions akin to *almoxarifados* (fiscal-administrative jurisdictions), and was carried out mainly between 1532 and 1533, as previous *corregedores* (*royal magistrates who were in charge of the comarcas*) reached the end of their terms or were dismissed, as Alves Dias explained (1996: 197-238). The territorial boundaries of these new districts were subject to certain changes later on, but there were no alterations to the towns of the *comarcas* of Portalegre and Elvas (Dias, 1996: 197-238). Although this reform did not directly affect the *juízes de fora*, it is clear that the larger number of districts resulted in smaller ranges of judicial supervision, which in turn provided more opportunities for advancement in the *cursus honorum* of these officials and, led to changes in the relationship between external magistrates and the new *corregedor.*

The mobility of the *juízes de fora* can be analyzed from two perspectives: in the ambit of this specific region, and in terms of the Portuguese kingdom. That is, firstly, the study explores, within a defined area, how the Crown monitored the territory and its populations through the actions of these peripheral agents. Secondly, it places the mandates carried out by the *juízes de fora* in the frontier towns of Alto Alentejo within the broader context of their professional careers. It becomes clear that we are considering the concept of mobility both as physical movement through space, and as career progression within the Crown's officialdom.

Ultimately, an analysis of the mobility of royal magistrates in the frontier region of Alto Alentejo, the effect their mandates had in this territory reveals a hierarchization of urban centers from the perspective of the Crown. While this hierarchization implied a degree of instability and violence in medieval terms, in modern terms it is a measure of the intrinsic importance of a town.

We will use the medieval and early modern archetype of the *juiz de fora* to structure this article in two parts; it is not a simplistic, black-and-white analysis of the external magistrates, but rather a suitable way to explicate the content. Undoubtedly, there are elements of continuity in institutional structures during this transitional period, but we can also observe stages of accelerated change – a phrase we prefer over "differential fractures" (Subtil, 1999: 320) or schisms – which marked the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Era (Magalhães, 1998: 8; Dias, 1998: 7-10).

According to current knowledge, there appears to have been a qualitative leap which began as early as the reign of King Manuel I (1495-1521) (Duarte, 2023: 27) and would become consolidated during the reign of King João III (1521-1557). We have symbolically used the year of 1495 as the chronological reference point for the presentation of the data.

1. THE *JUÍZES DE FORA* IN THE MIDDLE AGES (1440-1495)

We announced in the introduction that we would follow two approaches to understanding the *juízes de fora*, using both normative documents and those that were produced from actual practice. However, when addressing the period in which the first reliable references to this office emerge, it is impossible to structure the text with a prior exposition of legislative guidelines followed by confirmation –or refutation– of their implementation. In the 1330s and 1340s, the Crown began implementing a policy of territorial control over the kingdom (another moment of accelerated change), as evidenced by the proliferation of peripheral royal agents –*corregedores* and *juízes de fora*– as well as the creation of specialized officials for local governance (Coelho, 2023: 4-9; Coelho & Magalhães, 2008: 10-12; Costa, 2018: 51-55). Unlike the case of the *corregedores*, for whom several *regimentos* (administrative manuals) from the 1330s have survived (Serejo et al., 2023: 94), no similar set of rules for the *juízes de fora* have survived to our days.

It was not until the *Ordenações Afonsinas* were issued in 1446 that *juízes de fora* were mentioned in statutory law, whereas previously they had only appeared in records from the royal chancery, court rulings, and grievances brought to the *Cortes* by municipal councils. As stated in Book I of the *Ordenações*, whenever an external magistrate was appointed to a town or city, the locally elected judges would cease their duties, whereby the royal official assumed those same functions. In the aforementioned ordinances, this brief clarification precedes the transcription of a letter from King João I (1385-1433) in which he attempts to resolve a problem of widespread violence in the district of Beira using *juízes de fora*, granting them broader powers and a wider territorial jurisdiction. Consequently, the king appointed *juizes de fora* to the main towns and cities of the district, who, apart from the usual duties of a judge, now exercised control over a broader territory; this territory was defined by royal charter and included several settlements where the elected judges did remain in place. King João I's directive is very clear: the major issue in the region was that in lands donated to nobles, the judges, bailiffs, *ouvidores* (inspectors), and notaries were not enforcing justice, and the population was suffering from violence, a situation that this measure was intended to rectify. The *juízes de fora* were to arbitrate criminal and civil cases arising from the crimes of nobles, ensure that the officials involved in these cases fulfilled their duties, and monitored any infractions committed by nobles. The law specified that the administration of justice remained the responsibility of the *corregedores*; however, if the *juízes de fora* were already handling a case, they were to finish it. The *corregedores* were to supervise the *juízes de fora*. It was explicitly stated that all privileged lands were subject to the authority of the *juízes de fora*, regardless of any prerogatives granted by the monarch or his predecessors[4]. Since the chapters of the nobility of 1397-98 already mention these *juízes de fora* with extended territorial powers, even if not limited to the Beira district (Costa, 2018: 55-59), this measure

[4] *Ordenações Afonsinas* (1984), Livro I, Título XXV, p. 155.

must have been implemented earlier by king João I. And that is all that was stipulated in medieval legislation regarding the functions of the *juízes de fora.*

A systematic study of the *juízes de fora* in the reign of Afonso V has already been carried out (Duarte, 1993: 186-195; Faria, 2023: 123-158), and the magistrates who served during the reign of João II have been identified, mainly by using the records from the Royal Chancelleries, but also the *Corpo Cronológico* and the *Gavetas*[5]. However, we do not know how representative the number of officials known is in relation to those who actually held office. Diogo Faria established an irrefutable link between years in which no *juízes de fora* were appointed during the reign of Afonso V, and years for which there are no extant Chancellery books (Faria: 2023: 134-135). Thus, as municipal and district archives continue to be reviewed, a few more of these agents of the Crown are being discovered.

It is known that *juízes de fora* did not always live up to their title, as there were cases throughout the Middle Ages in which they actually resided in the city or town to which they were appointed (Coelho, 2023: 6). However, more often than not, these magistrates were outsiders to the communities, were not involved in the local power dynamics, and replaced elected judges (Coelho, 2023: 1-15; Costa, 2023; Duarte, 2023: 17-31; Faria, 2023: 123-158). The length of their mandates was not fixed and could last one, two, three years, or be indefinite. After some oscillations, by the mid-15th century their remuneration became more consistent, generally amounting to 12,000 *reais*. As for their academic background, it is worth noting that only 9.7% of the judges identified for the reign of Afonso V held licentiate degrees, bachelor degrees, or were students of law or canon law (Duarte, 1993: 245-247; Faria, 2023: 129-158).

The two main features of these royal agents were: they came from outside the community (with some exceptions), and they received all, or part of their salary at the expense of the municipal councils. Specifically related to the subject of this article are the conclusions of Diogo Faria that are displayed in the map drawn by Gonçalo Melo da Silva (Silva: 2023: 234), which highlights the frontier-oriented character of the majority of the urban centers (Alto Minho, Alentejo, Algarve, and Beira Alta) to which *juízes de fora* were appointed by Afonso V (Faria, 2023:136) [6].

[5] Cf. JUSCOM project database https://iem.fcsh.unl.pt/recursos/bases-de-dados/. The project's final data was presented at the colloquium Justice and Communities (1481-1580). Outputs of the JUSCOM project evaluated in an Iberian context, held in Lisbon on December 9, 2015.

[6] It should be noted that the research carried out within the scope of the Frontowns project, focused on the Upper Alentejo region, has made it possible to increase the number of known *juízes de fora*; this is evident in the discrepancy between the data shown on the map relating to appointments during the reign of King João II (Silva, 2023: 234) and the figures presented in the table included in this article.

1.1. Medieval *juízes de fora* in the border area of Alto Alentejo (1440-1495)

Let us focus on the scant data that has survived for the border region of Alto Alentejo during the reigns of Afonso V and King João II.

Royal intervention in the towns of this region throughout the Middle Ages, in the form of the appointment of *juízes de fora*, was probably neither homogeneous nor particularly intense. We have organized the existing data in the table I.

TABLE I. TOWNS OF ALTO ALENTEJO TO WHICH *JUÍZES DE FORA* WERE APPOINTED (1440-1495)	
Towns	Years in which the *juiz de fora* carried out functions
Portalegre	1440, 1456 (shared), 1463 (whared with Estremoz) 1473, 1482
Castelo de Vide	1461, 1467
Marvão	1455[5], 1456 (shared with Portalegre)
Arronches	1456 (shared with Portalegre)
Alegrete	1456 (shared with Portalegre)

Taking into account the general context of the kingdom, as Diogo Faria states, only Portalegre, (to which five *juizes de fora* are known to have been appointed between 1440-1495), recorded figures higher than most other cities and towns, which typically saw only one or two such nominations. Nevertheless, Portalegre ranked below Serpa and Évora (each with eight appointments), Tavira (ten), Estremoz (eleven), and Elvas (fourteen). Although we should exercise caution regarding how representative the documented appointments really were, it is evident that the attention given to these centers was not fortuitous.

When attempting to detect chronological correlations in the appointment of *juízes de fora* in the towns that had the most intervention of the Crown, we find considerable variability, with more appointments in certain years. Diogo Faria wrote that it is not possible to establish a direct connection between the appointment of *juízes de fora* and the kingdom's political context, as the nominations are better explained by the internal life of the urban centers (Faria, 2023:135). Let us now present two examples –one that may have been driven by exogenous factors, and another that was surely influenced by internal factors internal of the urban center.

Between 1440 and 1442, records mention 13 *juízes de fora* appointed across the kingdom, with particular relevance for the border region of the Alentejo and the area controlled by D. Afonso of Braganza. When D. Pedro became regent, the opposition of the Prior of Crato and Afonso of Bragança, as well as the position taken by Queen D. Leonor, both in Portugal and in Castile, may help to partially explain the geographical distribution of these appointments (Moreno: 1973: 3-96, 149-173). The appointment of a *juiz de fora* to Portalegre may have taken place within this context.

The reasons for the appointment of a *juiz de fora* to Castelo de Vide in 1461 appear to have been strictly internal, stemming from an uprising that took place after Afonso V granted the jurisdiction of that town to the *alcaide*, Vasco

Martins de Melo, on January 9, 1460. The town again came under royal control on February 9, 1461, but instability persisted as a result of the *alcaide*'s authority to appoint notaries, a dispute that was only resolved by a court ruling in 1462. In other words, at the height of the conflict, the magistrate was sent to Castelo de Vide (Oliveira, 2011: 115-117).

TABLE II. *JUÍZES DE FORA* APPOINTED TO THE TOWNS OF THE ALTO ALENTEJO (1440-1495)*

Date of appointment and duration of mandate**	*Juiz de fora*	Town	Reference
1440. 6. 28 (not indicated)	Gonçalo Botelho, squire, vassal of the king	Portalegre	***
1455?. 7. 10. (not indicated)	Fernão Álvares Portocarreiro, vassal and servant of the king	Marvão	CAV, 15: 174.
1456.9.28. (3 years) 1456.10.7 (3 years)	Pero da Cruz, usher of the Royal Study	Portalegre Arronches Alegrete Marvão	CAV, 13: 35
1461 (a year?)****	João Fernandes, bachelor in Laws, servant of the Infante D. Fernando	Castelo de Vide	CAV, 1:14
1463-01-27 (appointed by indefinite period)	João Delgado, royal squire, scholar of canon law	Portalegre Estremoz	CAV, 9: 30
1466.12.12 (year of 1467)	Fernão Brandão	Castelo de Vide	CAV, 35: 11
1472-12-16 (year of 1473)	João Barbosa, knight of the House of the King	Portalegre	CAV, 29: 270
1482-4-19 (appointed by indefinite period)	Afonso de Arouca, squire of the king, clerk of judicial inspections of the master of Avis	Portalegre	CJII, 2: 92v

* Most of the data was published previously Luís Miguel Duarte and by Diogo Faria.
** The information entered below the date of appointment refers to the duration of the mandate.
*** ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, Liv. 20, fol. 114 (henceforth CAV, 20: 114).
**** João Fernandes was appointed, by a letter dated 3?/05/1462, *juiz de fora* of Estremoz, starting on 1 June 1462, for one year (CAV, 1: 14).

As displayed in tables I and II and Fig. 1, the magistrates that were shared were: Pero da Cruz, *bedel* (caretaker) of the *Estudo Geral*, appointed in 1456 for a term of three years, to serve in three towns –Portalegre, Arronches, and Alegrete– with the cost of his salary divided among the three townships. About 15 days later, another town, Marvão, was added[7]. João Delgado, a royal squire and scholar of canon law, was appointed in 1463, for as long as the king wished, to serve in Portalegre

[7] CAV, 13: 35.

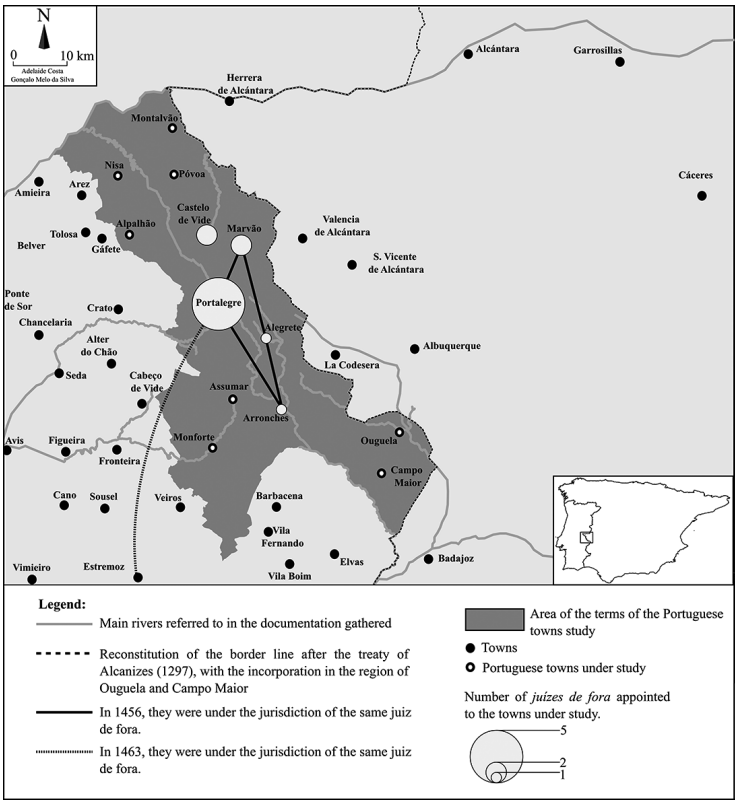


Fig. 1. Number of *juízes de fora* in the border towns of the Alto Alentejo (1440-1495).

and Estremoz –two towns farther away from each other than the previous ones[8]. Nothing is mentioned about the logistical aspects of this mandate that was divided between the two *almoxarifados* (royal tax offices) in the region. The logic behind the former appointment (1455/1456) appears to have been the proximity between towns (Portalegre, Alegrete, Arronches, Marvão), a rule from which the 1463 appointment deviated. Two more cases are known for other regions of the kingdom during the reign of Afonso V: one in Serpa and Moura, and another in Monção, Viana do Castelo, and Caminha (Faria, 2023:150-153).

In all the cases, the judges elected by the community ceased their functions, and the external magistrates assumed the position of *juiz de fora* in several urban centers; the half-salary that was to be paid by the towns (the other half being paid by the Crown) was divided among the respective two, three, or four municipalities.

[8] CAV, 9: 30.

In summary, until 1495 the appointment of *juízes de fora* to the border towns of the Upper Alentejo is a paradigmatic example of a form of territorial control used by the Crown throughout the Middle Ages: sporadic, unstructured appointments instigated (mainly) by local instability. Needless to say, Portalegre stands out, with five appointments.

2. THE EXPANSION OF *JUÍZES DE FORA* IN A TIME OF CHANGE (1495-1533)

There is much more available data for the period after 1495, enabling us to use the two approaches to study the *juízes de fora* –what was stipulated by law, and administrative practices. In fact, after 1495 more laws make references to the royal agents, although more in their provisions than in the statutes' titles. External magistrates are mentioned in the *Regimento dos oficiais das cidades, vilas e lugares* (1504)[9], as well as two (of the four) *Ordenações Manuelinas* of 1512/13[10] and in the final one of 1521[11].

During this period, legislation began to normalize the integration of *juízes de fora* into municipal governance, changing their former character of exceptionality. Of course, not all urban centers in the kingdom would have a foreign magistrate, but the possibility is now enshrined in the law. In the 1521 Ordinances, distinctions were established between elected judges and those appointed by the Crown, particularly in terms of the image projected to the community –for instance, the staffs of office (*varas*) were of different colors: red for the ordinary judges and white for the *juízes de fora*[12], as well as in terms of financial accountability for errors in judgment committed[13].

In the final edition of the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, a new title concerning *ouvidores* was included[14] immediately after that of the *corregedores*. This referred to *juizes de fora* appointed to a particular urban center who also performed the functions of *ouvidor* in another location (or locations). Both this additional office, and the powers assigned to it remained in place until the seventeenth century (Silva, 2007: 425; Hespanha, 1994: 97). According to the letter of the law, when a royal magistrate visited towns in the capacity of *ouvidor*, the elected judges remained in office and could only refer appeals to him; during his periods of absence, the ordinary judges were allowed to turn either to the *juiz de fora* or the *corregedor*. If the *corregedor* was present in that locality, the *ouvidor* had to suspend his functions.

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[9] *Regimento dos oficiais das cidades, vilas e lugares destes reinos* (1955).

[10] *Ordenações Manuelinas* (2002).

[11] *Ordenações Manuelinas* (1984). (henceforth *Ordenações Manuelinas 1521).*

[12] *Ordenações Manuelinas 1521,* Título 44, parágrafo 55, p. 305.

[13] Elected officials and judges appointed from outside are distinguished with regard to the imposition of legal costs in the *Ordenações Manuelinas* of 1521*,* Título 44, parágrafo 71, pp. 313-314

[14] *Ordenações Manuelinas 1521*, Liv. I, Titulo XL, p. 270.

As we will see, in 1521 a practice that King Manuel had been experimenting with for quite some time became law, changing the episodic accumulation of the office of *juiz de fora* in different localities that we see during the reigns of Afonso V and João II.

In one case King Manuel I appointed a royal *ouvidor* who had not served elsewhere as a *juiz de fora,* to places that were under the Crown's jurisdiction. According to the *regimento* (regulations) accompanying this official, the elected judges were to remain in office, and this *ouvidor* was to obey the *corregedor* of the district[15] . However, in a subsequent record from the royal chancery (which includes documentation drafted locally), that individual is identified as a *juiz de fora* during the same period[16]. Could this be a sign of some confusion among the town's residents regarding the correct functions of an *ouvidor*?

2.1. "Modern" *juízes de fora* in the towns of the Alto Alentejo

As mentioned above, reconstructing the appointments of *juízes de fora* is greatly limited by the bad state of the royal chancery records. In fact, the occasional references to external magistrates found in other sources further confirm that the sample we used did not portray the actual number of appointments. The original 71 books comprised in the Chancery of King Manuel has been reduced to 46. The loss of part of the archive was exacerbated by the disorganization of the original volumes, likely caused by the rebinding of books after the earthquake of 1755 (Faria, 2013: 16-19).

Keeping in mind the limitations of the sources, let us examine the urban centers to which *juízes de fora* were appointed, independently of whether they also served as *ouvidores* in other towns, between 1495 and 1533.

A simple observation of the table III and Fig. 2 shows the towns grouped into three categories: those that received only *juízes de fora* (Monforte and Portalegre), those that had only *ouvidores* (Alegrete, Assumar, Marvão, and Ouguela), and those that had both situations (Arronches, Campo Maior, and Castelo de Vide).

TABLE III. TOWNS OF THE ALTO ALENTEJO TO WHICH *JUIZES DE FORA* AND/OR *OUVIDORES* WERE APPOINTED (1495-1533).

Town	*Juízes de fora* (years in which they carried out their functions)	*Ouvidores* (*juízes de fora* in another town) (years in which they carried out their functions)
Alegrete		1500/1502 (*Juiz* Elvas); 1513, 1515, 1518, 1523/25 (Juiz Portalegre)
Assumar		1513 (*Juiz* Portalegre)

Continued on the next page

[15] Fernão de Parada was appointed on 25 January, 1498, as *ouvidor* in the towns of Elvas and Olivença (ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel I, liv. 28, fol. 86 (henceforth CMI, 28: 86).

[16] CMI, 37: 84v.

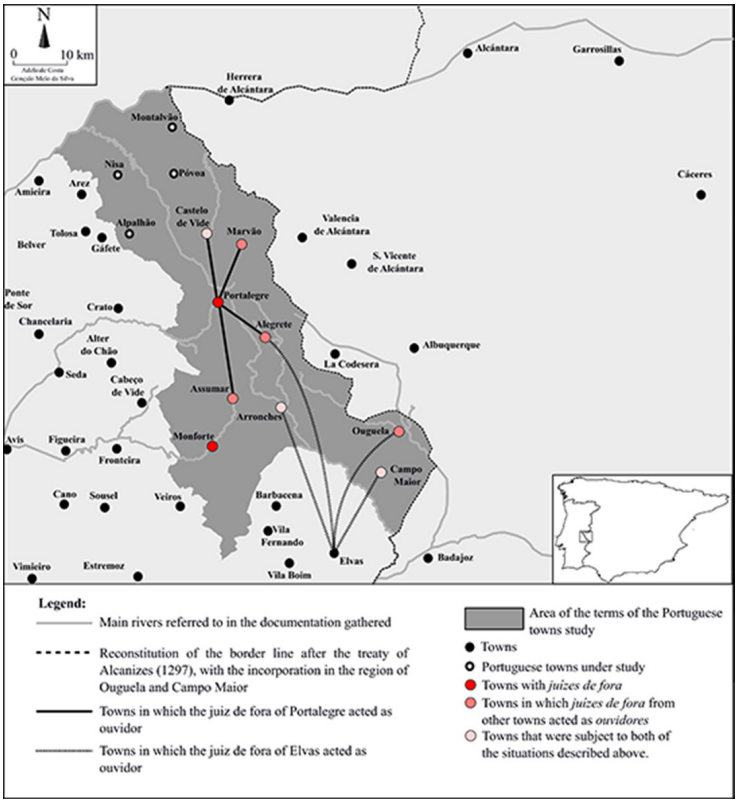


Fig. 2. Service of *juízes de fora* in the border towns of the Alto Alentejo (1440-1495).

TABLE III. TOWNS OF THE ALTO ALENTEJO TO WHICH *JUIZES DE FORA* AND/OR *OUVIDORES* WERE APPOINTED (1495-1533).

Town	*Juízes de fora* (years in which they carried out their functions)	*Ouvidores* (*juízes de fora* in another town) (years in which they carried out their functions)
Arronches	1521, 1527, 1532	1500/1502 (*Juiz* Elvas)
Campo Maior	1524, 1530	1500/2 (*Juiz* Elvas)
Castelo de Vide	1521, 1523/25, 1526, 1527, 1529, 1530, 1532	1513, [1515?], 1518, 1523 (*Juiz* Portalegre)
Marvão		1513, [1515?], 1518, 1523 (*Juiz* Portalegre)
Ouguela		1500/1502 (*Juiz* Elvas)
Monforte	1499/1500	
Portalegre	1499, 1513, 1515, 1519/21, 1523/25, 1527, 1530	

Let us begin by examining the first group.

The earliest appointments of *juízes de fora*, at the end of the 15th century and early 16th century, occurred in Portalegre and Monforte. Similar reasons may underlie both appointments: an attempt (with varying degrees of success) to transform the two towns into territorial enclaves of the nobility.

The appointment of an external magistrate for Portalegre on 2 March 1499[17] may have been the result of the townspeople's resistance to the grants to Diogo da Silva Meneses, who had already enjoyed the title of Count of Portalegre and royal rents in the town since 1496[18]. Thus, in February 1498, King Manuel granted this Diogo –his Clerk of the Purity–, among other jurisdictions and rights, the position of *alcaide* in Portalegre and the place of Assumar. It seems likely that in 1499 there was some instability in Portalegre, prompting the dispatch of a royal agent to that town. As shown in the table, and although no other data has been found for the first decade of the 16th century, Portalegre was the earliest town for which we have evidence of systematic appointments of external magistrates, following a pattern of prominence already visible in the previous period.

For Monforte, the data is more revealing, though still limited. At the Cortes of Lisbon in 1498, held early in the year, the imminent reintegration of the town into the House of Bragança justified the municipal council's request that the town remain, permanently, under royal authority (Costa, 2019: 262-266). Let us recall that the gradual reestablishment of the House of Bragança's jurisdictions began in May 1496 (Mendonça, 2006: 145). At some point in 1499 (the specific day and month are unknown) *a juiz de fora* was appointed to Monforte, with a salary of 18,000 reais, to be divided between the municipal council (8,000 reais) and the treasury of the Duke of Bragança (10,000 reais)[19]. In other words, the specific arrangement regarding the magistrate's remuneration already reflects the unfolding of a transition in jurisdictional control. Throughout the entire Early Modern period, some territories belonging to the House of Bragança were served by a *juiz de fora*, always as a result of requests made by the dukes to the monarchs. These officials were required to acknowledge that their authority derived from the duke ("to be named by the duke"), they had to report to the *ouvidor* of the House of Bragança, and their terms, at least in theory, lasted four years (Cunha, 2000: 229-236; 2012: 42-51). According to Mafalda Cunha, this arrangement only began in the mid-16th century, and in the specific case of Monforte, it wasn't until 1579 that a *juiz de fora* to be appointed by the duke (2000: 230).

Let us turn to the towns that only had an *ouvidor* who was *juiz de fora* in another urban center: Alegrete, Assumar, Marvão and Ouguela.

According to the compiled data, Alegrete (more uninterruptedly) and Marvão (on a more occasional basis) remained under the authority of a *juiz de fora* from

[17] CMI, 14: 10v.
[18] CMI, 31: 9v
[19] CMI, 12: 11.

another municipality from 1513 to 1523. Alegrete had an interim *ouvidor*, who was *juiz de fora* in Elvas between 1500 and 1502. In the previous period, a *juiz de fora* appears to have been appointed exclusively for Marvão (although the exact date is unclear), and in 1456, both towns shared the same magistrate with Portalegre and Arronches.

Alegrete, in addition to its complex jurisdictional history, was part of the administrative district (*termo*) of Portalegre (as recorded in 1319), and the bond between the two municipalities represented a lasting reality. In fact, both were granted to Infante D. João, the future João II, in 1478 (see summary and bibliography in Silva, Costa, 2025, forthcoming). Marvão, by contrast, seems not to have established itself as the leading town in the Serra de São Mamede. Its once-promising importance began to decrease as early as the 13th century with the gradual reduction of its once vast territory (summary and bibliography in Silva, Costa, 2025, forthcoming). In the mid-16th century reasons were cited to explain the underpopulation of the town, such as its high location in the mountains on the Castilian border, and its very cold climate[20]. Nonetheless, Marvão's local authorities continued to praise the antiquity, nobility, and sturdiness of the town's walls[21].

According to the available information, Ouguela and Assumar –two smaller municipalities– appear to have been assigned an *ouvidor* only on a one-off basis during the reign of King Manuel, and not thereafter[22].

Ouguela, which was incorporated late into the Portuguese kingdom (1297), was repeatedly assimilated into, and separated from the municipality of Campo Maior. It was granted to various lords (without jurisdiction of *mero e misto império*) and suffered significant damage from military invasions (see summary and bibliography in Silva, Costa, 2025: forthcoming). The town never managed to grow sufficiently go beyond its subordinate position to Campo Maior, either *de jure* or *de facto*.

Assumar was incorporated both into the territory of Monforte (before and after 1314) and that of Portalegre (in 1380), although it retained the ability to elect a judge. Part of its territory was granted to Arronches in 1385 (see summary and bibliography in Silva, Costa, 2025: forthcoming). It was a municipality with fragile autonomy, caught between the influence of nearby towns. However, it is Assumar's jurisdictional situation as a territory belonging to the House of Bragança that presents an interesting challenge to the researcher. In 1372, King Fernando granted the town to (the *Condestável*) Nuno Álvares Pereira, a donation confirmed in 1390 by King João I. Then, in 1433, King Duarte ratified a grant made by the *Condestável* to his grandson in 1422, D. Fernando, of a series of assets, rights, and jurisdictions, among which was the town of Assumar; this grant would take effect upon the death of Fernão Martins de Carvalhal, who owned Assumar then (Coelho, 2023: 309-310).

[20] Biblioteca Municipal Laranjo Coelho, *Tombo de Castelo de Vide*, docs. 79, 80 [henceforth TCV: 79, 80]

[21] TCV: 83

[22] 1580 is the cut-off date for the data base of the project JUSCOM.

The interesting challenge concerns the lack of a clear answer to the question: was Assumar reintegrated into the House of Bragança after 1496? It is certain that on August 16, 1496, King Manuel confirmed the charter issued by King Duarte in 1433 (Mendonça, 2006: 145). If that is the case, then why did the monarch grant Portalegre and Assumar to D. Diogo da Silva de Meneses a year and a half later?[23]

In 1513, the *juiz de fora* of Portalegre served as *ouvidor* in Assumar. This fact by itself was not evidence that the town belonged to the Crown; in fact, in 1514 the *juiz de fora* of Freixo de Espada à Cinta was tasked with overseeing nearby lands that belonged to a nobleman (Duarte: 1999: 723-725). According to Mafalda Cunha, this situation became more common throughout the Early Modern period, when these royal magistrates served as *ouvidores* in judicial matters, even within the jurisdictions of noblemen (2012: 45). However, if in 1513 Assumar had belonged to the House of Bragança, the appointment of the *juiz de fora* to supervise the town would likely have warranted a specific mention distinguishing it from other territories, which did not occur. Historians of the Early Modern period do not agree on whether Assumar was, in fact, part of the holdings of the House of Bragança (Cunha, 2024: 221; Farrica, 2009: 180).

Finally, let us mention the towns that had both *ouvidores* who were *juízes de fora* in other urban centers, and magistrates appointed specifically for that locality: Arronches, Campo Maior, and Castelo de Vide.

As mentioned above, in the previous period there were only two (known) magistrates appointed exclusively to Castelo de Vide, and there was one shared judge for Arronches. However, at the turn of the 16th century, during the reign of King Manuel, Arronches and Campo Maior came under the jurisdiction of an *ouvidor* who was also *juiz de fora* in Elvas. Castelo de Vide experienced a similar situation in 1513, [1515], 1518, and 1523, but with a judge from Portalegre, From the early 1520s onwards, the three towns began to regularly have *juízes de fora*, with the exception of Castelo de Vide in 1523.

Let us look again at the table, this time focusing on the chronology of arrivals. Taking only into account the appointment by the Crown of *juízes de fora*, it can be concluded that there was a main town – Portalegre, three centers which consistently received *juízes de fora*, from the reign of King João III onwards, and four towns that never had a resident external magistrate. As expected, this hierarchy is confirmed when cross-referenced with data about the population density from the 1527 census[24]

The table also shows the flexibility that was patent, over the course time, in the relationship between the main centers and other localities – in this case with regard to the control of local power and the administration of first-instance justice.

[23] 1498, 6 de fevereiro (CMI, 31: 9v).

[24] Population: *Comarca* (district) of Elvas: Campo Maior (664 residents in the town); Ouguela (163). *Comarca* of Portalegre: Alegrete (253); Alpalhão (115); Arronches (838); Assumar (159); Castelo de Vide (911); Marvão (495); Monforte (660); Montalvão (181); Nisa (349), Portalegre (1419). All the lands belonged to the *almoxarifado* of Portalegre.

I am referring to Portalegre and Elvas, the latter not included in the Frontowns project due because it could not be classified as "a small town"[25].

Alegrete, Arronches, Campo Maior, and Ouguela (along with Olivença) were under the jurisdiction of a *juiz de fora* from Elvas from 1500 to 1502; around the same time, Portalegre also had a *juiz de fora*. The dependence on the judge from Elvas is understandable in the cases of Ouguela and Campo Maior, given their proximity and the later territorial reorganization into new *comarcas* (districts) in 1533. However, the assignment of Arronches, and especially Alegrete, to Elvas is more difficult to accept, as there is no precedent or continuity in this connection. Was this perhaps a phase of institutional experimentation in extending royal control over the territory? Was the situation in Portalegre at that time inappropriate for an itinerant *juiz de fora* who had other territorial responsibilities? Or had King Manuel ceased to consider Portalegre as a basis for royal power structures, since it had been granted to a noble?

The appointments of *juízes de fora* to Portalegre and Monforte in 1499 seem to embody the medieval concept of the magistrate –that is, an agent of the Crown sent to contain instability in urban centers. Around the same time, Elvas may have been the site of an experiment that involved combining, in a single external magistrate assigned to the main town, both the duties inherent to his office, and authority over the elected judges in smaller settlements. This experiment would later be formalized in the chapter on *ouvidores* in the 1521 edition of the *Ordenações Manuelinas*.

When Portalegre and Elvas became the seats of their judicial districts in the 1530s, their spheres of influence appear to have followed a logic of proximity and the consolidation of previous ties. Alegrete, Assumar, Castelo de Vide, and Marvão became attached to Portalegre, while Campo Maior and Ouguela were associated with Elvas.

Let's proceed with a more detailed analysis of the chronology of the appointment of *juízes de fora*.

TABLE IV. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE MANDATES OF THE *JUÍZES DE FORA* IN THE BORDER TOWNS OF THE ALTO ALENTEJO (1495 TO 1533)*

Mandate dates	Name of the officials	Town where he was *Juiz de fora*	Town where he was *Ouvidor*
1499 (p)** 1500/11/16 (r)***	Afonso de Matos	Monforte	
1499/3/2 (p) 1504/3/8 (c)****	Vasco Fernandes de Barbudo	Portalegre	
1499/12/28 (p) 1502/8/5 (r)	João Rodrigues, holder of a bachelor's degree	Elvas	Olivença, Arronches, Campo Maior, Ouguela, Alegrete

Continued on the next page

[25] Apart from other indicators of political, military and economic importance, we also know from the census of 1527 that Elvas had 7664 residents

TABLE IV. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE MANDATES OF THE *JUÍZES DE FORA* IN THE BORDER TOWNS OF THE ALTO ALENTEJO (1495 TO 1533)*

Mandate dates	Name of the officials	Town where he was *Juiz de fora*	Town where he was *Ouvidor*
1513. 1.18 (p) 1514.9.15 (c)	Rui Fernandes, licenciate	Portalegre	Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Alegrete, Assumar
1515.12.17•(p) 1516.12.20 (r) 1517/12/14 (c)	António Lopes, licenciate	Portalegre	Alegrete [Castelo de Vide e Marvão?]
[2018/2]•• 1521/12/12(c)	Afonso Gomes Mascarenhas, doctor	Portalegre	Alegrete Castelo de Vide Marvão
1521.4.26 (c)	Martinho da Fonseca, licenciate	Arronches	
[1520.3•••] 1521.1.29 (r) 1521.3.21 (r)	Heitor Lampreia, squire of the King's Household	Castelo de Vide	
1521.5.22 (p)	Dinis Rodrigues, bachelor's degree	Castelo de Vide	
1523.12.31 (c)	Martinho da Fonseca, licenciate	Castelo de Vide	
1523.10.13 (r) 1525.5.1 (r)	Gil Vasques Bugalho, bachelor's degree	Portalegre	Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Alegrete
1524.9.21 (r)	Martinho da Fonseca, licenciate	Campo Maior	
1526.10.1 (r) 1527.3.16 1529.5.26 (r)	António Cardoso, squire, licenciate	Castelo de Vide	
1527.10.28 (p)	João Jorge	Arronches	
1529.10.17 (p) 1530.5.24 (r) 1529.8.17 (r)	Luís Fernandes Barbudo	Castelo de Vide	
1530.2.3. (p)	Fernando Gonçalves	Campo Maior	
1530.12.17 (p)	Dinis Rodrigues	Castelo de Vide	
1532.2.2 (p) 1532.9.12 (p)	Amaro Fernandes	Arronches	
	Francisco Dias	Castelo de Vide	
1532.10.30 (p)	Atanázio Varela	Portalegre	

* The documentary references of this data is in Apendix –Notes for drawing up a prosopographical repertory.
** (p) corresponds to the appointments to the office.
*** (r) refers to references to the exercise of the office.
**** (c) references indicating that the mandate has already ended.
• Only identified as juiz de fora, with no name.
•• Estimated date, since on 1519/2/7 the almoxarife was going to pay him 20000 reais of his salary.
••• Calculated date, since he received 20000 reais in March of 1521 for the exercise of his office.

From the reign of King Manuel onwards, most letters of appointment indicate that this office was held for a three-year term. Hence, the sequence of dates listed in Table IV did not reflect fragmented information but, instead, allowed for

an almost complete reconstruction of the officeholders who served in the frontier towns of the Alto Alentejo. The conditional tense was used in the previous sentence for two reasons: (i) not all appointments specify the duration of the term; (ii) cross-referencing the data from the chancery registers with other information compiled from different documentation increases the level of uncertainty.

Evidence of the political communication established between the Crown's central administration were the royal agents deployed in the field, and local governments that allowed for a more nuanced interpretation of the chronological data –which, at first glance appears definitive– provided by the royal records of appointment letters. In addition to correspondence concerning local issues[26] or royal decisions to be implemented[27], the bulk of the documentation involves payments to juízes de fora, meirinhos (judicial officers) and their assistants. These are municipal certificates indicating that the magistrates exercised their office[28], certificates issued by the juiz de fora confirming that the men under his authority fulfilled the duties assigned to them[29], and royal orders addressed to the treasurers (almoxarifes) instructing that the payments be made[30]. The qualitative increase in information provided by the records of institutional interactions is also somewhat puzzling, as we shall see.

Let us begin by examining the approximately 10-year hiatus during which, according to the data collected, no juiz de fora appears to have exercised functions in any of these settlements, particularly in Portalegre. It is unlikely, though not entirely impossible, that this gap can be attributed entirely to the absence of sources. In fact, although there are no chancellery books which contain many records for the years 1506, 1507, and 1509 (Faria, 2014: 16-19), the appointment of these magistrates to other cities and towns between 1502 and 1512 is documented[31]. A gap that, for now, remains unresolved, awaiting the discovery of further documentation or a well-founded explanation.

Discovering a linear evolution in the logic behind the appointment of these officials seems impossible. In fact, the appointment of external magistrates to a given locality –who would simultaneously act as ouvidores in others– did not have fixed rules, starting with the appointment documents themselves. For instance, in 1513, the letter of appointment of the juiz de fora for Portalegre explicitly states that he would also serve as ouvidor in Castelo de Vide, Marvão, and Alegrete[32]. By contrast, in 1515, the letter of appointment of another juiz de fora granted him authority

[26] Example – ANTT, Gavetas, Gaveta 20, maço 4, n.º 27 [henceforth Gav. 20, 4, 28]
[27] Example – ANTT, Corpo Cronológico, Parte I, maço 7, n.º 80 [henceforth CC, I, m.7, 80]
[28] Example – CC, II, m. 86, 100.
[29] Example – CC, II, m. 84, 111.
[30] Example – CC, II, m. 80, 2.
[31] Beja, Caminha, Coimbra, Elvas, Estremoz, Évora, Funchal, Lagos, Lamego, Montemor-o-Novo, Olivença, Santarém e Serpa, some with several appointments.
[32] Rui Fernandes, licenciate – CMI, 42: 5v

solely over Portalegre[33], but in 1516, the same individual received a reprimand from the monarch for having been sent to Alegrete and failing to carry out that task[34]. Most likely, there was another, complementary appointment that was lost, and he was very probably appointed ouvidor to Castelo de Vide and Marvão (since Assumar is no longer mentioned as part of this group).

In fact, the chronology of the dates of appointment, references to the exercise of the office, and allusions to the termination of mandates (not always at the time these actually occurred) undermines the expected linear succession of officials in a post, without any overlapping. Thus, although Castelo de Vide was, in principle, under the authority of the judge of Portalegre (Afonso Gomes Mascarenhas) from February 1518 to 1521[35], in March of 1520 there was a magistrate that had been exercising the office exclusively in Castelo de Vide for at least a year (Heitor Lampreia) [36]. A further official (Dinis Rodrigues) was appointed to Castelo de Vide as an exclusive juiz de fora in May of 1521[37]– but in December of 1523 it is yet another external judge of Castelo de Vide (Martinho da Fonseca) who is involved in the bureaucratic process of collecting his salary[38]. These inconsistencies may perhaps be explained by the fact that juizes de fora were (sometimes) transferred to other towns before their three-year term of office were up.

Another justification could be the effective overlapping of out-of-town judges and *ouvidores* appointed to the same town. In fact, in 1510, the outside judge of Serpa complained about the interference of the judge of Beja who claimed to be an ombudsman in Serpa. In other words, there was a double appointment [39].

The chronological path of a town (traced through the 1520s) to receiving its own a royally appointed juiz de fora (not an ouvidor) does not go in only one direction. This happened in Castelo de Vide in 1523, when, after having had its own magistrates since 1520, once again falls under the jurisdiction of the juiz de fora of Portalegre (Costa: 2006: 247).

I will conclude this section by recounting an episode concerning the peripheral officialdom operating in the three towns (which are also studied in the Frontowns project) but which fall outside this analysis of juízes de fora, as they were under the jurisdiction of the Order of Christ: Nisa, Alpalhão, and Montalvão. Although manorial ouvidores functioned at the level of a second judicial instance (similar to corregedores), a letter written on July 26, 1518, by the licentiate Sebastião da Fonseca, ouvidor of the lands of the Order, offers valuable insight into the volume of tasks entrusted to them. Responding to inquiries that the king's secretary, António

[33] This was the licenciate António Lopes, appointed exclusively to Portalegre on 17 December of 1515. CMI, 24: 168/168v

[34] CC, I, m. 20, 141

[35] CC, II, m. 86, 100; TCV, 96.

[36] CMI, 39: 6; CC, II, m. 94, 221

[37] CMI, 39: 77v

[38] CC, II, m. 122, 135

[39] CC, I, m. 8: 109

Carneiro, had been instructed to carry out in Nisa, the ouvidor explained that he had spent a long time in Castelo Branco and still needed to carry out duties in Alpalhão, Montalvão, and other lands of the Order, making it impossible for him to reach Nisa before September 15[40].

In conclusion, although there is lack of information for the first decade of the 16th century, at least from the second decade onward, royal supervision in this border region of the Alto Alentejo was effective, with Portalegre more prominent, being the headquarters from which ouvidores were dispatched to other towns. From the 1520s onwards, the municipalities to which juízes de fora were systematically appointed included Portalegre, Castelo de Vide, Arronches, and Campo Maior. Naturally, this close articulation between the Crown and certain towns had to do with greater demographic, economic, and fiscal vitality –aspects that are explored in more detail in other articles within this thematic dossier.

2.2. Mobility in space and progression in careers

Let us now update the objectives previously stated for this article: to assess the activity and mobility of the juízes de fora in and for these towns of the border region of the Alto Alentejo. So far, the focus has been on the Crown's program of territorial control, at both the legislative and practical levels, during the medieval period and the early phase of the Early Modern Era. Additionally, episodes experienced and narrated in the first person by the juízes de fora have been mentioned. The following section will focus solely on royal agents who served during the latter of these two periods, due to the scarcity of available information for the former. The topic of the mobility of these officials is examined from a dual perspective: through the analysis of their actions on the ground, and through an investigation into their career trajectories.

Even if it may seem like an overly reiterated point throughout this article, let us return once more to the constraints imposed by the sources, this time in conjunction with the geographical scope of the Frontowns project and the methodological approaches adopted. Examining mobility and career progression requires moving beyond the static systematization tables presented in this study, as well as the chronological ordering of the data. The focus of observation now shifts to the actual protagonists of the actions under analysis: the juízes de fora.

A total of 19 individuals were identified as having served as juízes de fora in these towns between 1499 and 1533. This is a group of people that is difficult to analyze, given that their responsibilities did not (or not only) unfold within the higher levels of power- spheres more frequently elucidated by surviving documentation. These were royal agents operating at a peripheral level, whose existence is known through records of a letter of appointment, the occasional presence at municipal meetings, or during

[40] CC, I, m. 23, 91.

measures to demarcate the boundaries of a town; and, in the best cases, through letters written by them and addressed to the monarch or to higher-ranking royal officials.

The quantitative representativeness of the group is unknown in relation to the total number of individuals who held office, since the rule of the three-year term was not categorical. Furthermore, references to the officials did not always coincide with the beginning of their duties, and reappointments to the same post did occur. The problem in the analysis of this group of individuals, (although confined to a limited territory), is that of homonymy; researchers are confronted with the doubt of whether some individuals' names were duplicated, or whether two people with the same name and academic degree were merged into one.

The topic of the mobility of royal agents is inseparable from the examination of their careers and from analytical methodologies, such as prosopography or network analysis.

The 19 identified individuals are not a big enough sample for a sustained prosopographical analysis, making it unfeasible to present quantitative data that could support plausible interpretations. Under these circumstances, all that can be done is to outline an overview based on examples. In fact, the focus of the article is the study of the towns themselves, with the analysis of the juízes de fora who served in them being just one of many factors examined in order to understand and characterize these settlements.

I begin by addressing mobility in a literal sense, within the scope of the duties performed by the juízes de fora appointed to the towns in this area of the Alto Alentejo. Based on the available information –though it may not fully reflect the actual reality– everything suggests that external magistrates who also served as ouvidores in other territories carried out more active and wide-ranging mandates. This condition applies to five juízes de fora who simultaneously oversaw elected judges in three, four, or even five settlements. This was the case of João Rodrigues, in 1499 (Elvas, Olivença, Arronches, Campo Maior, Ouguela and Alegrete) and Rui Fernandes, in 1513, António Lopes, in 1515, Afonso Martins Mascarenhas, between 1518 and 1521, Gil Vasques Bagulho, between 1523 and 1525 (Portalegre, Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Alegrete to which only one included Assumar)[41]. However, once again, the information is far from unequivocal. In fact, it is unknown whether an external magistrate appointed to only one town could be sent to perform duties in another municipality. In 1514, Francisco Frazão, juiz de fora of Beja (his appointment letter is unknown), was tasked by King Manuel with traveling to Moura for a period of 30 days[42]. Was this an occasional assignment, or had Francisco Frazão originally been appointed as ouvidor in Moura? If the first hypothesis is viable, the uncertainty grows regarding the movements of these individuals in during their mandates, at least in the reign of King Manuel I. The temporary absence of officials who served

[41] All the documentary and bibliographic references of this section are in appendix 1. Only those that do not figure there are mentioned in the footnotes

[42] CC, I, m. 16, 89.

in several localities sometimes led to resentment, such as the incident involving the ouvidor of the Order of Christ, Sebastião da Fonseca, who in 1518 complained to the king's secretary that the inhabitants of Castelo Branco did not treat his wife properly when he had to leave the town[43].

Let us move away from the functional domain of the exercise of the office and observe the careers of this group, focusing on "spatial mobility." As mentioned previously, the data obtained only allows us to sketch the range of paths of individuals who were, either throughout, or at some point in their public careers, juízes de fora.

Let us begin with the magistrates who, judging from the information compiled, and at least during a stage of their lives, stayed in, or close to the Alto Alentejo, moving only to other municipalities in the same region. This was the case of Martinho da Fonseca, who was consecutively juiz de fora in Arronches, Castelo de Vide, and Campo Maior, and Dinis Rodrigues, who served two non-consecutive terms in Castelo de Vide.

Amaro Fernandes, for his part, appears to have remained in the Alentejo for around 12 years, having served as juiz de fora in Arronches, Portalegre, and Évora, before moving further south, i.e. Silves (see Fig. 3). Inversely, Luís Fernando Barbudo was appointed to Faro, Tavira, and later to Castelo de Vide.

Other individuals who remained juizes de fora, served in more distant locations. This was the case of António Saraiva de Carvalho, who moved from Portalegre to Viseu, or of Afonso Gomes Mascarenhas, an external magistrate in Lamego, then in Viseu or Montemor-o-Novo, and finally in Portalegre.

Another set of individuals from this group had a varied career, spanning different offices, levels of authority, and even geographic regions.

Some of these individuals ventured overseas, such as António Cardoso, who, after serving as juiz de fora in Castelo de Vide, later became provedor (royal administrator) of the island of Madeira. Others, royal court officials (desembargadores) were appointed as juízes de fora, without apparently relinquishing their former role, later returned to active service in the central institutions of power, and sometimes were even promoted. This was the case of António Lopes, juiz de fora in Portalegre, and Heitor Lampreia (the most well-known among these men thanks to the meticulous biography written by Diogo Faria), who served as juiz de fora in Beja, Silves, Moura, Castelo de Vide, and Coimbra, in addition to holding other offices (2023: 179–186). There is no evidence that Gil Vasques Bugalho was a member of the Desembargo before being appointed juiz de fora, a role he held at least in Abrantes, Portalegre, Évora, and Santarém; he was a judge at the Casa do Cível (Civil Court) when he was arrested by the Inquisition and sentenced.

There are also examples of career transitions in the sphere of peripheral officialdom. Afonso de Matos, who was appointed juiz de fora to Monforte in 1499, had an atypical career, as he was subsequently appointed to various clerical positions in Marvão. Others moved on to serve in broader jurisdictions: such as

[43] CC, I, m. 23, 91.

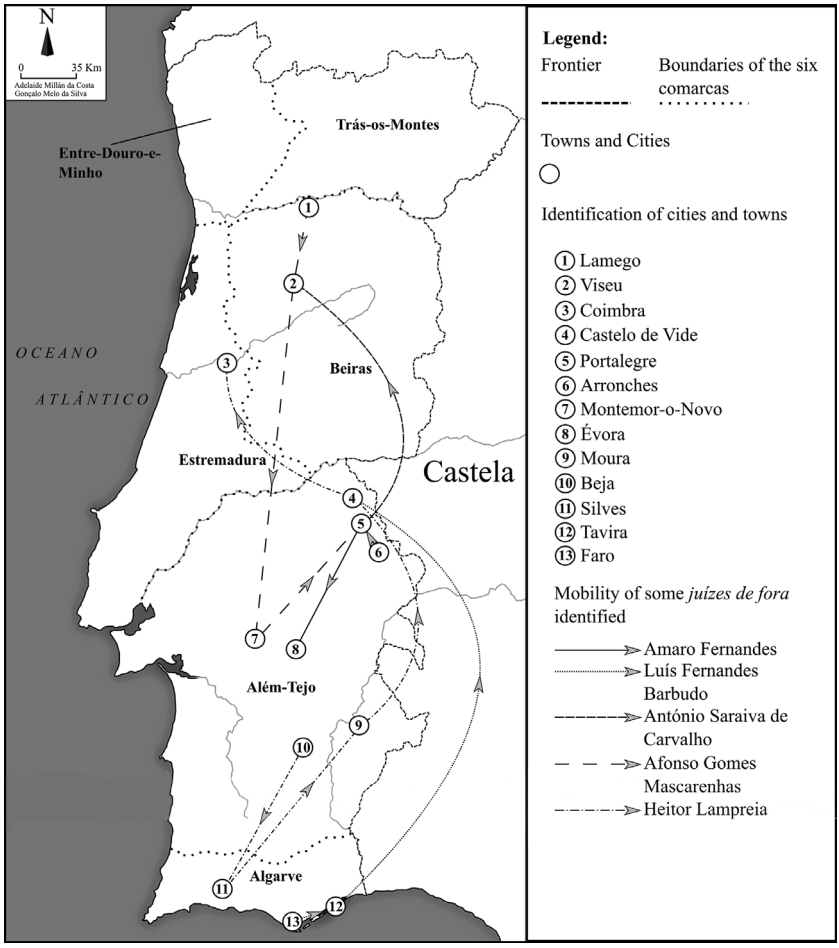


Fig. 3. Mobility of some individuals who served as *juízes de fora* in the border towns of the Alto Alentejo (15th-16th centuries).

the case of Vasco Fernandes de Barbudo, who served as judge in Portalegre, Elvas, and Estremoz, and was later promoted to chancellor of the judicial district of Entre Tejo e Odiana; and Rui Fernandes, a magistrate in Portalegre, who rose to become corregedor of the same district.

The period when juizes de fora could most expect to be promoted to corregedores was probably at its peak when the reform of the comarcas in 1533 was implemented. The subdivision of the former six large medieval territories into 28 districts resulted in a tighter territorial network in terms of royal oversight, and an increase in the number of positions in peripheral administration. At the Cortes of

1535 the municipal representatives were well aware of this situation, and presented a grievance, the summary of which was: the medieval corregedores led an administrative structure composed of 4 or 5 people, and the reform resulted in a fourfold increase in the number of corregedores, expanding their teams to a total of 20 officials and four meirinhos along with their men (Dias, 1996: 197).

Amongst the peripheral officialdom, the aforementioned reform caused a small cataclysm. Two juizes de fora who had served in these frontier towns were promoted to corregedor: e.g. Fernando Gonçalves, judge in Campo Maior and first corregedor of the district of Lamego, and João Jorge, judge in Arronches and later in Castelo Branco and first corregedor of the district of Guimarães. Others, however, saw their expectations frustrated, such as the licentiate Jordão Botelho, an official who, in his own words, had a clean and honorable record, and had requested to be "elevated to corregedor" in the context of "this change Your Highness new orders"; not only was he denied the request, but a younger and inexperienced official was promoted to the post he had aspired to[44].

This brief description of the mobility of the juizes de fora in the Alentejo's frontier towns is intended, ultimately, to assess whether the time they served in each locality contributed to the establishment of a hierarchy among those towns. The other objective is to determine the position occupied by the most important town –Portalegre. Always based on the assumption that an administrative career follows an upward trajectory.

Information pertaining to the 17th and 18th centuries reveals that there was a symbolic hierarchy among the posts to which juizes de fora were appointed, expressed through first-instance and second-instance jurisdictions. The former corresponded to less important municipalities, to which magistrates would be assigned at the beginning of their careers; the latter were reserved for more experienced judges, and included cities and towns of greater political weight, such as the heads of districts and towns that held a seat in the first bench of the Cortes (Camarinha, 2016: 5-6).

If we try to apply these criteria to the careers of the 15 individuals[45] whose career paths we have described, the results are inconclusive, and the use of the term "heads of district" is not appropriate, as it corresponds to our chronological endpoint. Using only the symbolic status of a seat that representatives of a city or town occupied during the opening ceremony of the Cortes, no linearity or trends can be detected: transferals (of officials) between urban centers could actually represent a step backward in a career, while in other cases it meant that a career could terminate in Coimbra or Santarém.

[44] This refers to a *juiz de fora* from Lagos (CC, I, m. 49, 52)

[45] There are three which have not been included in this study because their professional paths are not known, apart from having been juizes de fora in one of these towns, and regarding Francisco Dias, more research is needed to clarify the homonym.

3. CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this article was to analyze the actions and mobility of juizes de fora to, and within, the small towns of the Alto Alentejo. The main focus was on assessing the extent to which the hierarchy that gradually developed among these settlements during the Middle Ages was confirmed by royal intervention in local power through the appointment of external agents. The chosen chronology, (part of the 15th and 16th centuries), allowed for an analysis of the medieval practice of appointing external judges, and of the processes that emerged in a transitional phase that would lead to the model of the Early Modern period.

Based on data from the reigns of Afonso V and João II, it can be concluded that these towns were not closely monitored by the crown, with the exception of Portalegre, which saw five appointments of juizes de fora during the period under study. The highest number was recorded in Elvas, with 14 nominations. There were only two recorded cases of external judges shared by two or more towns, which implied the termination of the elected judges.

Let us now reflect on the transition period between 1495-1533. The legislative innovation that the Ordenações Manuelinas brought about was the suppression of the specific title referring to juizes de fora –while retaining them in the legal text and standardizing their presence– and the inclusion of the royal ouvidores: external judges who, in addition to the town to which they were appointed, also had jurisdiction over other settlements that retained their elected judges. These were a kind of local corregedores. The hierarchy of towns, based on the appointment of juizes de fora is evident. Beyond Portalegre, which had particular prominence, a second tier of municipalities emerged which, after experiencing the presence of ouvidores during part of King Manuel's reign, eventually started receiving systematically appointed juizes de fora: Castelo de Vide, Arronches, and Campo Maior.

To synthesize conclusions about the men who held the office of juiz de fora in the territory under study is more difficult. We followed their careers, (which were very heterogenous), throughout the course of their public lives; it is not possible to establish either a clear cursus honorum, nor a definitive scale of importance among the frontier municipalities of the Alto Alentejo. Undoubtedly, this poses a challenge, which asks for further research.

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ANNEX

NOTES FOR DRAWING UP A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL REPERTORY OF THE *JUÍZES DE FORA* OF THE TOWNS OF THE UPPER ALENTEJO BORDER (1495-1533).

Individual who was *juiz de fora*	Academic or patronage information	Town where he was *Juiz de fora*	Years	References
1. Afonso de Matos	Squire of the House of the King	Monforte	1499 (p) 1500 (r)	CMI, 12, 11; CMI, 45,32
		Marvão –notary public, registrar of the *homiziados* and cattle accountant	1503 (p)	CMI, 35, 46v
		Marvão –tax office clerk of the town	1503 (p)	CMI, 35, 46v
2. Afonso Gomes Mascarenhas	Doctor	Lamego	1513 (r)	CC, I, m.13, n.51
		Viseu/Montemor-o-Novo*	1515 (p)	CMI, 24, 94; CMI, 24, 87v
		Portalegre (*ouvidor* of Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Alegrete)	1518 (p)** 1521 (r)	CC, II, m.86, n.100; m. 80, n. 2; m.99, n.14; TCV: 96
3. Amaro Fernandes	Doctor	Arronches	1532 (p)	CJIII, 16:16v
		Portalegre	1538/39 (r) 1540 (r)	CC, II, m. 230, n.º 73 CC, I, m.6, n.91
		Évora	1540 (p)	CJIII, 40: 86
		[Silves]***	1544 (r)	CC, P.I, m. 75, n. 98
			1548 (r)****	CC, I, m.80, n.44
4. António Cardoso	Licenciate	Castelo de Vide	1526 (r) 1527 (r) 1529 (r)	TCV, 35, 98; Gav. 20, m. 4, n. 27
		Ombudsman in Madeira Island	1536 (r) 1539 (r)	CC, II, m. 211, n. 46; CC, II, m. 207, n. 76; CC, III, m.13, n.1

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NOTES FOR DRAWING UP A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL REPERTORY OF THE *JUÍZES DE FORA* OF THE TOWNS OF THE UPPER ALENTEJO BORDER (1495-1533).

Individual who was *juiz de fora*	Academic or patronage information	Town where he was *Juiz de fora*	Years	References
5. António Lopes	licenciate	High Court Judge	1514 (r)	1•
		Portalegre *Ouvidor* in Alegrete	1515 (p)	CMI, 24: 168/168V;
		Portalegre *Ouvidor* in Alegrete	1515 (r)	CC, I, m. 20, n. 141
		High Court Judge	1516 (r)	CMI, 25, 117
		High Court Judge	1517 (r)	CC, I, m. 22, n.129
		?	1519 (r)	CC, I, m. 22, n.º 129
		1521	Falecido	Gav. 14, m. 3, n.11
6. António Saraiva de Carvalho		Portalegre	1527 (p)	CJIII, 30: 161
		Viseu	1531.12 (c) (cessou nesta altura)	CC, II, m.168, n.º 77
7. Atanázio Varela		Castelo de Vide	1532 (p)	CJIII, 16: 132v
8. Brás Cota		Portalegre	1530 (p)	CJIII, 43:120v
9. Dinis Rodrigues		Castelo de Vide	1521 (p) 1530 (p)	CMI, 1: 68v CJIII, 39
10. Fernando Gonçalves	Licenciate	Campo Maior	1530 (p)	CJIII, 40: 142
		Corregedor of the district of Lamego	1533 (p)	Dias, 1996: 220
11. Francisco•• Dias		Castelo de Vide	1532 (p)	CJIII, 16:147; TCV, 31
12. Gil Vasques Bugalho	holder of a bachelor's degree	Abrantes	1520 (r)	CMI, 36: 107v
		Portalegre (*ouvidor* Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Alegrete)	1523 (r) 1525 (r)	Pinto, 2014: 274) TCV, 103.
	Licenciate	Évora Santarém	Antes de 1537	ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Évora, proc. 8760
		High Court Judge	Em 1537	ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Évora, proc. 8760

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NOTES FOR DRAWING UP A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL REPERTORY OF THE *JUÍZES DE FORA* OF THE TOWNS OF THE UPPER ALENTEJO BORDER (1495-1533).

Individual who was *juiz de fora*	Academic or patronage information	Town where he was *Juiz de fora*	Years	References
13. Heitor Lampreia	Squire of the king	High Court Judge	1500 (p)	Cf. biografia em Faria, 2023.
		Beja	1501 (p)	
		Silves	1506 (r)	
		Moura	1514 (p) 1515	
		Corregedor of the armada destined to build the fortress of Anafé	1514 (r)	
		Castelo de Vide	1521 (r)	
		Coimbra	1524 (r) 1528 (r)	
	knight of the House of the King	solicitor of the Civil Court	1524	
14. João Jorge	licenciate	Arronches	1527	
		Castelo Branco	1534.1.9 cessou funções	CC, II, m. 194, n. 52; CC, II, m. 192, n. 115; CC, II, m.191, n. 73
		1st *Corregedor* of the district of Guimarães	1534•••	Dias, 1996: 213
15. João Rodrigues	holder of a bachelor's degree	Elvas (*ouvidor* in Olivença, Arronches, Campo Maior, Ouguela, Alegrete	1499/12/28 (p) 1500, 1501, 1502	
16. Luís Fernandes Barbudo		Faro	1527 (p)	CJIII, 30: 186
		Tavira	[1528. I] (p) 1529.1.31••••	CC, I, m. 42, n. 31
		Castelo de Vide	1529.10.17 (p) 1530.5. 24 (r)	CJIII, 48: 98v TCV, 97
17. Martinho da Fonseca	Licenciate	Arronches	1521. 4.26 (antes de)	CC, II, m.95, n.149
		Castelo de Vide	1523. 12.31 (foi)	CC, II, m.122, n.135
		Campo Maior	1524.7.21 (era na altura, pelo menos há um ano)	CC, II, m.117, n.55; CC, II, m.118, n.55

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NOTES FOR DRAWING UP A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL REPERTORY OF THE *JUÍZES DE FORA* OF THE TOWNS OF THE UPPER ALENTEJO BORDER (1495-1533).				
Individual who was *juiz de fora*	Academic or patronage information	Town where he was *Juiz de fora*	Years	References
18. Rui Fernandes	licenciate	Portalegre, *ouvidor* Castelo de Vide, Marvão, Alegrete, Assumar	1513.1.18 (p)	CMI, 42: 5v
		Corregedor of the district Entre Tejo Odiana	1514.9.15 (r)	CC, II, m. 51, n. 80
19. Vasco Fernandes de Barbudo	Squire of the king	Portalegre	1499 (p)	CMI, 14: 10v
		Elvas	1504 (p)	CMI, 23: 5v
		Estremoz	1513 (c)	CMI, 42: 3
	knight of the House of the King	Chancellor of the Correction of Entre Tejo Odiana	1513(p)	CMI, 42: 3

* He was appointed to both towns as a judge, but did not exercise the office in one of them.
** In February 1519, he was already receiving 20000 reais from his salary, so he must have taken up office (CC, II, m.86, n.100).
*** It is a letter addressed to the king and only signed. He can be either a juiz d*e fora or a corregedor*.
**** He seems to carry out tasks in the field of fiscal control, he is not an outside judge.
• ANTT, Ordem de Cister, Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Celas, maço 1, n.º 27.
•• I've chosen not to present the various positions held by Francisco Dias, apart from the fact that he was a judge in Castelo de Vide, as there are at least two individuals with this name and I haven't managed to separate them yet.
••• João Alves Dias indicates that the district was created on an uncertain date between 1532 and 1534, which does not make it impossible that this individual is the same person.
•••• He had been in the town for a year.

ARTÍCULOS / ARTICLES

EL LENGUAJE INSTRUCTIVO Y LOS MECANISMOS VISUALES DE SEGMENTACIÓN EN MANUSCRITOS TÉCNICOS MEDIEVALES INGLESES

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Resumen

Este estudio analiza el uso de elementos visuales en manuscritos técnicos y pseudocientíficos entre los siglos x y xv, centrándose en su función cognitiva y organizativa dentro del texto. A través del examen de facsímiles procedentes de diversas bibliotecas europeas y americanas, se identifican patrones gráficos que articulan y jerarquizan el conocimiento especializado. El análisis revela cómo colores, diagramas, iniciales decoradas, tablas astronómicas y figuras simbólicas no cumplen un mero papel decorativo, sino que constituyen herramientas de interpretación y organización de la información. Estas representaciones forman parte de una epistemología visual que combina lo textual, lo gráfico y lo simbólico según una lógica de lectura premoderna.

Palabras clave: manuscritos, epistemología visual, diagramas, codificación cromática.

INSTRUCTIVE LANGUAGE AND VISUAL SEGMENTATION DEVICES IN MEDIEVAL ENGLISH TECHNICAL MANUSCRIPTS

Abstract

This study explores the use of visual elements in technical and pseudoscientific manuscripts from the 10th to the 15th centuries, focusing on their cognitive and organisational roles within the text. The examination of facsimiles from various European and American libraries allows the identification of graphic patterns that structure and hierarchize specialized knowledge. The analysis reveals that colours, diagrams, decorated initials, astronomical tables, and symbolic figures are not merely decorative, but function as tools for interpretation and information management. These visual devices form part of a broader visual epistemology that integrates textual, graphic, and symbolic modes according to a premodern logic of reading.

Keywords: manuscripts, visual epistemology, diagrams, color coding.

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INTRODUCCIÓN

Los manuscritos científicos y técnicos ingleses medievales desempeñaron un papel clave en la transmisión del conocimiento y en la diseminación de instrucciones prácticas en disciplinas como la medicina, la astronomía, la alquimia y la ingeniería. La importancia de estos manuscritos radica en su función como canales fundamentales para la conservación y circulación del saber en la Inglaterra medieval, especialmente en un contexto en el que la mayor parte del conocimiento especializado dependía de la tradición manuscrita. Estos textos no solo servían como repositorios de información, sino que también eran herramientas de instrucción que combinaban elementos textuales y visuales para mejorar la comprensión del lector. El diseño de estos manuscritos revela un enfoque sofisticado en la organización del contenido, evidenciado por la segmentación textual, el uso del color y otras ayudas visuales que complementaban el discurso escrito. La puntuación, las notas marginales y otros elementos paratextuales servían como guías que facilitaban la interpretación y el acceso rápido a la información esencial. Además, se pueden identificar diversas formas de intervención en estos manuscritos, como correcciones marginales e intratextuales, añadidos contemporáneos y posteriores, incluidas las evidencias de propiedad, lo que permite trazar la historia de su uso y recepción a lo largo del tiempo. Un aspecto relevante dentro de este fenómeno es la ecología de la página, es decir, el aprovechamiento de los espacios en blanco y los márgenes para anotaciones adicionales, glosas y comentarios que reflejan una interacción activa con el texto y su reutilización por distintos lectores a lo largo del tiempo.

Este estudio se centra en la relación entre el texto escrito y los elementos visuales en un conjunto de manuscritos medievales en inglés medio, con el propósito de analizar los métodos empleados para facilitar el acceso al conocimiento, así como la manera en que estos documentos reflejan la interacción entre los usuarios y los textos. En particular, se explorará la segmentación del contenido, la incorporación de ilustraciones y otras ayudas visuales, las modificaciones textuales introducidas por copistas y propietarios posteriores, y las marcas de uso que evidencian su función práctica. La relevancia del estudio del lenguaje instructivo en estos manuscritos radica en su función como vehículo principal para la transmisión del conocimiento técnico (Taavitsainen, 2011) y, por la época de la que se trata, pseudocientífico. La estructura de las instrucciones, la selección del vocabulario y las estrategias discursivas utilizadas en estos textos reflejan los esfuerzos por hacer accesible el saber a distintos tipos de lectores, desde especialistas hasta aprendices.

Para sustentar este análisis, se adoptará un enfoque interdisciplinario que combine la revisión de manuscritos seleccionados como fuentes primarias con un análisis detallado de sus características lingüísticas y visuales. Se complementa con el estudio de referencias secundarias relevantes que contextualizan la función y evolución de estos textos (Jones, 2015; Brown, 1998). Además, se integrarán aspectos en codicología, paleografía y teoría editorial, proporcionando una perspectiva amplia y contextualizada sobre los manuscritos estudiados (de Hamel, 2001; Parkes, 2008; Hanna, 2013). Todo en su conjunto permitirá una descripción minuciosa de los aspectos materiales de los documentos, incluyendo su estructura física, los estilos de

escritura y decoración, así como los procesos de copia, modificación y transmisión textual que influyeron en su configuración final.

Para ello, el estudio se estructura en varias secciones clave. En primer lugar, se abordará la segmentación del contenido, analizando la organización textual y visual de los manuscritos, con especial atención al uso del color, la puntuación, las ayudas visuales y las notas marginales que facilitan la comprensión. A continuación, se estudiarán las correcciones marginales e intratextuales, examinando las intervenciones realizadas por copistas y lectores posteriores y evaluando su impacto en la transmisión y adaptación del conocimiento. Después, se analizarán los añadidos posteriores y las evidencias de propiedad, identificando los rastros de uso y posesión de los manuscritos, incluidas inscripciones, marcas de lectores y anotaciones que reflejan su circulación a lo largo del tiempo. Finalmente, se explorará el papel de las imágenes e ilustraciones, centrándose en su función como refuerzos del contenido textual y su contribución a la comprensión de procesos técnicos y científicos.

1. CONTEXTO HISTÓRICO Y CARACTERÍSTICAS GENERALES

1.1. Manuscritos científicos y técnicos en la Inglaterra medieval

Los manuscritos científicos y técnicos en la Inglaterra medieval desempeñaron un papel crucial en la preservación y transmisión del conocimiento en diversas disciplinas. Entre las áreas de estudio más representadas en estos textos se encuentran la medicina, la astronomía, la alquimia y la ingeniería, todas ellas fundamentales para el desarrollo del pensamiento técnico y científico de la época (Thorndike, 1923; Green, 1992). En el campo de la medicina, los manuscritos contenían tratados basados en la tradición grecolatina y árabe, con autores como Galeno y Avicena, cuyas obras fueron copiadas, traducidas y comentadas ampliamente en la Inglaterra medieval (Siraisi, 1997; Getz, 1998). Estos textos incluían recetas, tratamientos para enfermedades comunes y guías para la preparación de remedios, dirigidos tanto a practicantes formales como a curanderos locales (Jones, 1998).

Los manuscritos de astronomía combinaban teorías cosmográficas ptolemaicas con conocimientos islámicos, reflejando la influencia de las traducciones de textos árabes realizadas en el sur de Europa (North, 1987; Pedersen, 1993). Estos documentos eran fundamentales para la navegación, la astrología y la planificación agrícola, proporcionando información sobre la posición de los astros y los ciclos lunares (Schreier, 2014). En cuanto a la alquimia, los manuscritos reflejan una mezcla de tradición filosófica y práctica experimental. Textos como el *Rosarium Philosophorum* y el *Theatrum Chemicum* evidencian la transmisión de conocimientos sobre la transformación de metales, la creación de elixires y la búsqueda de la piedra filosofal (Newman, 2004; Principe, 2012). Aunque a menudo se considera una disciplina esotérica, la alquimia desempeñó un papel clave en el desarrollo de la química y la farmacología medieval (Holmyard, 1957). Finalmente, los manuscritos de ingeniería contenían diseños de máquinas, fortificaciones y estructuras arquitectónicas. Inspirados en tratados romanos como *De Architectura,* de Vitruvio, estos textos detallaban

la construcción de puentes, molinos y mecanismos de defensa, lo que resultaba crucial para el desarrollo urbano y militar (Gimpel, 1992; Hill, 1996). En el contexto educativo y profesional, estos manuscritos servían como manuales de referencia en monasterios, escuelas catedralicias y universidades emergentes, desempeñando un papel clave en la formación de profesionales y en la transmisión del conocimiento especializado (Clanchy, 2013; Parkes, 2008).

1.2. Lengua y accesibilidad

El idioma en el que estaban escritos los manuscritos científicos y técnicos influía directamente en su accesibilidad y difusión. Durante la Edad Media, el latín fue la lengua predominante en la erudición europea, sirviendo como vehículo para la transmisión del conocimiento científico y técnico. No obstante, con la expansión del uso del francés y del inglés medio en Inglaterra, algunos manuscritos comenzaron a producirse en estas lenguas, facilitando el acceso a un público más amplio (Hunt, 1991; Voigts & McVaugh, 1984). El latín era utilizado predominantemente en los tratados académicos y en textos destinados a los clérigos y universitarios, quienes eran los principales depositarios del conocimiento escrito (Sharpe, 2003). Sin embargo, a partir del siglo xiii, el francés anglonormando comenzó a emplearse en manuscritos dirigidos a la nobleza y la burocracia, reflejando su estatus como lengua de la corte y del derecho (Wogan-Browne *et al.*, 2009).

El inglés medio empezó a ganar relevancia en los siglos xiv y xv, especialmente en textos destinados a un público laico y a prácticas profesionales más amplias. Esta transición permitió que el conocimiento técnico y científico llegara a un espectro social más diverso, desde artesanos y comerciantes hasta prácticos de la medicina y la ingeniería, como apuntan Taavitsainen y Pahta (2004). El impacto de la elección lingüística en la accesibilidad del conocimiento fue significativo. Mientras que el latín garantizaba la continuidad con la tradición clásica y facilitaba la comunicación con otras regiones de Europa, el uso del francés y el inglés medio posibilitó una mayor difusión del conocimiento en contextos locales y profesionales (Hicks, 2017). La traducción y adaptación de textos científicos a estas lenguas vernáculas se convirtió en una estrategia clave para la democratización del saber en la Baja Edad Media (Alonso-Almeida y Sánchez-Cuervo, 2009). En pocas palabras, los manuscritos científicos y técnicos medievales no solo fueron fundamentales para la preservación del conocimiento, sino que también reflejan la evolución lingüística y la transformación de los mecanismos de acceso al saber en la Inglaterra medieval.

En este contexto, la organización del contenido mediante elementos de segmentación es esencial, pues permiten distribuir la información de acuerdo con una intención de lectura específica que garantiza en parte que la intención utilitaria de los textos sea patente. Los elementos de segmentación pueden ser marcas gráficas institucionalizadas, como es el caso de la puntuación, o el uso de elementos visuales, como líneas, llaves o subrayados con cierto grado de estandardización en cuanto a su uso y distribución. Todos estos elementos de segmentación, que pueden presentarse con colores y tamaños diferentes, también pueden tener la función potencial

de indicar la estructura genérica de los textos, cuya utilidad es especialmente relevante en el caso de los textos instructivos para garantizar la accesibilidad inmediata de datos útiles, como veremos más adelante. Igualmente, muchos manuscritos presentan anotaciones marginales entre cuyos usos está favorecer la localización de la información o mejorar de alguna manera el contenido que se ofrece. Aunque con una función principal que puede ser menos estructurante, los elementos decorativos, tanto monocromáticos como coloreados o iluminados, pueden tener sentido en el entramado textual y, sobre todo, en los documentos cuya utilidad práctica es innegable, como se verá más adelante.

Este trabajo se distribuye, por lo tanto, en cuatro secciones que recogen el resultado y discusión del análisis de lo visual en los textos ingleses medievales. La primera de ellas está relacionada con lo que he denominado elementos de segmentación institucionalizada. La segunda trata sobre las marcas gráficas y su significación en la segmentación. La tercera gira en torno a los añadidos marginales. La cuarta y última analiza otros aspectos gráficos no incluidos en ninguno de los casos anteriores, pero que contribuyen a la comprensión del desarrollo lingüístico de alguna manera.

2. DATOS Y METODOLOGÍA

Este estudio se ha planteado como un análisis cualitativo del lenguaje instructivo en manuscritos técnicos y médicos bajomedievales, con especial atención a los elementos visuales que estructuran, jerarquizan o guían la lectura del contenido. La investigación se centra particularmente en manuscritos redactados en inglés medio, aunque también se consideran textos en latín y galés, por su relevancia en la difusión del conocimiento técnico en la Inglaterra y la Irlanda medievales.

2.1. Definición y taxonomía de los textos instructivos

Siguiendo la clasificación funcional de Werlich (1976), los textos instructivos se caracterizan por una organización textual centrada en la regulación del comportamiento del receptor mediante instrucciones concretas, generalmente secuenciales, y suelen presentar una estructura de tipo procedimental. En la taxonomía de Werlich, estos textos se inscriben dentro del tipo «instructivo-procedimental», donde el contenido responde a la pregunta «¿cómo se hace algo?» y su organización se apoya en marcadores de orden, verbos imperativos y estructuras condicionales. En el ámbito de la escritura bajomedieval, los textos instructivos aparecen frecuentemente en forma de recetas médicas, calendarios terapéuticos, tratados alquímicos o compilaciones astrológicas. La naturaleza procedimental de estos textos exige una organización clara y segmentada del contenido, razón por la cual su diseño visual adquiere un papel fundamental. Como se evidencia en los manuscritos analizados, esta estructuración se logra mediante el uso de signos de puntuación, capitales rubricadas, anotaciones marginales, marcas de párrafo, diagramas y otros recursos gráficos que cumplen una función didáctica.

2.2. Corpus de manuscritos analizados

La muestra seleccionada para este estudio incluye manuscritos de carácter médico, alquímico y astrológico conservados en bibliotecas británicas y norteamericanas. El acceso a los documentos se ha realizado mediante consulta directa de facsímiles digitalizados –en su mayoría de dominio público–. A continuación, se presenta un listado representativo de los manuscritos analizados y que se han consultado en formato facsimilar:

TABLA 1. SELECCIÓN DE MANUSCRITOS BAJOMEDIEVALES CON CONTENIDOS INSTRUCTIVOS EN DISCIPLINAS MÉDICO-TÉCNICAS. SE INDICAN LA LOCALIZACIÓN, SIGNATURA, TIPO DE ACCESO Y LA DISCIPLINA PRINCIPAL SEGÚN SU CONTENIDO Y ESTRUCTURA VISUAL.

Biblioteca o fondo	Signatura	Disciplina principal
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales	MS 3026C Brogyntyn MS ii.1	Calendarios médicos en galés con alternancia cromática y segmentación métrica
Cambridge, Cambridge University Library	MS TC O.7.2a	Compendio fisiológico humorológico con rasgos visuales antropomorfos
Cambridge, Trinity College	MS O.1.13	Tratado médico con esquemas de uroscopía y glosas diagnósticas visuales
London, British Library	Royal MS 12 D XVII	Receta médica aislada con capital decorada de función estructural
London, Wellcome Library	MS MSL.136	Calendario terapéutico y prácticas de sangría en medicina humoral
London, Wellcome Library	MS 542	Glosario botánico bilingüe con trazado visual de equivalencias léxicas
London, Wellcome Library	MS 537	Traducción al inglés medio de la *Practica medicinae* con rúbricas temáticas
Manchester, Chetham's Library	MS Mun.A.3.12 Mun.A.3.127	Tratados médico-astrológicos con organización por correspondencias celestes
Manchester, Chetham's Library	MS Mun.A.4.99	Tabla de eclipses solares con código cromático. Medicina astral
Oxford, Bodleian Library	Ashmole MS 304, fol. 49r	Imágenes simbólicas de animales mitológicos. Medicina y astrología
Oxford, British Library	Sloane MS 1977	Tratado médico con función visual del color rojo. Sangrías
Yale, Medical Historical Library	MS 27	Recetario oftalmológico en prosa continua con segmentación visual

El criterio de selección ha seguido los siguientes parámetros: la inclusión de textos instructivos explícitos; la presencia de mecanismos visuales estructurantes, como rúbricas, segmentación cromática, *marginalia*, diagramas y signos de puntuación específicos; y la representación de diferentes disciplinas técnicas de la Baja Edad Media. La combinación de enfoques codicológicos, lingüísticos y visuales ha permitido interpretar el texto instructivo no solo como una unidad verbal, sino como una construcción semiótica multimodal.

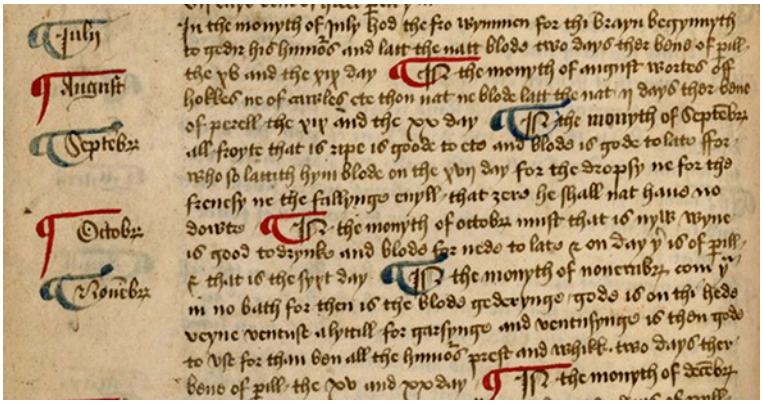


Imagen 1. Marcas de párrafo y colores en London, Wellcome Library, Ms.MSL.136, f.13v (dominio público). Transcripción del autor.

3. ANÁLISIS

Los elementos de segmentación en los manuscritos analizados son diversos. Un grupo de ellos consiste en el uso de signos de puntuación, que llamaremos segmentación institucionalizada, si bien no podemos de hablar de un sistema homogéneo en lo que se refiere al tipo de signos que se emplean en los documentos. También se incluye aquí el empleo de letras mayúsculas. Otro grupo está relacionado con aquellas marcas visuales menos estandarizadas, pero que, al igual que los anteriores, permiten distinguir la estructura de los textos, como se indicará en las secciones siguientes.

3.1. Segmentación institucionalizada y uso de la pigmentación diversa

Los elementos de segmentación identificados en el corpus de manuscritos técnicos analizados incluyen signos como el *punctus*, el *punctus elevatus*, la *virgula suspensiva*, el parágrafo, así como guiones rectos y ondulados. En algunos casos, también es posible observar el uso de positura (Parkes, 1992, pp. 43, 306). Aunque estas marcas de puntuación ya actúan como mecanismos eficaces de división textual, su funcionalidad se ve reforzada mediante el empleo de pigmentos de colores. Esta interacción entre puntuación y color resalta visualmente la estructura del texto, como se aprecia en la siguiente imagen, procedente de la London, Wellcome Library, Ms. MSL. 136, f. 13v.

Una lectura del texto de la imagen 1 es la transcripción que se ofrece a continuación:

> «¶ IN the monyth of august wortes off hokkes ne of cawles ete thou nat ne blode latt the nat ij days ther bene of perell the xix and the xx day ¶ IN the monyth of Septembre all froyte that is ripe is good to ete and blode is gode to late ffor who so

lattith hym blode on the xvij day for the dropsy ne for the frenesy ne the fallynge euyll that 3ere he shall nat haue no dowte ¶ IN the monyth of october must must that is nyw wyne is good to drynke and blode for nede to late & on day yer is of perill & that is the syxt day ¶ IN the monyth of nouember com you in no bath for then is the blode gederynge gode is on thi hede veyne ventuse a lyttill for garsynge and ventusynge is then gode to vse for than ben all the humours prest and whilk two days ther bene of perill the xv and xx day. '¶» En el mes de agosto, no comas hierbas de habas ni de coles, ni te hagas sangrías durante dos días, pues hay peligro los días 19 y 20. «¶ En el mes de septiembre, toda fruta que esté madura es buena para comer, y también es bueno hacerse sangrías. Porque quien se haga una sangría el día 17, no tendrá miedo ese año ni de hidropesía, ni de locura, ni de ataques epilépticos. ¶ En el mes de octubre, el mosto (vino nuevo) es bueno para beber, y también es bueno hacerse una sangría si es necesario. Hay un día de peligro, y ese es el sexto día. ¶ En el mes de noviembre, no entres en ningún baño, porque la sangre tiende a acumularse. Es bueno aplicar una ventosa en la vena de la cabeza, aunque sea un poco, para purgar; ventosear es entonces una buena práctica, pues todos los humores están activos. Hay dos días de peligro: el 15 y el 20'».

Este fragmento procedente de un manuscrito del siglo xv ilustra de forma clara la combinación de marcas paratextuales y el uso estratégico del color como mecanismos de segmentación y jerarquización informativa. El texto organiza el contenido en torno a los meses del año, señalando las recomendaciones dietéticas vinculadas al consumo de determinadas hierbas, frutas y verduras, así como las épocas propicias para el consumo de vino nuevo («nyw wyne»). No obstante, su objetivo principal es indicar los momentos idóneos para la práctica de la sangría (*bloodletting*), en consonancia con la teoría humoral vigente en la medicina medieval, según la cual la extracción controlada de sangre permitía restablecer el equilibrio entre los cuatro humores del cuerpo, promoviendo así la salud y previniendo enfermedades (Siraisi, 1997; Green, 2008). Así, el mes de agosto aparece como un período de riesgo en el que se desaconseja rotundamente esta práctica: «ne blode latt the nat ij days ther bene of perell the xix and the xx day» 'No hagas sangrías en los dos días en que hay peligro: el día 19 y el día 20'. En cambio, septiembre se presenta como un mes favorable, en especial para la prevención o tratamiento de dolencias como la hidropesía (*dropsy*), la locura (*frenesy*) y la epilepsia (*the fallynge euyll*). El valor deóntico de la prescripción se ve reforzado por la modalidad empleada: «blode is gode to late ffor who so lattith hym blode on the xvij day for the dropsy ne for the frenesy ne the fallynge euyll that 3ere he shall nat haue no dowte» 'Es bueno hacer sangría, pues quien se haga sangrar el día 17 contra la hidropesía, la locura o el mal caído (epilepsia), ese año no tendrá motivo de preocupación'. El uso de *shall* y *no dowte* otorga a la afirmación un carácter de certeza normativa que refleja la autoridad médica atribuida al texto.

Desde el punto de vista codicológico, destaca el empleo intercalado de pigmentos rojo y azul tanto en las letras mayúsculas como en las marcas de párrafo, lo cual no solo responde a una función estética, sino que facilita la navegación visual del manuscrito. Esta alternancia cromática permite distinguir con mayor rapidez las secciones correspondientes a los meses pares e impares. De manera especialmente

significativa, los colores aplicados en las marcas de párrafo internas coinciden con los utilizados en las glosas o rúbricas marginales, lo que sugiere una planificación visual coherente orientada a optimizar el acceso a la información (Stokes, 2020). Este uso del color como herramienta estructurante es característico de muchos manuscritos tardomedievales, especialmente aquellos de carácter técnico o médico, donde la claridad y la rapidez de consulta eran fundamentales (Parkes, 1992; Buringh, 2011).

No obstante, los primeros meses del calendario manuscrito no cumplen de forma estricta con el criterio de coherencia cromática entre las marcas de párrafo intratextuales y las anotaciones marginales, lo cual podría sugerir, en apariencia, una falta de sistematicidad en la codificación visual de la información. Sin embargo, una lectura más minuciosa revela que, de los doce meses representados, diez muestran una correspondencia significativa entre el color de la marca de párrafo marginal y el contenido médico prescrito: en efecto, el rojo se utiliza sistemáticamente para señalar aquellos meses en los que se desaconseja la sangría, mientras que el azul indica los períodos propicios para llevarla a cabo. Este patrón cromático se mantiene con notable regularidad a lo largo del manuscrito, abarcando los meses de enero a diciembre. El análisis puntual de ciertas excepciones resulta especialmente revelador. El mes de mayo, por ejemplo, se representa en rojo, a pesar de que se permite la sangría en días concretos al final del mes: «let the blode in the ende of May on the thrid day & on v· day or the last day on whe̅þer arme you wilt» 'Haz sangría a finales de mayo, el día 3, el día 5 o el último día, en el brazo que prefieras'. Esta codificación podría interpretarse como una advertencia visual, priorizando la prohibición general del mes frente a las excepciones particulares. Por otro lado, el mes de julio aparece en azul, aunque se establece explícitamente la prohibición de sangrarse los días 15 y 19: «latt the nat blode two days... the xv and the xix day» 'No hagas sangrías durante dos días: el día 15 y el día 19'. En este caso, el color azul parece indicar una autorización general, matizada luego por advertencias específicas, lo que sugiere una jerarquía de interpretación donde el código cromático funciona como guía inicial de lectura, complementada por el contenido verbal. Este uso del color, por tanto, no responde a un mero criterio ornamental, sino que constituye un sistema semiótico funcional que, aunque no plenamente sistemático, revela una lógica subyacente de codificación visual orientada a la consulta rápida y eficaz de la información médica, especialmente en lo relativo al equilibrio humoral a través de la práctica de la sangría o *bloodletting*. Este tipo de estrategias visuales es característico de la literatura técnica y médica bajomedieval, donde la claridad estructural (Stokes, 2020; Buringh, 2011) era un requisito esencial para su uso práctico.

Un ejemplo especialmente revelador del uso de puntuación coloreada como estrategia de segmentación visual lo encontramos en el manuscrito TCC O.2.16, f. 10r (siglo xv), donde se emplea de forma destacada la vírgula suspensiva en tinta roja, distribuida con regularidad a lo largo del texto, como se aprecia en la imagen 2.

La transcripción y la traducción del texto de la imagen es la siguiente:

> «And afturward yf þu wolt muke hym · & cast to hym of þe forsayd salt preparat & stope ham well togedere wyth a stycke tyl hyt be ytord into smal powder ·/ & þenne do hyt in a potte & close hyt well & set hyt ouer a surueys of calcynacon j · day &

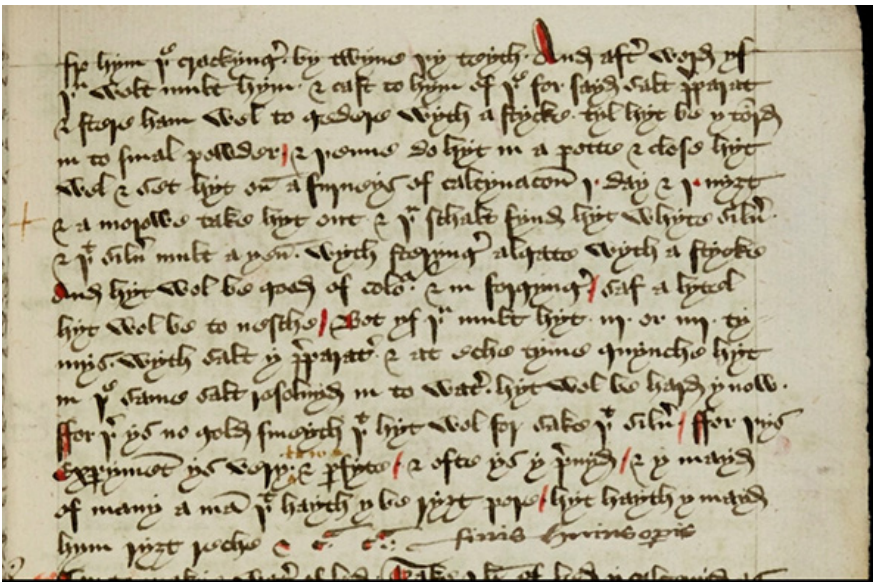


Imagen 2. Marcas de párrafo y colores en London, Wellcome Library, Ms.MSL.136, f.13v (dominio público). Transcripción del autor.

j · ny3t & a morowe take hyt out ·& þu schalt fynd hyt whyte siluer & þat siluer make ayen · Wych steping algate wyth a stycke And hyt wol be good of colour · & forgyuing ·/ Saf a lytel hyt wol be to nesche /Bot yf þu makt hyt ·iij· or iiij · tymys · wyth salt ypreparat ·& at eche tyme quynche hyt in þe sauce salt resoluyd in to water · hyt wol be hard ynow · For þer ys no gold smeyt þat hyt wol forsake þat siluer ·/ For þys Experyment ys very · perfyte / ·& ofte ys ypreuyd / ·& ymayd of many a man þat hayth ybe ri3t pore / · hyt hayth ymayd hym ry3t reche c. c. c. c. c. :·»

«Y, después, si deseas trabajarlo, añade la sal mencionada anteriormente, ya preparada, y séllalo bien todo junto con un palo hasta que se convierta en un polvo fino. Luego colócalo en una olla, ciérrala bien y ponla sobre un fuego suave de calcinación durante un día y una noche. Por la mañana, sácalo y encontrarás que se ha transformado en plata blanca, y podrás volver a convertir esa plata de nuevo, siguiendo el mismo procedimiento, siempre removiendo con un palo. Será de buen color y maleable».

«Aunque al principio será algo blanda, a no ser que la trabajes tres o cuatro veces con sal preparada, y que en cada ocasión la enfríes en sal disuelta en agua, entonces quedará lo suficientemente dura. Pues no hay oro batido que esta plata no acepte. Porque este experimento es verdaderamente perfecto y ha sido probado con frecuencia, y ha sido realizado por muchos hombres que fueron muy pobres: este método los ha hecho muy ricos».

Este fragmento constituye un ejemplo sumamente ilustrativo de cómo se integran la segmentación textual y el uso estratégico del color en un contexto técnico-práctico de carácter alquímico. El texto, formulado como una receta procedimental, recoge una serie de instrucciones destinadas a transformar una sustancia en plata blanca mediante operaciones de calcinación, refrigeración y mezcla repetida con sal disuelta. El contenido responde claramente al género de la receta científica medieval y presenta una organización interna que se ajusta al modelo de estandarización de la información descrito por Görlach (1992): ingredientes, preparación, aplicación y evaluación del resultado, en este caso con una valoración explícita de eficacia («hyt hayth ymayd hym ry3t reche» 'este método los ha hecho muy ricos'). Desde el punto de vista de la puntuación, el manuscrito recurre de forma sistemática a la vírgula suspensiva en tinta roja, que se distribuye a lo largo del texto marcando pausas intermedias entre unidades de sentido menores. Estas vírgulas no solo segmentan las acciones paso a paso, sino que refuerzan su condición de instrucciones independientes, articulando con claridad la secuencia operativa. Tal uso responde a una función gramatical en los términos que describe Lucas (1971), al delimitar las unidades de sentido, aunque también cabe interpretar en clave expositiva su valor, puesto que clarifican el vínculo sintáctico entre unidades consecutivas y guían la lectura en un contexto donde la ejecución precisa de cada paso es fundamental.

En cuanto al *punctus*, su uso no es cromáticamente destacado, salvo en los casos en que acompaña a numerales (como «j· day & j· ny3t» 'un día y una noche'), donde sí aparece rubricado. En este contexto, el punto en rojo cumple una función visual adicional que ayuda a fijar unidades de medida y temporización, lo cual resulta esencial en un texto orientado a la práctica alquímica, donde el tiempo de exposición al calor es crucial para el éxito del procedimiento. Esta doble codificación (vírgula en rojo y *punctus* rojo selectivo) evidencia una lógica funcional y económica: el rojo se reserva para resaltar visualmente los elementos más relevantes para la ejecución del procedimiento. El uso de estos signos de puntuación como elementos estructurantes no puede desligarse de su dimensión pragmática. Tal como se defiende en Alonso Almeida (2002), estos signos no son arbitrarios, sino que responden a una intención estructural y discursiva que permite distinguir secciones, clarificar relaciones entre constituyentes y facilitar una lectura operativa, tanto silenciosa como en voz alta, que es lo que se denomina función elocutiva de la puntuación (Lucas, 1971, p. 19). En este sentido, el texto se alinea con prácticas documentadas en otros recetarios de la época (Alonso-Almeida, 2002), donde signos como la vírgula o el *punctus elevatus* operan como índices de articulación informativa y jerarquía discursiva. En otras palabras, la vírgula en rojo y el *punctus* rubricado en contexto numérico no son meros elementos decorativos, sino que conforman un sistema visual de segmentación que apoya la inteligibilidad y usabilidad del texto. Su funcionalidad se ve reforzada por la estructura del género textual, por las convenciones gráficas del manuscrito y por la propia lógica discursiva del contenido, que articula una progresión clara desde la manipulación inicial de los ingredientes hasta la obtención del producto final y su evaluación.

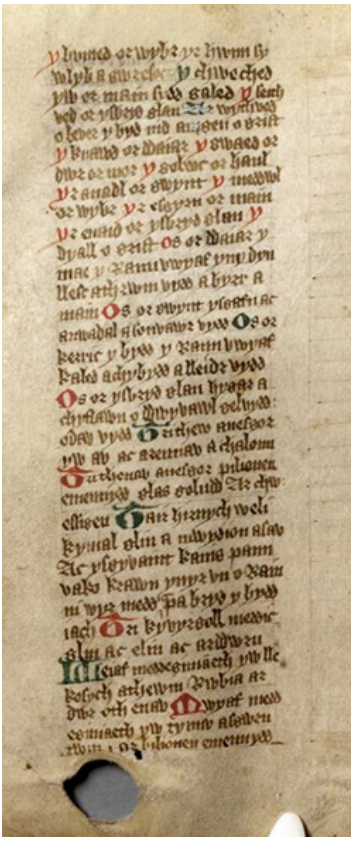


Imagen 3. Folio 35v del manuscrito Aberystwyth, NLW, Ms. 3026C (1488-1489), Biblioteca Nacional de Gales, (dominio público).

Además de los signos de puntuación, las letras mayúsculas coloreadas, sombreadas y/o decoradas contribuyen a marcar la *dispositio* en el texto, lo que facilita su consulta, como se observa en el texto de la imagen 3, en galés.

Dado que el contenido del texto resulta esencial para interpretar el uso de los signos y del color, es necesario realizar una lectura aproximada de esta evidencia manuscrita. A continuación, se ofrece dicha transcripción, que precede a su correspondiente traducción al español:

> Y vlwyddyn gyntaf yr hwnn ly wyllaf a gwreic y gyllwothed y llyfr ac mann das salad y plaedy, ac a phwyso glan a gweithredoedd glan y byd, nid anghen o saff. Y flwyddyn y didef a euirac ae dyde ae woe, Y odlow ac haul, Y gwanol os aywynt y man. Y canud ae didanac, y swaed ae dyue ae woe, Y golur ac haul, Y ganol ae gwynt, Y madwyl ae wynt, Y elwyn ae man, Y enaid ae ylleuyo glan Y.

Os y gwynt yplaeu ar anwadal a londraw breu, Os ac keric y bryw y rawn wlynaf, caled achybudd a lleide wyl. Os y ylleyp glan hyoes a chrystawn a diwyawl edwyn, odaw vdd tyshawn encsaf. Yv av ac exenna ac xalom, tatheraav auecsor yulionen, emennydd glas oalud Ac chw, eliscu Tar huzmych weli, kynnal oln a rudyson alaw.

Ac ylsybyantt kaing pann vald keawn ynwe bra o kan, nu wys medd pa leay y braw, ach Oet kyvyssoll meddw, olm ac elin ac asidwan[1].

El primer año, para quien lo desee –y para una mujer que quiera conocer el libro y los lugares donde se encuentran ensaladas y remedios–, si reflexiona con pureza sobre las acciones limpias del mundo, no sufrirá necesidad ni peligro. Ese año será próspero y fértil; los días y las estaciones estarán en equilibrio con la luna y el sol, y los vientos soplarán con suavidad. El canto será alegre y grato; la sangre, el rocío y la luz del sol serán abundantes; el aire será templado, y tanto el alma como los miembros estarán purificados.

Si el viento sopla sobre los campos con inestabilidad y las lluvias son leves, y si las colinas están blandas, el año será húmedo. Habrá advertencias severas y poca alegría. Pero si el aire es limpio, la vida será larga; los cristianos y los hombres justos prosperarán. Será un tiempo de paz, y reinará la serenidad. La salud será clara como el cielo, y tú contemplarás un bienestar duradero: fuerza para el cuerpo y armonía para el alma.

Este fragmento del folio 35v del manuscrito Aberystwyth, NLW MS 3026C, escrito por Gutun Owain (fl. 1450-1498) y datado entre 1488 y 1489, constituye un ejemplo elocuente de codificación visual mediante el uso estratégico del color en

[1] Ciertas lecturas de este texto presentan diversos grados de incertidumbre paleográfica y semántica. La forma *yllwothed* parece derivar de un verbo relacionado con *gwybod* ('conocer') y podría interpretarse como una variante dialectal o fonológicamente alterada de *gallu gwybod*, lectura aproximada que sugiere la capacidad de adquirir conocimiento. La expresión *salad y plaedy* plantea también dificultades interpretativas; podría entenderse como *saladau a phlâu* ('ensaladas y remedios' o 'plagas'), aunque el segundo elemento *plaedy* resulta especialmente opaco y carece de paralelo claro. En cuanto a *odlow*, es posible que se trate de una deformación de *oedd law* ('había lluvia') o bien de una fórmula idiomática relacionada con condiciones meteorológicas, cuya interpretación requeriría contraste con otras fuentes del galés medio. Finalmente, la secuencia *tatheraav auecsor yulionen* es la más enigmática del pasaje: podría tratarse de una construcción de origen astrológico o de un préstamo culto de raíz latina, aunque su significado permanece incierto. Una versión aproximada en galés actual puede ser:

> Y flwyddyn gyntaf yr hwnn a wylai, a gwraig a fyddai'n dymuno adnabod y llyfr a'r mannau lle ceir salad a phlâu, ac a feddyliai yn lân am weithredoedd glân y byd, ni byddai angen na pherygl. Y flwyddyn honno fyddai'n ddiflanedig ac yn ffrwythlon, a'r dyddiau a'r nosweithiau, y lleuad a'r haul, a'r cyfryw fyddent yn gytbwys, os byddai'r gwynt yn gymedrol. Y canu a fyddai'n ddifyr, a'r gwaed a'r dŵr a'r haul, a'r gwynt yn feddal, a'r enaid a'r aelodau'n lân. Os byddai'r gwynt yn chwythu dros y caeau'n anwadal, a'r glaw'n ysgafn, ac os byddai'r bryniau'n feddal, byddai'r flwyddyn yn wlyb, a'r rhybudd yn galed, a'r llawenydd yn brin.
>
> Os byddai'r aer yn lân, byddai'r oes yn hir, a'r Cristion a'r gwirion yn ffynnu. Byddai'r dyddiau'n dawel, a'r tangnefedd yn bresennol. Byddai'r tywydd yn las fel iechyd. A byddi di'n gweld lles hirhoedlog, cefnogaeth i'r corff ac undod yr enaid.

letras mayúsculas. En el margen izquierdo y al inicio de múltiples líneas del cuerpo textual, se alternan mayúsculas en rojo, azul y verde, algunas de ellas sombreadas o delineadas con trazos adicionales que intensifican su visibilidad. Esta práctica, lejos de ser meramente ornamental, cumple una función estructural fundamental: marca el inicio de nuevas secciones, párrafos o bloques temáticos, lo que permite una navegación visual más rápida y eficiente en un texto concebido para la consulta práctica.

El contenido del texto –parte de un calendario médico y un tratado sobre la orina, redactado en galés medieval– presenta una disposición vertical y versificada, típica de los textos técnico-consultivos del siglo xv. El diseño material del manuscrito, cuidadosamente planificado, sugiere una organización funcional destinada a facilitar el acceso inmediato a la información específica relacionada con fechas, diagnósticos, prescripciones o condiciones astrológicas. En este sentido, el uso alternado del color actúa como una guía visual altamente eficaz en un contexto de lectura fragmentada, donde el lector o recitador necesita identificar rápidamente secciones específicas. El texto, probablemente destinado a un público no experto, combina conocimientos astrológicos, médicos y naturales, y presenta una visión cíclica del tiempo estrechamente vinculada al equilibrio cósmico y corporal. En ausencia de puntuación desarrollada, las letras capitales coloreadas funcionan como marcadores visuales de sentido y estructura, lo que refuerza la legibilidad del texto y facilita su memorización o declamación. Como se ha señalado en estudios sobre puntuación y *mise-en-page* en manuscritos medievales, este tipo de codificación visual responde a una función retórica y pragmática. En este contexto, el color no es decorativo, sino informativo: orienta la lectura, articula la progresión temática y opera como una forma de puntuación paratextual que sustituye –o complementa– los signos gráficos más convencionales. Este manuscrito representa, por lo tanto, una manifestación avanzada del diseño textual funcional al servicio de la claridad, la estructura y la eficiencia en la consulta del discurso técnico medieval.

Además del uso cromático aplicado en las mayúsculas como elemento visual de segmentación, como se ha dicho anteriormente, es frecuente el empleo de mayúsculas decoradas, ilustradas para indicar comienzos de sección. La diversidad de estas letras capitales es notable; algunos ejemplos son los que se presentan en las imágenes 4 y 5.

En primer lugar, el manuscrito London, British Libary, Royal MS 12 D xvii, f. 21r presenta la inicial «ꝑ» decorada con un rasgo zoomorfo (posiblemente una cabeza de serpiente), aunque está escrita en tinta negra. Su tamaño y la ornamentación interna la destacan visualmente del resto del texto. Introduce una receta numerada (xi) para la aplicación de un remedio con miel sobre forúnculos. La segmentación aquí no depende del color, sino de la forma visual de la letra y de la numeración romana. La estructura del contenido es breve y procedimental, lo que hace efectiva esta forma de entrada visual. Por otro lado, el Manchester, Chetham's Library, Ms. Mun.A.3.12, f. 8r muestra una inicial «F» en negro decorada con líneas rojas en paralelo a la espalda de esta letra, que introduce la receta «For Flewme and rewme in the hede» 'Para la flema y el reuma en la cabeza'. El resto del texto en el título utiliza tinta oscura y el comienzo de la sección de ingredientes se marca con la «T» de «Tak» 'Take' elongada, con lo que evidentemente tiene fines funcionales. El cuerpo

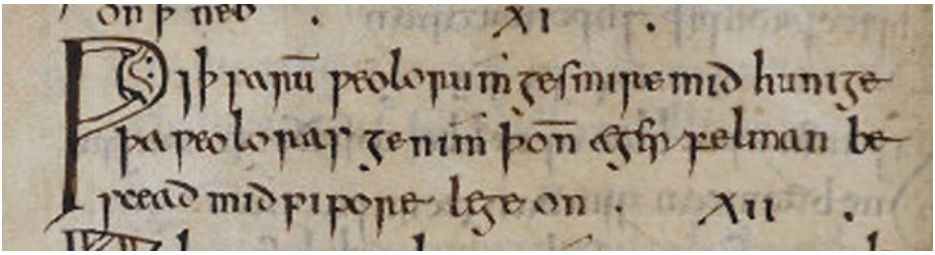


Imagen 4. London, British Library, Royal M 12 D XVII, f. 21r (dominio público).
Þjþ sarum þeolorum ȝesmire mid huniȝe. Þa þeoloras ȝenim þonne æȝer felman bescead mid pipore leȝe on 'Contra las dolorosas ampollas, unta con miel. Luego toma las ampollas, y rocía un huevo membrana con pimienta, y aplícalo encima'.

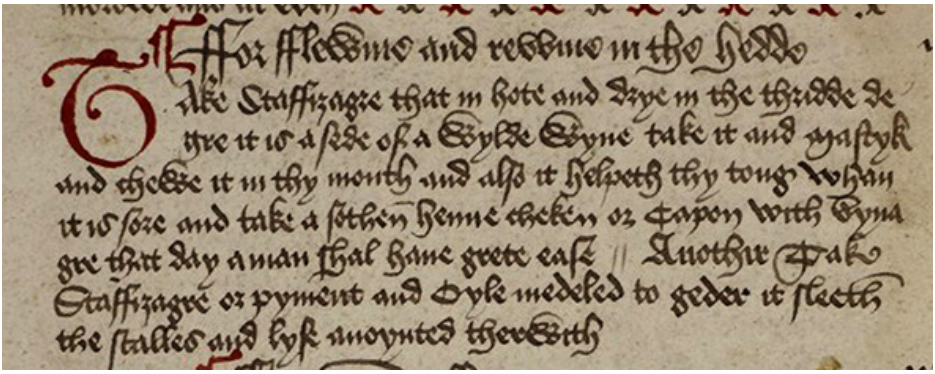


Imagen 5. Chetham's Library, Ms. Mun.A.3.12, f. 8r (dominio público).
For flemyng and rednes in the hede. Tak stufstage that is hot and dry in the thirde degree. It is a sede of a syklyke erbe. Take it and taste it and cheke it in thy mouth and als it seketh thy toung. Whan it is so, and take a stonen hemne thiken or capon with tymere that day a man shal have grete ease 'Toma salvia que es caliente y seco en el tercer grado. Es la semilla de una hierba similar. Tómala y pruébala y mastícala en tu boca, y cuando seque tu lengua, entonces toma una gallina silvestre gruesa o un capón con tomillo ese día; el hombre tendrá gran alivio'.

de la receta se estructura internamente con puntuación y sangrías mínimas. La relación entre el uso de las mayúsculas y el color y el contenido radica en que las marcas visuales permiten al lector identificar rápidamente el comienzo de una entrada nueva, así como el de la sección de ingredientes, que comienza como es tradicional con el verbo en imperativo «take» 'tomar'.

De forma complementaria, el manuscrito de la Yale, Medical Historical Library, Cushing/Whitney, Ms. 27 (sin foliación) presenta mayúsculas rubricadas en

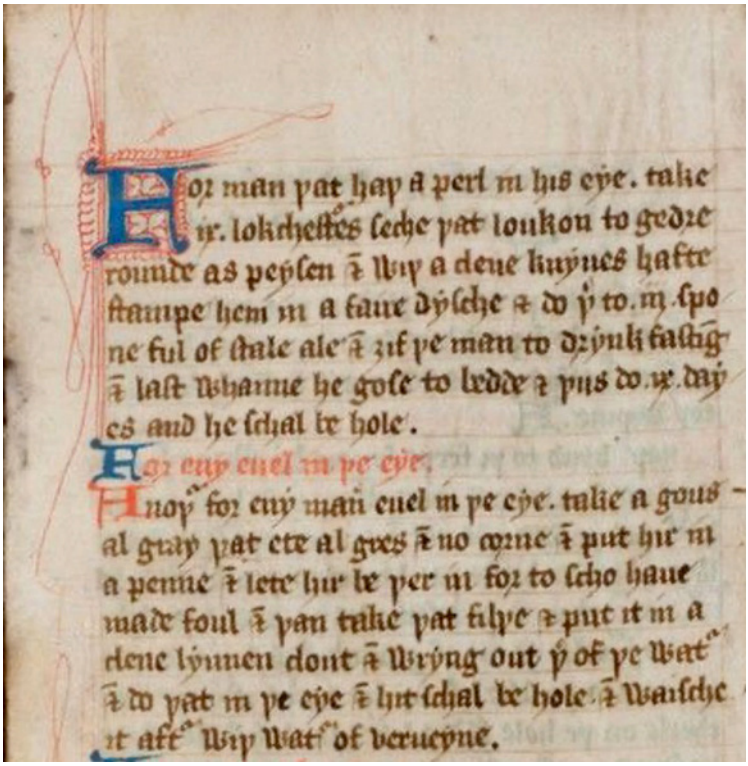


Imagen 6. Medical Historical Library, Yale, MS 27 (sin foliación) (dominio público).
For man þat has a perl in his eye. Take fenel, lokwelle, leke þat lowkon togedre rounde as pesen & ley a dene honyes hater, stampe hem in a faire dische & do þto m. spoone ful of stale ale & gif þe man to drynke fastyng & last tyme he goeth to bedde 3 tymes on 3 dayes and he shal be hole 'Para un hombre que tiene cataratas en el ojo. Toma hinojo, levístico, y puerro que crecen juntos redondos como guisantes, y añade un poco de suero de miel clara. Machácalos en un cuenco limpio y añade una cucharada de cerveza vieja. Dáselo al hombre para que lo beba en ayunas y la última vez antes de irse a la cama, tres veces en tres días, y sanará'.

rojo y azul que alternan en las primeras entradas de cada sección. El resto del texto utiliza mayúsculas negras sin decoración. Las recetas se presentan en forma versificada o semicontinua, y las iniciales cromáticas marcan con claridad la transición entre secciones. Por ejemplo, la «F» indica nuevas recetas oftalmológicas. El uso de color responde a una organización deliberada que relaciona secciones específicas con enfermedades concretas, como se observa en el caso de tratamientos para «perl in his eye» (catarata). La letra «A» en rojo destaca marcadamente al inicio de instrucciones médicas. Estas marcas visuales interrumpen el flujo textual continuo y permiten al lector identificar procedimientos distintos. El texto, de carácter instructivo y experimental, contiene como elemento tanto de transición como de segmentación

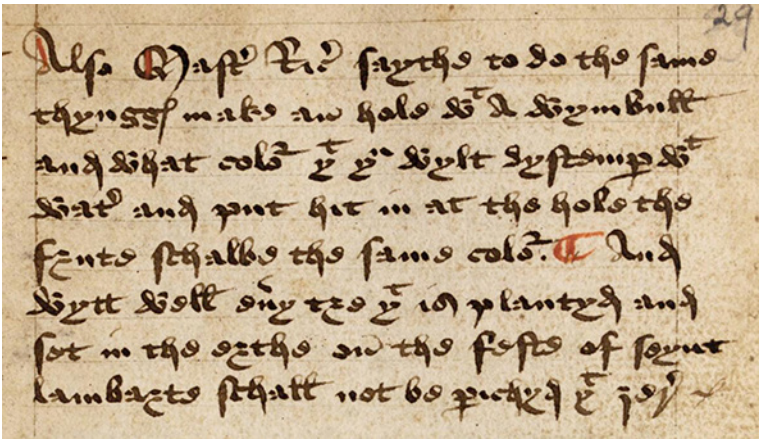


Imagen 7. Aberystwyth, Brogyntyn MS ii.1, f. 29r (National Library of Wales) (dominio público). Als mayst þu fynde to do the same thynges. Make an hole at a syde, lyght a syde colys to the light y schal see that and put hit in at the hole the fente shalbe the same color. And yytt diff eny tre is plantyd and set in the erthe and the fyrst of four lamback shal not be partyd fro joy 'Así puedes encontrar cómo hacer las mismas cosas. Haz un agujero a un lado, enciende unas brasas a ese lado: la luz lo mostrará, y ponlo dentro del agujero; el vapor será del mismo color. Y aun así, si algún árbol es plantado y puesto en la tierra, lo primero del cordero doble no se separará de la alegría'.

dentro de la receta el uso reiterado de la ampersand (&), lo que, si bien representa un sistema económico y sencillo, limita la funcionalidad estructural al presentar el resto del contenido como un bloque continuo, sin señalar de forma clara los inicios de cada paso o componente. En términos estructurales, esta presentación responde a una lógica escolástica, en la que el título actúa como formulación del problema, seguido de un desarrollo continuo que constituye la solución propuesta, tal como han señalado Taavitsainen (2001) y Carroll (2004) en sus respectivos análisis sobre la naturaleza instructiva y retórica del género médico. Finalmente, en el Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn Ms. ii.1, f. 29r se combinan iniciales rubricadas en rojo con mayúsculas negras sin rasgos ornamentales. Las letras «A» y «M» coloreadas en rojo destacan el inicio de instrucciones médicas. Estas marcas visuales interrumpen el flujo textual continuo y permiten al lector identificar procedimientos distintos.

En todos los ejemplos analizados, la función de las letras capitales decoradas o cromáticas es eminentemente estructural. En un género textual caracterizado por la instrucción práctica, la claridad visual y la organización son esenciales para la eficacia del discurso. Las letras capitales permiten al lector navegar por secciones diversas, que a menudo tratan diferentes patologías o tratamientos, y facilitan la lectura discontinua y selectiva propia del uso médico en estos casos. Mientras que las capitales negras decoradas cumplen una función ornamental que no siempre se aso-

cia a una nueva sección, las capitales rubricadas están sistemáticamente asociadas al comienzo de recetas o bloques de contenido. Este uso del color como herramienta de segmentación y jerarquización textual refuerza la funcionalidad del manuscrito como objeto de consulta. La variación formal en la ejecución de las capitales (desde zoomorfas hasta simples rubricadas) no altera su valor funcional, sino que responde a tradiciones de escribanías y a la disponibilidad de pigmentos. En resumen, el análisis de estas letras evidencia una planificación visual que responde a las necesidades cognitivas y pragmáticas del lector medieval. La interacción entre forma, color y contenido cumple una función retórica silenciosa pero fundamental para la inteligibilidad y accesibilidad del texto. En el marco del género de las recetas médicas, donde la claridad procedimental es clave, estas estrategias visuales no solo refuerzan la estructura formal, sino que traducen materialmente la función didáctica del contenido.

3.2. Segmentación mediante mecanismos visuales

Existen diversos mecanismos visuales que apoyan la segmentación del contenido científico-técnico en los manuscritos medievales. Uno de los más recurrentes es el uso del color, mediante el cual se facilita la estructuración visual del texto y se guían los procesos de lectura e interpretación. En muchos manuscritos, por ejemplo, la alternancia de tintas rojas y negras se emplea para diferenciar secciones, destacar encabezamientos, rubricar palabras clave o introducir nuevas unidades de significado. Este sistema cromático actúa como un marcador visual que anticipa la organización discursiva del texto y permite al lector identificar jerarquías informativas sin necesidad de recurrir exclusivamente al contenido verbal. En el siguiente ejemplo, correspondiente al folio 184r del manuscrito London, Wellcome Ms. 537, que contiene la traducción al inglés medio de la *Practica medicinae*, de Gilbertus Anglicus, junto con otros tratados médicos prácticos, confluyen diversas técnicas visuales que combinan el uso cromático con otros recursos de segmentación gráfica, contribuyendo decisivamente a la *mise-en-page* y a la estructuración del contenido, como se aprecia en la imagen 8.

Uno de los elementos más notables es el uso sistemático del color como marcador discursivo, particularmente mediante la alternancia de tinta roja (rubrica) y negra. La expresión «The herte» 'El corazón', que introduce esta sección del tratado, se presenta enmarcada en rojo, lo que no solo subraya su condición de encabezamiento, sino que cumple una función organizativa central, pues permite identificar visualmente el inicio de una unidad temática nueva y sugiere su relevancia dentro del conjunto de la obra. Este tipo de segmentación cromática, muy común en los manuscritos médicos medievales (Parkes, 1992, pp. 9-11; Rouse & Rouse, 2000, pp. 226-228), responde a una lógica funcional que busca optimizar la legibilidad y la consulta puntual de los contenidos. De la misma forma, la presencia de letras capitales rubricadas y de signos paragráficos en rojo actúa como marcador de transición o subdivisión interna dentro de la misma sección, facilitando la jerarquización del discurso médico. La gran letra capitular «A», de tipo ornamental e iluminada en oro, azul y carmín, refuerza visual y simbólicamente el inicio del pasaje, cumpliendo al

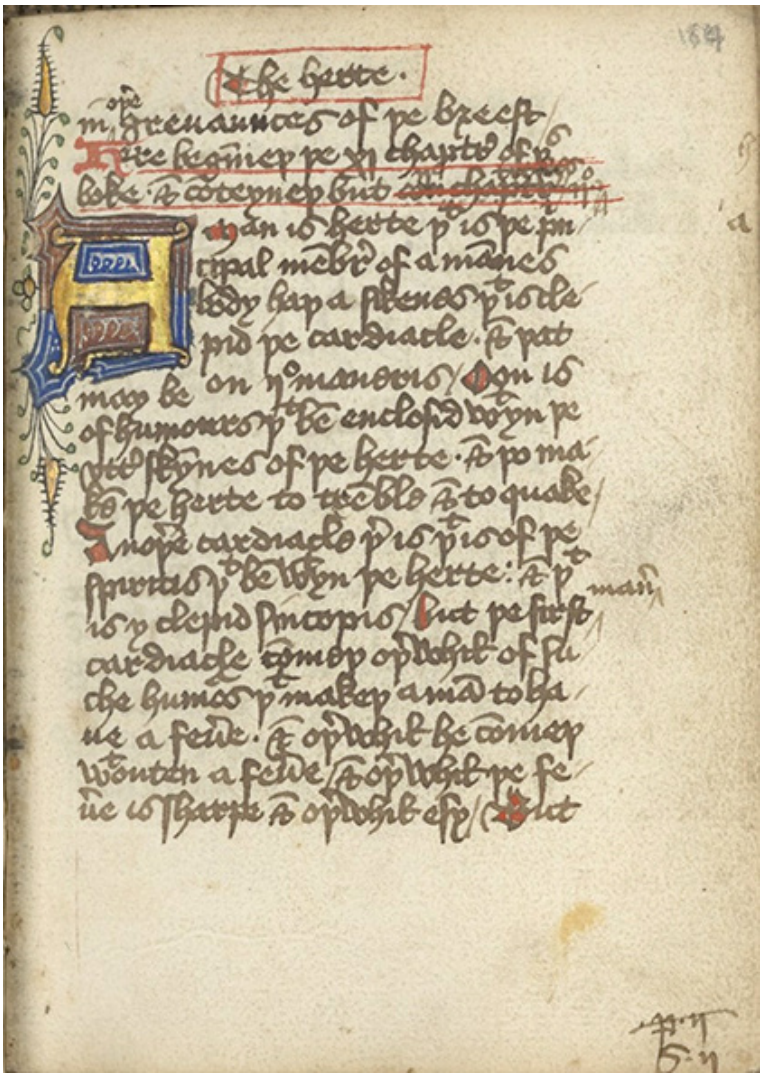


Imagen 8. Segmento del tratado médico traducido al inglés medio contenido en London, Wellcome Ms. 537, fol. 184r (dominio público).

mismo tiempo una función estructural y decorativa. Este tipo de iniciales historiadas o iluminadas son características de los tratados de prestigio y, en el contexto de la literatura médica, se asocian con la autoridad del saber técnico y con el deseo de conferirle solemnidad y credibilidad (Camille, 1992, pp. 140-145).

Además del rubricado que enmarca el título «The herte», el folio 184r del Wellcome Ms. 537 contiene un segundo tipo de intervención gráfica particularmente significativo: una línea horizontal en rojo que subraya y aísla el inicio de una nueva sección en el texto, donde se lee: «Here begineþ þe xj chapter of þis boke & conteyneþ but...» 'Aquí comienza el capítulo once de este libro y contiene solo...'. A diferencia del encabezamiento principal, esta línea no está acompañada de ornamentación ni de una letra capitular iluminada, lo cual refuerza su función puramente estructural. Este uso del subrayado aislado como marcador de transición responde a una necesidad práctica: subdividir capítulos dentro de un mismo apartado temático. En lugar de emplear recursos más costosos como iniciales historiadas o miniaturas, el copista o rubricador recurre a una técnica simple, económica y de alta eficacia visual, muy común en manuscritos de carácter técnico y médico.

Según Parkes (1992, pp. 11-12), este tipo de signos visuales de transición (líneas, rúbricas abreviadas, etc.) constituyen unas marcas gráficas de la estructura lógica del texto, diseñadas para que el lector pueda detectar la organización discursiva de forma inmediata. En particular, en textos como los tratados médicos, donde la consulta puntual es habitual, estas señales permiten acceder directamente a secciones relevantes sin necesidad de una lectura lineal. Por su parte, Rouse y Rouse (2000, p. 227) destacan que la economía del diseño en manuscritos prácticos medievales se refleja en el uso de estos signos de división visual mínima, que sustituyen o complementan otros recursos decorativos más elaborados. Este es claramente el caso del London, Wellcome Ms. 537, donde la alternancia entre rúbricas completas, subrayados dobles y líneas rojas simples configura una jerarquía visual del contenido.

Por otro lado, la *mise-en-page* de esta página incluye una decoración marginal de tipo vegetal que, si bien discreta, actúa como límite visual y enmarca el bloque textual, ofreciendo una separación clara entre el contenido principal y el espacio periférico. Aunque no hay glosas en este folio concreto, es frecuente que este tipo de manuscritos incluyan *marginalia* o anotaciones interlineales en otras secciones, las cuales refuerzan la naturaleza polifónica y didáctica del manuscrito, como apunta Clanchy (2013, pp. 180-184). Este conjunto de mecanismos visuales –rúbricas, iniciales ornamentadas, signos paragráficos, disposición del texto y decoración marginal– demuestra que el manuscrito no solo fue concebido como un contenedor de conocimiento, sino como un artefacto visual cuidadosamente diseñado para favorecer la consulta, la memorización y la transmisión de saberes especializados en contextos escolares, monásticos o incluso prácticos, como en el caso de médicos itinerantes o boticarios. El estudio de estos elementos permite, en definitiva, comprender la dimensión material y pragmática de la escritura médica medieval, donde el plano visual y el textual se entrelazan en una arquitectura discursiva destinada a hacer del saber técnico un conocimiento accesible y ordenado.

Además de estos mecanismos visuales, la decoración a nivel de la palabra escrita incluye aspectos tales como la configuración humanoide de las letras mayúsculas y el uso del tamaño y grosor de la fuente empleada, como la imagen de Cambridge, Trinity College O.7.2a, f. 10r que se muestra en la imagen 9.

El ejemplo en la imagen 9 presenta una capital ornamental en la que se ha integrado un rostro humano, claramente dibujado como parte de una intención

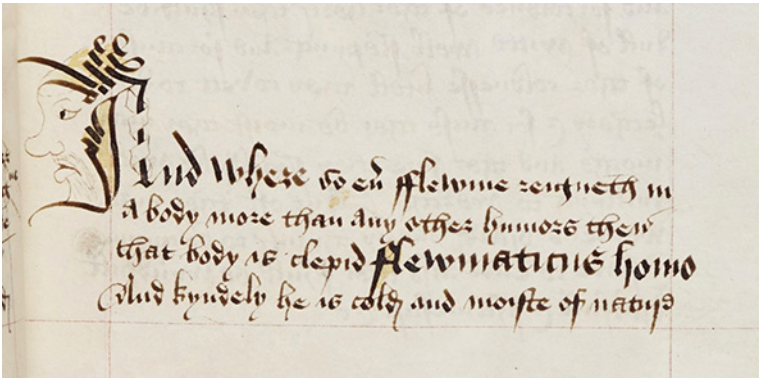


Imagen 9. Cambridge, Cambridge, Trinity College O.7.2a, f. 10r (dominio público).

figurativa. En Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.7.2a, fol. 10r, confluyen varios recursos visuales que articulan el inicio de una sección dedicada al estudio de las tipologías humorales. Destaca en primer lugar la letra capital decorada, que contiene en su interior un rostro humano esquemático. Este tipo de intervención, ampliamente documentado en manuscritos médicos y litúrgicos tardomedievales, cumple una función atencional y simbólica; no solo marca el inicio de un nuevo apartado, sino que remite visualmente al objeto de estudio –el cuerpo humano– mediante una forma antropomórfica que interpela al lector. En efecto, aunque la imagen podría parecer un simple capricho decorativo, este tipo de rostros –que Camille (1992) denomina *grotesques* o *visages cachés*– pueden tener múltiples funciones: reclamar la atención del lector, generar una conexión afectiva o lúdica con el texto, o incluso establecer un comentario visual implícito sobre el contenido. En tratados médicos, donde los textos podían ser densos y repetitivos, este tipo de intervenciones visuales actuaban como puntos de detención cognitiva, ofreciendo un ritmo distinto en la lectura o un respiro en la estructura del texto. A ello se suma el uso de un rasgo tipográfico significativo. La expresión «flewmaticus homo» aparece escrita en una fuente más gruesa y de mayor tamaño que el resto del texto, separada visualmente mediante espacio y destacada como unidad informativa autónoma. Este tratamiento gráfico no es accidental, sino que responde a una voluntad de jerarquización visual del contenido: permite identificar el tema principal de la sección, facilita la navegación dentro del manuscrito y organiza la información en función de categorías reconocibles (en este caso, los tipos humorales). Este tipo de marcación textual a través de la forma –que incluye tamaño, grosor, espaciado y disposición– se inscribe en una tradición de diseño codicológico orientado a la funcionalidad, tal como ha señalado Parkes (2008), y puede considerarse un antecedente de los actuales sistemas de encabezamiento o segmentación temática en textos técnicos. Así, la *mise-en-page* de este folio combina imagen, caligrafía y disposición espacial para construir una entrada



Imagen 10. Manchester, Chetham's Ms. Mun.A.3.127, f. 9r (dominio público).

visualmente estructurada que no solo presenta el conocimiento médico, sino que lo materializa gráficamente en el cuerpo del texto revelando así el carácter multimodal de la tarea de generación de la página manuscrita.

El conjunto de recursos visuales presentes en este folio –la inicial decorada con un rostro humanizado, el cambio de grosor y tamaño de la caligrafía– constituye una forma de «escritura visual» del cuerpo humano y de sus tipologías fisiológicas. En lugar de recurrir a diagramas anatómicos o representaciones ilustradas del cuerpo, es el propio diseño del texto el que asume una función configuradora: mediante elementos gráficos y tipográficos, se organiza y jerarquiza la información, transformando lo fisiológico en una categoría visualmente estructurada de análisis y orden. Este tipo de estrategia responde a una tendencia más amplia, especialmente visible en manuscritos médicos y astrológicos del período bajomedieval, en los que se combinan elementos como el dibujo, el uso selectivo del color, la variación caligráfica y el ajuste proporcional del texto para facilitar la comprensión, favorecer la memorización y promover un uso práctico e inmediato del contenido (Blair, 2010; Parkes, 2008). En este contexto, la visualidad no es meramente decorativa, sino que actúa como parte esencial de la arquitectura del conocimiento.

Las dos imágenes 10 y 11, ambas pertenecientes a manuscritos científicos y médicos de la tradición bajomedieval, revelan el papel fundamental de los recursos visuales y cromáticos en la organización, estructuración y transmisión del contenido especializado.

En la imagen 10 (Chetham's Library, MS Mun.A.3.127, fol. 9r), se observa una matriz reticular compleja con distribución en cuadrícula que combina escritura dispuesta en diagonal y uso alternado del color rojo y negro para el contenido

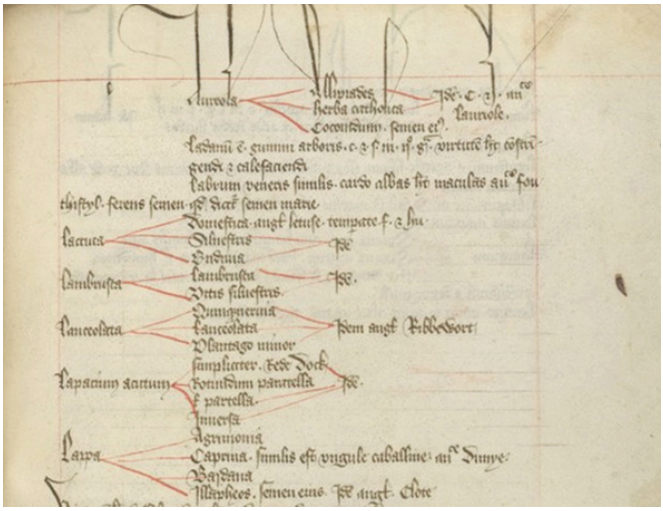


Imagen 11. London, Wellcome Library Ms. 542, fol. 17r (dominio público).

léxico con oraciones que complementan esta estructura con aclaraciones al respecto. La rotación diagonal del texto refuerza la percepción visual de circularidad y cíclica regularidad, lo cual es coherente con el contenido astronómico o astrológico. Este tipo de *mise-en-page* cumple funciones tanto epistemológicas como prácticas, pues permite la consulta rápida, sugiere la regularidad del cosmos y visualiza el paso del tiempo mediante orden repetitivo. El uso cromático (principalmente rojo y negro) se inscribe dentro de lo que se denomina «semantic coloration» (*cf.* Blair, 2010), es decir, el uso del color como estrategia significativa y no solo ornamental.

La imagen 11 (London, Wellcome Library Ms. 542, fol. 17r) ofrece un tipo distinto de articulación visual, propia de listas glosadas o taxonomías médicas y botánicas. Aquí se presentan grupos léxicos dispuestos en columnas, vinculados por líneas curvas en rojo que conectan las entradas de la izquierda con sus equivalentes (latinos o vernaculares) de la derecha. Este recurso gráfico cumple una función esencial en la navegación visual: las líneas de conexión actúan como guías o punteros que trazan relaciones semánticas y lo hacen de manera más eficaz que la simple alineación textual. El color rojo, usado aquí para los trazos conectores, no solo aumenta la legibilidad, sino que introduce un plano visual autónomo que permite al lector identificar rápidamente las correspondencias botánicas o farmacológicas. Este tipo de página glosada representa un ejemplo temprano de lo que podríamos denominar «mapeo visual de conocimiento», donde la disposición espacial sustituye la explicación expositiva. Además, el uso de letra gótica clara, con trazos verticales bien definidos, refuerza la legibilidad de las entradas y facilita la memorización, lo que sugiere un manuscrito pensado para la consulta frecuente en contextos prácticos (estudio, práctica médica, herbolaria).

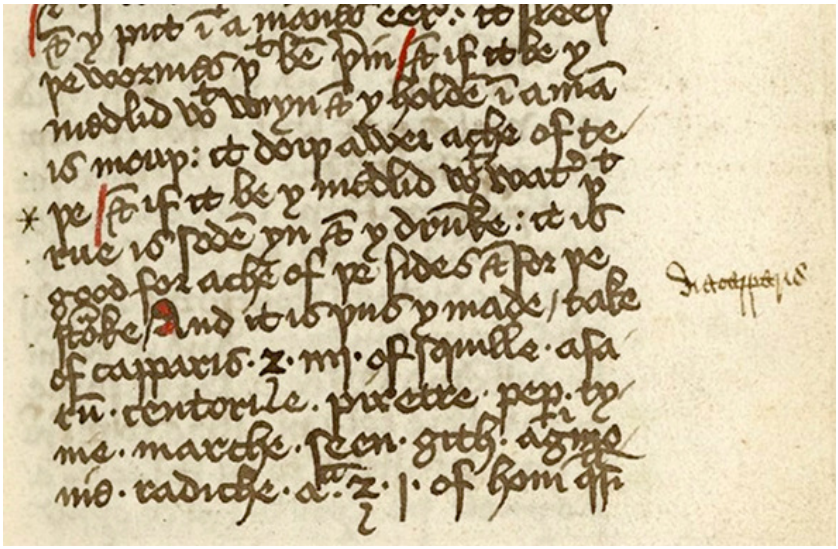


Imagen 12. London, Wellcome Ms. 537, fol. 27r (dominio público).

En conjunto, ambas imágenes muestran cómo los manuscritos tardomedievales no solo transmitían conocimiento mediante el texto, sino que desplegaban una visualidad técnica y funcional, que involucraba la puesta en página, la organización espacial, la tipografía y el color como componentes centrales del discurso científico y médico. Estos elementos visuales no eran complementarios, sino constitutivos del contenido, como lo demuestra la integración de códigos cromáticos y diagramáticos al servicio de la inteligibilidad, la memorización y la usabilidad del saber especializado.

3.3. Las anotaciones marginales

En los manuscritos médicos bajomedievales, las notas marginales desempeñan un papel clave no solo como glosas interpretativas o anotaciones auxiliares, sino también como marcadores visuales y estructurales que contribuyen a organizar el contenido y facilitar su navegación. Estas marcas periféricas, escritas en una tinta distinta (frecuentemente roja o marrón más clara), pueden responder a una planificación previa por parte del copista, formar parte de una intervención posterior y contemporánea al manuscrito o derivar del uso activo del códice por parte de sus lectores o propietarios, particularmente en el caso de textos prácticos como los médicos. Esta función múltiple se evidencia claramente en las siguientes imágenes procedentes de manuscritos médicos del siglo xv conservados en la Wellcome Library.

Así, en la imagen 12 (London, Wellcome Library, Ms. 537, fol. 27r), correspondiente a un folio del *Liber de herbis* o tratado médico misceláneo, observamos

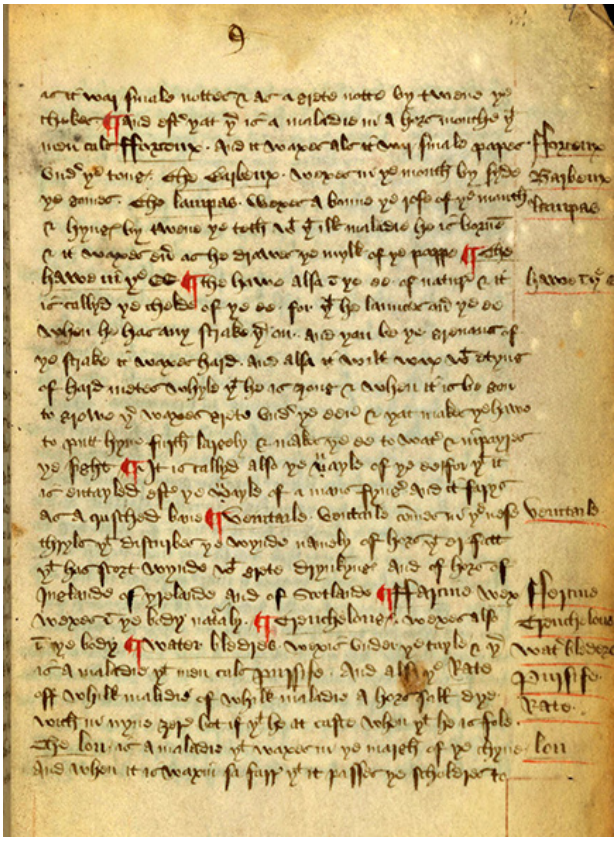


Imagen 13. London, Wellcome Ms. 5650, fol. 9r (dominio público).

un marginal derecho en escritura cursiva donde se ha añadido, en tinta más clara, el sintagma latino *dicto capparis*. Este añadido no forma parte del texto continuo ni de la *mise-en-page* original, sino que ha sido insertado *a posteriori* en el margen con una clara intención estructural: señalar el tema de ese pasaje. De esta forma, funciona como un encabezamiento desplazado al margen, posiblemente para facilitar la consulta rápida por parte del lector. Este tipo de marcas, también denominadas *tituli* marginales, no son meramente descriptivas. En contextos médicos, donde la utilidad inmediata del contenido era primordial, estas etiquetas marginales actúan como una forma rudimentaria de indexación temática interna. Los márgenes se transforman así en espacios de negociación entre el texto, su organización y las necesidades del lector. En el caso de London, Wellcome Library, Ms. 5650 (imagen 13), se aprecia un uso sistemático de rúbricas y signos paragráficos en rojo a lo largo del cuerpo del texto, mientras que las notas marginales –también en rojo y dispuestas en

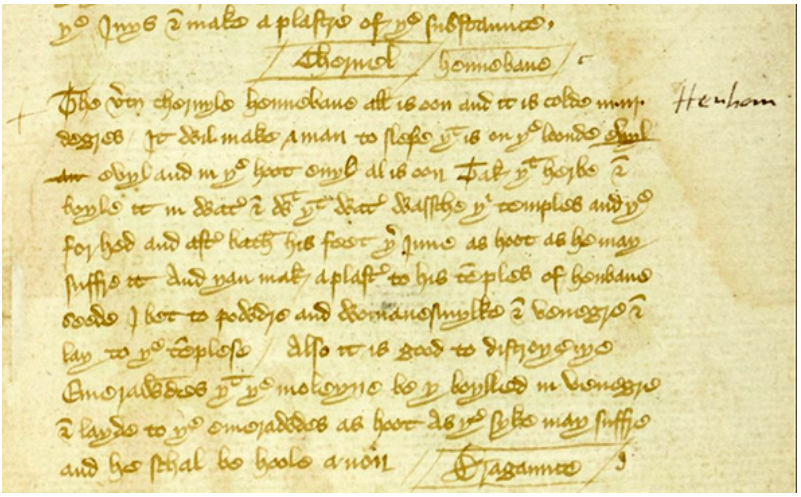


Imagen 14. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.1.13, fol. 2r (dominio público).

el margen derecho– identifican contenidos temáticos relevantes, tales como «Trenchelous», «Water bleders» o «Rate». Estos términos condensan conceptos médicos fundamentales y cumplen una función dual: por un lado, organizan visualmente el contenido; por otro, proporcionan una guía rápida al lector experto, que puede así localizar los pasajes de interés sin necesidad de una lectura lineal. Lo interesante en este caso es que las notas marginales no son glosas ni comentarios, sino auténticos marcadores estructurales que podrían haber sido planeados desde la etapa de copia. Según Rouse y Rouse (2000: 221-222), muchos escribas en los siglos XIV y XV trabajaban siguiendo esquemas preestablecidos, dejando espacios para títulos marginales o completándolos tras la copia a partir de una lectura funcional del texto.

Estas evidencias permiten sostener que las notas marginales, lejos de ser elementos accesorios, forman parte activa de la arquitectura informativa del manuscrito. Constituyen una herramienta clave en la transmisión del conocimiento especializado en la Edad Media, particularmente en disciplinas como la medicina, donde el saber debía ser accesible y recuperable. Los márgenes funcionan como un espacio semiótico único donde se materializan estrategias lectoras y pedagógicas. En este sentido, pueden leerse como una manifestación de la pragmática material del manuscrito, en la que el contenido se adapta a las condiciones de uso y a las necesidades del usuario. Esta interpretación se alinea con estudios recientes en codicología funcional (Gumbert 2004; Andrist y Canart 2021), que insisten en la intencionalidad práctica de la disposición textual y paratextual en libros manuscritos de carácter técnico.

En algunos manuscritos médicos conservados, como el Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.1.13 (imagen 14), encontramos intervenciones marginales añadi-

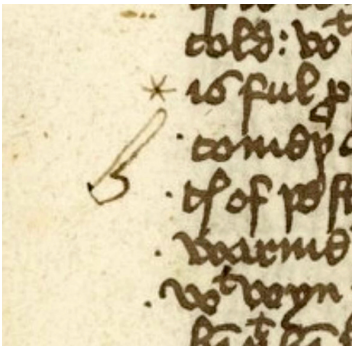


Imagen 15. London, Wellcome Library, Ms. 537, fol. 252v (dominio público).

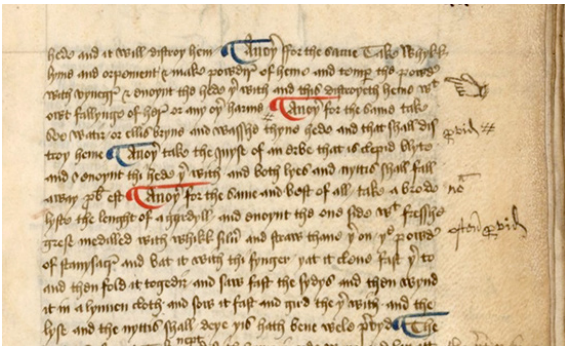


Imagen 16. London, Wellcome Library, Ms. MSL.136, fol. 44 (dominio público).

das en épocas posteriores, que ofrecen pistas no solo sobre el contenido textual, sino también sobre la historia material del códice.

En el folio 2r de este manuscrito, una mano moderna ha inscrito el nombre «Henham» en el margen derecho, utilizando una caligrafía cursiva clara, propia de los siglos XVII o XVIII. A diferencia de las notas marginales contemporáneas al manuscrito (como las analizadas en los folios de Wellcome Ms. 537 o Ms. 5650), esta anotación tiene un propósito archivístico o identificativo, posiblemente vinculado al uso del volumen en un contexto doméstico, bibliográfico o institucional posterior. Este tipo de añadidos marginales, aunque ajenos a la *mise-en-page* original, son clave para reconstruir la vida posterior de los manuscritos, revelando prácticas de lectura, posesión o clasificación en momentos históricos distintos. Como destaca Hanna (2005, p. 91), los márgenes de los manuscritos no solo reflejan el discurso del momento de copia, sino también capas superpuestas de interacción textual y material a lo largo del tiempo. En este sentido, anotaciones como «Henham» se convierten en testimonios de la reutilización y recontextualización del manuscrito, ampliando su valor como objeto histórico.

Una forma común de mostrar contenido en el entramado textual es mediante otras intervenciones gráficas en los márgenes, como ocurre con las manículas o manecillas y otras ilustraciones, en los ejemplos de las imágenes 15 y 16.

En estas imágenes, se observan dos manículas: una dibujada cuidadosamente ejecutada en MS.MSL.136, fol. 44, en consonancia con la columna de texto, y otra más tosca, añadida aparentemente con posterioridad por un usuario diferente y con una dirección menos precisa. El contraste entre estos dos dibujos permite analizar la estratificación material y gráfica del códice: el primero se integra en la *mise-en-page* original, probablemente como guía de lectura, mientras que el segundo responde a una intervención posterior, posiblemente realizada por un lector que deseaba desta-

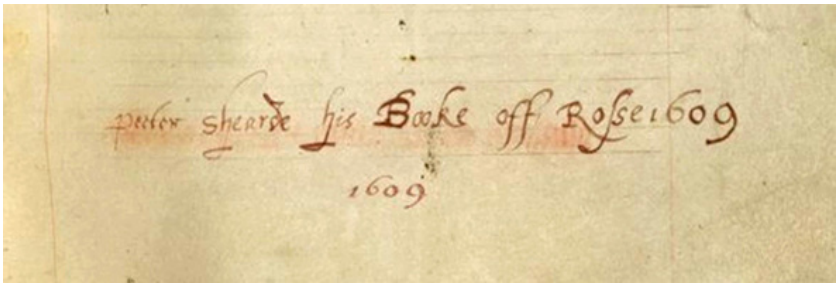


Imagen 17. London, Wellcome Library, Ms. 542, fol. 108r (dominio público).

car una entrada concreta. Las manículas (Sherman, 2008, p. 33) –o «dedos señaladores»– son una forma extendida de marginalia visual desde el siglo XII y se utilizan hasta bien entrado el período moderno. Estas figuras representan tecnología visual de atención y están diseñadas para guiar el ojo del lector hacia pasajes clave. Su uso en contextos médicos se documenta ampliamente, especialmente en compilaciones prácticas donde el lector necesitaba localizar información rápidamente.

Si bien muchas de las notas marginales en manuscritos médicos del siglo XV cumplen funciones estructurantes –como indicar el número de receta en compilaciones farmacéuticas, señalar el inicio de capítulos en tratados pseudocientíficos o clasificar contenidos mediante términos técnicos en los márgenes–, no todas responden a una lógica de organización del contenido. En numerosos casos, estas intervenciones trascienden la función estructural para revelar capas más personales, dinámicas y multitemporales de interacción con el texto. Los márgenes de los manuscritos son, como han señalado Sherman (2008) y Blair (2010), espacios privilegiados de agencia lectora, donde el usuario del libro interpreta, adapta, amplía o reconfigura el conocimiento textual según sus necesidades prácticas, intelectuales o incluso afectivas. En este sentido, la *marginalia* se convierte en una forma de apropiación material y epistémica del manuscrito, ofreciendo pistas sobre la historia del uso, la transmisión del conocimiento y la circulación del libro en contextos no siempre institucionales. Las imágenes 17 y 18 ilustran esta pluralidad funcional.

En London, Wellcome Library, Ms. 542 (imagen 17), la inscripción «Peter Shearse his Booke off Rose 1609» 'El libro de Peter Shearse de Rose, 1609' constituye un claro ejemplo de marca de propiedad redactada siglos más tarde en inglés moderno. Estas fórmulas, habituales entre los siglos XVI y XVIII, no solo declaran la pertenencia del manuscrito, sino que reconfiguran su estatuto, ya que lo convierten en objeto personal y sujeto a control individual. Como señala Sherman (2008, p. 64), este tipo de marcas no son neutras, sino que encarnan actos de afirmación de la posesión sobre el saber contenido en el códice. En textos médicos, donde la experiencia práctica y la autoridad personal eran elementos fundamentales, este tipo de inscripciones podía implicar no solo propiedad material, sino también autoridad

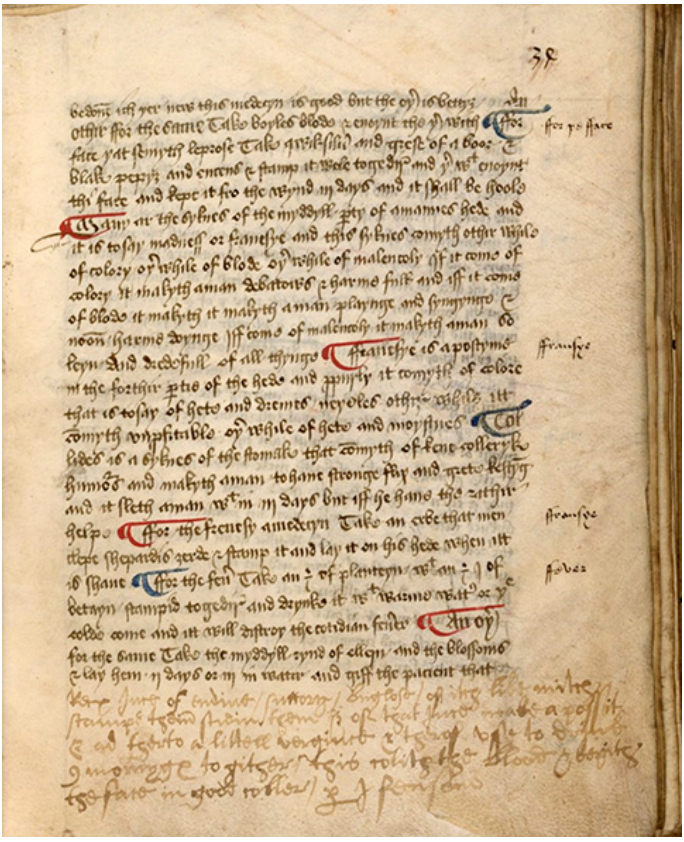


Imagen 18. London, Wellcome Library, Ms. MSL. 136, fol. 34r (dominio público).

operativa sobre el contenido. En el caso de Wellcome Ms. MSL.136, fol. 34r (imagen 18), en el margen inferior de este folio se halla una anotación extensa, escrita en una tinta más clara y con caligrafía ligeramente distinta, lo que sugiere que fue añadida con posterioridad a la copia del texto principal. La nota parece ofrecer una variante práctica o una ampliación de la receta inmediatamente anterior, lo que evidencia un uso activo del manuscrito como libro de consulta y experimentación médica. Este tipo de intervención podría etiquetarse como conocimiento generado por el lector, *reader-generated knowledge* en inglés, y se relaciona con una lógica premoderna del saber en la que los textos eran herramientas vivas, corregibles y anotables, más que documentos cerrados (*cf.* Blair, 2010).

Finalmente, en Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.7.2a, fol. 1r (imagen 19), la firma de James Orchard Halliwell, con la anotación «Bib. Hall. No. 191.», es un ejemplo de *marginalia* catalográfica moderna, propia del siglo XIX. Aunque no añade

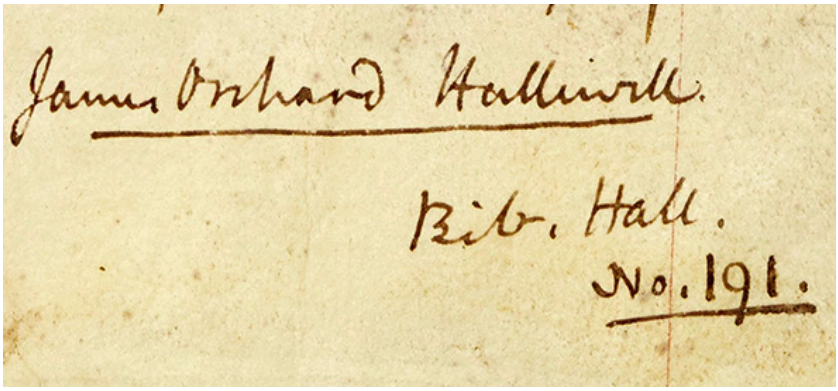


Imagen 19. London, Wellcome Library, Ms. MSL.136, fol. 34r (dominio público).

contenido médico, esta marca constituye una intervención material clave en la historia del manuscrito, pues señala su entrada en una colección privada o bibliográfica organizada, en este caso la de uno de los grandes bibliógrafos y editores del período. Este tipo de inscripciones modernas permite rastrear la trayectoria material de los manuscritos más allá del Medioevo y son esenciales para comprender su conservación, circulación e incluso su valor cultural en contextos posteriores. Sin embargo, no aporta nada a la estructura o al contenido del texto.

En conjunto, estos ejemplos muestran que la *marginalia* no se limita a facilitar la navegación o segmentar el contenido, como ocurría en los manuscritos de *Practica medicinae* analizados anteriormente (London, Wellcome Library, Ms. 537, Ms. 5650, etc.). Más bien, estos testimonios materiales revelan que los márgenes de los manuscritos funcionaban como espacios abiertos a múltiples capas de significación: correcciones, ampliaciones, anotaciones prácticas, comentarios personales, marcas de propiedad y referencias catalográficas. Tal diversidad funcional invita a adoptar una perspectiva codicológica centrada en el uso, que no conciba los manuscritos únicamente como objetos de estudio textual, sino como soportes vivos de interacción humana con el saber especializado. Lejos de ser periféricos, e incluso si no tienen una función organizativa o indéxica, los márgenes son lugares de centralidad epistémica, donde el conocimiento se transforma, se adapta y se resignifica a lo largo del tiempo.

3.4. Otros elementos visuales

La cultura visual del manuscrito médico medieval revela una variedad de sistemas representacionales que van desde lo diagramático hasta lo simbólico. En los códices analizados, y de los que presentaré evidencia más adelante, se constatan diferentes tipos de imágenes –figuras zodiacales, dibujos anatómicos, tabla de eclipses,



Imagen 20. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.1.77, fol. 95v (dominio público).

aves simbólicas, frascos de orina–, todas ellas integradas con el propósito de transmitir, organizar o mediar el conocimiento especializado. Su presencia no es accesoria: constituyen auténticos soportes de sentido, cargados de significación científica, cultural e incluso ritual. Algunos ejemplos son las imágenes 20 y 21.

En Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.1.77, fol. 95v (imagen 20), se representa una figura humana central –un *homo signorum*– que distribuye los signos zodiacales sobre el cuerpo, en una correspondencia directa entre partes corporales y casas del zodíaco. Esta imagen sintetiza la concepción astrológica del cuerpo que subyace en la medicina galénica y humoral. Como han explicado Horden y Wear (1995), este tipo de representaciones gráficas eran esenciales para la práctica médica, ya que permitían determinar los momentos más propicios para realizar sangrías, administrar tratamientos o establecer diagnósticos, en función de la posición de los astros y de la «influencia» de los signos zodiacales sobre los órganos. La inscripción *De signis* refuerza esta interpretación, ya que señala el inicio de una sección astrológica dentro del manuscrito, convirtiendo la imagen en un auténtico paratexto visual que estructura y anticipa el contenido temático. En contraste, la figura marginal de un hombre desnudo de rodillas y apoyado sobre los brazos –trazada con rapidez y

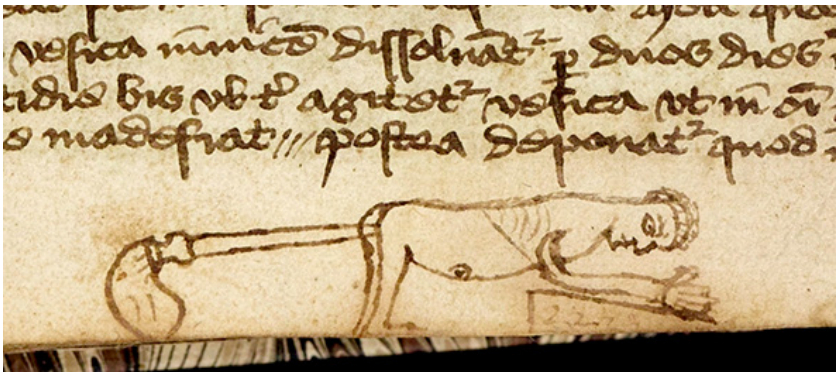


Imagen 21. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.2.49, f. 21r (dominio público).

sin aparente intención decorativa– en el Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.2.49, f. 21r (imagen 21) se inscribe dentro del repertorio de la *marginalia* de ejemplificación. Esta imagen, que muestra una figura humana en posición cuadrúpeda durante una intervención quirúrgica para tratar una fístula anal, puede interpretarse como un complemento visual al contenido textual. No obstante, el desequilibrio entre la escala del cuerpo humano representado y el instrumento médico podría dotarla de un carácter grotesco o incluso satírico. Como sostiene Camille (1992), las imágenes satíricas no eran necesariamente ajenas al contenido de los manuscritos; por el contrario, podían funcionar como comentarios visuales, formas de resistencia simbólica al discurso dominante o expresiones alternativas de lo corporal y lo fisiológico. En contextos médicos, este tipo de representación puede ironizar, advertir o destacar aspectos del cuerpo y de la práctica clínica que el texto escrito no siempre explicita.

El folio 24v del manuscrito Manchester, Chetham's Ms. Mun.A.4.99 (imagen 22) presenta una tabla visual organizada cronológicamente, dedicada a registrar eclipses solares entre los años 1391 y 1462. Cada celda incluye una figura circular en oro y rojo que representa la fase o grado de oscurecimiento solar observado en cada año determinado, de forma que el grado de interposición de la luna se traduce en un código visual inmediato. Lejos de tener una mera función decorativa, estos círculos dorados y rojos operan como dispositivos de registro astronómico con una finalidad práctica: el seguimiento de eclipses estaba íntimamente ligado a creencias médicas y astrológicas que condicionaban decisiones terapéuticas. Los colores juegan un papel informativo clave: el dorado señala la luz solar visible, mientras que el rojo oscuro marca la parte del sol ocultada por la luna durante el eclipse. Esta visualidad codificada responde a una lógica de conocimiento medieval en la que el signo gráfico –en este caso, el círculo cromático– actúa como herramienta de comprensión y anticipación del orden cósmico. La inscripción «Eclipsis Solis» que acompaña algunos años subraya su carácter extraordinario. La parte inferior del folio añade una glosa

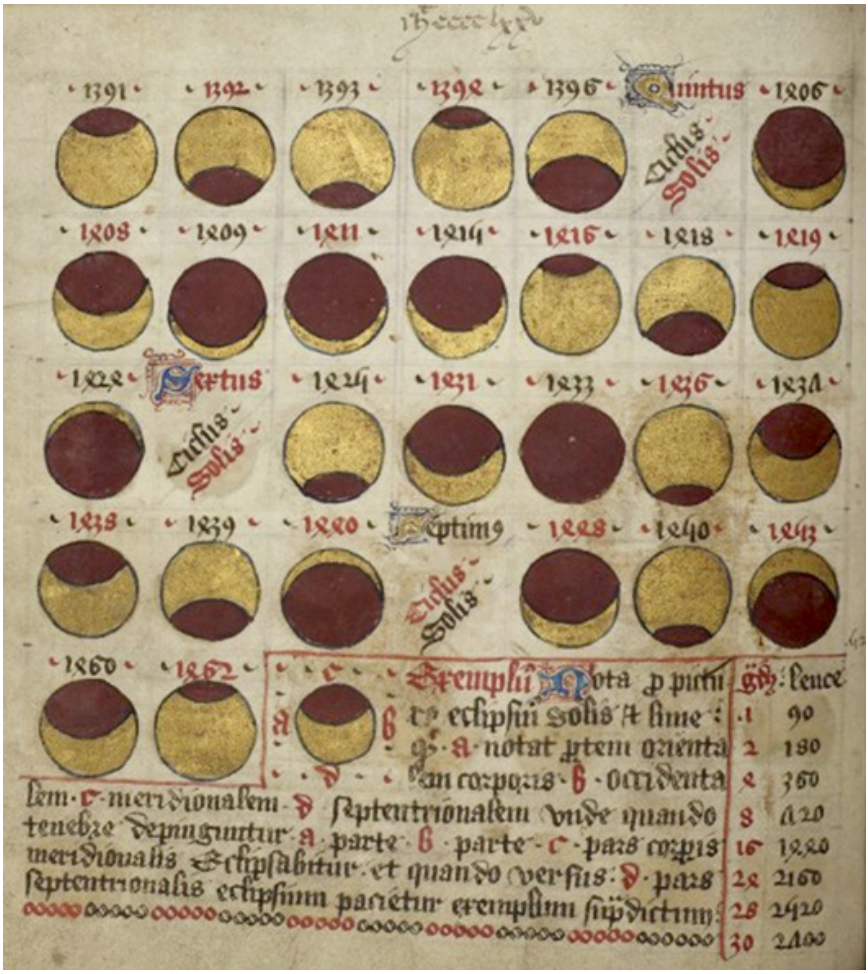


Imagen 22. Manchester, Chetham's Ms. Mun.A.4.99, fol. 24v (dominio público).

explicativa con letras y cifras que probablemente detallan aspectos técnicos como el tipo de eclipse (total, parcial), su duración, su localización en el cielo (meridional o septentrional) o su impacto interpretativo según la astrología médica. Este sistema híbrido de imagen, símbolo y texto convierte al manuscrito en un artefacto de epistemología visual (Klinke, 2014), donde lo gráfico no es un complemento, sino una forma de conocimiento en sí misma.

En el caso del Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.1.13, fol. 25v (imagen 24), se observan representaciones de frascos de orina –matraces– que ilustran uno de los pilares del diagnóstico médico premoderno: la uroscopía. Estos frascos

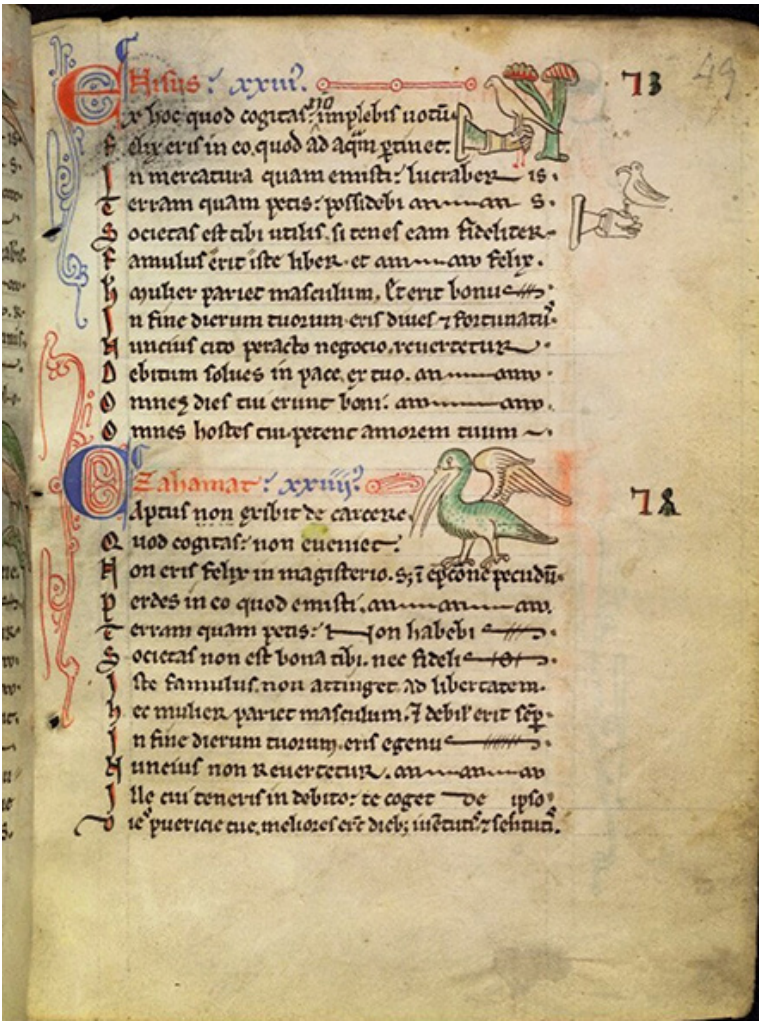


Imagen 23. London, British Library, Ms. Ashmole 304, fol. 34r (dominio público).

muestran diferentes niveles y colores del líquido, junto con inscripciones manuscritas que indican el diagnóstico o el estado del paciente. La imagen responde a una lógica de ordenamiento visual del saber médico: sirve tanto como instrumento de diagnóstico como de memorización. El uso del color permite clasificar rápidamente distintos tipos de afecciones, mientras que la forma estandarizada del frasco evoca de inmediato el contexto clínico. Estas figuras se convierten así en herramientas visuales que permiten al lector/practicante acceder rápidamente a la información, reforzando la conexión entre el signo visual y la función pragmática del texto. Por último, el



Imagen 24. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.1.13, fol. 25v (dominio público).

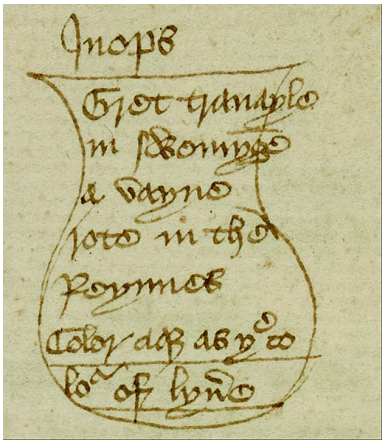


Imagen 25. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.1.13, f. 25 v (dominio público).

Cambridge, Trinity College O.1.13, f. 25 v (imagen 25) presenta un único frasco con texto manuscrito en su interior. Aunque menos elaborado que el ejemplo anterior, este frasco, que aparece con otros similares formando un conjunto, demuestra cómo la representación visual podía adaptarse a contextos más individualizados. Su

inclusión confirma que las imágenes médicas no solo se usaban para sistematizar saberes generales, sino también como vehículos visuales para la interpretación práctica y contextualizada del conocimiento.

4. CONCLUSIÓN

El análisis del lenguaje instructivo en manuscritos médicos y técnicos ingleses del período medieval revela una sofisticada convergencia entre contenido verbal y visual, enmarcada en una lógica funcional que trasciende lo meramente ornamental. Estos manuscritos no solo constituyen repositorios de conocimiento especializado, sino también artefactos visuales cuidadosamente diseñados para facilitar la consulta, la memorización y la práctica médica o técnica en contextos diversos. La investigación demuestra que los recursos visuales empleados, segmentación cromática, iniciales decoradas, diagramas, anotaciones marginales y *mise-en-page* estratégica, conforman un sistema semiótico complejo que estructura la información, la indexa, refuerza su inteligibilidad y optimiza su funcionalidad. El uso sistemático del color (especialmente rojo, azul y negro), aplicado a signos de puntuación, letras capitales, rúbricas y conexiones visuales, cumple una doble función, pues actúa como guía de lectura y como marcador jerárquico del discurso. Este código cromático, aunque no siempre plenamente regular, revela patrones estables que refuerzan la inteligibilidad y anticipan la organización temática, como se observa en calendarios médicos, tratados alquímicos y recetarios. Es igualmente relevante el papel de la caligrafía y la disposición textual, que transforman lo fisiológico en una categoría visual mediante variaciones de tamaño, grosor y espaciado, como en el caso del «flewmaticus homo» de Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. TC O.7.2a.

Las imágenes, por su parte, operan como instrumentos epistémicos que materializan el saber: ya sean figuras astrológicas, tablas lunares, frascos de uroscopía o aves simbólicas, todas ellas articulan una relación directa entre lo visual y lo conceptual, encarnando lo que se ha denominado epistemología visual. A esto se suma el papel central de la *marginalia*, no solo como herramienta estructural (rúbricas, manículas, notas temáticas), sino también como espacio de intervención lectora, reapropiación del saber y construcción identitaria a través de marcas de propiedad y anotaciones personales. En conjunto, estos manuscritos evidencian una ecología del texto en la que lo verbal y lo visual se entrelazan en una arquitectura cognitiva orientada a la eficiencia práctica y a la circulación del conocimiento. Su estudio desde una perspectiva codicológica y pragmática permite comprender cómo la materialidad del libro manuscrito configuró modos de lectura, enseñanza y transmisión del saber que no solo fueron efectivos en su tiempo, sino que siguen ofreciendo claves interpretativas fundamentales para la historia de la ciencia, la medicina y la cultura escrita. Así, el manuscrito medieval emerge no solo como objeto textual, sino como interfaz de conocimiento multisensorial, donde el color, la forma y el trazo no acompañan al contenido, sino que lo producen, organizan y hacen legible.

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PRINCIPIOS E HISTORIOGRAFÍA DE LA DATACIÓN HISTÓRICA

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Resumen

Se establece la finalidad de la datación histórica –rama documental de la cronología–, su dependencia de la mecánica celeste, la obligación de fechar todo despacho para darle validez, y los modos habituales de expresarlo. Para ello se inspeccionan las principales aportaciones historiográficas desde la Antigüedad, revisando el progreso y la diversidad de cómputos y los métodos de conversión entre ellos, y, sobre todo, se hace un repaso crítico de los sucesivos normalizadores, polemistas e innovadores desde la Grecia helenística, con particular atención a las publicaciones (manuales, tablas, actas de reuniones científicas, artículos de revistas, recursos en línea y cualesquiera otras aportaciones sobre la materia) de las principales escuelas sobre diplomática.

Palabras clave: cronología, datación histórica, historiografía, diplomática.

PRINCIPLES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL DATING

Abstract

The purpose of historical dating –documentary branch of Chronology– is established, its dependence on celestial mechanics, the obligation to date every dispatch to give it validity, and the usual ways of expressing it. To do this, the main historiographical contributions from Antiquity are inspected, reviewing the progress and diversity of computations as well as the methods of conversion between them, and, above all, a critical review is made of the successive normalizers, polemicists and innovators since Hellenistic Greece, with particular attention to the publications (manuals, tables, minutes of scientific meetings, magazine articles, online resources and any other contributions on the subject) of the main schools on Diplomatics.

Keywords: chronology, historical dating, historiography, diplomatics.

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0. INTRODUCCIÓN

Desde la Antigüedad la disposición del calendario estuvo en manos religiosas: una reunión de sacerdotes egipcios en Canopus ideó el día bisiesto en 238 a.C. para ajustarse al ciclo solar; los pontífices máximos decidían cuándo había que añadir un mes intercalar en la Roma republicana; César como magistrado sacerdotal encargó a Sosígenes de Alejandría los cálculos del calendario juliano y lo implantó el -46; a comienzos del siglo VI el papa san Hormisdas pidió a Dionisio el Exiguo que averiguara el año de la Natividad para establecer una era cristiana; Gregorio XIII aprobó la reforma gregoriana con la bula *Inter gravissimas* de 1582; hasta principios del siglo XX la mayoría de ulemas recomendaban la observación directa de la luna nueva para iniciar un nuevo mes musulmán...

El calendario revolucionario francés rompió con la tradición, abolió la era de Cristo y partió de la proclamación de la República en 1792, fijando el inicio del año en el equinoccio de otoño y sustituyendo las semanas –inspiradas en el *Génesis*– por décadas diales. A medida que avanzaba la Edad Contemporánea, cada vez más estados lo emulaban asumiendo esta competencia y algunos incluso trataron de imponer su criterio (era fascista italiana, que contaba los años desde que Mussolini fuera llamado a Roma por Víctor Manuel III el 29 de octubre de 1922; calendario soviético de 1929, que no tuvo aplicación práctica; o los años triunfales de Franco, entre 1937 y 1939).

Pero todo ello acabó supeditado a la oportuna coordinación a escala mundial: ya en 1884 la Conferencia Internacional del Meridiano propuso que todos los países adoptaran la hora de Greenwich (GMT), estándar sustituido en 1972 por el Tiempo Universal Coordinado (UTC) fijado mediante reloj atómico. Y aunque, por poner un caso, el gobierno ordena los actuales cambios de hora de invierno y verano (real decreto 236/2002), están sujetos a la legislación de la Unión Europea (directiva 2000/84/CE).

Hoy en día hay en España dos instituciones con responsabilidad inherente. El Real Observatorio de Madrid, que se centra sobre todo en mecánica celeste, aunque su *Anuario* –que se publica desde 1860– incluye no solo fenómenos (visibilidad de los planetas, eclipses, mapas del cielo...) y efemérides (solares, lunares, planetarias, satelitales, estelares...) astrales, o datos físicos, geodésicos y cartográficos de la Tierra, sino también un apartado de «Calendarios y tiempos». El Real Instituto y Observatorio de la Armada determina la hora oficial (real decreto 1308/1992, art. 1).

Este artículo deslinda el objeto de la cronología histórica, que examina diacrónicamente los dispares métodos de fechar, encuadrándola en la diplomática, y dentro, claro es, de las ciencias y técnicas historiográficas, de ahí el abordar antes de nada qué cuestiones trata y su vuelco a la data en el tenor documental. Veremos luego cómo evoluciona la historiografía pertinente de lo meramente práctico –la intrincada correspondencia entre los sistemas de cada período desde la Antigüedad– hasta entrar en la bibliografía más actual con manuales que aúnan teoría y praxis, junto a artículos de investigación muy específicos. Revisaremos las principales obras de las sucesivas etapas históricas comentando su contenido y los aportes de cada una a la datación histórica hasta hacer de ella una verdadera disciplina científica.

1. CAMPO DE ESTUDIO

Además de localizar el lugar del documento donde se expresa la fecha y transcribirla correctamente, en muchos casos –sobre todo durante la Edad Media– es preciso convertirla a nuestro actual cómputo, esto es: día y mes según el calendario gregoriano, y era cristiana por el estilo de la Circuncisión para el año. He ahí la labor fundamental en el aprendizaje de la datación.

En su *Tesoro* de 1611 Covarrubias solo recoge la voz *cronographía*: «descripción de los tiempos. Nombre griego: χρονογραφία, *chronographia*; *temporum descriptio*; de χρόνος, *tempus*, et γράφω, *scribo*. En nuestros tiempos ha escrito Gilberto Genebrardo una Chronographia, obra famosa y erudita de la cual yo me aprovecho mucho en este mi trabajo», en alusión a los anales *Chronographiae libri quatuor*, publicados en París en 1580 y que alcanzan desde la Creación hasta 1566.

En 1729, en el segundo tomo del *Diccionario de Autoridades*, aparecen ya tanto *chronographía* («descripción o escritura de los tiempos») como *chronología* («narración o historia de los tiempos y de los sucessos acaecidos en ellos, señalando el tiempo en que acaecieron»), lo cual mantiene la Real Academia Española actualizado respectivamente a «descripción cronológica de una serie de personajes o sucesos» y «ciencia que tiene por objeto determinar el orden y fechas de los sucesos históricos».

Sobre el étimo griego χρόνος hay que advertir del frecuente equívoco, arrastrado desde la Antigüedad, del dios Χρόνος (con ji) –personificación del tiempo en los misterios órficos y entre los presocráticos, que convendría transliterar *Chronos* (Kirk, Raven y Schofield, 1983: 23-29)– con el conocido titán Κρόνος (con kappa), hijo de Urano y padre de Zeus, que en rigor habría que verter como *Kronos* o *Cronos* (Fernández-Galiano Fernández, 1969, pp. 67 y 98). Deja patente Cicerón la ambigüedad y la asimilación con el romano Saturno en *De natura deorum*:

> Saturnum autem eum esse voluerunt qui cursum et conversionem spatiorum ac temporum contineret, qui deus Graece id ipsum nomen habet: Κρόνος enim dicitur, qui est idem Χρόνος, id est spatium temporis. Saturnus autem est appellatus quod saturaretur annis; ex se enim natos comesse fingitur solitus, quia consumit aetas temporum spatia annisque praeteritis insaturabiliter expletur (lib. 2, § 64)[1].

Desde antiguo la cambiante serie de métodos cronológicos se fundamentaba sobre todo en los movimientos de Tierra, Luna y Sol, lo cual requería para calcular con exactitud la duración precisos conocimientos de mecánica celeste. La dificultad de armonizar los ciclos del Sol y la Luna ha sido uno de los grandes tropiezos cronológicos que aún dura, pues sus respectivas traslaciones siderales son de compli-

[1] «Saturno, a su entender, mantenía el curso y la revolución de las estaciones y períodos de tiempo, llamada en griego Cronos, que es lo mismo que Chronos, "espacio de tiempo". Por otra parte, el nombre latino Saturno vale por "saturado de años", mitificado como insaciable devorador de sus propios hijos, lo que representa el tiempo devorando los siglos sin poderse saciarse nunca con los años que ya han pasado».

cada concordancia, primando unas veces aquel (nuestro calendario, de base solar, sacrifica la equivalencia entre meses y fases lunares) y otras este (el año musulmán, reducido a 354 o 355 días, es de doce lunaciones exactas).

Al margen de ello, aquí nos interesará la rama de la cronología dedicada a los acontecidos cómputos del tiempo y su plasmación al fechar, es decir, la datación histórica. Dejaremos, pues, de lado otros medios para determinar la antigüedad, tanto de edificios como de cuadros, esculturas o los relativos a códices y diplomas, basados en análisis de estilo, filológicos, artísticos, paleográficos..., o bien técnicas arqueológicas como el radiométrico carbono 14, la palinología, la dendrocronología o la estratigrafía.

2. LA DATA EN LOS DOCUMENTOS

En el año 438 el emperador bizantino Teodosio II dispuso al frente del *Codex theodosianus* la obligación de fechar cualquier diploma, prescripción que su antecesor Constantino el Grande ya había dado a los lusitanos en el primer tercio del siglo III: «si qua posthac edicta sive constitutiones sine die et consule fuerint deprehensa, auctoritate careant» (Bresslau, 1998, p. 1015; Floriano Cumbreño, 1946, p. 279; Marín Martínez y Ruiz Asencio, 1991, vol. II, p. 199). En la península ibérica lo promulgó por primera vez en su código el rey visigodo Eurico (466-484): «pacta vel placita que per scriptura quancunque facta sunt, vel per testes denominatos III vel amplius, dummodo in his dies et annus sit evidenter expressus, inmutare nulla ratione sinere permittimus» (D'Ors y Pérez-Peix, 2014, pp. 67-68). En igual sentido se pronuncia la *novella* 47 (534-565) de Justiniano:

> Unde sancimus et eos quicumque gestis ministrant, sive in iudiciis sive ubicumque conficiuntur acta, et tabelliones qui omnino qualibet forma documenta conscribunt, in hac magna civitate sive in aliis gentibus, quibus nos praesidere dedit Deus, hoc modo incipere in documentis: «imperii illius sacratissimi augusti et imperatoris anno toto», et post illa inferre consulis appellationem qui illo anno est, et tertio loco indictionem, mensem et diem[2].

La parte diplomática que atiende tal requerimiento es la data, integrada en el escatocolo junto a la validación, por lo que generalmente la encontraremos hacia el final[3] –recordemos que *escatocolo* procede de ἔσχατος y κολλάω, «unido en último lugar»–; solo en contadas tipologías, como las actas, es habitual que abra el texto

[2] «Por lo cual mandamos que los que prestan servicio en la administración, ya sea en los juicios, ya doquier se hagan actas, y los notarios y los que en general escriben documentos de cualquier forma en esta gran ciudad o en todas las otras regiones sobre las que Dios me concedió gobernar, comiencen de este modo los documentos: "en el año tal del imperio de tal sacratísimo augusto emperador", y después de esto escriban el nombre del cónsul que hay en aquel año, y en tercer lugar la indicción, el mes y el día».

[3] Algunas cancillerías la postergan del todo, en línea aparte bajo los elementos validativos, mientras que en otras –como la castellanoleonesa– los antecede tras el texto (Ávila Seoane, 2013, pp. 11-13).

(Bresslau, 1998, pp. 1017-1018; De Boüard, 1929, pp. 293-295; Marín Martínez y Ruiz Asencio, 1991, vol. II, p. 200). Junto al tiempo (fecha cronológica), puede expresar el lugar (geográfica). La Real Academia Española nunca disocia fecha y documento en la primera acepción tanto de *data* como de *fecha*, ya desde el *Diccionario de Autoridades*: «la annotación del día que se escribe y firma la carta o el instrumento, que se pone al principio o fin de él y la data de la escritura, carta o papel. Es tomado del participio passivo fecho, porque se suele poner fecho o fecha en tal día y tal parte».

Por lo común la encabeza *actum* o *datum* que, en rigurosa diplomática, aludirían a momentos distintos. Originariamente *actum* –de *ago*, *hacer*– se refería a la celebración del asunto en sí, pendiendo aún su respaldo documental; atañe pues a la *actio* inicial. En cambio, *datum* se reservaba para instrumentos dispositivos y alude a la confección de la carta (*conscriptio*), discrepando los investigadores si indicaba el instante en que la validación la hacía eficaz, o bien la entrega directa o a través de mensajero al destinatario, apoyada esta en el significado literal de *do*. Pero ya desde época carolingia la disparidad se desdibuja, como lo demuestra el creciente uso de la *ältere Datierung* o *fecha antigua* con sus parcelas crónica bajo *datum* y geográfica tras *actum*, sin que ello signifique aunar lugar del negocio y tiempo de la redacción. A partir al menos de la primera mitad del siglo XII ambos términos han de considerarse sinónimos (Ficker, 1878, vol. II, pp. 204-429; Bresslau, 1998, pp. 1062-1074; De Boüard, 1929, pp. 295-296; Paoli, 1942, pp. 233-236; Marín Martínez y Ruiz Asencio, 1991, p. 200).

3. CRONÓLOGOS DE LA ANTIGÜEDAD Y LA EDAD MEDIA

Desde los albores históricos hubo que afrontar cómputos cronológicos desusados tratando de armonizarlos, tanto para el día y el mes (calendación romana o medieval, sistema directo, *consuetudo bononiensis*, calendario litúrgico...) como para el año (era hispánica, cristiana, fundación de Roma, héjira, indicción...). De ahí que no escaseen obras con diferentes calendarios, eras y ciclos, así como los cálculos necesarios de interadaptabilidad; otros ofrecen tablas de equivalencia que liberan de operaciones matemáticas ocasionalmente bastante complejas.

Al respecto, el historiador ateniense Filócoro escribió a comienzos del período helenístico dos tratados hoy perdidos sobre el calendario ático con sus fiestas (Περὶ ἑορτῶν) y organización de los días (Περὶ ἡμερῶν). El romano, mucho mejor conocido, cuenta con textos de Tito Livio (*Ab urbe condita*, lib. I) y Ovidio (*Fasti*) compuestos bajo Augusto, y lo tocan asimismo la biografía de Numa Pompilio en las *Vidas paralelas* de Plutarco a caballo entre los siglos I y II, o las *Saturnalia* de Macrobio (lib. I) entre el IV y el V[4].

[4] He consultado las traducciones de la Biblioteca Clásica Gredos elaboradas respectivamente por José Antonio Villar Vidal (1990), Bartolomé Segura Ramos (1988), Aurelio Pérez Jiménez (1985)

Gran parte de la liturgia cristiana gira en torno a la movible fiesta de Pascua. Debemos el sistema antiguo más aproximado para determinarla al obispo de Laodicea Anatolio de Alejandría hacia el 260 en *De ratione Paschali*, que consiguió adaptar al calendario juliano el ciclo de Metón (astrónomo griego del siglo V a.C.), según el cual diecinueve años solares son casi equivalentes a 235 meses lunares[5]. Entre las afinaciones durante la Alta Edad Media cabe destacar la tabla pascual del monje matemático bizantino Dionisio el Exiguo (c. 470-c. 544), ideador de la era cristiana; la de Isidoro de Sevilla (c. 556-636) en el lib. VI de las *Etymologiae*, añadiendo fiestas eclesiásticas, complementaria del lib. II en cuanto a las distintas medidas del tiempo; las propuestas por el sabio Beda el Venerable (672-735) en *De temporibus* y *De temporum ratione*, con que la Iglesia fue fijando la Semana Santa hasta la reforma gregoriana en 1582, o el *De computo* del teólogo Rábano Mauro (c. 776-856), compuesto como un diálogo entre maestro y alumno que aborda otras cuestiones sobre la medida del tiempo, los números y el movimiento astral.

Las principales bibliotecas monásticas y catedralicias medievales disponían de estas obras o bien de códices misceláneos con su copia íntegra o parcial, como el ms. 27 de la Antoniana de Padua de finales del siglo IX, que recoge fragmentos de Rábano Mauro, san Isidoro, Macrobio, Anatolio de Alejandría o Beda junto a otros tratados anónimos (Abate y Luisetto, 1975, pp. 28-33), o el O-II-10 de la del Monasterio de El Escorial, agotándose el XIII, que comparte obras de Gerlando el Computista, Balduino de Marrochio, Beda, Alfonso X, Juan de Sacrobosco, Roberto Grosseteste, Thábit ibn Qurra o Gerardo de Cremona (Fernández Fernández, 2020, pp. 117-135).

Los textos de astronomía salidos del *scriptorium* alfonsí versan principalmente, aparte de la crédula astrología, de movimientos y descripción de estrellas y planetas o instrumentos para determinar su posición como el astrolabio. De objeto propiamente cronológico solo cabe citar los trece primeros capítulos y el último de las *Tablas alfonsíes*[6]; alguna de las magnitudes cíclicas que recogen, como la duración exacta del año solar, sirvió para la reforma gregoriana (Bachiller García, 2022, p. 350). Hay además detallados estudios acerca de los cálculos necesarios para hacer distintos tipos de relojes en los *Libros del saber de astrología*[7].

A partir del siglo XIII y hasta finalizar la primera mitad del XVI se hicieron comunes los apreciados libros de horas, que contenían pasajes bíblicos, salmos, oraciones, rezos... que los fieles leían en las horas canónicas. Reyes y nobles los encargaban de pequeño formato, lujosamente decorados, sobre vitela, en gótica textual caligráfica de perfecto trazado, repletos de finas miniaturas y con profusión de tintas de colores y pan de oro, no pocas veces como dote esponsalicia; solían ir encabezados por un calendario perpetuo, pues dependían del variable ciclo litúrgico. Dis-

y Fernando Navarro Antolín (2010).

[5] Remito a la edición de McCarthy y Breen, 2003.

[6] Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS/3306, ff. 35-43v y 72-72v, ms. de comienzos del siglo XVI con la versión más antigua del texto conservada (Fernández Fernández, 2005,pp. 29-50; Torres López, 2009, pp. 741-752).

[7] Biblioteca Marqués de Valdecilla, MSS 156, ff. 178-203v (Dorce Polo, 1999,pp. 167-184).

tribuidos por meses, suelen ofrecer para cada día letra dominical, número áureo, calendación, santoral y fiestas, fases de la Luna, fenómenos astrológicos, horas de luz y oscuridad... Entre su rica ornamentación menudean escenas de la vida cotidiana o del calendario agrícola y los signos zodiacales (Domínguez Rodríguez, 2000, pp. 9-54; Ruiz García, 2011, pp. 289-306; Campos, 2014, pp. 67-108; Planas Badenas y Docampo Castilla, 2016; Docampo Castilla, 2020, pp. 43-68. O los estudios específicos e introducciones a las cuantiosas reproducciones facsímiles).

4. SIGLOS XVI Y XVII

El Concilio de Trento dio un gran impulso a los estudios cronológicos al ajustar el calendario juliano, que se retrasaba unos tres días cada cuatrocientos años frente a la traslación terrestre, problema que ya había reconocido el Concilio de Nicea (325) y que en vano se intentaba solucionar desde la Plena Edad Media[8]. Se encargó la reforma al astrónomo italiano Luigi Lilio, resumida póstumamente en el *Compedivm novae rationis restitvendi kalendarivm* de 1577, y que Gregorio XIII sometió a una comisión de matemáticos, teólogos, juristas y por supuesto astrónomos –como el calendarista alemán Cristopher Clavius, que publicaría en 1603 *Romani calendari a Gregorio XIII pontifice maximo restituti explicatio*–; fue finalmente sancionada por la bula *Inter gravissimas* del 24 de febrero de 1582 (Cappelli, 1998, pp. 30-35; García Larragueta, 1976, pp. 45-47; 1998, pp. 289-290; Galende Díaz, 1999, pp. 39-56; Ruiz Morales, 2009, pp. 403-412; De Francisco Olmos, 2010, pp. 330-334; Carabias Torres, 2012, pp. 183-235). Formaba parte de esa comisión el matemático toledano Pedro Chacón.

A Escalígero (1540-1609) debemos «que la cronología se haya cimentado sobre el conocimiento de las revoluciones de los cuerpos celestes y en el análisis crítico de los monumentos de todas las edades», y él «echó las bases de esta ciencia» (Peón Rodríguez, 1863, p. 79; Floriano Cumbreño, 1946, p. 276). Ante la recién aprobada reforma gregoriana, el errátil vaivén de calendarios a lo largo de la historia y lo intrincado que resultaba poner al día una fecha antigua, propuso en el *Opvs novum de emendatione temporvm* de 1583 asignar un número consecutivo a cada día a partir del 1 de enero del 4713 a. C., y que llamó data juliana en recuerdo de César, introductor del calendario juliano. Conseguía así obviar, por ejemplo, las diez fechas suprimidas por Gregorio XIII entre el 4 y el 15 de octubre de 1582 y que a su cuenta pasaban a alcanzar nada menos que el 2299160 y el 2299161 (Muñoz Box, 2011, pp. 249-287). En la actualidad hacen algo muy parecido programas informáticos como Microsoft Excel para facilitar los cálculos con fechas, partiendo en este caso del 1 de enero de 1900.

[8] Pueden rastrearse las propuestas planteadas desde el siglo XIII hasta mediados del XVI en Kaltenbrunner, 1876, pp. 297-411; Cappelli, 1998, p. 30; García Larragueta, 1976, p. 45; 1998, pp. 288-289; Galende Díaz, 1999, pp. 38-40; De Francisco Olmos, 2010, pp. 329-330; Philipp y Nothaft, 2018.

El jesuita francés Pétau (1583-1652) cimentó las investigaciones posteriores con *De doctrina temporum* (1627), cuyos ocho primeros capítulos orientan a medir el tiempo aquilatándolo a los ciclos siderales, siguiendo o bien refutando el *Opvs novum* de Escalígero, juzgándolo, eso sí, único digno de estudio. En los cuatro siguientes muestra el devenir de los sistemas de datación aplicándoles sus cálculos. El último apartado ofrece un elenco de acaeceres hasta el año 533[9] fechados simultáneamente por data juliana de Escalígero, ciclo de la indicción y eras más conocidas. En 1633 vio la luz la versión abreviada *Rationarium temporis*. Concordó ante todo la cronología con la historia: el objeto de aquella ha de ser no tanto fechar con precisión los acontecimientos según proponía Escalígero, como acomodar el tiempo a los traslaticios de Sol y Luna. Ajusta las principales unidades (día, mes, año...) a su duración astronómica exacta y las adapta al calendario civil. Considera el año solar de César, reformado por Gregorio XIII, el método adecuado para fundamentar la datación histórica y le acomoda las fechas ofrecidas en otros sistemas (Di Rosa, 1960, pp. 3-54).

La célebre disputa entre el jesuita belga Papenbroeck y el benedictino francés Mabillon, tenida por germen de la diplomática científica, no hizo gran hincapié sobre la cronología. El *Propylaevm antiqvarivm circa veri ac falsi discrimen in vetustis membranis* que publicó aquel en 1675 enfoca la fecha hacia la autenticidad del diploma procurando que el cómputo corresponda a la época, y creyendo sospechosa una concurrencia excesiva de sistemas de datación (Santiago Medina, 2012, pp. 313, 318-321 y 325). Mabillon sí dedica a la cronología los capítulos XXIII-XXVIII de la segunda parte del *De re Diplomatica* de 1681 (171-216), aunque limitados a exponer los principales métodos aplicados (Ruiz Asencio, 2005, p. 23).

En nuestro país hubo historiadores interesados por el cómputo musulmán y su empleo en al-Ándalus. Beuter, en la *Primera parte de la corónica general de toda España y especialmente del reyno de Valencia* (1546), situaba su inicio en el 593 y declaraba cómo «todas las naciones del mundo han tenido este respecto en la cuenta de sus tiempos: que han tomado el principio de la cosa más señalada que entre ellos acaesció», y «que en el modo de contar se ha tenido mucha differencia en el mundo, contando los unos por la Luna y otros por el Sol» (ff. I-v). Esteban de Garibay dedicó el lib. 36 del *Compendio historial de las chrónicas y universal Historia de todos los reynos de España* a Mahoma y los diferentes califas andalusíes, retrasando la héjira al 617 y simplificando la equivalencia a restar 617 a los años cristianos, sin fijarse en que los lunares son más cortos (1571, vol. III, p. 950).

La *Descripción general de África* (1573-1599) de Luis del Mármol sí la contempló:

> Desde el año que Mahoma tomó las armas contra estos pueblos, que fue a los seyscientos y treze de Christo, cuentan los alárabes su miléssimo, como de cosa muy señalada, y le llaman año de la híxara (que quiere dezir de la peregrinación). [...] Y hase de tener cuenta especial para la computación destos años que los alárabes tienen

[9] En 1628 completó estos anales publicando unas *Tabulae chronologicae a mundo condito ad annum 1628* que daban cierre al *Rationarium temporis* a partir de la edición de 1703.

> año lunar y año solar: el lunar hazen de doze lunas, seys de a veynte y nueve, y seys de a treynta días, por manera que viene a ser onze días menos el lunar que el solar y en cada treynta años se ha de descontar uno menos quarenta y cinco días (f. 55).

En la *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reyno de Granada* (1600) retrasó el comienzo de la era musulmana al 621 (f. 13v). Ambrosio de Morales hizo imprimir en tres partes la continuación de la *Crónica general de España* de Florián de Ocampo; introdujo la segunda (1577) así: «De la mucha diversidad que ay en las maneras de contar los años y las difficultades que desto proceden», y al frente de la tercera (1586), que retomaba la héjira, puso: «De los años de los alárabes y la differencia que tienen con los del nacimiento de nuestro Redemptor», y copió el pasaje de la *Descripción general de África* que confrontaba año solar y lunar, pero marcó como inicio el 618.

Más preciso fue el matemático Diego Pérez de Mesa en su revisión del *Libro de las grandezas y cosas memorables de España* de Pedro de Medina:

> El año arábigo sea menor que el nuestro latino por diez días, veyntiuna horas y doze minutos de hora, [...] de manera que treynta años arábigos hazen veyntinueve años latinos y más treynta y nueve días. [...] Començaron los árabes nuevamente a contar estos años desde que el malvado y falso Mahoma publicó su venenosa seta y dio la ley de perdición a sus gentes un jueves seyscientos y veynte y un años latinos y ciento y noventa y cinco días andados de la era de nuestro Redentor Jesuchristo (1595, f. 19).

Su método de conversión es muy complejo, con más de media página de apretado texto solo para las operaciones (ff. 18-20). El padre Mariana dedicó a la cronología las partes cinco y seis del *Tractatus septem* de 1609 –«De die mortis Christi» y «De annis arabum»–, situando la héjira en los idus de julio de 622, víspera de la actual referencia, y con tablas islámicas para las eras cristiana e hispánica. Gran mérito tuvo el marqués consorte de Mondéjar Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia (1628-1708), que bebió directamente de las fuentes árabes corrigiendo ajenas traducciones y propugnó la exactitud del calendario árabe[10].

5. SIGLO XVIII

Entre 1750 y 1765 René Prosper Tassin y Charles François Toustain editaron el *Nouveau traité de Diplomatique*, que era una puesta al día de la obra de su compañero de hábitos Mabillon, pero allegando multitud de fuentes. La sección II del vol. IV (654-730) de 1759 es un tratado de datación documental que sigue adoleciendo –como el *De re Diplomatica*– de poca atención a las medidas para el tiempo

[10] Analiza circunstanciadamente la controversia sobre el calendario musulmán en nuestro país durante los siglos XVI y XVII Rodríguez Mediano, 2016, pp. 229-265.

que había añadido Pétau, pero sí hay un primer capítulo acerca de la posición de la data en el diploma, sus fórmulas, falsificaciones y ausencias.

Justifica el escaso espacio a ello dedicado por Dom Tassin y Dom Toustain la cercana publicación de sus colegas Clemencet y Durand en 1750 de *L'art de vérifier les dates*, donde sí profundizaban (Ruiz Asencio, 2005, p. 30). Había hecho el grueso de la investigación Maur Dantine para resolver los problemas de datación del ingente volumen de textos que hubo de consultar mientras colaboró con Pierre Carpentin en la reedición del colosal *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* publicado en 1678 por Du Cange. Tras su temprana muerte en 1746 (Tassin, 1770, pp. 635-638[11]), esos materiales pasaron a Clemencet y Durand, quienes remataron la obra (buscando el anonimato, la portada solo pone que fue compuesta «par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint Maur»), verdadero punto de partida de la cronología contemporánea. La edición príncipe tiene dos volúmenes: el primero analiza concienzudamente los sistemas de datación documental, da una tabla con las cronoderivaciones de los años posteriores al nacimiento de Cristo, precedida de breve explicación teórica sobre cada una de ellas; y treinta y cinco calendarios perpetuos «selon les 35 jours auxquels la fête de Pâque peut tomber» (entre el 22 de marzo y el 25 de abril), bajo los cuales rellenan los huecos un vocabulario de fiestas y días señalados, un santoral y una lista de concilios. El segundo tomo trae exhaustivas listas de cónsules romanos, papas, emperadores, reyes y nobles, con los acontecimientos ocurridos bajo cada uno de ellos fechados.

Otro benedictino, Clément, acometió la 2.ª edición (1770) y la totalmente renovada tercera (1784 y 1787). Preparó un *L'art de vérifier les dates avant Jésus-Christ* que se publicó póstumo en 1820. Saint-Allais reimprimió la 3.ª edición añadiéndole un índice de nombres propios (1819). A lo largo del siglo XIX fueron viendo la luz otros complementos: *L'art de vérifier les dates depuis l'année 1770 jusqu'à nos jours* (1821-1844, bajo la dirección de Jullien de Courcelles, Fortia d'Urban y Warden), *Supplément à L'art de vérifier les dates* (1834, de Reiffenberg) y *Dictionnaire de L'art de vérifier les dates* (1854, por Migne).

En nuestro entorno la era hispánica desplazó a la héjira como objeto de debate cronológico durante el siglo XVIII. En 1732 el cisterciense y cronista de Felipe V Yáñez de Avilés había publicado *De la era y fechas de España. Chronología española, regla de las del Occidente*, en cuyo prólogo afirmaba:

> Los españoles no hemos de juzgarnos incursos en la censura de Papebrochio, ni darnos por obligados a Mabillon en su respuesta porque, siendo el medio capital de Papebrochio la diferencia de decretos y usos de fechas y datas de otras naciones, y haviendo sido la ley y el estilo perpetuo de las datas o fechas de España el número progressivo de las eras de el César desde una hasta mil quatrocientas y veinte y una en que cessó esta época y en que se contaba año de el nacimiento de Christo 1383, sin que nación alguna aya tenido autenticación tan larga, fácil y clara, ni Papebro-

[11] Esta biografía se incorporó completa al principio de *L'art* porque «il est just de lui faire connoître celui à qui en est redevable» (x-xiv).

chio pudo envolver a España en su nota ni Mabillon abrazarla en su defensa (vol. I, sin paginar).

Sus dos volúmenes copian noticias de autores altomedievales contrastadas con otros cómputos (indicción, era cristiana, héjira y años del reinado) y embocan escollos cronológicos (monedas falsas de Herodes Antipas, nacimiento de Cristo, llegada de los musulmanes a la Península...).

En 1744 Gregorio Mayáns hizo imprimir las *Obras chronológicas* del difunto marqués consorte de Mondéjar ya citado, escritas cuatro o cinco décadas antes y que sobre la era hispánica solventaban que antecedía en 39 años a la cristiana. San Isidoro se había limitado a decir en las *Etymologiae* que «Aera singulorum annorum est constituta a Caesare Augusto quando primum censu exagitato Romanum orbem descripsit» (lib. v, cap. 36, § 4), precisando medio siglo después el arzobispo san Julián de Toledo en *De comprobatione sextae aetatis adversus iudaeos*:

> Iam vero residuus annorum numerus a tempore Nativitatis Christi usque in praesens in promptu est unicuique et scire si volet, et supputare si placet, assumptis videlicet annis secundum Aeram ab ipsa Domini Incarnatione. Aera enim inventa est ante triginta et octo annos quam Christus nasceretur. Nunc autem acclamatur Aeram esse 724. Detractis igitur triginta et octo annis ex que Aera inventa est usque ad Nativitatem Christi, residui sunt 686 anni (lib. III, § 34)[12].

El marqués interpretó que san Julián quería decir que habían pasado 38 años entre la introducción de la era hispánica y el 25 de marzo del año en que nacería Cristo, puesto que hasta tiempos de Beda el Venerable los años empezaban ese día –la Encarnación–, y, en consecuencia, la Navidad correspondía ya al año siguiente, el 39 hispánico (145-194). En el prefacio a las obras de Mondéjar, Mayáns asume similar postura, pero contando la era hispánica desde el 1 de enero:

> Esta cuenta precede treinta i ocho años i ochenta i tres días, si el año es común, o treinta i ocho años i ochenta i quatro días, si es biséxtil, al año primero de la Encarnación de Nuestro Señor, empezado a contar desde el día 25 de marzo del año en que fueron cónsules Cosso Cornelio Léntulo i Lucio Calpurnio Pisón, i treinta i nueve años justos al año del nacimiento del Señor contado vulgarmente, no desde el día veinte i cinco de deciembre sino desde el día primero de enero, del año en que fueron cónsules Cayo Julio César i Lucio Emilio Paulo (1744, p. XLIII).

Enrique Flórez dedicó el segundo vol. de la *España sagrada* a la «Chronología de la Historia antigua destos reynos», donde contradice a Mayáns al indicar que

[12] «Hallar el número de años que han transcurrido desde el tiempo de la Natividad de Cristo hasta el presente está al alcance de cualquiera, y saber y adivinar, si quiere, los años según la Era desde la misma Encarnación del Señor. Porque la Era tomó principio treinta y ocho años antes de que naciera Cristo. Ahora por tanto estamos en la Era 724. Restando treinta y ocho desde el momento en que comenzó la Era hasta la Natividad de Cristo, quedan 686 años».

la era hispánica parte del 38 a.C. –tal y como se admite hoy– considerando que, en las fuentes altomedievales,

> el usar de la voz Encarnación sea solo diferencia en la voz y no por diferencia en el día o año de Nacimiento, y aclara que los españoles [...] usaron siempre el año juliano, empezando su Era por primero de enero. [...] Los que empezaban a numerar el año por 25 de marzo y luego se passaron a 25 de diciembre y a primero de enero, estos tuvieron alteración de nueve meses, pero España, que nunca sacó el primer día de su Era del primero de enero, esta no tuvo que hacer mutación en sus años por más que se mudassen los demás (16-42)[13].

Además, incluye listas y efemérides de los reyes suevos y visigodos, y, en apéndices, explica la héjira y los ciclos de olimpiadas e indicción, y ofrece dos tablas, una con las equivalencias entre héjira, eras cristiana e hispánica, número áureo, ciclo solar, letra dominical e indicción, y otra de la calendación con las principales fiestas del año romano.

6. SIGLO XIX

En esta centuria proliferan los manuales. Abrió brecha el *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* de Ideler (hay una versión abreviada con el título *Lehrbuch der Chronologie*), inspirado en *L'art de vérifier* y cuna a su vez de la posterior bibliografía alemana concomitante (Floriano Cumbreño, 1946, p. 276). Afronta en secuencia crónica los sistemas de datación egipcios, babilonios, griegos, macedonios, sirios, hebreos, romanos, cristianos, árabes, persas y turcos, trasluciéndose incesantemente sus profundos conocimientos técnicos de mecánica celeste.

Son asimismo meritorias las obras de sus compatriotas Grotefend y Rühl. El archivero Grotefend escribió primero el *Handbuch der historischen Chronologie des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, donde abordaba los principales cómputos que hubo en Alemania durante las edades Media y Moderna; mucha más enjundia tuvo el *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*[14], cuyo primer vol. ofrece treinta tablas y un vocabulario de términos cronológicos, mientras que en el segundo se detallan los calendarios litúrgicos de todas las diócesis de habla germana. Por su parte, la *Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* de Rühl simplificó y renovó el manual de Ideler[15]. Aunque no sea específico sobre cronología, cabe citar también el *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* de Bresslau, que dedica

[13] La larga disputa entre Flórez y Mayáns puede seguirse en Mestre Sanchís, 2000, pp. 123-139.

[14] En 1898 vio la luz además una edición reducida destinada a servir como obra de consulta para los historiadores (*Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*).

[15] Véase la reseña publicada por Franz Xaver Funk en *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 81, 607-608 (1899), que reprocha sobre todo a Rühl no haber sido más crítico con la reforma gregoriana, que no tuvo en cuenta las mociones protestantes sobre el calendario.

casi ochenta páginas a facetas de la datación diplomática: obligación de fechar, posición de la data, cómputo del día y el mes, expresión del año, errores (que atribuye a fallos de lectura, inexperiencia con los cálculos o poco hábito de los copistas a los números romanos) y principales fórmulas (1998, pp. 1015-1092).

En Francia De Mas Latrie dio a la imprenta en 1889 el *Trésor de Chronologie, d'Histoire et de Géographie pour l'étude et l'emploi des documents du Moyen Age*[16], sin novedades pero consiguiendo reunir ahí muchas piezas hasta entonces dispersas. De *L'art de vérifier* reproduce literalmente los procedimientos de datación desde el nacimiento de Cristo, y la mayor parte de tablas y calendarios; para gobernantes y acontecimientos recurre a especialistas en cada territorio[17]. Demostrando su honradez, reconoce en el «Avertissement» ese carácter recopilatorio y nombra los autores.

Apenas cinco años después su ayudante Arthur Giry editó un *Manuel de Diplomatique* que, si bien aborda todos sus factores, dedica a solo la datación la mitad del texto: casi cien páginas teóricas donde anuncia: «je m'occuperai successivement des différents moyens usités pour dater de l'année, ensuite de ceux qui ont été employés pour indiquer les mois et les jours; j'y joindrai, lorsqu'il en sera besoin, les définitions, les notions techniques sur le calendrier et les démonstrations nécessaires», y prácticamente otras trescientas cincuenta a cuatro apéndices de tablas (79-173 y 175-514). La obra marcó un hito en los estudios de diplomática por su profundidad y sin cortapisas territoriales, acudiendo sobre todo a investigaciones propias, y consiguiendo resultar muy didáctica. En el apartado de cronología es impecable su doctrina técnica y muy útiles los calendarios y cuadros de conversión. Como buen diplomatista, pormenoriza las fórmulas de datación en cada época, zona o tipología documental.

En Italia Cantù dio a la estampa en 1838 una *Cronologia* donde habla brevemente de las mediciones del tiempo y los sistemas de datación, pero sobre todo ofrece listas de efemérides, gobernantes –tan dispares como faraones egipcios, grandes kanes mongoles, monarcas visigodos o presidentes de Estados Unidos– y gente ilustre, mientras que Alvino recopiló en 1891 los principales modos de datar de todo tiempo en *I calendari ossia metodi di computare il tempo dai popoli antichi e dalle nazioni moderne*. A falta de manuales específicos con hondura, resta acudir a los de diplomática, señaladamente el *Programma di Paleografia e di Diplomatica* de Paoli (1883)[18].

Tampoco en España hubo obras reseñables durante el siglo XIX salvo quizá los *Estudios de Cronología universal* de Baltasar Peón (1863). Aunque una laudatoria biografía de su paisano Francisco Vales le llama «eminente cronólogo de fama euro-

[16] Fue anterior Dreyss (1853), limitado a listas de personajes y efemérides, pero sin análisis cronológico o de datación. Otra obra similar editada asimismo en francés es la del holandés Stokvis (1888-1893).

[17] Véase la reseña del codicólogo y director de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France Léopold Delisle en *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 50, 262-264 (1889).

[18] La edición de consulta aquí fue revisada por Bascapé en 1942, que acomete: historia del calendario, era cristiana y sus estilos, indicción, otras eras, años del imperio, el reinado y el pontificado, y diferentes formas de indicar mes y día (181-238).

pea» (1976, p. 88) –y eso habiendo muerto a los treinta y dos años (1834-1866)–, el profesor Ruiz Asencio considera que «justo es decir, aporta poco» (2001, p. 94). En la primera parte define la disciplina, enumera sus fuentes (crónicas, anales, monedas, epígrafes, catálogos de dinastías, observaciones astronómicas...), observa los medios de datar desde las olimpiadas, y diserta sobre la exactitud de los cálculos cronológicos de la Antigüedad; en la segunda repasa las divisiones del tiempo, contempla las principales eras, ciclos y calendarios, y ofrece tablas de conversión. Trata en cuatro apéndices la *Crónica de Paros*, diversas obras de cronología, el fechado romano por cónsules epónimos y la era hispánica. Recopiló luego en *Una página de Cronología técnica. De los calendarios en la Edad Antigua* (1863) los artículos que había entregado a la *Revista Ibérica de Ciencias, Política, Literatura, Artes e Instrucción Pública*.

7. SIGLOS XX Y XXI

Aunque aquí veremos sobre todo manuales hispanos, son de obligada cita los clásicos *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* de Ginzel y *Cronologia, cronografia e calendario perpetuo* de Cappelli[19]. El astrónomo bohemio había ideado innovaciones para determinar la fecha exacta de los eclipses lunares, de ahí pasó a interesarse por rastrearlos en la datación histórica y elaborar una lista de acontecimientos griegos y romanos ajustados a su descubrimiento desde los testimonios más remotos; con tal apoyo revisó por completo el prontuario publicado por Ideler en 1825-1826 cuyos cálculos astronómicos había dejado él obsoletos (Baehr, 1964, pp. 405-406). Manteniendo, eso sí, estructura similar e idéntico título, entra en los modos de datación babilonios, egipcios, musulmanes, persas, indios, pueblos del sudeste asiático, chinos, japoneses y centroamericanos en el vol. I; judíos, pueblos aborígenes, romanos y griegos en el II, y macedonios, anatolios, sirios, germanos, celtas, civilizaciones medievales, bizantinos, rusos, armenios, coptos, abisinios y las reformas de las Edades Moderna y Contemporánea en el III[20]. Sobre la *Cronologia* de Cappelli decía el reconocido paleógrafo Petrucci (1975, pp. 720-721):

> Si tratta di un manuale pratico, contenente, oltre a nozioni di cronologia generale, anche le tavole cronologiche degli imperatori, dei pontefici e dei sovrani e governi di tutti gli stati europei, e inoltre i principali calendari, le festività religiose, eccetera. Concepito in modo assai chiaro, disposto funzionalmente, questo repertorio, anche se oramai invecchiato, sia perché fermo al 1929, sia perché non più aggiornato sul piano bibliografico, risulta tuttora utile e conta anche alcune parti originali, come quella dedicata ai diversi stili cronologici adoperati negli stati e città d'Italia (11-16) e d'Europa (16-22).

[19] Al igual que de su archiconocido *Lexicon abbreviaturarum. Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane* (Milán: Hoepli, 1899), también de la *Cronologia* se han publicado múltiples ediciones: 1930, 1969, 1978, 1983, 1988 y 1998.

[20] El más reciente manual alemán sobre Cronología es el de A. von den Brincken (2000).

Cito otros cuatro prontuarios italianos: L. Todesco e I. Daniele (1957), M. del Piazzo (1981), F. Maiello (1957) y R. Capaso (2000).

Aparte de Alemania e Italia –y por supuesto España como veremos enseguida–, Francia tiene la otra gran escuela europea sobre diplomática, pero después de las meritorias páginas de Giry en 1894 no ha creado manuales sustanciales de solo cronología. No queda pues sino acudir a los más generales como el de Boüard (1929, 293-318) o el de Guyotjeannin, Pycke y Tock, aunque tampoco se explayan sobre la cuestión (1993, 50-62). A nivel práctico pueden citarse las tablas pascuales de Maillard (1967, 903-917).

Aunque el *Curso general de Paleografía, y Paleografía y Diplomática españolas* de Floriano incluyó ya en 1946 un «buen capítulo» (Ruiz Asencio, 2001, p. 94) sobre datación (breve bibliografía comentada, eras, ciclos, cómputo de mes y día, y fórmulas documentales hispanas; 275-315), la obra propulsora en España fue el *Manual de Cronología española y universal* editado en 1952 por Jacinto Agustí, Pedro Voltes y José Vives. Según explica Vives en el preámbulo, fueron su embrión «unos tratados de hemerología»[21] que presentó Agustí ante la Escuela de Estudios Medievales del Instituto de Historia Jerónimo Zurita, cuya dirección decidió publicar, pero acompañados de unas listas de gobernantes de todo el orbe, que hizo Voltes, «para tener así un manual español de cronología» (5). Coronó el libro una primera parte del propio Vives sobre el santoral y los calendarios litúrgicos hispanos, encabezada por una síntesis de la teoría hemerológica: «teniendo en cuenta que el valioso trabajo del señor Agustí estaba redactado principalmente pensando en lectores ya conocedores de cálculos matemáticos, nos pareció conveniente resumir en un capítulo preliminar la explicación de los mismos problemas de manera sencilla y práctica para estudiantes e investigadores que quieren ahorrar tiempo» (5). El profesor Ruiz Asencio lo cree «de obligada consulta para los estudiosos del Alto Medievo, aunque su utilidad se reduce desde el momento en que se pierden –es algo inevitable– las cartulinas sueltas que van intercaladas en el texto» (2001, p. 94), auxiliares al consultar las tablas, y José María de Francisco dice que «es muy bueno, en especial para las datas relacionadas con los cómputos cristianos» (2010, p. 15).

Retomó el tema tras un cuarto de siglo el catedrático García Larragueta, autor de «dos manuales –son algo más– que, bien asimilados, ayudarán a adentrarnos por camino seguro en la intrincada selva que ofrece (sic) en datación los documentos hispanos», publicaciones «sin discusión las más claras y accesibles, que además aportan muchísimos ejemplos para compararlos con las definiciones teóricas» (Ruiz Asencio, 2001, p. 94; De Francisco Olmos, 2010, p. 15). De la *Cronología (Edad Media)* decía su colega en la Universidad de Valencia José Trenchs que «es obra de un diplomatista y tiene una finalidad eminentemente didáctica. Es el manual por excelencia para los cursos de Diplomática», censurándole que «no contempla ni estu-

[21] La Real Academia Española ignora aún este cultismo del griego ἡμέρα *–día–* definidor de la disciplina reservada al estudio científico del calendario (expresión de días y meses, determinación de la Pascua y el resto de las fiestas móviles, calendario litúrgico, edad de la Luna...).

dia la datación por los años de los reyes francos, utilizada en Cataluña durante la Alta Edad Media» (1989, p. 18)[22]; teoriza de entrada sobre ciclos, eras, calendarios, cronomediciones, cómputos medievales, y brinda un completo conjunto de tablas. *La datación histórica*, editada al poco de jubilarse (Ostolaza Elizondo, 2005, p. 11), recoge esa teoría anterior y refuerza su carácter pedagógico añadiendo al principio nada menos que mil seiscientas datas indicando colección diplomática y equivalencia a cómputo actual, propuestas como ejercicios estudiantiles.

Al presente descuella el profesor de la Complutense José María de Francisco Olmos, autor del vademécum *Los usos cronológicos en la documentación epigráfica*, cuyas tres ediciones han ido acumulando contenidos, y que, más allá del título, trata no solo inscripciones sino todo tipo de documentos. En 2010 lo actualizó llamándolo *Manual de Cronología. La datación documental histórica en España*, y del año siguiente es una síntesis de *La datación histórica. Problemas documentales en la España medieval*. El *Manual de Cronología*, que empieza confesando su mira didáctica –«ofrecer un instrumento claro y sencillo para poder resolver las dataciones que aparecen en los documentos de nuestro entorno cultural desde la época romana hasta nuestros días»–, se distribuye en cinco apartados (Roma; cristianismo y Edad Media; calendarios musulmán y hebreo; dataciones mixtas, y cuestiones concretas de las épocas moderna y contemporánea: reforma gregoriana, inicio del año, Revolución Francesa y calendarios propuestos por dictaduras del siglo xx). Las tablas, que ocupaban buena parte de *Los usos cronológicos*, se trasladan ahora a un CD adjunto. Al margen de sus manuales, ha investigado los cómputos circunstanciales de la Edad Contemporánea (2009, pp. 265-295[23]), cuestiones numismáticas (2008, pp. 201-226; 2022, pp. 221-237, con Vico Belmonte), la aplicación de la reforma gregoriana (1997, pp. 373-380; 2004, pp. 33-44), cómo interpretar fechas incoherentes (2003-2004, pp. 1005-1018, con De Santiago Fernández; 2013, pp. 97-106), o la antigua Roma (2001; 2007, pp. 47-58).

El prontuario más reciente sobre la materia es el de Elisa Ruiz García *La tiranía del calendario. La medición del tiempo en la cultura occidental* (2023), centrado en las sucesivas formas de expresar día y mes desde Roma hasta la actualidad, con particular atención a la calendación y la datación litúrgica.

Los tratados generales sobre diplomática –además del referido de Floriano– dedican siempre un apartado a la cronología, ya sea dilatado como hacen Marín Martínez y Ruiz Asensio (1991, vol. ii, 195-212), o Domínguez Aparicio (1999, pp. 285-301), o bien limitado a unas breves páginas, caso de Tamayo López-Machuca (1996, pp. 96-102). Asimismo, ofrecen interés las entradas pertinentes del *Vocabulario científico-técnico de Paleografía, Diplomática y ciencias afines* de Riesco (2003).

[22] El comentario inicial sin la crítica fue copiado por Baiges Jardí, Cárcel Ortí, Ostos Salcedo y Sanz Fuentes, 2006, p. 569.

[23] Y disertó sobre el calendario republicano francés en el congreso *El calendario y la datación histórica*, que veremos enseguida.

Hay recursos en internet con conversores de diversos cómputos. Por ejemplo, *English calendar* permite conocer para un determinado año las principales fiestas litúrgicas, pasar fechas julianas a gregorianas y averiguar cualquier ferial[24]. El Asien Orient Institut de la Universität Zürich reduce fechas del calendario musulmán[25], y Hebcal del hebreo[26]. Calendar Converter resuelve datas julianas, hebreas, islámicas, persas, mayas, indias y republicanas francesas, además de posibilitar una hora exacta según los formatos de la norma ISO-8601 de 1988 (cuatro dígitos para el año, dos para el mes y otros dos para el día), el Tiempo Unix (segundos transcurridos desde la medianoche del 1 de enero de 1970) y el ya mencionado de Excel que parte del 1 de enero de 1900[27]. *Millesimo*, elaborado por el codicólogo francés Denis Muzerelle y alojado en la web del Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (CNRS), muestra la equivalencia entre estilos cristianos, calcula los años de emperadores, papas y reyes franceses e ingleses, da una lista de efemérides, y señala para cada día calendación, fase lunar y liturgia[28]. El Institut de Mécanique Céleste et de Calcul des Éphémérides, aparte de breves apuntes teóricos, calcula la correspondencia con el cómputo actual de fechas julianas, coptas, musulmanas, hebreas y republicanas francesas[29]. La descarga de la aplicación *Calendar Magic* hace posible cualquier equivalencia entre los veintitrés sistemas que recoge. Para más detalles sobre conversores informáticos, remito a De Francisco Olmos (2010, pp. 382-383).

Más allá de los manuales, en 2011 el área de Ciencias y Técnicas Historiográficas de la Universidad Complutense centró sus jornadas anuales en *El calendario y la datación histórica*. Aparte de una conferencia del astrónomo Javier Alcolea y de varias ponencias acerca de epigrafía, en el campo de la diplomática intervinieron el propio José María de Francisco (calendarios de la Revolución francesa), Juan Carlos Galende (almanaques españoles de los siglos XVII y XVIII), Fátima Martín (cómputos judío e islámico), Fernando Muñoz (la data juliana) y Elisa Ruiz (calendario litúrgico).

La cronología forma parte del temario de cursos especializados como la escuela de verano complutense *Documentación y escritura: Paleografía, Diplomática y Archivística*, dirigida por Juan Carlos Galende, que se celebró anualmente entre 2004 y 2019; impartía la materia José María de Francisco, partícipe también en otros seminarios sobre datación histórica como el reciente *Usos cronológicos en la documentación medieval hispana. Problemática*, que tuvo lugar en el Instituto Padre Sarmiento en junio de 2022.

No existen revistas privativas de cronología documental. *KronoScope. Journal for the Study of Time*, publicada desde 2001 por la International Society for the Study of Time y dedicada al estudio del tiempo en general, no ha editado ningún

[24] http://www.aulis.org/EnglishCalendar/.
[25] https://www.aoi.uzh.ch/de/islamwissenschaft/hilfsmittel/tools/kalenderumrechnung/hegira.html.
[26] https://www.hebcal.com/hebcal.
[27] https://www.fourmilab.ch/documents/calendar/.
[28] http://millesimo.irht.cnrs.fr/.
[29] https://promenade.imcce.fr/fr/pages2/277.html.

artículo de datación, aunque de vez en cuando trae alguna reseña sobre nuevos libros *ad hoc*. El vol. 157 (1999) de la *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, coordinado por École Hubert, se titulaba *Construire le temps*; en el primer tomo (Edad Media) participaron sobre documentación Favreau (datas en las inscripciones medievales francesas), Tock y Guyotjeannin (estilos de la era cristiana en textos franceses de los siglos XI a XVI), y De Solan (modificación del calendario propuesta por Runen en 1444), mientras que en el segundo cuerpo (Moderna y Contemporánea) figuraron Delatour (adopción en Francia de la reforma gregoriana), Sarrazin-Cani (almanaques parisinos del siglo XVIII) y Poulle (tabla con letra dominical, Pascua, epacta y primera luna llena de la primavera de 1971 a 2300). Obviamente distintas reuniones científicas y revistas sobre el Medievo, la Modernidad, historia en general, diplomática, codicología... aceptan entregas puntuales de cronología, alguna de las cuales veremos a continuación.

Menudean los trabajos sobre aspectos concretos de datación histórica. Temática recurrente de nuestra historiografía ha sido el modo diacrónico de fechar en el ámbito de la Península: era hispánica (Vives Gatell, 1961, pp. 473-475; D'Ors y Pérez-Peix, 1962; Ferrari Núñez, 1969, pp. 139-166; Torres Rodríguez, 1976, pp. 733-756; Iglesias Gil, 1989, pp. 325-338), comienzo del año (García Larragueta, 1975, pp. 125-146; Domínguez Sánchez, 2002, pp. 169-180), reforma gregoriana[30], calendario musulmán (Pereda Roig, 1941; Ocaña Jiménez, 1946; 1981; Ubieto Artur, 1984) o diversos cómputos de las crónicas medievales (Ortega Cervigón, 1999, pp. 9-40). También han sido objeto de buen número de estudios por parte de investigadores españoles y extranjeros los calendarios prehispánicos[31] inca (Zudeima, 2010; Ortiz García, 2012, pp. 111-124), maya (Thompson, 1943; Lounsbury, 1978, pp. 759-818; De Rojas y Gutiérrez de Gandarilla, 1982, pp. 173-185; León Portilla, 1994; Valencia Rivera, 2019, pp. 103-138) y mexica (De Rojas y Gutiérrez de Gandarilla, 1983, pp. 27-42; Prem, 2008; Tena, 2008; Kruell, 2017, pp. 135-164). Otros se detienen en territorios o períodos concretos (Cabanes Pecourt, 1975, pp. 103-110; Miranda García, 1996, pp. 85-92), en particular los reinos cristianos occidentales de la Edad Media[32] o las complicadas datas de los diplomas condales catalanes –años de los reyes francos, Encarnación florentina (Trenchs Ódena, 1989, p. 19; Baiges Jardí, Cárcel Ortí, Ostos Salcedo y Sanz Fuentes, 2006, pp. 626-627) y desajustes en la era hispánica debidos quizá al poco uso que se hacía de ella (De Santiago Fernández, 2003, pp. 260-261)–. En este campo no podemos olvidar el esfuerzo de síntesis del profesor Ruiz Asencio en «La medida del tiempo en la España cristiana en el año 1000» (2001), ni el artículo de Saraiva «A data nos documentos medie-

[30] Aparte del ya citado artículo del profesor De Francisco Olmos, véanse Comas, 1957, pp. 207-215; Galende Díaz, 1999, pp. 37-56.

[31] Son buenos referentes de conjunto Caso, 1967; Edmonson, 1988.

[32] Casi todos los repertorios diplomáticos comentan junto al texto los problemas cronológicos que puede presentar; por lo mucho editado y la categoría científica de sus autores es primordial la colección *Fuentes y estudios de Historia leonesa* del Centro de Estudios e Investigación san Isidoro. Además: Domínguez García (1999, pp. 393-400).

vais portugueses e asturo-leoneses» (1943), trabajo muy útil sobre cronología pese a su antigüedad, que analiza exhaustivamente todos los problemas que puede presentar la calendación medieval y cuyas deducciones pueden extrapolarse a otras zonas.

Y sobre los aspectos diplomáticos de la fecha ya hemos visto sus potenciales elementos (palabras introductorias, tenor documental, ferial de la semana, día, mes, año, *regnante*, data tópica y referencias históricas), en particular para la documentación latina altomedieval (Ávila Seoane, 2011, pp. 107-134; 2013, pp. 9-42; 2015, pp. 349-367; 2016; 2018, pp. 71-106; Cabezas Fontanilla y Ávila Seoane, 2011, pp. 59-120).

8. CONCLUSIÓN

De la revisión historiográfica que fundamenta este artículo se deduce que las obras sobre cronología tuvieron inicialmente una finalidad práctica: aplicar los saberes astronómicos y matemáticos a facilitar cálculos lo más sencillos posible para hallar la equivalencia entre diferentes cómputos o determinar en qué fecha caían las fiestas móviles del calendario litúrgico cristiano. A partir del siglo XVII se vincula a otras ciencias: primero a la historia gracias a Pétau, pionero en elaborar un elenco de los diferentes sistemas de datación empleados a lo largo del tiempo, y después a la diplomática de la mano de Mabillon (recordemos que todo documento, para ser considerado válido, debe ir fechado). Pero hay que esperar a mediados de la centuria siguiente para que los maurinos Clemencet y Durand conviertan la cronología en una verdadera disciplina empírica fijando los contenidos de los manuales que se han seguido publicando prácticamente hasta nuestros días: explicaciones teóricas sobre mecánica celeste, métodos de datación histórica, calendarios perpetuos, tablas de equivalencias y listas de gobernantes y acontecimientos; aquellos autores más vinculados a las ciencias y técnicas historiográficas añaden capítulos específicos sobre posición de la fecha en el diploma, fórmulas para expresarla, diferencia entre los momentos de la *actio* y la *conscriptio*, concurrencia de diversos cómputos... Entrado ya el siglo XX la edición de prontuarios, aunque de vez en cuando siga viendo la luz alguno meritorio, se irá complementando con la de artículos en revistas científicas y actas de congresos que abordan cuestiones propias de la materia.

Aparte de las figuras fundamentales de san Isidoro y Alfonso X durante la Edad Media, puede entenderse que la historiografía cronológica hispana comienza en el siglo XVI, preocupándose sobre todo por temas propios de la península ibérica. De ahí que el primer gran asunto fuera el calendario musulmán y su uso en al-Ándalus, tratando de precisar durante todo el Quinientos el punto de partida de la héjira y de encontrar una fórmula relativamente sencilla para reducir las fechas árabes lunares a las nuestras solares. En el XVIII en cambio el interés se trasladó sobre todo a la era hispánica, cuenta característica de Castilla, León, Aragón y Portugal hasta bien avanzada la Baja Edad Media, y diversa de la cristiana del resto de Europa. Tras un parón durante el XIX, los siglos XX y XXI han alumbrado obras fundamentales que han renovado la cronología española, ya sean manuales convenientemente ajustados a la metodología contemporánea de esta disciplina (primero el de Agustí, Voltes y Vives,

luego los de García Larragueta y el profesor De Francisco) como artículos y diferentes aportaciones acerca de cuestiones concretas que, en buena medida, siguen vinculadas a nuestro territorio: era hispánica, calendarios musulmán y prehispánicos, cómputos utilizados por los cronistas, problemas de la calendación medieval... Dado que buena parte de los investigadores proceden del campo de la diplomática, la manera de reflejar la fecha en los documentos también ha sido tratada de forma relevante.

La inasequibilidad ante conceptos cronológicos de nuevo cuño ha dejado asimismo curiosas huellas literarias. Por ejemplo, la perplejidad –recogida por López de Gómara en su *Hispania victrix*– de la tripulación de Juan Sebastián Elcano al desembarcar tras haberle ganado un día al Sol circunnavegando el globo hacia el oeste, replicada por Julio Verne en *Le tour du monde en quatre-vingt jours* (1872) para permitir a Phileas Fogg ganar su apuesta a los caballeros del Reform Club. Similarmente Umberto Eco imagina en *L'isola del giorno prima* (1994) al náufrago Roberto de la Grive remiso a alcanzar a nado la cercana isla que divisa desde el Daphne pese a estar agotando el agua y las provisiones, pues, conocedor de que en medio está el antimeridiano o línea internacional de cambio de fecha, teme que, si desde el barco no se ve a sí mismo en la costa –donde es un día antes–, quiere decir que se ha ahogado por el camino.

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DANZA Y CULTURA VISUAL: REFLEXIONES SOBRE PERFORMATIVIDAD DE LA IMAGEN, CUERPOS FEMENINOS EN MOVIMIENTO Y EMOCIONES

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Resumen

El artículo propone algunas consideraciones sobre el rol, significado y agencia de las imágenes coreomusicales en la cultura visual de la Edad Media. Teniendo como punto de partida el concepto de imagen-danza se reflexiona sobre el giro performativo en los estudios de historia del arte, sobre la relación entre las representaciones de danzas en la cultura material medieval y su capacidad narrativa. Una aproximación antropológica permite también leer las escenas coréuticas como figuras y símbolos vinculados con la ritualidad tanto en el ámbito sagrado como en la esfera laica. Superando la dicotomía entre danzas licitas e ilícitas, el artículo propone una interpretación de las figuras femeninas danzantes como vehículo y expresión de emociones, encarnadas en la danza misma y en los ojos de quien la danza observa como espectador.

Palabras clave: iconografía de la danza, cultura visual, cultura material, historia cultural de la danza, arte medieval, emociones.

DANCE AND VISUAL CULTURE: REFLEXIONS ON THE PERFORMATIVITY OF THE IMAGE, FEMALE BODIES IN MOTION, AND EMOTIONS

Abstract

The paper presents some considerations on the role, meaning, and agency of dance images in the Visual Culture of the Middle Ages. Taking the concept of dance-image as a starting point, it reflects on the performative turn in art history studies, on the relationship between representations of dance in medieval material culture and their narrativity. An anthropological approach also allows us to read choreographic scenes as figures and symbols linked to rituality in both the sacred and secular spheres. Overcoming the dichotomy between licit and illicit dances, the article proposes a reading of female dancing figures as a vehicle and expression of emotions, embodied in the dance itself and in the eyes of those who observe it as spectator.

Keywords: dance iconography, visual culture, material culture, cultural history of dance, medieval art, emotions.

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INTRODUCCIÓN[1]

Hace ya unas décadas que historiadores del arte, antropólogos e historiadores se ponen preguntas sobre la naturaleza de la imagen medieval. ¿Cuál es su estatuto ontológico?, ¿qué nos puede trasmitir, ¿cómo interactúa con el observador?, en síntesis, ¿a qué campo de conocimiento pertenece su estudio? Jean Wirh, Jean-Claude Schmitt, Jean-Marie M. Sansterre, Jérôme Baschet, Hans Belting, Herbet Kessler o más recientemente Carla Bino, para nombrar solo algunos de los que han contribuido de forma sustancial al conocimiento de los modos y mecanismos de funcionamiento de la imagen medieval, se han puesto en repetidas ocasiones esta pregunta (Belting, 2001; Bino, 2014, 2015, 2017; Kessler, 2019; Sansterre, Schmitt, coords., 1999; Schmitt, 1996; Schmitt, 2023; Wirth, 2022). Entre otras, la cuestión de la performatividad de la imagen, de cómo aproximarnos a los gestos, esquemas y emociones que en ella se exhiben, ha abierto un debate que sigue en vigor hoy en día. Las reflexiones de Baschet sobre la imagen-objeto (Baschet, 1996), de Wirth sobre la ontología de la imagen en la Edad Media, y sobre todo de Schmitt sobre el rol de la imagen, su función, significado y efectos ayudan a clasificar las representaciones de danza como un tipo específicos de imagen que pretende emular, revivir la *performance* ritual y sus efectos en el espectador. A Schmitt además debemos una larga reflexión específica sobre la danza que empieza en su libro sobre el gesto y culmina en su más reciente volumen sobre el ritmo en la Edad Media (Schmitt, 1990, 2016). Mi objetivo hoy es insertar en esta tradición historiográfica unas reflexiones sobre el funcionamiento de las imágenes coréuticas, es decir, de aquellas representaciones que ponen en escena danzas colectivas, bailes en solitario, espectáculos festivos o procesiones, prestando especial atención a las narraciones que tienen como protagonista el cuerpo femenino. No se tratará de intentar reconstruir la praxis de las danzas medievales, de las cuales poco conocemos, sino de interpretar las imágenes y su capacidad performativa en su propio contexto cultural e histórico.

1. LA PERFORMATIVIDAD DE LA IMAGEN CORÉUTICA: LA IMAGEN-DANZA

«Il n'y a pas d'image au Moyen Àge qui soit une pure représentation»: con estas palabras Baschet emprendía su análisis de la función de la imagen en la Edad Media en un texto en el cual definía un concepto que se ha revelado clave en los estudios de iconografía: la idea de imagen-objeto (Baschet, 1996). Si las imágenes permiten, como recuerda Baschet, su uso y manipulación en el marco de los rituales sagrados y laicos de la época medieval, superando la mera representación y marcando

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Fig. 1. Bailarina con crótalos circulares, cerámica de Paterna, siglo XIV. © Museo Nacional de Cerámica y Artes Suntuarias, González Martí (Depósito Ayuntamiento de Valencia: D-536). © Maria del Mar Valls.

su significado a partir de su materialidad, me pregunto qué papel juegan las escenas de danza y *performances* coreomusicales en este horizonte interpretativo.

Antes de todo, las imágenes coréuticas estructuran, junto con los textos escritos, el discurso sobre la danza y su función en la sociedad medieval. Si consideramos la imagen-danza como paralelo de la imagen-objeto con toda su potencial agencia, dentro del contexto ritual cristiano, es posible entender cómo dichas figuras entran en resonancia con los ritos y los discursos condenatorios o positivos sobre música y danza del estamento eclesiástico. Su representación en manuscritos y objetos litúrgicos explica, comenta, glosa pasos bíblicos, así como evoca rituales corteses cuando la encontramos en artefactos destinados a las ceremonias laicas palatinas. En este orden de ideas, el dispositivo espacial es un elemento esencial para entender el funcionamiento de la imagen-danza. Utensilios como los platos de cerámica producidos en Paterna o Teruel entre los siglos XIII y XIV (Valls Fusté, 2017; 2019) a menudo decorados con figuras femeninas que tocan crótalos y danzan (fig. 1) o los bien conocidos esmaltes de Limoges, en los cuales es posible encontrar en medallones y *gemellions* representaciones de verdaderas exhibiciones juglarescas (fig. 2), circulaban en el contexto de la liturgia laica del banquete, en los interiores de los palacios y casas medievales, participando de forma activa en la construcción del rito y expresando el goce y la alegría que las reuniones corteses debían trasmitir según los tópicos literarios de la época (Buttà, 2023a).



Fig. 2. Medallón de esmalte de Limoges con escena juglaresca, 1240-1260.
© Metropolitan Museum of Art 7.190.2145.

En el espacio palatino las imágenes acaban estableciendo una correspondencia entre el rito colectivo identitario y sus gestos, entre los cuales el baile tenía un papel central. Las imágenes de danza, sin embargo, en ningún momento reenvían a un referente en la realidad, es decir, no reproducen danzas «reales», sino que conectan con el significado que la actividad coréutica tenía en su contexto sociocultural.

Asimismo, los bailes pintados en las paredes de habitaciones privadas o salas de recepción evocan rituales parecidos y reflejan el mismo interés para reiterar la liturgia autocelebrativa de las clases dominantes. Las imágenes coréuticas son fundamentales en lo que Baschet llama el arte de producir lugares o espacios: «la réflexion sur ce que fait l'image et ce qu'elle fait faire doit donc être complétée par une attention à la manière dont l'image accompagne le faire social» (Baschet, 1996, p. 12). Baschet se refiere aquí sobre todo al espacio sacro, pero ampliando esta perspectiva a los rituales laicos, no menos jerarquizados, es posible observar cómo la imagen construye espacios performativos, así que la idea de «las imágenes como intensificadoras de los espacios sagrados» se puede aplicar también a los espacios de la ritualidad laica y a los lugares ficticios, representacionales. El mismo autor advierte también que



Fig. 3. Danza cortesana, Casa de los frescos, Ossana, finales del siglo xv.

> Il convient surtout d'admettre que les images-objets sont, à des titres divers, des noeuds de relations sociales qu'elles contribuent à mobiliser ou sur lesquelles elles permettent d'influer.
> Toujours localisée, toujours en situation, l'image-relation interagit avec d'autres types d'artefacts, avec des gestes, des paroles, des sons, des voix, des odeurs, et d'abord avec des lieux qui inscrivent des personnes au sein de situations spécifiques, qu'elles soient rituelles ou non. (Baschet 2010: 14).

En castillos, palacios y casas del norte de Italia quedan varios ejemplos de pintura mural que en la estancia principal ponen en escena pausadas danzas cortesanas. Entre ellas se pueden recordar las recientemente descubiertas en el palacio Quadrio Cilichini en Chiuro, o en Contrada Prada en Valtellina, u otro en la conocida como «Casa degli affreschi» en Ossana, todas de finales del siglo xv (fig. 3).

En esta última persiste el esquema de la danza circular, mientras en las primeras dos una baja danza es protagonizada por parejas (Zeni, 2003-2004; Dradi, 2022; Spada Pintarelli, 2024, pp. 117-120). Si poco se conoce de su contexto de origen, está claro que su presencia en las salas principales de habitaciones de familias adineradas nos habla del deseo de emulación de modelos comportamentales propios de los estamentos nobles por parte de la nueva burguesía.

En definitiva, las imágenes de danza en salas de recepción en los palacios de la nobleza, pero también en casas burguesas, intensificaban la función de dicho espacio y contribuían a la construcción de la identidad de clase.

Una característica que comparten casi todas las representaciones de danzas en contextos palatinos es su ambientación *en plein air*. La asociación entre danza y jardín y más en general entre danza y naturaleza se convierte en la Edad Media en un verdadero tópico literario y figurativo (Caraffi, Pirillo, 2017). Las danzas asocia-



Fig. 4. Danza morisca, tablero de juego, 1450 ca., marfil y madera, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Firenze, Collezione Carrand 155.

das al jardín reiteraban antes de todo el vínculo entre movimiento coréutico, armonía y naturaleza, aludiendo a las actividades de ocio y placer propias de la nobleza.

Las imágenes de danza en la naturaleza resignifican el jardín paradisíaco para convertirlo en un espacio heterotópico de la ritualidad laica: así se manifiesta, entre otros lugares, en la cultura literaria y visual vinculada con el Roman de la Rose (Buttà, 2023b) y más tarde en las vigorosas representaciones de las llamadas danzas moriscas (Sparti, 1996, pp. 42-61; Queruel, 1998, pp. 499-518; Forrest,1999; Nevile, 2004, pp. 12-57; Lorenzetti, 2023, Molle, 2005, pp. 42-59) que podemos encontrar en diferentes objetos de la cotidianidad laica[2]. La domesticación de la naturaleza es condición necesaria para que la danza tenga lugar y a su vez es ella la que define el espacio, lo resemantiza. El baile, en cuanto gesto, estructura un espacio que es litúrgico, vinculado al rito cortés. La naturaleza es entonces lugar y figura donde se desarrolla un diálogo entre el cuerpo danzante, como cuerpo social y su entorno. En las representaciones de la llamada danza morisca el jardín se convierte en la clave para entender un movimiento ritmado y convulso que es esencialmente figura de la fertilidad y del amor. La relación entre danza y naturaleza se desarrolla en la Edad Media en múltiples direcciones, coincidiendo a veces las dos en cuanto símbolos de la fuerza generadora de vida.

En un tablero de juego de la mitad del siglo xv conservado en el Museo del Bargello de Florencia, se representan tanto una danza morisca como un elegante y mesurado cortejo de parejas que ejecuta una baja danza (figs. 4-5), ambas ambien-

[2] No entraré aquí en la cuestión no del todo resuelta sobre el origen de esta danza ni de sus múltiples léxicos, para la cual reenvío a la bibliografía citada. Me centraré más bien en sus representaciones visuales y los significados que conllevan.



Fig. 5. Escena de danza, tablero de juego, 1450 ca., marfil y madera, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Firenze, Collezione Carrand 155.

tadas en un florido y vívido jardín. Paula Nuttal ha demostrado, hace ya algunos años, que las escenas del tablero florentino aluden al hecho amoroso y a la fuerza procreadora del acto sexual del cual la danza es figura y metáfora (Nuttal, 2010).

La morisca y la *Bassedanse* en el siglo xv acabarán sustituyendo la carola en el imaginario dancístico de las decoraciones domésticas. Se las puede encontrar tanto pintadas en las vigas de techos de madera como en objetos de uso simbólico o cotidiano, como cajas y espejos o en manuscritos (Santarelli, 2000: 39-50; Molle, 2005: 42-59). Su difusión se puede explicar a partir de los espectáculos en los cuales profesionales de la danza se exhibían en desenfrenadas moriscas en las cortes europeas y a su afirmación como baile tanto en contexto popular como noble en fiestas, carnavales, celebraciones de bodas o procesiones religiosas como el Corpus Christi (Sparti, 1996: 42-61; Nevile, 2015: 597-612; Molle, 2005: 42-59; Cieri Via, 2023: 239-249; Nocilli, 2005: 1691-1706).

En Italia, la morisca acabará ocupando también las fachadas de edificios como es el caso de la Casa Fontana o Casa Do en Alba (Piemonte) (figs. 6-7).

Aquí en un friso de finales del siglo xv que corre a lo largo de la primera planta compuesto de tejas de terracota se exhiben danzantes y *putti* en varias actitudes y gestos. Interpretar el zócalo arquitectónico como una simple decoración parece reductivo. Habrá que reconocer a las imágenes de morisca y de danza en general en estas peculiares ubicaciones un poder apotropaico y performativo orientado a la protección de la casa y de sus habitantes en virtud de su alusión al poder regenerativo y vital del amor y del encuentro sexual que la danza representa. Los cascabeles que decoran los vestidos de hombres y mujeres acentúan la dimensión sonora y festiva y por ende su función performativa. Las imágenes, además, acaban entrando en diálogo con el espacio externo donde la danza en festividades públicas podía tener lugar, estableciendo así un vínculo entre lo representado y lo performado.



Fig. 6. Friso con morisca de la Casa Fontana o Casa Do en Alba (Piemonte), finales del siglo xv © Licia Buttà.



Fig. 7. Friso con morisca de la Casa Fontana o Casa Do en Alba (Piemonte), finales del siglo xv © Licia Buttà.



Fig. 8. Danza de la Muerte, casa canonical de la iglesia colegial de Saint-Salvi, Albi, Francia, segunda mitad del siglo xv. © Georges Puchal.

Otro significativo ejemplo se encuentra en Albi, en Francia, en la casa canonical de la iglesia colegial de Saint-Salvi, de la segunda mitad del siglo xv, en cuyas vigas a una más claramente identificable *Danse Macabre* se acompaña una danza de la vida, introducida por la personificación femenina de Naturaleza que conversa con la Muerte (figs. 8-9).



Fig. 9. Danza de la vida, casa canonical de la iglesia colegial de Saint-Salvi, Albi, Francia, segunda mitad del siglo xv. © Georges Puchal.

Como han puesto en evidencia Pierre Olivier Dittmar, Adrian Belgrano y Lennie Rollins, las dos formas de danza se contraponen la una a la otra, siendo esta representada como una vigorosa moresca, asociada a la idea de cortejo y pulsión sexual, ambos orientados a la generación de nueva vida (Belgrano, Dittmar, Rollins, en prensa). Un *apax*, como escriben los autores, que reitera el sentido general de las moriscas representadas en los objetos mencionados antes. Una danza de celebración de la vida a través del amor y su fuerza que se opone a los efectos devastadores de la muerte[3]. Una lectura antropológica que exalta el valor simbólico de la representación de la morisca como baile de fertilidad y procreación.

La alegría y el placer están intrínsecamente vinculados con la *performance* del cuerpo musical rodeado por la naturaleza. Si el goce en la literatura cortés es el primero de los sentimientos asociados a la nobleza y a la juventud, la danza representada tiene el poder agente de trasmitir dicho goce y por lo tanto deleitar a quien mira. El placer, por el otro lado, está íntimamente ligado a la exuberancia y a la vivacidad de la naturaleza. En una red inextricable el cuerpo y la naturaleza se manifiestan a través de la danza. Las imágenes de la morisca acabarán habitando también objetos de pequeño formato, como cofres de marfil y hueso, espejos y peines destinados a mujeres, ulteriores ejemplos de cómo la cultura visual urbana y de la nobleza vinculada a los espectáculos acabará circulando en ámbito privado, manteniendo, sin embargo,

[3] En territorios franceses e italianos es posible encontrar varios ejemplos de danzas moriscas representadas en techos en el interior de casas y palacios. Entre ellos citaré el bien conocido caso de las tablas hoy conservadas en el Museo Civico d'Arte Antica de Turín, hoy descontextualizadas de su emplazamiento de origen Santarelli, 2000, pp. 39-50.



Fig. 10. Libro de horas, danza morisca y Virgen en el *Hortus Conclusus*, ms 358, fol. 25r, cuarta década del siglo xv, Morgan Library de New York. ©Morgan Library de New York.

toda la fuerza simbólica expresada en el arte monumental. Este aspecto persiste en la vertiente teatralizada de los espectáculos públicos en los cuales la morisca acaba siendo protagonista, como figura de la identidad cívica, pero también de la otredad coréutica, encarnada no solamente por el salvaje, sino también por la omnipresente imagen del loco que danza (Nevile, 2004, pp. 141-143, Arcangeli, 2018, Antoine-König, Le Pogam, 2024 en particular: Clouzot 2024, pp. 194-195).

La morisca mantiene este significado de exuberante celebración de la vida también en diálogo con imágenes sagradas. En dos libros de horas destinados a la devoción privada conservados en la Morgan Library de New York, ambos de origen francés, realizados alrededor de la cuarta década del siglo xv, el ms. 157 fol. 119 y el ms 358, fol. 25r, atribuido a Barthélemy d'Eyck, la morisca se presenta como elemento celebrativo de la imagen de la Virgen con el niño, así como las volutas vegetales habitadas por danzantes intensifican la imagen del *Hortus Conclusus* en el cual está situada la figura sagrada (figs. 10-11).



Fig. 11. Libro de horas, danza morisca y Virgen en el *Hortus Conclusus* adorada por ángeles, ms. 157 fol. 119, cuarta década del siglo xv, Morgan Library de New York. ©Morgan Library de New York.

A una naturaleza controlada fuera del tiempo se contrapone así la vigorosa naturaleza asociada a la morisca. Los bailarines sustituyen aquí los alegres pastores que a partir del siglo xv celebran la llegada del Salvador. Su visión acompañaba la plegaria y la complementaba: las dos oraciones asociadas a las miniaturas hacen referencia a la Virgen como *genitrix*, y fuente de vida, una imagen reiterada, de alguna manera, por las prósperas y enérgicas representaciones de la naturaleza y del baile[4].

[4] En el Morgan Library ms 157 fol. 119 la miniatura representa uno de los goces de la Virgen. En la inscripción se lee: DOULCE DAME DE MISERICORDE MERE DE PITIE FONTAIN E DE TOUZ BIENS. En el ms. 358, fol. 25r, la inscripción reza: O INTEMERATA ET IN ETERNUM BENEDICTA SINGULARIS ATQUE INCOMPARABILIS DEI GENITRIX UIRGO MARIA.

Como en el caso de cualquier otra imagen-objeto, también para el análisis de la imagen-danza será por lo tanto necesario considerar el «dispositif spatial, temporal et ritual associé à son fonctionnement» (Baschet 1996, p. 13). Las imágenes de *performance* interactúan con el campo del imaginario y por ende sobre el espectador como figuras ideales del rito mismo, así como las representaciones de danza que expresan un significado esencialmente negativo ponen en escena una ritualidad inversa de la cual huir.

2. DANZA Y NARRATIVIDAD: EL CASO DE SALOMÉ

Las representaciones de danza vinculadas al hecho narrativo dramatizan el mito y la historia, le rinden *performance*. En este contexto hay que entender la danza como forma simbólica de la concepción del cuerpo y del rito (Le Goff, 2005: 111-125). Así, las imágenes de danza vinculadas con los relatos bíblicos por un lado y con los relatos corteses por el otro, funcionan como modelos.

Todas, imágenes de *performance*, alejándose de otro tipo de representaciones, hacen hincapié en la vertiente teatralizada, espectacularizada de la narración. En esta óptica no hay dudas de que podemos entender estas imágenes como performativas, es decir, con una incidencia en el espectador, con una carga agentiva que permite clasificarlas como imágenes que crean, como las palabras, actos, sean estos últimos rituales, devocionales o vinculados a la reacción emotiva de quien las observa (Austin, 1962). Cuando una iconografía está vinculada firmemente a un texto los dos contribuyen a la acción performativa y a su recepción, si la imagen se desvincula del texto normativo o de referencia, la *performance* representada produce un efecto o acción diferente: es el caso de la iconografía de la Salomé danzante en la tradición occidental y en la bizantina. En la primera, la escueta narración evangélica en *Marcos* (*6, 17-28*) y *Mateo* (*14, 3-11*) ha dado pie a un fragmento de narración que centra en el acto coréutico el desarrollo del martirio de Juan Bautista. Es la danza de la *puella*, de la joven hija de Herodíades, que provoca la muerte del precursor y así se representa en la tradición visual occidental.

Sin embargo, la lectura iconográfica de la Salomé danzante medieval está fuertemente contaminada por la imagen de la *femme fatale* decimonónica, una lectura que distorsiona el papel que jugó la representación de la joven en el relato y en la cultura visual medieval, donde la danzante es eminentemente vehículo para que se cumpla el martirio de Juan, y al mismo tiempo para que ese martirio dé paso a la creación de su reliquia y a la predicación de Cristo. En las palabras más violentas de los Padres de la Iglesia, como aquellas de Juan Crisóstomo y Ambrosio de Milán, Salomé es figura pasiva del pecado, objeto de lujuria del padrastro (Baert, 2014; Klapisch-Zuber, 2017: 186-197; Voyer, 2013: 69-100). Sus movimientos y gestos están vinculados, más que a su voluntad, a la naturaleza maligna de la madre. Por otro lado, visualmente es siempre elemento deíctico del martirio y muerte del santo. Así que para toda la Edad Media el gesto danzado de Salomé se tendrá que contextualizar en el marco del discurso hagiográfico y de la reflexión antropológica que veía en el gesto de Salomé la presencia de lo diabólico y la persistencia de las prácti-



Fig. 12. Historias del Bautista, dintel del tímpano del baptisterio de Parma, siglo XIII. © Licia Buttà.

cas paganas vinculadas con los banquetes y a las danzas, por lo menos en las representaciones más antiguas (Webb, 1997, 2012; Gauthier, 2008). La exhibición del cuerpo femenino se asocia, en el discurso de la Iglesia, con la incitación al pecado, generando un modelo coréutico persistente en el tiempo, con paralelismos juglarescos (Buttà, 2022, pp. 86-94). En el baptisterio de Parma, por ejemplo, es el diablo, colocado a las espaldas de la joven, quien dirige sus gestos (fig. 12).

La cuestión de la danza es tan relevante para la Edad Media porque implica el uso del cuerpo, receptáculo del alma. Su empleo impropio genera preocupación en el contexto de la exégesis y en aquello litúrgico donde cada gesto corresponde estrictamente a un código controlado y finalizado: el *habitus* (Tronca, 2022). El cuerpo femenino danzante, escapando de esta estricta regla, manifiesta una autonomía expresiva que no puede sino ser condenada (Pietrini, 2010, pp. 233-258). El gesto danzado es en este sentido una acción a contracorriente, indisciplinada, especialmente hacia la Iglesia, porque con él se visualiza una autonomía del cuerpo que revela ser dependiente de otro aspecto: lo diabólico. En definitiva, la representación del gesto coréutico deviene figura de lo subversivo a ojos de la Iglesia.

Podríamos definir, llegados a este punto, la danza de Salomé como una danza-relato que funciona de bisagra narrativa. La escena del banquete marca un punto neurálgico de la narración, a partir del cual un cambio importante tendrá lugar. En el caso de las representaciones de Salomé en la cultura visual occidental, la danza provoca la muerte del Bautista, y marca el inicio, como hemos dicho, de la narración de la vida pública de Cristo.



Fig. 13. Danza de Salomé, capitel n. 14 de la galería norte del Claustro de Monreale, Sicilia, siglo XII. © Cenobium Project. https://cenobium.isti.cnr.it/monreale/capitals/N/N14Sh13.

En la iconografía bizantina, junto con el discurso linear que ve la exhibición de la joven como causa principal del martirio, a partir de finales del siglo XII se desarrolla una variante, conocida como «segunda danza», en la cual Salomé entra en escena danzando con la cabeza del Bautista sobre su cabeza. Una de las primeras atestaciones se encuentra en el capitel con la historia del Precursor en el claustro de Duomo de Monreale, en Sicilia. El capitel cuenta con muchos detalles la vida del santo, siguiendo modelos bizantinos, y presenta una esbelta Salomé que se acerca a la mesa presidida por Herodes con un plato sobre su cabeza que contiene la testa del Bautista. Esta, llevada triunfalmente, pone el acento sobre la reliquia objeto de veneración. La danza, en otros términos, se hace vehículo del triunfo de Juan sobre la muerte (fig. 13).

La cabeza aquí no es el premio para la danza, es, más bien, la causa de la *performance* triunfal. El cuerpo danzante de Salomé es la antítesis del cuerpo muerto del Precursor, el cuerpo del pecado se contrapone al cuerpo santo y, de alguna forma, propicia su trasformación en reliquia puesta en el centro de la narración. No existe por lo tanto una danza de Salomé desvinculada de la cuestión litúrgica, así como el movimiento corporal funciona siempre como antítesis de la inmovilidad del cuerpo sagrado, tanto en la tradición occidental, que insiste prevalentemente en la narración evangélica, como en la variante bizantina, que aparece, desde el punto de vista iconográfico, a partir de final del siglo XII.

3. GESTO Y RITO

En un artículo pionero de 1966, «Ritualized Gesture and Expression in Art» Ernst H. Gombrich, reanudando las reflexiones ya expuestas en el libro Art and Illusion, afirmaba que

> the painter's starting-point can never be the observation and imitation of nature, all art remains what is called conceptual, a manipulation of a vocabulary, and even the most naturalistic art generally starts from what I call a schema that is modified and adjusted till it appears to match the visible world [...] Both the rhetorical and the anti-rhetorical, the ritualistic and the anti-ritualistic are in a sense conventions (Gombrich 1966, pp. 393-401, 395, 399).

Los gestos de la danza representada durante toda la Edad Media se tienen que considerar *schemata* significantes (Catoni, 2008), cuya interpretación se tendrá que extrapolar una vez reconstruida la arqueología de dicho gesto (Schmitt, 1981, pp. 377-390; Schmitt, 1990, 2016). Gombrich en la misma ocasión apuntaba a la estricta relación existente en arte entre gesto y ritual, un razonamiento que se puede aplicar con interesantes resultados a la producción figurativa vinculada con la expresión coréutica. Para el autor, las raíces de la expresión en arte están en el vínculo que este mantiene con el rito. Dicho de otro modo, si los gestos rituales expresan y producen emociones, se puede afirmar que las poses vinculadas a la danza actúan de forma similar.

En otro artículo, de 1964, «Moment and Movement in Art» (Gombrich, 1964, pp. 293-306), Gombrich había ido al corazón del problema de la representación de lo performativo, y por ende de la danza, en el sistema de las artes figurativas, preguntándose sobre los límites de la imagen a la hora de visualizar tiempo y ritmo y sobre la relación entre lo performativo y lo narrativo. El autor sugería que el movimiento representado puede ser integrado por la mirada del espectador. Las historias de Salomé danzante, o de Miriam exultante después del pasaje del mar Rojo, se convierten en metonimia de todo el episodio, estimulando la memoria del observador y su capacidad de completar el gesto, el movimiento y la misma historia, así como se completa una frase dejada a media por los puntos suspensivos.

Muchas imágenes de danza en este sentido funcionan como iconotextos dado que la representación coréutica se pone a la confluencia entre texto e imagen, narración y contemplación. En algunos casos son imágenes-archivo que atesoran una memoria gestual que puede llegar de la *performance* viva, pero también de la tradición visual y de la *pathosformel* del gesto danzado. Así, el análisis sobre las representaciones de danza en la Edad Media se ubica en la intersección entre los estudios performativos, los estudios de historia de la danza y la cultura visual (Schechner, 2013). Se trata de un sistema simbólico que se encarna en la representación del cuerpo danzante. De ese modo, dichas imágenes evocan a menudo, más allá de las prácticas cultuales, también las reflexiones sobre la figura en movimiento y el cuerpo procesional.

Las imágenes de danza en este contexto adquieren estatuto propio, ya que hay que colocar su ontología entre lo performativo y lo ritual, entre lo metafórico y lo real, entre la figura y el sentido literal, ofreciendo un abanico de significados

complejos no solamente en relación con lo que representan o supuestamente representan, sino con su propia presencia.

Llegados a este punto, para adentrarnos ulteriormente en la que podemos definir la cultura visual de la danza en la Edad Media, habrá que distinguir entre dos categorías de imágenes: la danza-relato y la danza-rito.

La primera funciona de bisagra narrativa de un episodio conocido. La escena de la danza en estos casos marca un punto neurálgico de la narración, a partir del cual un cambio importante tendrá lugar; en el marco del relato bíblico, es el caso de la recién comentada danza de Salomé. El episodio de la Carola mágica en el Lancelot du Lac es otro ejemplo significativo sacado de la literatura cortés. En este caso los eventos que tienen lugar en la foresta encantada marcan la liberación del protagonista, que podrá finalmente emprender su viaje una vez roto el encantamiento coréutico (Montanari, 2020, pp. 251-288).

La danza-rito pone en escena festividades, celebraciones, momentos litúrgicos, sagrados y profanos de especial relieve. Es el caso de la danza de Miriam o de las mujeres de Israel que acogen danzantes a David victorioso, como también de la danza de los pastores que celebran el nacimiento de Cristo (Schmitt, 1999: 969-984; Schmitt, 2001). Rituales se pueden considerar también las escenas de danza en ámbito profano pintadas en las paredes de palacios y castillos. Ritual es por excelencia la danza de la carola de amor en el *Roman de la Rose*, entendida como exaltación de las virtudes nobles, y rituales son todas las danzas espirituales evocadas por escritores y artistas en contexto paradisíaco, un ejemplo para todos: las carolas de ángeles, santos y almas de los bienaventurados en la tercera cantiga de la *Divina Comedia*, de Dante.

Las dos categorías a menudo comparten el mismo gesto coréutico que puede llegar a repetirse incluso en contextos interpretativos muy diferentes entre ellos. Para explicar la adopción de la misma gestualidad en escenarios positivos y negativos hay que considerar lo que Peter Burke, en el ensayo *Performing History* de 2005, llama la *ocasión* o el *dominio* sociocultural en el cual la *performance* tiene lugar (Burke 2005: 35-52). La danza, y en particular la carola, será por ejemplo objeto de crítica feroz en la predicación y en los *exempla* entre los siglos XIII y XIV (Belgrano, 2023: 178-225). La iconografía nos ha trasmitido varias imágenes en las cuales esta crítica se traduce en sarcasmo y mofa, a veces conviviendo con interpretaciones positivas de la misma composición. Es el caso de las múltiples escenas de danza en el Salterio inglés de la reina Maria de la British Library Royal B VII, donde protagonistas de la carola pueden ser tanto un grupo de simios como también un coro de santas que danzan guiadas directamente por la Virgen (figs. 14-15) (Buttà, 2014, pp. 109-122).

En otros términos, mientras el gesto es inevitablemente polisémico, será el discurso dominante lo que marcará su interpretación. El autor recuerda también cómo el giro performativo ha conducido finalmente a prestar atención a «the history of objects or activities that were long dismissed as trivial, including clothes, everyday language, dancing and gesturing» y «Speech, gesture, and dance are forms of performance that reveal a great deal about the culture of the performers» (Burke, 2005: 47). La inclusión del giro performativo en el ámbito de las artes visuales permite por lo tanto la reconstrucción de las dinámicas relacionales entre quien danza y el contexto cultural del espectador.



Fig. 14. Carola de simios, Salterio de la reina Maria, siglo XIV, British Library Royal B VII fol. 179v. © British Library.



Fig. 15. Carola de santas, Salterio de la reina Maria, siglo XIV, British Library Royal B VII fol. 229r © British Library.

4. EMOCIONES EN DANZA

En las dos categorías indicadas, las emociones representadas y suscitadas son sin duda el hilo conductor. Junto con el concepto de cultura visual de la danza, es posible en definitiva delinear los escenarios emocionales que esta suscitaba. Además, el espacio en el cual se desarrolla la *performance* tiene un peso emotivo en la trasmisión del significado de las imágenes. Los gestos coréuticos, en esta clave, se pueden entender como una gramática de las emociones.

La cuestión de las percepciones emotivas por otro lado está estrictamente relacionada con la experiencia de la música y de la danza en la Edad Media. Las emociones compartidas generadas por el baile y sus imágenes contribuían, por ejemplo, a la construcción de la identidad de los grupos sociales. La clase noble se identificaba

en la carola y más tarde en la baja danza, por sus movimientos rítmicos ordenados y pausados, mientras una comunidad religiosa podía ver legitimadas sus danzas a través de la visión de coros angélicos o de santos en contextos paradisíacos.

Las danzas representadas y practicadas en ámbito litúrgico o sagrado contribuían, por otro lado, al control del cuerpo, de su código gestual, y a mantenerlo aislado del deseo sensual (Mews, Williams, 2019, pp. 49-63)[5].

Las escenas coreomusicales se tienen que entender como un dispositivo en el cual juega un rol central la mirada del espectador, su capacidad mnemónica de evocar la narración vinculada a la imagen y su permeabilidad a las expresiones vinculadas al baile, sean ellas positivas de goce y felicidad, sean ellas negativas cuando en ocasiones apelan al sentimiento de culpabilidad de quien asiste a danzas prohibidas[6]. La mirada por lo tanto tiene un peso y un rol importante en las emociones provocadas por la danza. El ojo es la puerta a través de la cual sentimientos positivos y negativos, las pasiones y la lujuria entran en el espectador. No faltan las fuentes bajomedievales, especialmente los *exempla*, en los cuales este efecto emotivo causado por la vista se trasforma en el principal argumento de condena de la danza (Buttà, 2023c).

Las imágenes de danzas lujuriosas intensificaban la experiencia del pecado, así como aquellas corteses intensificaban el goce y placer. La mirada, especialmente dirigida al cuerpo femenino, por lo tanto, es vehículo de pecado. Esta cuestión es esencial en la Edad Media y tiene que ver con la activación de la imaginación, es decir, aquella facultad mental que permite visualizar lo invisible. Mirar una imagen de danza implicaba percibir movimiento y música con el ojo y el oído interior (Kessler, 2006, pp. 431-439, Williamson, 2013, pp. 1-43; Camille, 1995, pp. 120-123; Newman, 2005, pp. 1-43; Powell, Saunders, 2020, pp. 1-14). Como recuerda Carla Bino el mismo acto de ver era considerado en la Edad Media una *performance*, cuya capacidad agentiva coincidía con el poder de *activar*, de alguna manera, la imagen (Bino, 2017, pp. 69-84).

Para acabar, expondré dos ejemplos visuales, uno negativo y otro positivo que me parecen especialmente elocuentes en esta dirección:

En la vida de san Benedicto escrita por el abad Desiderio de Montecassino, traducción del II libro de los Diálogos de Gregorio Magno (Cavallo, 1989; Garbini, 2006), una visión peculiar perturba la vida monástica comunitaria a la que se entregaban el santo y sus hermanos. En el conocido Leccionario para las fiestas de los santos Benedicto, Mauro y Escolástica (Vat. Lat 1202 fol. 36r), que el abad Desiderio mandó realizar a finales del siglo XI para la abadía de Montecassino, se recoge un episodio relatado en el VIII capítulo de la vida del santo, en el cual Benedicto es víctima de la invidia y el odio de Florencio, sacerdote de la vecina

[5] En palabraS de Mews y Williams: «Liturgy served to direct the body away from sensual emotion» (Mews, Williams, 2019: 50).

[6] Analizando las imágenes coreomusicales es imprescindible tener en cuenta el término dispositivo a menudo utilizado por Baschet en sus estudios sobre la imagen concebida como un conjunto de factores que contribuyen a la eficacidad del ritual, sea de cara a las acciones del espectador, sea de cara a sus emociones (Baschet,1996, pp. 7-26). Véase también el concepto de imagen como dispositivo medial en Belting, 2008, pp. 5-28.



Fig. 16. Tentación de san Benito, *Mettener Regel* Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Múnich, BSB Clm 8201 d, fol. 24r, 1414. © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

iglesia. Este último, no habiendo conseguido matar al hombre santo, decide introducir furtivamente en el convento un grupo de siete mujeres, que danzarán desnudas en el jardín conventual con el objetivo de inducir al pecado la entera comunidad monástica.

Todavía en el siglo xv el modelo iconográfico del leccionario de Montecassino pervive en un manuscrito conservado en la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Múnich, BSB Clm 8201 d, el conocido como *Mettener Regel*, una redacción bilingüe latín/alemán de la regla de San Benito en uso en la abadía de Metten en Baviera, fechado en 1414 (Suckale, 2012, p. 40).[7] La obra fue realizada por voluntad del abad Pedro I junto con la *Biblia pauperorum* (BSB Clm 8201) conservada en la misma biblioteca.

En la miniatura al folio 24r (fig. 16) san Benito en compañía de cinco monjes desvía la mirada de la exhibición de las prostitutas que desnudas ejecutan un baile en círculo.

[7] https://daten.digitale sammlungen.de/0004/bsb00040563/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00040563&seite=51.



Fig. 17. Misal franciscano Douce 313 de la Bodleian Library de Oxford, fol. © Bodleian Library.

Aquí el movimiento coréutico ha sido cancelado con un violento gesto censorio, así que quedan visibles solo los gestos de Benito y sus hermanos para atestiguar y al mismo tiempo reprobar la fuerza negativa del cuerpo desnudo de las jóvenes bailarinas.

En el misal franciscano Douce 313 de la Bodleian Library de Oxford numerosas imágenes de danza (figs. 17-18) actúan como intensificadoras del rezo y se presentan como modelos performativos para la contemplación que conduce a la visión divina (Buttà, 2025)[8].

Todas ellas siguen el mismo esquema: en el marco de la miniatura en la parte inferior se asiste a una escena coreomusical, a menudo acompañada por la presencia de rey David músico y en la parte superior la divinidad se manifiesta entre nubes, sola o acompañada por ángeles y santos.

[8] https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/c6f86f5b-6451-45fb-89b2-ad75c1cc533f/.



Fig. 18. Misal franciscano Douce 313 de la Bodleian Library de Oxford, fol. © Bodleian Library.

En definitiva, las imágenes se convierten en un documento fundamental para la reconstrucción de la historia cultural de la danza y de las emociones y su estudio no se puede desvincular de la aproximación metodológica delineada por los estudios performativos, principalmente en función de lo que ha sido denominado performatividad de la imagen medieval y su capacidad agentiva (Dierkens, Bartholeyns, Golsenne, 2009).

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PALABRA E IMAGEN EN EL SIGLO XVI: UN MÉTODO AUDIOVISUAL EN LA EVANGELIZACIÓN DEL NUEVO MUNDO*

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Resumen

Uno de los métodos utilizados por los primeros misioneros, especialmente los franciscanos, en la evangelización de los pueblos del Nuevo Mundo se basa en la utilización de la imagen en sus más diversas formas de manifestación: pinturas, grabados, lienzos, catecismos pictográficos, etc., muy en consonancia, en gran medida, con el uso de las imágenes por parte de los indígenas en la transmisión de sus conocimientos. Dicho método, auténticamente audiovisual, es desarrollado por el franciscano Diego Valadés en su *Rhetorica Christiana*, en la que aparecen, por vez primera, veintisiete grabados, utilizados en gran parte en la evangelización y conversión de los indios.

Palabras clave: estrategias de evangelización, método audiovisual, franciscanos, Diego Valadés.

WORD AND IMAGE IN THE 16TH CENTURY: AN AUDIOVISUAL METHOD IN THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE NEW WORLD

Abstract

One of the methods used by the first missionaries, especially the Franciscans, in the evangelization of the peoples of the New World is based on the use of the image in its most diverse forms of manifestation: paintings, engravings, canvases, pictographic catechism, etc., very much in harmony with the use of images on the part of the Indians in the transmission of their knowledge. This method, authentically audiovisual, is developed by the Franciscan Diego Valadés in his *Rhetorica Christiana*, in which twenty-seven engravings appear for the first time, widely used in the evangelization and conversion of the Indians.

Keywords: evangelization strategies, audiovisual method, franciscans, Diego Valadés.

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0. INTRODUCCIÓN

El problema principal con el que se toparon quienes llevaron el mensaje evangélico a los pueblos descubiertos a finales del siglo xv fue el de la comunicación o entendimiento entre dos civilizaciones distintas y distantes[1]. Una gran parte de los modos o métodos utilizados por los primeros evangelizadores para salvar esa grieta espacial y cultural, amén de espiritual, se basa en la utilización de la imagen en sus muchos y variados aspectos: lienzos, pinturas, grabados, estampas, catecismos pictográficos, etc., muy en consonancia, en gran medida, con el uso de las imágenes por parte de los indios en la transmisión de sus conocimientos. Unas palabras de René Taylor (1987, pp. 56-57) me van a servir de marco introductorio de esta contribución:

> Para nosotros que vivimos en una época en la que los métodos audiovisuales están difundidos por el mundo entero, todo lo que nos cuenta Fray Diego acerca de los lienzos de los franciscanos nos parecerá sumamente obvio, por no decir trivial. Sin embargo, queda claro que en el siglo xvi se conceptuaba como un paso trascendental e incluso osado en la misión de evangelizar a los indios. Fue como un tiro en la oscuridad. Fray Jacobo de Testera, quien parece haber sido su inventor, no tenía ninguna garantía de que su método de instrucción se vería coronado por el éxito... Cuando decidió experimentar con los consabidos lienzos, posiblemente tendría en mente algo análogo a la *Biblia Pauperum*[2], también dirigida a personas de limitados conocimientos... Aunque orgullosamente reclama Fray Diego la invención de este método para su Orden, también añade que los frailes rezaron constantemente de rodillas a Dios, con frecuentes ayunos y desvelos, para que el Señor les enseñara la mejor manera de atraer a los indios a la fe.

En el texto de Taylor se menciona en un par de ocasiones la figura de fray Diego. Se trata de Diego Valadés, un fraile franciscano, natural de Villanueva de Barcarrota (hoy Barcarrota, Badajoz), hijo de Bartolomé Valadés e Inés Díaz, y sobrino de Diego Valadés, soldado que formó parte de las huestes de Hernán Cortés en la conquista de México. Nacería sobre el año 1533 y con apenas cuatro años marcharía con sus padres y hermanos a Nueva España, permaneciendo allí hasta su vuelta a Europa en 1571 o 1572.

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* Estas líneas son un grano de arena más, sincero y sentido, en el homenaje que se hace a Dulce María González Doreste, ejemplo de ciudadana y universitaria comprometida.

[1] Llevamos varios años interesándonos por las estrategias retóricas, de evangelización y persuasión, utilizadas por los misioneros a la hora de predicar el evangelio de Cristo. En este sentido, se han estudiado las propuestas formuladas por Bartolomé de las Casas, fray Luis de Granada, José de Acosta y, especialmente, Diego Valadés. Sobre este último, hay varias referencias en la bibliografía final, sobre todo la monografía acerca de su persona y obra.

[2] La «Biblia de los pobres», como biblia con imágenes, se desarrolló a finales de la Edad Media. Buscaba representar la Biblia visualmente, pero de forma diferente a una simple ilustración de la misma, donde en lugar de que las imágenes estén subordinadas al texto, aquí es al revés, las imágenes tienen un breve texto o no lo tienen.

Siempre en el ámbito conjetural, su familia se asentaría en una hacienda de Tlaxcala y de allí pasaría fray Diego al convento de San Francisco de México, donde aprendería «de todo» bajo la tutela de Pedro de Gante, Juan de Gaona y Juan Focher. No sabemos cuándo inició y terminó fray Diego los estudios humanísticos, y posteriormente, los de filosofía y teología. Tampoco sabemos el lugar o lugares, aunque se puede conjeturar que los realizara en los colegios de San José de los Naturales y Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, bajo la supervisión de los franciscanos arriba mencionados. Seguramente, en esas instituciones adquiriría también fray Diego los conocimientos de las lenguas indígenas, más en concreto del «náhualt, tarasco y otomí», como él mismo afirma en la *Retórica*.

Valadés haría su profesión en la Orden franciscana, alrededor de 1550, en la provincia del Santo Evangelio. Igualmente, y siempre conjeturalmente, fray Diego sería ordenado sacerdote por esa época, no antes de 1555. Siguiendo el ejemplo de otros hermanos de Orden, Diego Valadés compatibilizaría las labores de enseñanza en algunos colegios franciscanos con las de la catequesis y administración de sacramentos. En cuanto a las regiones indígenas en las que vivió y predicó, por la descripción que se hace de las mismas, serían las de la provincia de Nueva Vizcaya, que estarían habitadas por indios nómadas, semisalvajes y belicosos, de cultura tribal, los chichimecas, entre quienes pasó serios peligros (algunos compañeros perdieron la vida y él perdió su biblioteca personal).

Entre los años 1571 y 1572, Diego Valadés está en Europa, destacando su larga estancia en Roma, donde desempeñó el cargo de procurador general de la Orden. A los dos años de su nombramiento, Valadés fue cesado de manera fulminante a instancias de Felipe II; como probable razón estaría la actitud desafiante de fray Diego para con las autoridades españolas, al tratar de los asuntos concernientes a la acción misionera directamente con las autoridades pontificias y con el propio papa Gregorio XIII, dejando a un lado al Consejo de Indias. Diego Valadés, expulsado de Roma y amparado por el mismo papa en un delicado gesto político-diplomático, fue a parar en calidad de «arresto domiciliario» a Perugia, ciudad que pertenecía entonces a los Estados Pontificios. Allí, lejos de los avatares de la política, Valadés pudo terminar el sueño de juventud, iniciado en Roma, de publicar, dedicada al papa, su *Retórica cristiana* (1579), «mis primicias –dice él–, frutos juveniles iniciados por mí desde la niñez».

Diego Valadés, por tanto, se sintió siempre un habitante más de aquellas tierras en las que vivió más de treinta años. Conoció, y esto es lo que ahora interesa, las formas de expresión y transmisión de conocimientos de aquellos pueblos y la importancia que la imagen visual y la pintura tenía entre ellos; conoció su praxis, en este sentido, y participó igualmente en la puesta en práctica y difusión del método de enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana adoptado por los hermanos franciscanos, basado en auténticos instrumentos audiovisuales.

La obra por la que es conocido fray Diego es la *Rhetorica Christiana* (Perugia, 1579), una obra enciclopédica, de acusado carácter político por su dedicatoria al papa Gregorio XIII, que supera el marco tradicional de un *Ars praedicandi* (manual de predicación) y que tiene una particularidad absolutamente nueva: la de ser una obra pensada y realizada, la primera, teniendo en cuenta su experiencia en

el Nuevo Mundo. Desde este presupuesto es fácil comprender las preocupaciones que subyacen en las exposiciones doctrinales e históricas de Valadés. Ello explica, asimismo, algunas de las características que tiene la obra; entre estas destacan dos: en primer lugar, la importancia (desmesurada en comparación con otros tratados contemporáneos) que se le da a una de las operaciones retóricas, la de la memoria y, en especial, la memoria artificial, que opera en su función retentiva o memorística *per locos et imagines* (a través de lugares e imágenes); en segundo lugar, la inclusión, a lo largo de la obra, de veintisiete imágenes o grabados en cobre, la mayoría de ellos elaborados por el propio fray Diego con trazos, en unas ocasiones, europeos y, en otras, indígenas. De ahí que a la cualidad de ser la primera retórica realizada por quien vivió de cerca e intensamente la actividad evangelizadora en Nueva España por parte de los franciscanos se añada el hecho de ser la primera retórica «ilustrada». De esta forma es posible identificar en la obra dos vías expositivas: la enciclopédica y la clásico-visual. La primera implica una labor *ad intra* del predicador: este tiene que ser versado en la memorización lógica y racional de los principios generales que se aplican en la retórica; la segunda requiere una labor *ad extra*, hacia el exterior del predicador, para un auditorio indígena que aprende mensajes mediante «pinturas», o bien formas visual-figurativas que se componen de acuerdo con las reglas clásicas de la memoria artificial.

1. PALABRA E IMAGEN EN EL MÉXICO PRECOLOMBINO

Diego Valadés conoció, como se ha afirmado, las formas de expresión y transmisión de conocimientos de aquellos pueblos y la importancia que la imagen visual y la pintura tenía entre ellos. En efecto, al carecer de escritura fonética, como muy bien ha señalado López-Baralt (1988, pp. 95-99), la gran mayoría de las culturas nativas amerindias se vio forzada a confiar la transmisión de su saber a un método que ponía en juego la participación activa y combinada de los distintos sentidos, en especial el de la vista. En concreto, las etnografías tempranas para el valle de México describen la transmisión de la tradición oral por los *tlamatinime* o sabios en los centros de educación superior (*calmecac*), donde el libro de pinturas jugaba el papel principal. La imagen servía como auxiliar mnemotécnico para la conservación de la memoria colectiva: a medida que el maestro apuntaba a las pinturas del libro abierto, los alumnos cantaban con él las historias y cantares estereotipados, aprendiendo así su tradición.

El proceso de la memorización formal del saber oral de los antiguos mexicanos ha sido ampliamente descrito por los estudiosos del tema. La metáfora empleada por la poesía náhuatl para significar escritura, conocimiento y cultura en general –*in tlilli, in tlapalli* («la tinta negra y roja»)– es índice del grado en que estaban hermanados los conceptos de palabra e imagen en el México antiguo. El indio precolombino debía recurrir a largos textos de la tradición oral consignados en su memoria después de riguroso aprendizaje, que eran suscitados por las imágenes que desfilaban ante sus ojos. El arte de los manuscritos pintados (que incluía distintos tipos de códices: rituales o calendáricos, históricos, genealógicos, etnográficos, etc.) sobrevivió a

la conquista y se mantuvo vivo, con el concurso y ayuda de los franciscanos, hasta el siglo xvii. El propio Diego Valadés, como otros muchos cronistas y misioneros, descubrirá con cierto asombro que esos calendarios indígenas eran igualmente parte del arte de la memoria y ejemplos de la memoria artificial que él había estudiado con empeño en las fuentes europeas; es decir, que las técnicas mnemotécnicas utilizadas por los indígenas eran similares a las presentes en los tratados clásicos, que circulaban por la vieja Europa. Hasta él mismo construyó una especie de alfabeto de «palabras» con imágenes indígenas, sacadas de sus símbolos.

2. LOS PRIMEROS MODOS DE EVANGELIZACIÓN Y CONVERSIÓN

Como afirmamos en el inicio de estas líneas, el principal problema con el que se encontraron los primeros misioneros fue el de la comunicación. Pero estos no esperaron a saber las lenguas de los indígenas para iniciar su labor evangelizadora, sino que, desde su llegada, trataron de llevarla a cabo como fuese. De hecho, Bernardino de Sahagún (1975, p.579) afirma, refiriéndose a los doce franciscanos de Belvís, que «lo hicieron como mejor podían» y Toribio de Motolinía (1973, p. 78) recalca que los misioneros buscaban «mil modos para atraer a los indios al conocimiento de un solo Dios Verdadero». Así, echaron mano al principio de *señas y ademanes*, como afirma Torquemada (1977, v, p. 172): «Estas cosas que predicaban a los principios estos benditos religiosos, era con mudez y solas señas...». Utilizaron igualmente *intérpretes*, como nos dice Mendieta (1971, p. 225): «Y así estando el religioso presente, y habiéndole declarado al mozuelo sus conceptos en que antes le tenían instruido (como intérprete religioso), predicaba en su nombre todo lo que había dicho». Asimismo, y en un claro proceso de acercamiento a la realidad de los oyentes, los primeros evangelizadores se sirvieron de expresiones autóctonas como el canto, los versos, la danza o las representaciones teatrales. Incluso la simple memorización constituyó uno de los métodos más comunes y elementales donde el mensaje cristiano se aprendía por fijación mnemónica o «de coro», como lo demuestran diferentes documentos de la época (Sánchez Valenzuela, 2003, p. 203 ss.). Sin embargo, para una civilización donde, como se ha indicado, el libro de pinturas jugaba un papel esencial en el aprendizaje y trasmisión de conocimientos y creencias, el método más acorde a esa realidad tenía que ver con el uso de la imagen y la pintura. Y así lo hicieron muy pronto los franciscanos.

Hay que hacer, no obstante, alguna precisión. En el vocabulario de los misioneros, el término «pinturas» posee un significado que es necesario explicar para formarnos una idea más acabada del conjunto de recursos didácticos puestos al servicio de la transmisión de la fe, antes y después de que los operarios evangélicos hablaran la lengua de quienes tenían que adoctrinar. Según lo emplean las crónicas e informes, no solo designa la «escritura», sino también los «lienzos» y los «cuadros» que los religiosos ex profeso pintaron o hicieron pintar para enseñar la doctrina cristiana a medida que iban pasando de una población a otra. El contacto asiduo con los naturales y el conocimiento de los medios por los cuales ellos habían podido conservar noticia fidedigna de sus doctrinas e historias los terminó por convencer de que el

conocimiento del cristianismo también debía pasar por el sugestivo lenguaje de las imágenes visuales, siempre atrayente principio de intelección y soberano auxiliar de la memoria. De esta manera, las «pinturas» estuvieron estrechamente ligadas a la catequesis misionera en Nueva España, ya que encajaban en la idiosincrasia mental y afectiva de aquellos primeros indígenas llamados a recibir la doctrina cristiana.

Al parecer el uso catequístico de las «pinturas» pasó por tres etapas bien definidas: 1) pinturas (lienzos o cuadros) explicadas mediante gestos mímicos de los religiosos (que todavía no sabían la lengua de los indígenas) o por medio de un intérprete indígena; 2) pinturas en forma de escritura sobre papel, que pueden adquirir la forma de libros o códices (escritura «pictoideográfica» o «jeroglífica»); 3) pinturas (lienzos, cuadros, láminas) que el mismo misionero explicaba en la lengua de los neófitos (en este estadio, a diferencia del primero, se convierten en un recurso didáctico que ilustra las palabras del religioso que ahora son directamente entendidas). Así, las pinturas fueron un excelente recurso, no solamente para enseñar la doctrina cristiana, sino que tuvo una infinidad de beneficios para los evangelizadores, como bien nos dice Motolinía, que las utilizó como medio para que los indígenas dibujaran sus pecados, a fin de efectuar una mejor confesión (Sánchez Valenzuela, 2003, pp. 161-162).

3. EL *CATECISMO PICTOGRÁFICO* DE PEDRO DE GANTE

Entre las primeras manifestaciones de la utilización de la imagen como recurso didáctico y catequístico están los catecismos pictográficos y en concreto el *Catecismo pictográfico* de Pedro de Gante, conservado en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (Ms. Vit. 26-9) [fig. 1].

Pedro de Gante fue un humilde lego franciscano, pariente de Carlos V, quien le ofreció puestos destacados en la Iglesia mexicana (y que él rechazó), que llegó junto con otros dos flamencos un año antes que la misión de los «doce apóstoles»; personaje, por otra parte, sobre el que se ha extendido un silencio inmerecido y que, sin embargo, gozó de gran admiración y afecto entre sus coetáneos, como es el caso de su discípulo Diego Valadés, que le define como *maxime pietatis vir*.

El espíritu de observación y el gran respeto a la cultura autóctona al asumir de ella la peculiar y normal forma de transmisión del saber llevó a fray Pedro a componer este catecismo en pictogramas, alrededor del año 1529, en el que se advierte una sorprendente analogía con los dibujos de los códices mexicanos y en el que se contienen las verdades de fe, representadas en figuras y signos de dibujo muy simple[3]. Es un catecismo singular, por el sistema de escritura. No es el sistema alfabé-

[3] Su contenido está constituido por la señal de la cruz, el padrenuestro, el avemaría, el credo y diversas oraciones, el misterio de la Trinidad, los mandamientos de Dios y los de la Iglesia, los sacramentos y las obras de misericordia. Con la excepción de los mandamientos de la Iglesia, todos los demás contenidos se encuentran en los catecismos que conocemos desde finales del siglo xv.



Fig. 1. *Catecismo pictográfico* de Pedro de Gante (Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. Vit. 26-9). «Con la señal de la Cruz, contra nuestros enemigos, dígnate librarnos con tu mano ¡Oh, nuestro Señor Dios! Con tu nombre venerado, dios Padre Venerado, Dios Hijo venerado, Dios Espíritu Santo. Amén, Jesús». [Traducción-interpretación de J. Cortés Castellanos].

tico latino, sino el pictográfico, ya que sus elementos constitutivos no son letras, sino dibujos o pinturas, que siguen la técnica utilizada por los *tlacuiloque* (escritores, pintores) para hacer sus *amoxtli* (códices) en los tiempos precolombinos. Se trata, al fin y al cabo, de la utilización fiel del lenguaje propio de los destinatarios del mensaje, configurándose como un instrumento privilegiado en la tarea evangelizadora, exponente del uso sistemático del método audiovisual en la educación de la fe. Fray Pedro de Gante no partió de cero en su labor evangelizadora, sino que hizo una verdadera inculturación al asumir no solo el método tradicional de enseñanza de los destinatarios, sino también algunos conceptos y símbolos religiosos precolombinos. De este modo logró realizar una maravillosa síntesis. En la segunda hoja, en el anverso, encontramos una leyenda, escrita a mano, posiblemente con caligrafía del siglo XVII, donde se lee: «Este librito es de figuras con que los missioneros enseñaban a los indios la Doctrina a el principio de la conquista de Indias»[4].

[4] Este catecismo ha sido estudiado ampliamente por el Dr. Justino Cortés Castellanos en 1987, quien nos proporciona un análisis muy minucioso numerando pictogramas, comparándolos, distribuyéndolos en idénticos, semejantes o diferentes, en simples y compuestos, estáticos y dinámicos. (Véase bibliografía final).

Somos de la opinión, aunque no hay explícita mención, de que Pedro de Gante fue el primero en enseñar el mensaje cristiano a base de imágenes, a pesar de que en los textos de otros cronistas y misioneros se adjudica la utilización por vez primera de este recurso a fray Jacobo de Testera, hablándose en tal caso de «pinturas testerianas» (Sánchez Valenzuela, 2003, p. 157 ss.). Así se expresa al respecto Mendieta (1971, p. 187) sobre Jacobo de Testera y aquella primera catequesis «audiovisual»:

> Venido a esta tierra, como no pudiese tomar en breve como él quisiera la lengua de los indios para predicar en ella, no sufriendo su espíritu dilación, diose a otro modo de predicar por intérprete, trayendo consigo en un lienzo pintado todos los misterios de nuestra santa fe católica, y un indio hábil que en su lengua les declaraba a los demás todo lo que el siervo de Dios decía, con lo cual hizo mucho provecho entre los indios, y también con representaciones, de que mucho usaba.

4. EL MÉTODO AUDIOVISUAL: PATRIMONIO DE LA ORDEN FRANCISCANA

Son numerosas las referencias que, en distintas crónicas e historias, se hacen al uso de este método. Así, en el denominado *Códice franciscano* se afirma (Cortés, 1987, 70):

> Algunos Religiosos han tenido la costumbre de enseñar la doctrina á los indios y predicársela por pinturas, conforme al uso que ellos antiguamente tenían y tienen, que, por falta de letras de que carecían, comunicaban y trataban y daban á entender todas las cosas que querían por pinturas, las cuales les servían de libros, y lo mismo hacen al día de hoy, aunque no con la curiosidad que solían. Téngolo por cosa muy acertada y provechosa para con esta gente, porque hemos visto por experiencia, que adonde así se les ha predicado la doctrina cristiana por pinturas tienen los indios de aquellos pueblos más entendidas las cosas de nuestra santa fe católica y están más arraigados en ella.

Por su parte, Juan de Torquemada (1977, v, 112) se expresa en términos semejantes:

> Tuvieron estos benditos padres un modo de predicar no menos artificioso que trabajoso, y muy provechoso para estos indios, por ser conforme al uso que ellos tenían de tratar todas las cosas por pinturas, y era de esta manera: Hacían pintar en un lienzo los artículos de la fe, y en otro los diez mandamientos de Dios, y en otro los siete sacramentos, y lo demás que querían de la doctrina cristiana: y cuando el predicador quería predicar de los mandamientos, colgaban junto do donde se ponía a predicar, el lienzo de los mandamientos, en distancia que podía con una vara señalar la parte del lienzo que quería... Lo mismo hacía cuando quería predicar de los artículos, colgando el lienzo en que estaban pintados... Y en todas las escuelas de los muchachos se usaban estos lienzos, de los cuales alcancé yo algunos, aunque ya los que viven no han menester estas pinturas, por ser más enseñados y cursados en estos misterios, por la abundancia de las lenguas que ahora se saben, de que en general carecían aquellos evangélicos ministros.

Otro franciscano, Motolinía (1973,p. 60), se refiere a este mismo método, pero en su utilización por parte de los nativos:

> Una cuaresma, estando yo en Chololan, que es un gran pueblo cerca de la ciudad de los Ángeles, eran tantos los que venían a confesarse, que yo no podía darles recado como yo quisiera, y díjeles: yo no tengo de confesar sino a los que trajeren sus pecados escritos y por figuras, que esto es cosa que ellos saben y entienden, porque esta era su escritura; y no lo dije a sordos, porque luego comenzaron tantos a traer sus pecados escritos, que tampoco me podía valer; y ellos con una paja apuntando, y yo con otra ayudándoles, se confesaban muy brevemente, y de esta manera hubo lugar de confesar a muchos, porque ellos lo traían tan bien señalado con caracteres y figuras, que poco más era menester preguntarles de lo que ellos traían allí escrito o figurado; y de esta manera se confesaban muchas mujeres de las indias, que son casadas con Españoles.

Estas noticias, espigadas de diferentes textos, y mayoritariamente de misioneros franciscanos, tienen un tratamiento más cabal, razonado y estructurado en la *Retórica cristiana* de Valadés, en la que se proporcionan datos muy valiosos, que no dan otros cronistas, y, sobre todo, muestra en su obra magníficos ejemplares de esas pinturas, hechas con verdadera maestría, como diestro que era (gracias a las enseñanzas de Pedro de Gante) en el arte del dibujo y de la pintura. En primer lugar, fray Diego justifica la inserción en su obra de las consideraciones sobre la memoria artificial, que, como dijimos anteriormente, opera *per locos et imagines* (Valadés, 1989, p. 231):

> Por ello decimos que son necesarios los lugares y que son necesarias las imágenes, a fin de que aquellos hagan el oficio de papel y estas de escritura, para que quien desee recordar algo coloque bien las imágenes en sus lugares, con la debida disposición, orden y equivalencia... Por medio de las imágenes que se nos imprimen en los lugares, podemos llegar a conocer lo que en esos lugares se encuentra.

A continuación, relaciona la utilización retórica de los lugares y las imágenes con la experiencia catequética y evangelizadora de los religiosos (Valadés, 1989,p. 231):

> De ahí que los religiosos, teniendo que predicar a los indios, utilizan en sus sermones imágenes admirables y hasta desconocidas, para inculcarles con mayor perfección y objetividad la doctrina divina. Con este fin tienen lienzos en los que se han pintado los temas principales de la religión cristiana, como son el Símbolo de los apóstoles, el Decálogo, etc. Todo ello se halla dispuesto en un modo y orden muy ingenioso; este invento es, por lo demás, muy atractivo y notable, como puede verse en el Hodoepórico, es decir en nuestro *Itinerario*, y como se explicará con mayor amplitud en nuestro Catecismo.

Por otra parte, los franciscanos estaban convencidos de que utilizaban este método, no como algo ajeno, sino como algo propio, como algo de lo que se consideraban inventores, no en el sentido de haber sido los primeros en utilizarlo para transmitir la enseñanza religiosa (cosa que anteriormente hacían los *tlamatinime* con todo tipo de enseñanza), sino en el de haber iniciado en México la transmisión de la enseñanza religiosa cristiana mediante este método (Valadés, 1989, p. 231):

> Por esto los autores de tal invento son merecedores de eterna alabanza. Tal honor con todo derecho lo reivindicamos como nuestro, quienes de la Orden de San Francisco hemos sido los primeros en trabajar afanosamente por adoptar ese novedoso método de enseñanza.

De igual manera, los franciscanos dieron tanta importancia a este método de evangelización que lo consideraron no como un invento cualquiera, sino *praeter caetera elegans est et memorabile* («atractivo y notable sobre los demás»). Seguidamente, fray Diego, al reclamar para su Orden tal paternidad, censura la actitud de otros misioneros que, aprovechándose de la experiencia franciscana, se han atribuido la gloria y la fama de la invención de recurso (Valadés, 1989, p. 231):

> Viene al caso hacer mención de las publicaciones y grabados que con tan gran aceptación de todos se han estado publicando y por los que se nos ha hecho gran injusticia, puesto que otros se han atribuido a sí mismos la gloria y la fama, aprovechándose de nuestros propios trabajos, siendo así que fuimos nosotros quienes descubrimos ese procedimiento de enseñanza y lo hemos promovido con frecuentes ayunos y desvelos y orando de rodillas ante Dios nuestro Señor, para que, por especial favor divino y no por el trabajo humano, Él se dignase mostrarnos cuál sería el camino más apto para que aquella gente que llevaba una vida propia de las bestias y estaba entregada por completo al dominio del demonio, pudiese ser atraída al conocimiento del Dios verdadero, autor del cielo y de la tierra.

Por esta razón, los franciscanos juzgaron necesario registrar dicho método como descubrimiento suyo ante el Consejo de Indias (Valadés, 1989, p. 231):

> Por esa razón fue enviado [tal método] al Consejo de Indias por conducto de los religiosos, como puede verse en las pinturas que se insertan en nuestra obra. No querría que eso se entendiera en el sentido de que pretenda hablar mal de los inventores del arte calcográfico, que fueron muchos y han existido desde muy antiguo, sino que lo que afirmo es que el uso de ese arte en la enseñanza, y su método de adaptación, se debe atribuir a los religiosos de nuestra Orden. Aunque incluso aquí muchos han realizado pinturas semejantes (pues no cuesta trabajo ampliar lo que una vez se ha inventado), nosotros, como no andamos en busca de las alabanzas del vulgo, nunca escribimos tal cosa con intención de darla a la publicidad.

Diego Valadés afirma «como puede verse en las pinturas que se insertan en nuestra obra». En efecto, se muestra gráficamente lo dicho en un grabado de su *Retórica cristiana* («Dios creador, redentor y remunerador») [fig. 2] que recoge las etapas bíblicas de la creación del universo desde los ángeles, el hombre y los diversos animales hasta los vegetales (algunos netamente americanos) y en el que se hallan dibujados, en el margen izquierdo, cinco sellos pertenecientes al Consejo de Indias (no olvidemos que cinco eran las llagas de Cristo, símbolo de la Orden franciscana), marcas políticas del registro y aprobación, por parte del Consejo, de las teorías y metodologías de los evangelizadores franciscanos. Por cierto, tales sellos se asemejan al reverso de las primeras acuñaciones hechas en México, conocidas como monedas de Carlos y Juana (Cortés, 1987, p. 58).



Fig. 2. Grabado. «Dios creador, redentor y remunerador» (*Retórica cristiana*, Diego Valadés).

Fray Diego termina su exposición del método empleado por su Orden diciendo de él (Valadés, 1989, pp. 231-233):

> Este método era sumamente apto, porque el éxito alcanzado en la conversión de las almas por medio de él fue muy alentador. Pues siendo [los indios] hombres sin letras, olvidadizos y amantes de la novedad y de la pintura, así ese arte para anunciar la palabra divina fue tan fructífero y tan atractivo que, una vez que se terminaba el sermón, los mismos indios se ponían a comentar entre sí aquellas figuras que les habían sido explicadas.

Hay que decir, por lo demás, que las pinturas de los misioneros no se bastaban a sí mismas, pues necesitaban de la explicación hablada, de un discurso aclaratorio de la significación de los cuadros; tampoco esto debió llamar la atención de los indígenas, porque ellos también necesitaban de la enseñanza oral para completar el sentido que a sus escrituras pictóricas faltaba. Se trata, por tanto, no simplemente de un método visual, sino audiovisual en sentido estricto, pues a la contemplación de la imagen acompañaba invariablemente su explicación hecha por el misionero mismo o por medio del intérprete. En resumidas cuentas, los logros obtenidos gracias a este método fueron excelentes, como afirma Valadés, dada su adaptación al sistema de enseñanza precolombino, a la eficacia que encierra en sí mismo y a la preferencia de los destinatarios de este procedimiento[5].

[5] Las reflexiones e ideas que Valadés presenta en el seno de unas reales o supuestas disputas con otras órdenes y en un ámbito que trasciende en cierto modo el de la Orden franciscana son una

5. EL GRABADO DE *LA ORGANIZACIÓN FRANCISCANA DE LA EVANGELIZACIÓN EN MÉXICO*

Diego Valadés sabe de la importancia que para los indígenas tenía la imagen. Y prueba de ello es que él, como hemos dicho, incluye en su obra veintisiete láminas o grabados para hacer más fácil la comprensión del texto. Sus grabados o imágenes no son uniformes: a veces le interesa un dibujo minucioso y acabado; en otras desdibuja con cierta torpeza y atiende más al simbolismo del tema que a la línea. Muestran dos influencias, palpables y bien conjugadas: la europea del Renacimiento (similitud con cuadros de Durero, Lucas de Leyden y Urs de Graf) y la indígena: el modo específico de comunicación ideográfico de los pueblos precolombinos, de una parte, y, de otra, las corrientes humanistas del arte de la memoria artificial, el *ut pictura poesis* horaciano, la política tridentina del uso de las imágenes y la emblemática. La inclusión de imágenes en su retórica, en una acertada unión entre palabra e imagen, propia del movimiento emblemático, es, al fin y al cabo, la síntesis completa y compleja de su peripecia vital en los dos mundos, el nuevo y el viejo.

Como magnífico ejemplo gráfico de lo dicho está uno de los grabados más significativos de la obra valadesiana, el conocido como «Organización franciscana de la evangelización en México», realizado por el propio fray Diego [fig. 3]. Es la abigarrada imagen que Valadés presenta como «Ilustración de las actividades que realizan los Hermanos Menores en el Nuevo mundo de las Indias conforme a lo que estaba escrito: Te extenderás hacia el Oriente y el Occidente, hacia el Mediodía y el Septentrión y Yo seré quien cuide de ti y de los tuyos». Siguiendo los preceptos de la memoria artificial (*per locos et imagines*), Valadés construye un *locus*, cuya base es un atrio o pórtico, dentro de una doble hilera de árboles que describen un perímetro cuyas cuatro esquinas están ocupadas por habitaciones circulares (Chaparro, 2002, 117 ss.). Dentro del atrio, se colocan las *imagines*, estas señaladas con letras mayúsculas, de la A a la R.

En el centro, con la letra A, Valadés hace una presentación alegórica de la Iglesia novohispana, dibujada como un edificio renacentista que recuerda el proyecto de Bramante para la basílica de san Pedro[6] y que es portada en unas andas por doce religiosos que arriman lateralmente sus hombros, presidiendo la fila san Francisco y cerrándola Martín de Valencia; ambos, muestras de las dos misiones franciscanas, una refrendada por Inocencio III para Francisco de Asís y sus compañeros y otra recibida de Adriano VI para Martín de Valencia y sus compañeros; estos últimos tienen plena conciencia de estar realizando y actualizando el genuino ideal franciscano, que es el ideal apostólico.

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toma de conciencia dentro de su *Retórica* acerca del proceso de evangelización, llevado a cabo por sus hermanos de Orden, así como de los métodos utilizados por ellos desde su llegada «institucional» a las tierras de la Nueva España.

[6] Sobre el edificio se abre la Gloria y, entre sus resplandores y nubes, preside la figura sedente y majestuosa del Padre, que sostiene en el regazo a Cristo crucificado, entre las figuras orantes de María y de un ángel. En medio de la iglesia resplandece la volátil figura del Espíritu Santo, centro y alma de todo.

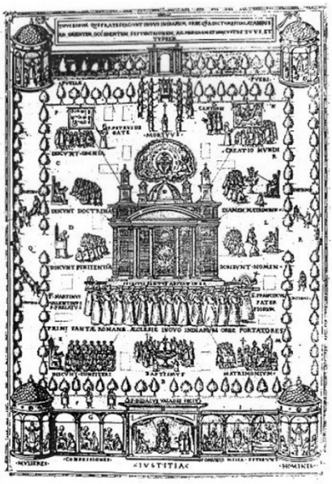


Fig. 3. Grabado. «Organización franciscana de la evangelización en México» (*Retórica cristiana*, Diego Valadés).

A continuación, vemos las diferentes imágenes que conforman el grabado, señaladas por sus respectivas letras (Álvarez; Cortés, 2021, p. 137 ss.). Así, la imagen señalada con la letra B presenta la administración del sacramento del bautismo. En la imagen marcada con la letra C se pone ante la vista de qué modo se expone la doctrina sagrada (*Discunt doctrinam*); en la imagen señalada con la D se describen las leyes de la penitencia (*Discunt penitentiam*) y se invita a los indios a rechazar su vida pasada. En la imagen signada con la letra E (*Discunt confiteri*) se hace referencia, de manera general, a la confesión, en la que los indígenas cuentan con granos de maíz (de los indios) o con piedrecitas sus pecados y las veces que los repitieron y las circunstancias, o por medio de figuras e imágenes los muestran. Las imágenes señaladas con las letras F y G (*Confessiones*) muestran cómo se colocan los que van a confesarse y los lugares de la confesión. En la imagen marcada con la letra H (*Iustitia*) se indica el lugar en donde se imparte «justicia»; a este respecto, Valadés afirma que «nosotros, los religiosos, además de la autoridad que nos ha sido conferida por la sede apostólica, escuchamos todas las controversias de los indios en cosas espirituales...». La imagen de la letra I (*Communio, Missa, Extremaunctio*) señala el oficio de la misa (incluida la comunión), a la que se añade el sacramento de la extremaunción. Mediante la imagen de la letra K se instruye el examen de los que quieren contraer matrimonio (*Examen matrimonii*); con la letra L se describe la imagen del lugar que ocupa el funcionario que anota los nombres de bautizados y casados en un libro público de registros (*Scribunt nomen*). En la imagen señalada con la letra M (*Matrimonium*) se indica la manera en que se unen en matrimonio los indios. Mediante la imagen marcada con la letra N (*Creatio mundi*) se inculca, a través de figuras y amplísimos mantos, la doctrina, a lo que añade Valadés: «Hecho esto, ellos mismos

se acercan y miran a detalle, y también así más fácilmente las guardan en su memoria, ya sea porque no conocen las letras, y también porque ellos mismos tienen este género de enseñanza...». La imagen señalada con la O muestra «el modo observado por los cantores en los cantos funerarios cuando hay que dar sepultura a los muertos» (*Cantores / Mortuus*). Con la letra P se presenta la imagen en la que se observa al hermano Pedro de Gante (*F. Petrus de Gate*), enseñando «todas las artes» a los indios (*Discunt omnia*). Las imágenes marcadas con las letras Q y R muestran el comportamiento de los indios con los enfermos, auténtico ejemplo de caridad y misericordia. Finalmente, en cada uno de los cuatro ángulos del atrio hay otras tantas *capillas*, de las que la primera es para enseñar a las *niñas* (*Puelle*), la otra para los *niños* (*Pueri*), otra para las *mujeres (Mulieres*) y la cuarta está reservada para educar a los *varones* (*Homines*). Son las llamadas capillas «posas».

Como puede observarse, este grabado es una síntesis de las acciones o ministerios que los misioneros, en este caso franciscanos, realizaban entre los indígenas. Pero no podemos quedarnos en la simple exposición o visión de las imágenes. Valadés tiene un propósito o finalidad concretos; su grabado es un resumen pictórico, representativo de la Iglesia visible que la Orden de san Francisco construyó en Nueva España. Las elecciones que él hace en la disposición de este grabado son particularmente reveladoras del mensaje que quiere transmitir a sus lectores, principalmente europeos.

Lo que llama en primer lugar la atención es que el necesario equilibrio entre los distintos sacramentos se rompe, en detrimento del bautismo y la eucaristía y a favor del matrimonio y la penitencia (Boris, 2011, p. 55 ss.). Pues bien, si el bautismo y la eucaristía están en el corazón de la vida espiritual de los creyentes, marcando uno su entrada en la comunidad cristiana y otro renovando la memoria del sacrificio que Cristo hizo por ellos, el matrimonio y la penitencia tienen una función, además de espiritual, de regulación social mucho más pronunciada. Ya no se trata de resaltar la Iglesia primitiva de los primeros evangelizadores, sino una Iglesia establecida, funcionando en el marco de las reorientaciones dogmáticas y litúrgicas decididas en el Concilio de Trento, aplicadas en Nueva España como una «ortodoxia colonial».

Así, en la imagen B, justo debajo de los doce fundadores, está el bautismo, con simplemente un sacerdote, una fuente bautismal y la familia de los bautizados cuyo número es reducido: no se pretende representar los bautismos masivos que se realizaron en Nueva España en las décadas de 1520 y 30, ya que fueron condenados por la bula *Altitudo Divini Consilii* de 1537. En cuanto a la eucaristía, es aún más discreta y solo está dibujada en una de las arcadas del pórtico de la base de la imagen, donde vemos a un sacerdote de espaldas alzando la hostia. La escena lleva como título *Missa*, y la imagen I que le corresponde solo requiere tres líneas de texto, asociando la misa a la extremaunción.

Por el contrario, el matrimonio y la penitencia ocupan un espacio visual mucho más importante en esta sintética lámina, como también en la economía de las demás ilustraciones de la *Rhetorica Christiana*. El matrimonio aparece con gran pompa en la imagen M, pero también vemos el *examen matrimonii* en la imagen K, donde el sacerdote muestra un árbol genealógico a una asamblea de indios arrodillados: les explica las prohibiciones de la consanguinidad, antes de investigar la historia familiar de los candidatos al matrimonio. Luego, entre las páginas 220 y 221

de la *Retórica* valadesiana, se inserta un nuevo grabado que imita el estilo de dibujo del arte indio, para explicarles la importancia del sacramento del matrimonio y los castigos reservados a los cónyuges infieles: la lapidación para las mujeres, a la derecha, y el tiro de flechas para los hombres, a la izquierda.

Esto corresponde a una innegable y problemática realidad misionera: las primeras dudas de los religiosos del Nuevo Mundo se centraron en el matrimonio, porque no se sabía si era necesario reconocer los matrimonios paganos de los indios. Más allá del problema puramente sacramental, para los religiosos surge evidentemente una importante cuestión social: la de promover el significado cristiano de la familia, articulada en torno a una sola pareja y a sus descendientes directos, mientras que la mayoría de las élites indígenas eran polígamas, y las prohibiciones de parentesco eran ignoradas por los indios. Esto exige un importante trabajo de investigación entre ellos, a fin de determinar quién es *cronológicamente* la primera esposa de los jefes de familia, pues este matrimonio será el único reconocido por la Iglesia según el reglamento pontificio también pronunciado en 1537 (Boris, 2011, p. 65).

Este grabado registra también otra huella de la intervención de los religiosos en las estructuras familiares y sociales de los indios, ya que la imagen L, situada en la parte derecha del grabado, corresponde a una escena titulada *Scribunt nomen*, donde vemos a un franciscano llevando una especie de registro parroquial. Esta escena está convenientemente situada entre el examen preparatorio y la ceremonia nupcial: el lado derecho de la imagen está, por tanto, enteramente dedicado al control social desarrollado por los franciscanos a través del sacramento del matrimonio. La parte izquierda, en cambio, está ocupada por otros medios de control social desarrollados por los religiosos, que Valadés decide resaltar cuidadosamente: la penitencia no solo es presentada por una escena *Discunt confiteri* (imagen E), y luego, encima, otra *Discunt penitentiam* (imagen D), sino también por las confesiones auriculares que tienen más abajo nada menos que tres arcadas del pórtico inferior (imagen G), mientras que otras personas esperan fuera para confesarse (imagen F). Este énfasis en la penitencia, en una sociedad considerada particularmente pecadora, se transmite por otros tres grabados de la *Rhetorica Christiana*: en la página 214, un pecador se debate entre los vicios y las virtudes presentados por un demonio y un ángel; y en las páginas 216 y 217, dos grabados completos están dedicados a los tormentos infernales reservados a los pecadores, bajo la mirada del diablo.

Como ocurre con el matrimonio, encontramos una realidad misionera predominante: era necesario explicar, con gran dificultad, por qué la mayoría de las conductas de los indios eran consideradas pecaminosas, pero también enseñarles a contar estos pecados con vistas a la confesión. El objetivo es, por supuesto, cristianizar la moral de una sociedad que no conoce los errores individuales y donde los propios dioses son pecadores. La *Rhetorica Christiana* valadesiana se hace eco de este enorme esfuerzo de normativización social, amén del trabajo estrictamente espiritual y teológico de los misioneros.

La explicación del dogma no está ausente, sin embargo, en la *Rhetorica Christiana*: los reproches a los bautismos masivos hechos por los dominicos y agustinos a los franciscanos en la década de 1530, ratificados por la bula de 1537, incitaron a los frailes menores a reforzar su catecumenado, que está representado en

este grabado en la imagen C, *Discunt doctrinam*. Pero esta educación religiosa no es la única preocupación de los misioneros. Justamente arriba, en la imagen P, se incluye la escena *Discunt omnia*, y al otro lado del grabado, en la imagen N hay una escena titulada *Creatio mundi*. La enseñanza del dogma católico se sitúa, pues, entre otras enseñanzas, sin ser particularmente destacada por la línea de Valadés. La «creación del mundo» se enseña por separado, mediante un gran cuadro expuesto por el sacerdote ante una multitud de adultos y niños: es él quien explica cómo se creó el mundo en seis días. Esta enseñanza a través de imágenes, fue desarrollada, como hemos dicho, por uno de los primeros religiosos en llegar a México, en 1523: Pedro de Gante. Fue él, como se ha dicho, quien enseñó dibujo y grabado a Diego Valadés. Crearon juntos un taller para enseñar estas técnicas gráficas a los indios y esto es lo que vemos simétricamente, al otro lado del grabado, bajo el título *Discunt omnia*: el propio Pedro de Gante enseña a los indios delante de un gran cuadro en el que se colocan herramientas. Vemos hasta qué punto esta imagen de la acción de los franciscanos en Nueva España ofrecida al público europeo va más allá del marco de la simple evangelización, sino que muestra la forma en que los religiosos ordenaron, incluso crearon, toda la sociedad novohispana.

Finalmente, otro detalle del grabado corrobora el análisis hecho de este documento como un verdadero manifiesto de la joven sociedad novohispana, en cuya creación y desarrollo tuvieron tanto que ver los religiosos: en la parte inferior de la placa, justo debajo de la firma de Valadés (F. DIDACUS VALADES FECIT), se encuentra en medio del pórtico una sala más grande que las demás, donde vemos a un franciscano administrando justicia (imagen H, leyenda *Iustitia*). En el cuerpo del texto, Valadés obviamente especifica que se trata solo de justicia en lo espiritual: ¡es difícil admitir que personas religiosas hicieran justicia en lo temporal en un reino bajo el dominio de la corona de España! Pero el efecto es, no obstante, sorprendente y ayuda a reforzar la idea de que los franciscanos «controlaban» en gran medida la sociedad dentro del marco de su provincia eclesiástica, cosa que sin duda no gustaría a los representantes de la corona española. De hecho, Gerónimo Mendieta, al utilizar esta lámina para su *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (así como otras tres láminas de la *Rhetorica* de Valadés, borrando su nombre), se esmera en retirar este detalle.

6. CONSIDERACIONES FINALES

Fray Diego testimonia con sus imágenes y grabados el éxito franciscano en sus tareas evangelizadoras y, particularmente, en la aplicación del método audiovisual, frente a quienes intentaban defender la idea de un mundo oscuro e idolátrico donde poco o nada habían servido dichos métodos. Para ello, contribuye a la polémica ofreciendo una visión pacificadora e idealizada de la «evangelización-conquista» a través de un discurso figurativo que narra la «historia de la defensa-propaganda de los métodos evangelizadores franciscanos», basada en la idea de afabilidad y mansedumbre; un lavado de cara al catolicismo, ajeno ya a ese momento en el que el predicador se hacía compañero del soldado. Prueba de esto también son los adjetivos que el franciscano utiliza para describir a los caballeros convertidos y educados en el



Fig. 4: Grabado. «La enseñanza religiosa a los indios por imágenes» (*Retórica cristiana*, Diego Valadés).

Nuevo Mundo: un rostro dulce, bello, un cuerpo excelente tanto en lo ecuestre como en lo militar, varones dotados de las virtudes de la naturaleza, varones muy graves, etc. Características que los convertían en perfectos miembros del Reino milenarista, dignos de merecer el *genus angelicum* para la ansiada *restitutio chistiana*. Se afirma así en el destinatario del grabado, mayoritariamente el público europeo (aunque no en exclusividad), la idea de un triunfo universal de la fe católica en tierras lejanas y extrañas, cuya salvación atribuye al esfuerzo pionero de la «misión de los Doce» y a la esperanza providencialista de la purificación de la Iglesia.

De ese Nuevo Mundo y de sus pacíficos habitantes es, finalmente, clara muestra el grabado «La enseñanza religiosa a los indios por imágenes» [fig. 4], donde, efectivamente, puede identificarse la explicación de los momentos esenciales de la Pasión de Cristo, posiblemente también por parte de fray Pedro de Gante, y en cuyo auditorio se encuentran, en perfecto orden, los jueces de la «república de los naturales», provistos de sus varas, y tras ellos los hombres, mujeres y niños nativos, en una actitud receptiva y pacífica.

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JORGE CASTRIOTA, SKANDERBEG, UN HÉROE ALBANÉS DEL SIGLO XV EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMÉRICA (SEPTIEMBRE, 1945)

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Resumen

El propósito de este trabajo es el análisis de la imagen que se ofrece del célebre albanés del siglo xv Jorge Castriota, Skanderbeg, en una historieta publicada en la revista *Real Life Comics* en septiembre 1945, para tratar de comprender cómo pudo ser recibida e interpretada por el público coetáneo y con qué fin pudo haberse elaborado.

Palabras clave: Jorge Castriota, Skanderbeg, cómic, Albania, segunda guerra mundial.

GEORGE KASTRIOTI, SKANDERBEG, AN ALBANIAN HERO OF THE 15TH CENTURY IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (SEPTEMBER, 1945)

Abstract

The purpose of this work is to analyze the image offered by the famous 15th-century Albanian, George Kastrioti, Skanderbeg, in a comic strip published in the magazine *Real Life Comics* in September 1945, to try to understand how it could have been received and interpreted by the contemporary public, and for what purpose it could have been created.

Keywords: George Kastrioti, Skanderbeg, comic, Albania, second world war.

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0. EL CÓMIC Y LA ACTUALIZACIÓN DE LA EDAD MEDIA DURANTE LA SEGUNDA GUERRA MUNDIAL

Es incuestionable que el Medievo es un período histórico que de forma recurrente ha sido objeto de actualizaciones de índole varia con las que se ha intentado responder a cuestiones candentes o bien se ha empleado para establecer relaciones de semejanza, no pocas veces peregrinas, entre acontecimientos o personajes contemporáneos y medievales[1] ¿Por qué? Porque no cabe duda que, como afirmó Chr. Dawson ya en 1932, en la Edad Media se encuentran «nuestros orígenes»: «it was the most creative age of all, since it created not this or that manifestation of culture, but the very culture itself -the root and ground of the subsequent culture achivements», (Dawson, 1956, p. 15)[2]; y, en ella, por tanto, tratamos de hallar «las respuestas», como arguyera U. Eco: «In short, this is where modern Western man came to maturity, and it is in this sense that a model of the Middle Ages can help us understand what is happening in our own days» (Eco, 1987b, p. 75)[3]. Los testimonios sobre el «uso» o «recurso» al Medievo son abundantes y se documentan en muchas áreas, como, por ejemplo, en el cómic[4].

En el cómic, en tanto que literatura de masas, en que se muestran modelos ideológicos que tienen por objeto la configuración o reconfiguración del imaginario[5], la Edad Media ha estado muy presente por medio de creaciones, recreaciones o reproducciones, con grados diversos de fidelidad a los hechos tratados. Las historietas

[1] Para una visión de conjunto remitimos a Marshall (2007) y Di Carpegna Falconieri (2020).

[2] También Eco sostendría que «The Middle Ages are the root of all our contemporary "hot" problems, and it is not surprising that we go back to that period every time we ask ourselves about our origin» (Eco, 1987a, p. 65); al igual que Le Goff «[...] ces siècles (IVe-XVe siècle) ont été essentiels, et que, de tous les héritages à l'œuvre dans l'Europe d'aujourd'hui et de demain, l'héritage médiéval est le plus important. / Le Moyen Age a mis en évidence, et souvent constitué, les caractéristiques réelles ou problématiques de l'Europe: l'imbrication d'une unité potentielle avec une diversité fondamentale, le métissage des populations, les divisions et oppositions Ouest-Est et Nord-Sud, l'indécision de la frontière orientale, le primat unificateur de la culture» (Le Goff, 2003, p. 5).

[3] También resulta muy útil Aurell (2025).

[4] Entre otros, sirvan, como ejemplo, la forma en que, después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, se recurrió al Medievo para 'reorientar' la imagen de la caballería y de su ética en la sociedad de postguerra, y para resituar el papel de las fuerzas armadas en el nuevo contexto internacional (Contreras Martín y Ruiz Cantero, 2023); o el uso de esa época por Walt Disney (Sanfilippo, 1993); o cómo se ha empleado el término 'cruzada' para aludir a acciones militares actuales llevadas a cabo contra grupos o estados musulmanes (Elliott, 2017).

[5] Tal y como argumentara Eco (1965,pp. 226-227): «Che infine questa letteratura di *massa* ottenga una efficacia di persuasione paragonabile solo a quella delle grandi raffigurazioni mitologiche condivise da tutta una collettività, ci viene rivelato da alcuni episodi altamente significativi. Non si pensa qui alle mode che ne derivano, agli oggetti fabbricati ispirandosi ai personaggi piú celebri, dagli orologi col quadrante illustrato dall'immagine dell'eroe, alla cravatte e ai ninnoli; si pensa invece a casi in cui tutta l'opinione pubblica ha participato istericamente a situazioni immaginarie create dall'autore di *comics* come si participa a fatti che toccano da vicino la collettività, dal volo spaziale al conflitto atomico». Por su parte, Gubern (2006, p. 12) afirmó que «Y si interesante es el estudio de la semiótica del cómic, no menos interesante es su análisis sociológico, porque los cómics, como todos los medios

han demostrado su eficacia en la difusión y modulación de «ideas», pues, ya desde sus inicios en los Estados Unidos de América, habían servido para la «aculturación de los inmigrantes»[6], debido a su lenguaje sencillo, comprensible para cualquiera, y a la combinación entre el texto y las imágenes con un evidente componente expresivo[7].

Dada su enorme capacidad como medio de transmisión 'ideológico', el tebeo ha resultado tremendamente eficaz en épocas de guerra para lograr el apoyo incondicional de la población y su cohesión frente al enemigo[8], tal y como sucedió en los Estados Unidos de América durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial, en la que incluso los héroes y superhéroes sufrieron un proceso de militarización[9].

Una muestra ejemplar de la presencia y uso del Medievo en el cómic es la revista *Real Life Comics*, que entre septiembre de 1941 y septiembre de 1952 incluyó dieciséis historietas: catorce protagonizadas por personajes históricos, una por uno legendario, y otra dedicada al mundo de la caballería. Y es precisamente una de estas historietas protagonizadas por personajes históricos, la dedicada al héroe albanés Skanderbeg, la que será objeto de estudio en este trabajo.

1. UN HÉROE ALBANÉS, SKANDERBEG, EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE AMÉRICA

En septiembre de 1945 de *Real Life Comics* (n.º 25), apareció la historieta «Skanderbeg, Hero of the Balkans» (pp. 15-21)[10]. En siete páginas y treinta y tres viñetas, se trazaba una breve semblanza de Jorge Castriota (Gjergj Kastrioti)[11], Skandeberg, un caudillo albanés del siglo xv (¿c. 1405?-1468)[12].

La figura de este héroe albanés no era desconocida en los Estados Unidos de América. A su conocimiento había contribuido la publicación del poema *Scanderbeg*

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de la cultura de masas, o bien reflejan la realidad social (aunque sea de un modo oblicuo o distorsionado), o bien reflejan su imaginario (sus aspiraciones y frustaciones)».

[6] Como sostiene Gubern (2006, p. 12): «Sabemos que en Estados Unidos cumplieron la importante función de contribuir a la aculturización de los inmigrantes que sabían poco inglés, porque no leían libros, pero veían películas y miraban los cómics».

[7] Véase las interesantes reflexiones de Davis (2005).

[8] Como sostienen Jorge Alonso y García López (2006, p. 38): «Es en este momento cuando el cómic se revela como una vía rápida, de fácil codificación y de amplio alcance para sensibilizar a la población, tanto joven como adulta».

[9] Según recuerda Gubern (2006, p.13): «Durante la II Guerra Mundial se asistió a una verdadera militarización de los héroes dibujados, como Flash Gordon, Superman o Capitán América, nacido en 1941, con la función específica de hacer frente a los alemanes y japoneses, en una función que renacería, aunque algo más atenuada, durante la guerra de Corea».

[10] Se presentaba la historia como «More than five hundred years ago, this national hero of Albania led his valiant countrymen in their first war against oppression and established a tradition that still burns in the hearts of modern Albanians», (*SK*: V1, 1). Véase imagen 1.

[11] A partir de ahora *SK* y se indica la viñeta (V) y la página.

[12] Para su semblanza, remitimos a Noli (1993), Hodgkinson (2004), Vaccaro (2013) y Brakob (2018).

(1873), de Henry Wadsworth Longfellow[13], y la intensa labor divulgadora e incluso propagandística llevada a cabo por Fan S. Noli ya desde su famoso discurso del 8 de septiembre de 1918 en Devens (Massachusetts) a las tropas de origen albanés integradas en el ejército expedicionario estadounidense destinadas a combatir en Europa, y a las que alentaba a comportarse como Skanderbeg[14]. Asimismo, sin duda, habría que añadir la constante presencia de la figura de Skanderbeg entre la minoría albanesa que se mostró siempre muy activa en dar a conocer a su héroe nacional y a una de las obras que lo consagraban, el poema heroico *Historia e Skënderbeut* (Bucarest, 1889), de Naim Frashëri, en el que se recogían y ensalzaban las hazañas del héroe[15].

1.1. La historieta de Skanderbeg y su vida

Se trata una historieta en la que la 'biografía' del héroe se contruye por medio de elementos históricos y de ficción. He aquí la relación de los hechos: 1. Albania es el primer país europeo invadido por el fascismo[16]; 2. En 1414, Jorge Castriota[17] es enviado por su padre a Krujë, residencia de su tío, para que lo adiestre[18]; 3. Su padre le advierte de la necesidad de ser fuerte para oponerse a los enemigos y él lo acepta[19]; 4. El sultán Mehmet I inicia la invasión de Albania y ataca Krujë, tras el colapso del Imperio mongol[20], y los albaneses rinden la ciudad[21]; 5. Pese a la rendición de su tío, Jorge Castriota no acepta doblegarse y ataca al comandante del ejército otomano, quien lo desarma con facilidad[22]; 6. Su tío intercede por él y el comandante otomano, admirado por su valentía, decide trasladarlo a Estambul como rehén[23]; 7.

[13] El poema fue traducido por Fan S. Noli y publicado en edición bilingüe con un comentario, *Skenderbeu*, Libraria Popullore, Boston, 1916.

[14] Véase Dodona (1996). Además, no debe olvidarse que Noli se ocupó del personaje en su tesis (Noli, 1945), que posterioremente aparecía como libro (Noli, 1947).

[15] Una síntesis de su argumento y una buena antología del poema en Frashëri (2024, pp. 71-97).

[16] «But with Albanian patriots still resisting Hitler's overwhelming armies, it might be well to learn how these sturdy Balkan muntaineers won their liberty -- and why hety are determined to keep it», V1, 15.

[17] En la historia se le nombra primero como «George», a continuación como «Iskander Bey» y, por último, como «Skanderbeg».

[18] «FATHER: –You must go to your uncle's stronghold at Krokja -- and learn to bear your arms proudly -- and honor our name», V2, 15.

[19] «FATHER: –Only the weak have enemies. / GEORGE: –I know nothing now but yours wisdom and courage! I'll go to Kroja, father», V3, 15.

[20] «When the mighty Mogul Empire of Tamerlane collapsed, Turkey began the reconquest of Eastern Europe! / Only a few weeks after George Castriota left for Kroje... the troops of Mohammed I overran Albania!», V4, 16.

[21] «As victorious Ottomans marched into the castle court», V6, 16.

[22] «UNCLE: –It is bitter lad -- but you must learn to accept defeat manfully! / GEORGE: –After I have fought my utmost, yes -- but not until then!», V6, V7 y V8, 16.

[23] «UNCLE: –Spare him, Ismet Bey! The boy is headstrong -- and eager to prove his daring! / ISMET BEY: And so he has! With the right master -- such courage could make him great! He shall

Jorge Castriota se convierte al islam y debido a sus habilidades militares, se le otorga el sobrenombre de «Iskander Bey»[24]; 8. El sultán lo envía como comandante para reprimir una revuelta serbia en los Balcanes[25]; 9. Permanece fiel al sultán durante quince años[26]; 10. Janos Hunyadi, comandante húngaro, lanza una campaña contra los otomanos y derrota a Skanderbeg[27]; 11. Skanderbeg duda de estar luchando en el bando correcto[28]; 12. Doce oficiales albaneses se rebelan y abandonan el ejército otomano. Skanderbeg se ofrece a perseguirlos y, cuando los encuentra, se une a ellos y albaniza su sobrenombre[29]; 13. Los doce oficiales y Skanderbeg regresan a Albania, donde recuerda que ya han pasado treinta años desde que fuera entregado a los otomanos. Los trece, pese a su escaso número, deciden enfrentarse a los turcos[30]; 14. Skanderbeg y los otros doce, por medio del engaño acceden a la fortaleza de Krujë, y, tras combatir bravamente, la toman[31]; 13. Cientos de jefes albaneses secundan la revuelta, pero las disputas internas merman su eficacia[32]; 14. Skanderbeg

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be sent to Istanbul as a hostage -- and live with my family! He shall be reared as a noble youth deserves -- provided Albania reamins placid under Turkish rule!», V9 y V10, 17.

[24] «Converted to the Moslem faith, learning the Turkish language, George slowly forgot his homeland! / As Iskander bey -- the young Albanian became and officer of the Ottoman army», V11 y V12, 17. Cabe notar que la adquisición de este nuevo antropónimo, Skanderbeg, vino dada porque los turcos, debido a las grandes victorias militares que había obtenido y a su destreza en el arte de la guerra, pasaron a llamarle «Iskander Beğ» (El Gran Alejandro) por emulación con el monarca macedonio Alejandro Magno de quien lo hacían compatriota. Véase Contreras Martín (2021: 73).

[25] «SULTAN: –The Serbian chieftains have risen against us! You shall command and army in the field! / ISKANDER BEY: –May I prove worthy of the honors you bestow, radiant one!», V12, 17.

[26] «Fifteen years later... OTTOMAN: –You have proved a great general and a wise governor, Iskander Bey! For a foreigner, you have come far! / ISKANDER BEY: –I like not the sound of that word! The Sultan himself is no truer Turk than I!», V14, 18.

[27] «Meanwhile... in Hungary -- Janos Hunyadi rallied the forces of Christendom! JANOS HUNYADI: –Are we to do nothing but talk about the invencible Turks? ... They must be driven from Europe!», V15, 18 y «Hunyadi's cavalry defeated the Ottoman in a desperate battle. / JANOS HUNYADI: –Strike! -- In the Savior's name! / ISKANDER BEY: –Fall back -- before their cannon sweep the road», V16, 18.

[28] «For weeks ---brooding over his first defeat -- / ISKANDER BEY: –Can it be a sign from heaven? Can it be I serve the oppressors -- Instead of fighting him!», V17, 18.

[29] «Soon afterward -- amazing news provided the answer! / OTTOMAN: –Heed, great one! Rebellion has broken out in Albania! -- And already twelve of our officers have deserted! / ISKANDER BEY: –Little you know what such tidings mean! I shall ride after them!», V18, 18; «ALBANIAN 1: –The General! On guard brothers! / ALBANIAN 2. –Check us at your peril, Iskander Bey! / ISKANDER BEY: –Wait! Stay your swords! Forget the Turk --Iskander Bey-- and know me as Skanderbeg-- who will fight for the land of his ancestors» V19 y V20, 19.

[30] «Thus-- with a handful of followers, Skanderbeg returned to Albania! / ALBANIAN 1: –We are thirteen against thousands! How then shall we strike? / SKANDERBEG: –Is is thirty years since I last beheld Kroja Castle! There was a boy then who wept to see it taken-- there is a man now who will risk all who to regain it!», V21, 19.

[31] «At the ancient citadel... OTTOMAN CHIEFTAIN: –Stand stranger who are ye? / SKANDERBEG: Iskander bey! ... In the Sultan's name open! / Terrified by a spirited attack, the huge garrison ceded! / SKANDERBEG: –The castle's won, Skanderbeg! Ay!-- and with it-- weapons!», V 22 y V23, 19.

[32] «Hundreds of fierce chieftains joined the revolt! / -- and for a time -- many ancient feuds flared dangerously! / ALBANIAN CHIEFTAINS 1: –The chief of the Tarkis! --jackal -- stealer of

propone la unión y la lucha por Albania[33]; 15. Se casa con una noble albanesa, y se convierte en el caudillo de los ejércitos y lleva a cabo una guerra de guerillas[34]; 16. Skanderbeg combate contra los turcos durante diecisiete años. Viaja a Roma, donde el santo padre le informa de su intención de proclamar una nueva cruzada[35]; 17. Los nobles albaneses le proponen alianzas con Hungría y con Venecia, pero él lo rechaza e insiste en acogerse a la cruzada[36]; 18. La muerte del papa supone el abandono de la cruzada y Skanderbeg se enfrenta en solitario al Imperio otomano[37]; 19. En 1468, Skanderbeg, gravemente enfermo, entrega su espada a otros líderes albaneses[38]; 20. Los otomanos reconocen su valor, tras su muerte[39]; 21. Los turcos y albaneses, que viven en democracia, han alcanzado la paz y luchan contra el fascismo[40].

El cotejo de los hechos narrados en *SK* con los documentados en la vida de Jorge Castriota ponen de manifiesto que, al elaborar la historieta, se optó por incrementar claramente el elemento ficticio, aunque sin menoscabo relevante del histórico, como permiten observar las diferencias y semejanzas.

En lo referente a las diferencias, hay que destacar que 1) Jorge Castriota y sus hermanos fueron enviados como rehenes al sultán Mehmet I a Edirne en 1415 (V2, V3 y V10); 2) El ataque otomano a Albania no se centra solo en Kruje y no se produce en 1414 (V4, V5 y V6); 3) El enfrentamiento del joven Jorge Castriota con

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sheep! / ALBANIAN CHIEFTAINS 2: –And you, coward -- whose second cousin slew my brother's friend!», V22 y V23, 20.

[33] « SKANDERBEG: –Fools! With fifty thousand Turks marching against us-- Shall we gabble insult? Do we fight for tribe and familiy -- or Albania?», 26, 20.

[34] «Renouncing the Moslem faith, Skanderbeg married the daughter of a powerful Albanian nobleman/ Finally united in a common cause, the clans met at the village Alessio and named Skanderbeg General of the patriot army!», y «Poorly armed and heavely outnumbered, Skanderbeg's forces struck fiercely in the mountain passes! There is but one escape Ottomans!-- Surrender!», V27 y V28, 20.

[35] «For seventeen years --the Turks were checked! Then, in Rome... / SKANDERBEG: –It is true I have agreed to an armistice, Holy Father! The Sultan Mohammed has bribed several of my aides-- and I seek time to weed them out. / HOLY FATHER: –You have proved yourself a great champion of freedom, Skanderbeg! The Church plans a new Crusade against the infidel --- and you have been chosen to open the campaign!», V29, 21.

[36] «Back at Kroja... / ALBANIAN NOBLEMAN: –Well enough to wage a Crusade, Skanderbeg, but let us await help from Venice and Hungary! / SKANDERBEG: –Did we look to Venice and Hungary before? No, brothers-- as we fought for our land -- let us fight for our church!», V30, 21.

[37] «Unexpectedly, the Pope died--and the Crusade was abandoned! Alone, Skanderbeg withstood the might of the Ottoman Empire! / SKANDERBEG: –As ye go to Mecca to pray, ye shall come to Kroja--to die!», V31, 21.

[38] «In 1468-- wasted by fewer and weariness... / ALBANIAN NOBLEMAN: –How shall we fight--without Skanderbeg to lead us? / SKANDERBEG: –My sword remains! Take it-- wield it bravely!», V32, 21.

[39] «OTTOMAN OFFICIAL: –Iskander Bey... he was the tiger who led us to victory... he was the lion who brought us to defeat!» y «True, the death of Albanian's peerless leader paved the way to an era of defeat --but the Turks themselves paid homage at Skanderbeg's tomb!», V33, 21.

[40] «The passage of the centuries and the rise of the true Democracy have stilled ancient enmities-- and today both Turks and Albanians stand firm in a common cause against the tryranny of Fascism!», V33, 21. Véase Imagen 2.

el comandante otomano «Ismet Bey» no está testimoniado (V7, V8 y V9); 4) Jorge Castriota y sus hermanos fueron obligados a convertirse al islam (V11); 5) La actividad militar de Skanderbeg se desarrolló en Anatolia y no partició en campañas contra los serbios en los Balcanes (V12 y V13); 6) Skanderbeg se desvinculó del sultán Murad II y se convirtió al catolicismo, tras la victoria del ejército húngaro comandado por Janos Hunyadi en la batalla de Niš (1443), al igual que su tío Hamza Castriota y otros trescientos albaneses (V14, V15, V16, V17, V18, V19, V20, V21, V22, V23, V24, V25, V26, V27 y V28); 7) Skanderbeg combatió contra los otomanos y estableció vasallaje con el rey Alfonso V de Aragón[41]. El papa Pío II le prometió emprender la cruzada y le nombró *Athleta Christi*, título confirmado también por Nicolás V. No mantuvo pactos con Venecia, al ser esta aliada del Imperio otomano, y, pese a conservar la alianza con Hungría, no logró cumplir sus acuerdos (V29 y V30); 8) Skanderbeg se enfrentó a los turcos sin la ayuda, tras la muerte de Pío II, pero contó con la del rey Alfonso V de Aragón y con la de Fernando I de Nápoles (V31); 9) Tras su muerte lo relevó como líder Lukë Dukagjini, quien mantuvo la resistencia contra los otomanos durante diez años (V32); 10) Tras la conquista de Lezhë, el respeto, temor y admiración de los otomanos por Skanderbeg los llevó a exhumar el cadáver y a apropiarse de partes de su cuerpo para confeccionarse talismanes (V33); y 11) Los regímenes políticos de Albania y de Turquía no podían considerarse en 1946 como democráticos. Turquía se mantuvo neutral durante la guerra (V33).

Y, en lo tocante a las semejanzas, hay que señalar que 1) Los hechos militares de Jorge Castriota hicieron que se concediera el sobrenombre de Skanderbeg (Iskander Bey) con el que se conocería (V12 y V20); 2) Skanderbeg se casó con una noble albanesa, Andronika Arianiti (1428-1506), promovió la unión de las facciones para enfrentarse al Imperio otomano (creación de la Liga de Lezhë, 1444) y realizó una guerra de guerrillas, debido a su inferioridad numérica (V21, V22, V23, V24, V25, V26, V27 y V28); 3) El papa Pío II le prometió emprender una cruzada y Skanderbeg mantuvo su alianza con Hungría (V29 y V30); 4) Skanderbeg gravemente enfermo, falleció en Lezhë en 1468 (32); 5) Skanderbeg se convirtió en un guerrero temido y admirado por los otomanos (V33); y 6) Albania combatió contra el fascismo (V33).

Pero ¿qué pudo llevar a incluir una historieta sobre ese caudillo albanés en ese número de la revista estadounidense? Veámoslo.

1.2. Albania en septiembre de 1945

En septiembre de 1945, la Segunda Guerra Mundial había acabado, pero persistían o incluso se iniciaban algunos conflictos nacionales, reflejo, en la mayoría de los casos, del reequilibrio entre los dos grandes bloques ideológicos sobre el que

[41] Véase Marinescu (1923, pp. 1-135; 1994, pp. 153-189), y Azcona y Abdiu (2020, pp. 87-155).

se iba a sustentar el nuevo orden mundial. El último año sería difícil de olvidar. Un año de intensos combates, arduas y complejas negociaciones, el horror de Hiroshima y Nagasaki y del Holocausto.

En los Estados Unidos de América, la satisfacción por la victoria era enorme, y, aunque reinaba el optimismo, la incertidumbre sobre el horizonte que se abría era inevitable.

Tras la conferencia de Potsdam (17 de julio-2 de agosto de 1945), los países europeos de la *Zentraleuropa* se preguntaban e inquietaban por su futuro y se planteaban numerosas preguntas que giraban en torno a la dicotomía Este/Oeste europeo[42].

Sin embargo, en uno de esos países, Albania, ya se había dado respuesta.

Ahora bien, para comprender la situación en que se hallaba Albania es necesario retrotraerse a 1939 y observar qué sucedió entre ese año y el fin de la guerra, 1945; ya que a su ocupación por la Italia fascista (abril 1939-septiembre 1943) seguirá otra por la Alemania nazi (septiembre 1943-noviembre 1944), y, finalmente, acabará decantándose por situarse en la órbita de la influencia comunista (noviembre 1944).

A inicios de 1939 el conde Ciano anotaba en su diario: «14 de febrero de 1939. El Duce dice que con respecto a Albania hay que esperar dos acontecimientos: la liquidación del asunto español y la estipulación de la alianza con Alemania» (Ciano, 2004, p. 24). Al cabo de unas pocas semanas, reflexionaba sobre los inmediatos proyectos del líder fascista: «28 de marzo de 1939. Manifestación en la plaza de Venecia por la caída de Madrid: el Duce está radiante. Señalando el atlas geográfico, abierto en la página de España, dice: "¡Ha estado así durante casi tres años; ahora basta. Pero ya sé que tengo que abrirlo en otra página!". Tiene a Albania en el corazón», (Ciano, 2004:, p. 29).

En paralelo, Hitler ocupaba Checoslovaquia (marzo de 1939), lo que provocó una profunda controversia en el entorno de las democracias occidentales. Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) decidió que había llegado el momento de incorporar Albania en el proyecto expansionista italiano. Las tropas fascistas italianas ocuparon rápidamente el país en una breve campaña (7 al 12 de abril de 1939) y el rey Zog I (1895-1961) emprendió la ruta del exilio. Las potencias occidentales guardaron silencio y tan solo Egipto y Turquía expresaron su malestar (Frashëri, 1996, p. 43). Esa doble vara de medir, que ciertamente no resultaba nueva, se entiende mejor si se tiene presente que Albania, un joven estado, era uno de los países más pobres de Europa, y a nadie parecía preocuparle lo que sucediera en él. El Duce ofreció la conquista de Albania al rey Víctor Manuel III (1869-1947), y el territorio se incorporó a Italia en calidad de protectorado. Se creó el Consejo Superior Corporativo Fascista[43].

Obviamente, Mussolini estableció en Albania un régimen fascista, bajo la jefatura formal de Xhaferbey Ypi (1880-1940) y, posteriormente, de la mano de

[42] Se emplea el concepto *Zentraleuropa* y la dicotomía Este/Oeste, tal y como lo hace Ivetic (2022).

[43] Para Albania la guerra mundial ya habría comenzado, según Elsie (2015: 5). Véase también Vickers (2014, p. 135), Biagini (2021, p. 162) e *Historia* (1971, pp. 101-250).

Shefqet Vërlaci (1877-1946), quien ya había ejercido el poder en 1924 (Fischer, 2022: 228). Ambos estuvieron siempre supeditados al poder italiano, encabezado por Francesco Jacomoni di San Savino (1893-1973)[44], responsable de la creación del Partido Fascista de Albania (Partia Fashiste e Shqipërisë). Los italianos dominaron el país gracias al control ejercido sobre los diversos credos religiosos (católicos, ortodoxos y musulmanes) y, cuando no pudieron hacerlo (caso de los bektashíes, una secta sunita), asesinaron a su líder, Niazi Sali Dedej. También contaron con el apoyo de los caciques feudales albaneses e intentaron, desde un paternalismo colonial, convencer a la población de la bondad de su conquista (Fischer, 2022: 231-233).

Sin embargo, el fracaso de Mussolini en la conquista de Grecia (1940) marca un punto de inflexión en el territorio albanés, pues se produjo «the collapse of the relative stability of the early period of Italian occupation» (Fischer, 2022: 237). La debilidad económica y el mal gobierno (corrupción, inflación) comportaron que los albaneses empezaran a mostrar su antipatía hacia los italianos. Los primeros actos de resistencia se limitaron al sabotaje de las infraestructuras del país, lo que fue aprovechado por los británicos (British Secret Intelligence Service, en la sección de la Special Operation Executive), para incentivar una mayor desafección entre los albaneses[45]. A finales de 1941 surgieron ya las primeras guerrillas, lideradas por personajes como Abaz Kupi, Myslim Oeza y Baba Mustafa Marteneshi (bektashí), que no dudaron en reunirse con las células comunistas albanesas (Fischer, 2022, p. 242). Hay que tener presente, sin embargo, que el comunismo era, en ese momento, una corriente minoritaria en Albania, un país de tradición rural en el que no existían proletarios urbanos[46]. Mientras tanto, Italia combinaría la represión y la concesión, y se sucederían los albaneses que ostentaron formalmente el poder (Mustafá Kruja (1887-1958), al tiempo que nacía el Partido Comunista de Albania (1941)[47], que en estos momentos es tutelado desde Yugoslavia, y el Balli Kombëtar (Frente Nacional), cuyos miembros eran conocidos como «ballistas», nacionalistas anticomunistas y antiyugoslavos liderados por Midhat Frashëri (1880-1949)[48], y los representantes de Legaliteti, partidarios del restablecimiento de la monarquía, a la vez que anticomunistas. Estos últimos tenían como líder a Abaz Kupi (1892-1976)[49]. Las tensiones entre estos grupos surgieron rápidamente, mientras se incrementaba el número de partidarios comunistas (10 000 partisanos en 1943) y se sucedían los gobernadores locales. Se trataba de una situación harto compleja, de guerra civil insertada en el

[44] En palabras de Fischer (2022, p. 229): «an Italian lieutenant general».

[45] No hay que olvidar que en junio de 1940 Italia había declarado la guerra al Reino Unido (Fischer, 2022: 240).

[46] En 1937, tan solo había doscientos miembros (Fischer, 2022, p. 244).

[47] Aglutina al Movimiento Liberación Nacional (Lërizja Nacional Çlirimtare), que en breve se convertirá en el «unico potere legittimo nel paese» (Biagini, 2021, p. 168). Posteriormente tomará el nombre de Partido del Trabajo de Albania.

[48] Como señala Frashëri (1996, p. 46): «Le Balli Kombëtar s'était formés sur une base nationaliste, antizoguiste et anticommuniste». Véase también Vickers (2014, p. 142) y Biagini (2021, p. 166).

[49] Es muy sugerente la visión de este período ofrecida por Hoxha (1984).

conflicto mundial. En enero 1943 Jacomoni hizo dimitir a Kruja y nombró a Eqrem Libohova (1882-1948) como gobernador (Fischer, 2022, p. 255). Ante tal inestabilidad, Mussolini retiraría su confianza a Jacomini y designaría al general Alberto Pariani para tratar de controlar la situación. No obstante, el panorama se complicó cuando en julio de 1943 los aliados atacaron Sicilia, lo que marcaría el inicio del ocaso de Mussolini y abriría la puerta a la entrada de los nazis en Albania, y los italianos antifascistas se agruparían en el batallón Antonio Gramsci (Biagini, 2012, p. 169; y Fischer, 2022, p. 256).

Ante la sucesión de fracasos italianos, Hitler decide intervenir en los Balcanes y ocupa de manera sucesiva Yugoslavia, Grecia y Albania (1941-1943). La ocupación de Albania, dirigida por el general Hubert Lanz, fue rápida, y los alemanes controlaban el territorio en noviembre de 1943 (Vickers, 2014, p. 147), y se presentaron como los «salvadores» de la independencia y la aparente neutralidad de Albania frente al dominio y el caos italiano[50].

Hábiles en su estrategia, en un primer momento los nazis sedujeron a los albaneses de Kosovo (que aspiraban a la Gran Albania), pero también a ballistas (Balli Kombëtar), zoguistas (Legaliteti) y católicos del norte del país. Se nombró un Alto Consejo de Regencia (Këshilli i Lartë i Regjencës) para gobernar Albania (Frashëri, 1971, p. 245; y Elsie, 2015, p. 6) e incluso se creó la 21.ª División de Montaña SS Skanderbeg [21. Waffen-Gebirgs-Division der SS «Skanderbeg» (Albanische Nr. 1)], pero no fueron capaces de captar el creciente nacionalismo, que no quería renunciar a su identidad e independencia plenas. Ante tal situación, el liderazgo de Hoxha se consolidaría, puesto que era «the only active resistance force» ante el nazismo (Fischer, 2022, p. 265) y «les communistes avaient su faire preuve d'une grande habileté dans l'organisation des premières manifestations patriotiques contre l'envahisseur» (Frashëri, 1996, p. 45). Hoxha creó, en abril de 1944, el Movimiento de Liberación Nacional de Albania, formado por 20 000 partisanos, y en esa misma primavera se producirían matanzas entre grupos rivales[51]. Así, pese a que la propaganda anticomunista presentaba a los partisanos como los «new janissaries of International Communism» (Zavalani, 2015, p. 265), los británicos apoyaron al MLN por ser el más antinazi. Sin embargo, Hoxha recelaba de la ayuda británica, ya que consideraba que, tras la guerra, estos iban a querer controlar la política del país, y, además, había que atender también a los intereses expansionistas yugoslavos[52]. En cualquier caso, Albania se hallaba sumida en el caos, al que debía sumarse una epidemia de tifus y malaria y el fracaso de la contraofensiva nazi (Fischer, 2022, p. 268; y Biagini, 2021, p. 170). En el verano de 1944 los comunistas avanzaron en varios frentes, liderados por Mehmet Shehu, antiguo brigadista en España, y los nazis reaccionaron con

[50] En palabras de Biagini (2021, p. 169), los nazis argumentaron ser «i veri liberatori dell'Albania dalla pessime gestione degli italiani».

[51] Elsie (1996, p. 7) recuerda que las profundas diferencias entre comunistas, ballistas y monárquicos implicarán que «the resistance groups spent most of their time from then on opposing one another».

[52] Como defiende Vickers (2014, pp. 148-149): «his suspicions were not wholly unfounded».

extrema violencia, con lo que decaía la idea, de ese modo, de una hipotética «friendly occupation» (Fischer, 2022, p. 270).

En paralelo, el Ejército Rojo había ocupado Rumanía, y el 2 de octubre de 1944 los nazis iniciaban la retirada, no sin antes librar la batalla de Tirana (octubre-noviembre)[53]. El 17 de noviembre las tropas de Shehu controlan Tirana, y el 29 del mismo mes llegaban ya a Shkodra, en el norte del país (Zavalani, 2015, p. 272; y Frashëri, 1996, p. 255). Finalmente, en diciembre de 1944 Albania estaba ya en manos de los comunistas, que se habían convertido en la única resistencia activa contra los nazis, pues habían sabido mostrar una alternativa distinta a la de zoguistas y ballistas y habían contado con la ayuda de británicos y yugoslavos (Fischer, 2022, p. 272).

La Albania de finales de 1944 era un país absolutamente devastado por la guerra[54]. A pesar de una cierta «appearance of collaboration» (Vickers, 2014, p. 155)[55] con el resto de fuerzas políticas, Hoxha estableció inmediatamente un régimen de partido único y la dictadura del proletariado. Bajo la etiqueta de Gobierno Democrático (Qeveria e Përkohshme Demokratike) se tomarían las primeras medidas políticas hasta que estableció la nueva República Popular Socialista de Albania (10 de enero de 1946), que se alineó en el bloque soviético liderado por Iósif Stalin (1878-1953). A partir de ese momento, los hechos se precipitaron: los estadounidenses y los británicos abandonaron el país (Fischer, 2022, p. 282), se introdujo el control estatal en las empresas y en la industria (diciembre de 1944), se nacionalizó la propiedad de organizaciones alemanas e italianas y se procedió al arresto y enjuiciamiento tanto de los colaboracionistas como de toda suerte de 'enemigos del pueblo' que no hubiesen propiciado la implantación del régimen socialista[56]. Comenzaba la época de Enver Hoxha.

Así, mientras que en Albania se iba consolidando un nuevo totalitarismo, en los Estados Unidos de América se alaban la libertad y la democracia albanesa por medio de Jorge Castriota, Skanderbeg.

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[53] Un relato magistral lo ofrece Ismaíl Kadaré en *Noviembre de un capital* (1991). Según Fischer (2022, p. 271), se trata de «one of the longest and fiercest battles» del conflicto, en la que intervinieron veinte mil partisanos, de los que seis mil eran mujeres (Vickers, 2014, p. 152).

[54] El número de víctimas se elevaba a 28 800. Una cifra muy elevada si se tiene en cuenta que Albania tenía poco más de un millón de habitantes. Véase Frashëri (2023, p. 257).

[55] También Hoxha (1974, pp. 432-433) había afirmado que «Nuestra heroica luchaba estaba ligada estrechamente con la lucha de nuestros grandes aliados: la Unión Soviética, Inglaterra y los Estados Unidos».

[56] En Juicio Especial (Gjyqi special) que se celebró entre marzo y abril 1945 se dictaron contundentes condenas y solo dos de los procesados fueron declarados inocentes (Elsie, 2015, p. 10 y 14).

2. CONCLUSIÓN

A la vista de los datos precedentes puede afirmarse, en primer lugar, que la inclusión de la historieta *SK*, protagonizada por el héroe albanés Jorge Castriota, Skanderbeg, en la revista *Real Life Comics*, en septiembre de 1945, tenía por objeto ofrecer a los lectores estadounidenses, entre los que debían hallarse también miembros de la activa minoría albanesa, el ejemplo de la resistencia y el valor del pueblo albanés ante las invasiones y ocupaciones de su territorio, ya fueran el Imperio otomano en la Edad Media, o la Italia fascista y la Alemania nazi en el siglo xx, en tanto que defensores de la libertad y democráticos. Además, Albania y Turquía era mostradas como dos naciones que gracias a sus regímenes 'democráticos' habían acabado con su rivalidad ancestral y se enfrentaban a potencias invasoras totalitarias, a pesar de que, en realidad, la República de Turquía se había mantenido neutral durante el conflicto.

En segundo lugar, debe tenerse en cuenta que en el momento en que se publicó la historieta, septiembre de 1945, por un lado, la guerra ya había terminado en Albania y el país ya había quedado totalmente liberado en diciembre de 1944[57], por lo que puede inferirse que su confección y entrega se habrían producido antes de esa fecha, ya que se habla de la guerra en presente («Albanian patriots still resisting Hitler's overwhelming armies», V1, 1); y, por el otro, no debe olvidarse que Albania ya no se hallaba en la órbita de los países democráticos, tal y como se le califica («the true Democracy», V33, 21), sino que había iniciado una compleja andadadura, marcada por el comunismo, al que se imbricaban las pecularidades de las tradiciones culturales y religiosas albanesas, que le conducirá a un dogmático totalitarismo bajo la férrea guía de Enver Hoxha.

Y, en tercer y último lugar, hay que subrayar que, pese a que el efecto propagandístico original quedaba alterado, como consecuencia de la 'tardía' publicación, la figura del caudillo albanés conservaba todo su valor simbólico, pues se le presentaba como un líder cristiano que junto con otros doce 'seguidores', lo que probablemente podría entenderse como una alusión rememorativa e identificativa con Jesús de Nazaret y sus discípulos, se había enfrentado a un adversario muy superior para defender sus ideales y creencias, y su legado había perdurado en la historia de Albania.

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[57] No obstante, habría que esperar hasta al 7 de mayo de 1945 para que la Alemani nazi se rindiese de forma incondicional, y al 14 de agosto del mismo año para que el Imperio japonés claudicara y hasta el 2 de septiembre para que la ratificase.

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ANEXO

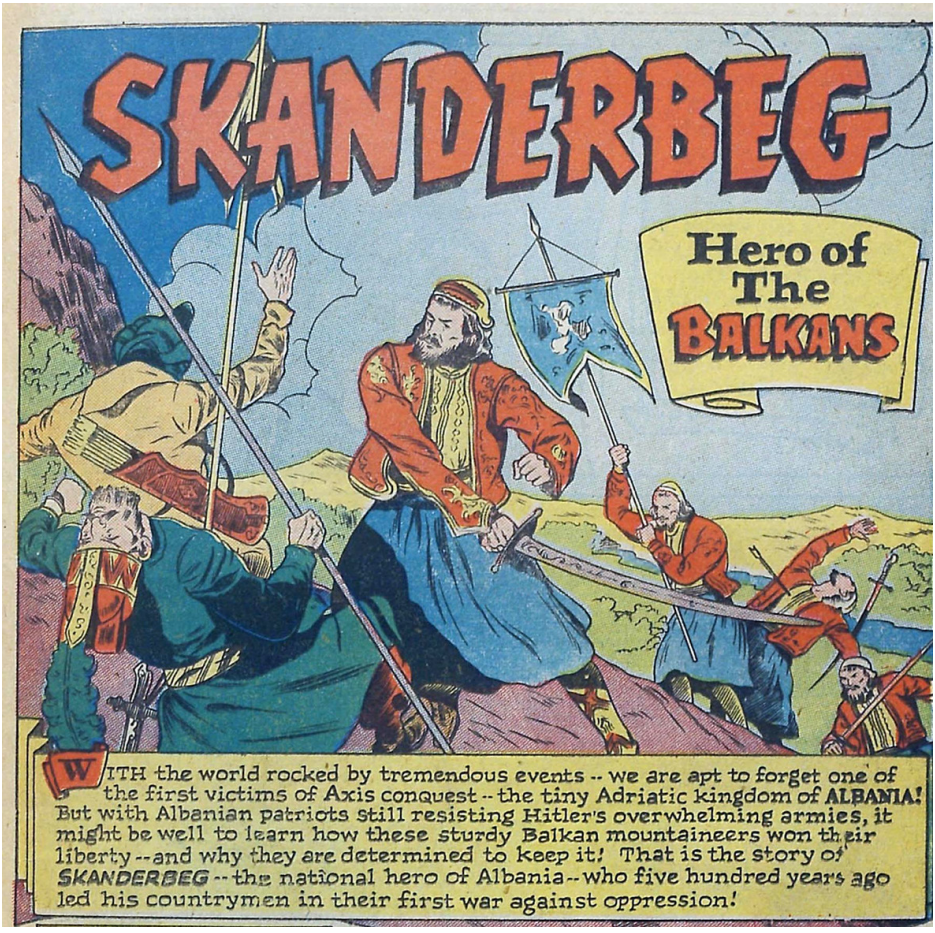


Imagen 1. Skanderbeg. Hero of the Balkans (*Real Life Comics*, Septembrer, 25, 1945).

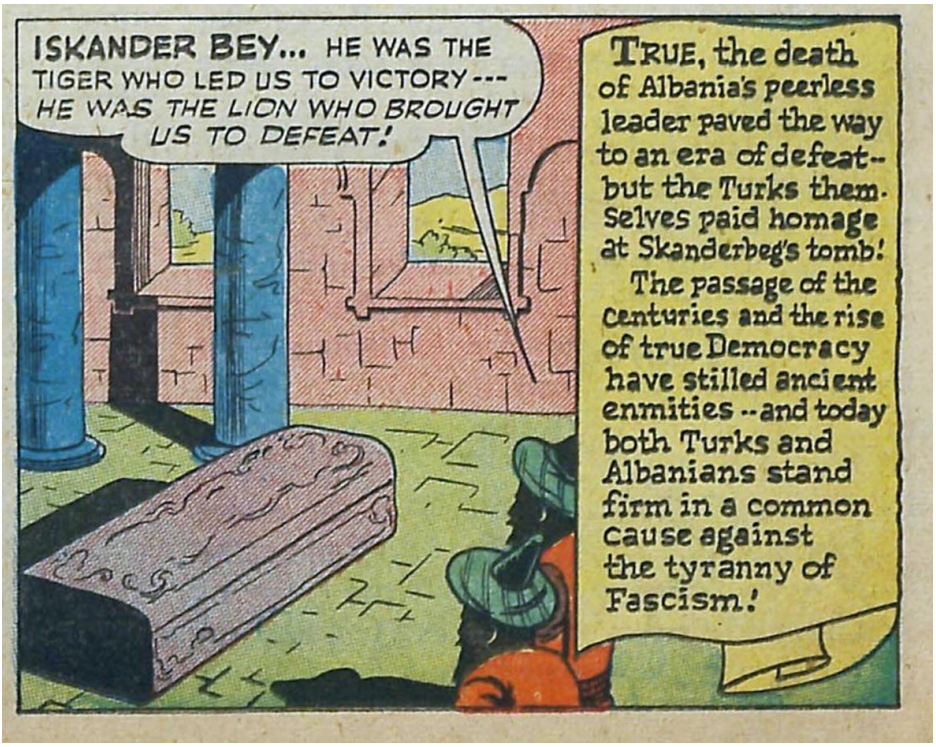


Imagen 2. Skanderbeg. Hero of the Balkans (*Real Life Comics*, Septembrer, 25, 1945).

«EL BUEN SABER ES LA LLAUE»: DIFUSIÓN Y USO PEDAGÓGICO DE UNA REDONDILLA RELIGIOSA ATRIBUIDA A JUAN ÁLVAREZ GATO

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Resumen

En sus *Quinquagenas de la nobleza de España* (1555), Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478-1557) rememora unos versos que su maestro le enseñó como modelo para aprender a escribir: «En esta vida burlada / el buen saber es la llave, / y aquel que se salva sabe / que el otro no sabe nada». El presente artículo se propone reconstruir la transmisión textual de esta redondilla doctrinal, cuyo testimonio manuscrito más antiguo se conserva en el cancionero personal de Juan Álvarez Gato (MH2-87, fol. 66v). Partiendo de un entramado literario cortesano, se rastrea su amplia difusión en el ámbito hispánico, desde su circulación en manuscritos y fuentes impresas peninsulares del Siglo de Oro hasta su pervivencia en la tradición oral de Hispanoamérica, con variantes documentadas desde Puerto Rico hasta Argentina. En función de esta trayectoria textual, se plantea la hipótesis de su uso en contextos escolares como parte de una práctica pedagógica consolidada entre los siglos xv y xvi: la incorporación de formas estróficas breves –pareados, redondillas, quintillas– como recursos mnemotécnicos al servicio de la enseñanza catequética infantil.

Palabras clave: redondilla, Juan Álvarez Gato, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, letras de doctrina, catequesis infantil, tradición oral.

"EL BUEN SABER ES LA LLAUE": DISSEMINATION AND PEDAGOGICAL USE OF A RELIGIOUS *REDONDILLA* ATTRIBUTED TO JUAN ÁLVAREZ GATO

Abstract

In his *Quinquagenas de la nobleza de España* (1555), Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478-1557) recalls a few verses his teacher provided him as a model for learning to write: "En esta vida burlada / el buen saber es la llave, / y aquel que se salva sabe / que el otro no sabe nada". This article aims to reconstruct the textual transmission of this doctrinal *redondilla*, whose earliest manuscript evidence is preserved in the personal songbook of Juan Álvarez Gato (MH2-87, fol. 66v). Starting from a courtly literary framework, the investigation traces the widespread dissemination and reception of the stanza throughout the Hispanic world, from its circulation in peninsular manuscripts and printed Golden Age sources to its survival in the oral traditions of Latin America, with documented variants ranging from Puerto Rico to Argentina. Drawing upon this textual trajectory, the article proposes the hypothesis that these verses were used in educational contexts as part of a well-established pedagogical practice between the 15th and 16th centuries: the incorporation of short stanza forms –couplets, *redondillas* and *quintillas*– as mnemonic resources to support catechetical teaching for children.

Keywords: redondilla, Juan Álvarez Gato, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, doctrinal verses, children's catechism, oral tradition.

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0. «EN ESTA VIDA PRESTADA»: UNA REDONDILLA DOCTRINAL EN LAS *QUINQUAGENAS DE LA NOBLEZA* DE ESPAÑA (1555)[1]

Contando con setenta y siete años cumplidos, Gonzalo Fernández Oviedo (1478-1557) evocaba aún con viva memoria en sus *Quinquagenas de los generosos reyes, prínçipes, duques, marqueses, condes, caualleros e personas notables de España* unos versos aprendidos durante su infancia, trayendo tal recuerdo a su pluma de la siguiente manera: «No dexaré de dezir al propósito presente unos versos que, quando yo aprendía a escrevir me dio mi maestro por materia, que dizen: en esta vida burlada, el buen saber es la llaue y aquel que se salua sabe, quel otro no sabe nada» (fols. 21r-21v, mss. 2217, BNE).

No sorprende al lector familiarizado con esta obra capital de la heráldica medieval que este apasionado genealogista traiga a colación unos versos doctrinales con total naturalidad, pues en sus *Quinquagenas*, cuyo título acertó a sintetizar en «de la nobleza de España»[2], se imbrican con frecuencia los retratos y etopeyas de estas figuras de la primera mitad del siglo XVI con cuestiones tan variopintas como «las noticias anecdóticas de cosas de España e Indias, trajes, costumbres, juegos, usos de corte y ceremonias, Consejos y otras oficinas, discusiones religiosas, fraudes, cohechos, vicios y otras mil cosas y pormenores curiosos» (Fernández de Oviedo, 1880: XXII). Es más, la intención de «avisar» a su lector sobre la «correçion de los viçios» viene abiertamente declarada ya desde el «Prohemio» de estas *Quinquagenas*, destinado a Felipe II, su «Sereníssimo Príncipe e Señor»:

> ... me amonestó mi desseo, que fue particularizar las perssonas de los que aqui seran acumulados: y asi yra este volumen mezclado en su traza discurriendo en correçion de los viçios, acordando catholicos exemplos. Con este proposito proçedí en lo començado y mezcle y enxeri los famosos señores y varones antiguos y modernos, e compuse en todo VIIMD verssos en estilo común e nueuo, destintos en tres quinquagenas, que son primera e segunda e tercera partes, e cada parte o quinquagena de cinquenta estanças: e cada estança de cinquenta versos. [...] compuse las presentes endereçadas principalmente a vuestra real perssona, e para que los fieles que se quisieren aprouechar de semejantes avisos para su saluacion e humana conuersaçion lo puedan hazer. Resçiba pues vuestra grandeza del menor de vuestros criados, e antiguo en su Real casa de Castilla, esta mínima ofrenda, que obra es que contiene

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[2] El término «quinquagenas», presente también en el título de otra de sus obras –*Batallas y quinquagenas de la nobleza de España*–, ha ocasionado no pocas confusiones a los investigadores que desde el siglo XIX se han aproximado a estas dos obras hermanas, de similar naturaleza. Esta ambigüedad se resolverá en el presente artículo llamando *Quinquagenas* a la obra que nos ocupa y *Batallas* a la otra. Sobre estas dos obras, véase la introducción de Vicente de la Fuente en su edición de las *Quinquagenas* (Fernández de Oviedo, 1880) y la de Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso en su edición de las *Batallas* (Fernández de Oviedo, 1883).

> en sí catholico exerçiçio e doctrina de philosofia moral e christiana, e no desplazible al sentido de los fieles, porques segura para el anima, e honesta e digna destimar todo animo intento a virtud. [...]. Mándela vuestra Alteza ver y corregir para que se imprima, e gozen sus subditos deste tractado, con que sería posible enmendarse algunos por el aviso de su leçion, de tal manera que aborresçiesen las otras apocriphas lecturas... (fol. 1v, mss. 2217, BNE).

De este modo, puede advertirse que el interés principal de las *Batallas*, esto es, la perspectiva particular de ciertos individuos pertenecientes a la aristocracia española del siglo XVI, no es más que uno de los muchos hilos que entretejen en cambio las *Quinquagenas*, extenso mosaico de la cultura y las costumbres de aquella época. Por otro lado, y al respecto de su «católico propósito», no es baladí que, al menos en el año de 1506, se encontraba Fernández Oviedo en Madrid desempeñando el cargo de notario y secretario para el Santo Oficio, dignidad que no duda en invocar cada vez que un testimonio exige la intervención de una voz acreditada y digna de confianza: «Mucho sabría yo decir en eso, porque en la misma sazón era yo secretario del Consejo de la Santa Inquisición» (Bat. II, Quin. II, Diál. 17, don Diego Fernández de Córdoba)[3]. No cabe duda de que aquel desempeño de juventud –rondaba entonces la treintena– dejó una impronta en su quehacer literario.

Con todo, si algo esclarece el prólogo de las *Quinquagenas* es el papel indispensable de la poesía en el corpus de la obra, manifestándose a través de una pluralidad de «verssos en estilo común e nueuo». En cuanto a su habilidad para emular a Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Sannazaro, Pedro de Arezzo y otros poetas italianos célebres en su tiempo, ya se pronunció con severidad Vicente de la Fuente: «Oviedo, cuyo estilo llano y familiar nos agrada por su sencillez, soltura y donaire, quiso ser poeta a despecho de las musas, y no pudo pasar de las faldas del Parnaso, si es que llegó hasta ellas» –y no obtuvo mejor acogida su denominada «segunda rima»– «ni sus versos son versos, ni su poesía es poesía; no logró pasar de la prosa rimada. Llamarlos coplas fuera ofender al buen anciano; pero es lo cierto que sus versos están faltos de estro poético y de lo que llamamos *numen*, sin el cual no hay verdadera poesía, como sin poesía no hay verdadero verso» (Fernández de Oviedo, 1880, pp.XVIII-XIX). Acompañan a la redondilla mencionada al inicio de este artículo, a lo largo de la «Estança VI» de la primera parte de la «Quinquagena I», un total de ocho composiciones cuya extensión oscila entre cuatro y diez versos, seguidas de su correspondiente exégesis en prosa[4]. Sirva para comprobar la opinión del académico de la RAH una muestra de las mismas:

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[3] Adoptamos como sistema de referencia el propuesto por Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso en su edición de las *Batallas* (1983), obra a la que remitiremos frecuentemente para ofrecer prolijos detalles autobiográficos que el autor va deslizando en ella.

[4] La «Estança VI» abarca desde el folio 20 recto, que solo presenta el epígrafe en mayúsculas, hasta el folio 22 vuelto del manuscrito de las *Quinquagenas*, conservado bajo la signatura mss/2217 en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Para comodidad del lector citaremos, en adelante, por la paginación de la edición de Vicente de la Fuente (Fernández de Oviedo, 1880), única de la que disponemos hasta el momento.

No deuemos desmayar
enmendemos las costumbres
al que no come legumbres
dale Dios otro manjar[5].

A todos los que se quieren saluar, e que son pecadores, conuiene mudar la costumbre de los vicios [...]. El que no come legumbres Dios le prouee, e le dá otro manjar. Pues leemos y es notorio que diferentes criaturas diferente pasto o manjar han menester... (Fernández de Oviedo, 1880, p. 91).

Otro ejemplo:

Echad, echad en remojo,
humanos, la fantasía:
acordaos ya del dia,
daquél juyzio final
donde sereys por ygual
juzgados sin ecepcion
sin aver apelación,
ni vn pelo se torcer
el que ha de conoscer
de vuestros granes delitos.

Siguiéndose el proceso e intento quél testo trae en la materia catholica de que tracta, amonesta en general a todos los humanos, e les acuerda, que se acuerden del final juyzio, y echen, como sulen dezir, la barba en remojo desque vieren pelar la de su vezino... (Fernández de Oviedo, 1880, p. 94).

Como se puede observar, la forma de proceder de Oviedo es bastante mecánica; comienza transcribiendo el poema, asumimos que de su autoría, y da paso a una exégesis detallada en prosa. Además, en muchas ocasiones, resulta fácil rastrear las fuentes bíblicas, que parecen ser la base de sus reflexiones[6]. Es precisamente la sencillez de su *modus scribendi* y la claridad de sus fuentes lo que hace aún más notable la particular disposición que presentan los versos de la redondilla,

[5] El poema encuentra su fuente en la Biblia, específicamente de la *Epístola del apóstol Pablo a los Romanos*, capítulo 14, versículos 2 al 7.

[6] A lo largo de esta sexta «estança», Oviedo especifica las fuentes y autoridades de las que se va nutriendo su discurso. Así, sin mayor dificultad, el lector queda informado de que, a grandes rasgos, sus dos pilares conceptuales fundamentales son, por un lado, las Sagradas Escrituras y, por otro, los escritos de algunos de los más eminentes representantes de la Antigüedad clásica. De las primeras, nombra los Evangelios (*Mateo*, *Marcos*, *Lucas* y *Juan*), las Cartas de San Pablo (*Romanos*, *Corintios*), los Hechos de los Apóstoles, los Salmos, etc. En cuanto a la tradición clásica, cita textualmente a figuras como Plinio el Viejo (en su *Naturalis Historia*), Chilón de Esparta (uno de los Siete Sabios de Grecia), Tales de Mileto (quien reflexionó sobre la divinidad como principio primigenio), Solón de Atenas (renombrado sabio y legislador ateniense) y Cleóbulo de Lindos (también parte de los Siete Sabios), entre otros destacados pensadores.

«En esta vida burlada», en comparación con otros poemas que integran la misma sección del manuscrito. Las ocho composiciones de la «Estança VI» (contamos aparte la redondilla que nos ocupa) se escriben en verso, enmarcadas en un recuadro en blanco que se sangra al inicio de cada párrafo en el folio. Esta disposición nos hablaría de dos momentos de redacción, observándose un mayor esmero en la caligrafía de los poemas que en la prosa, en la que las palabras se suceden con tal rapidez que llegan a fusionarse entre sí, dificultando la lectura. Este rasgo no solo se observa en las *Quinquagenas*; también preocupó a Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso al enfrentar la edición de las *Batallas*, cuya enmarañada caligrafía le ocasionó algún que otro desvelo: «Afortunadamente para mí, Amador de los Ríos contó con personas bien entrenadas en el conocimiento de la letra de Fernández de Oviedo. [...] para motivo de mayor agradecimiento se trató de lectores capaces de entender bien la letra [...], letra arrebatada con toda frecuencia por el vértigo de hacer cadeneta con la escritura» (Fernández de Oviedo, 1983, p. xi).

El asunto es que mientras los ocho poemas se disponen en el manuscrito de idéntica manera, nuestra redondilla parece surgir de manera espontánea de la mente del cronista, quedando sus versos escritos uno tras otro en la misma línea, como si de un flujo de conciencia se tratase y ajenos a toda disposición deliberada y consciente («en esta vida burlada, el buen saber es la llaue y aquel que se salua sabe, quel otro no sabe nada»). A pesar de ello, Oviedo no los priva de una breve anotación: «Sin dubda es asi, porque, como dize el Apóstol, "la prudençia de la carne es muerte, e la prudençia del espiritu es vida e paz"», aunque, inmediatamente después, recurre a otra cita sin volver a pronunciarse sobre la redondilla: «E mas adelante el mismo Sanct Pablo dize: "no se deue saber mas de aquello que es neçesario, mas deuemos saber con modestia: e como dize a los de Corintio, la sapiençia de aqueste mundo es locura ante Dios"» (Fernández de Oviedo, 1880, pp. 90-91).

Al concluir la «Advertencia Preliminar» de su inacabada edición de las *Quinquagenas* (solo se publicó el primer tomo), Vicente de la Fuente dedicó algunos párrafos a lo que llamó «el arsenal de donde sacaba Oviedo sus noticias, comentarios, citas y comprobantes, de que vienen recargadas sus dos primeras *Quinquagenas*» (Fernández de Oviedo, 1880, p. xxix). Presentó así una relación de treinta y dos autores que fue luego ampliada por Daymond Turner (1963 y 1971), quien ofreció ciento diecinueve títulos de libros impresos que el cronista podría haber reunido al cabo de su senectud en su biblioteca de la fortaleza de Santo Domingo. Atendiendo a las fuentes, entre las diversas referencias bíblicas, doctrinales y patrísticas que nutren las *Quinquagenas*, se podrían poner de relieve la Biblia, el *Kempis* (o *Imitación de Cristo* y que Oviedo intitulaba *Contempus mundi*), la *Vida de Cristo* de Ludolfo de Saxonia, un *Sacramental* citado en las «Cosas de Doctrina Cristiana» o un *Flos Sanctorum*, entre muchas otras. No satisfecho con el uso de fuentes secundarias, Oviedo cultivó también la materia religiosa personalmente, redactando una *Regla de la vida espiritual y teología secreta*, obra que, lamentablemente, nos es hoy inaccesible. No obstante, Turner (1971, pp.141 y 164) sugiere que podría haber sido impresa en Sevilla por Domingo Robertis en 1548, mientras que Eugenio Asensio (1952), quien adquirió el único ejemplar impreso conservado, la considera una traducción de las *Regule de la vita spirituale et secreta teología*, de fray Pietro da Lucca.

A tenor de su vocación poética y de su profundo manejo de las fuentes doctrinales, nada nos impide pensar que la redondilla «En esta vida burlada» que Gonzalo Fernández Oviedo recoge en la «Estança VI» de su primera quinquagena fuera de su propia cosecha, y que el enigmático maestro que refiere no fuera otra cosa que parte de su *inventio*, una figura ficticia de autoridad concebida para respaldar su poesía. A fin de cuentas, el propio Oviedo nos revela su predilección por el verso de arte menor al manifestar: «Asi como llaman tercia rima al estilo en que el Danthe escrivio su *Comedia* e Francisco Petrarca sus *Triumphos*, de tres en tres versos, puesto que aquellos son de arte mayor de XI e doze silabas, e aquestos mios son de arte común de siete e de ocho silabas; pero el nombre se aplica aqui a la respondencia, segunda rima, como tengo dicho» (Fernández de Oviedo, 1983, p. 54). No obstante, esto sería impropio de quien se muestra tan apegado a la verdad, y quien reniega con virulencia de los escribanos, «que son tantos e tan faltos de la verdad que juraron cuando les dieron el título de dar fe de lo que ante ellos pasa, que antes hallarés a un fénix solo que dicen que hay que un escribano de quien podáis estar seguro, ni que haga su oficio como debe, guardando el secreto e derecho de las partes e no llevando derechos demasiados e no dejándose sobornar [...]» (*Quincuagenas*, III parte, Estancia XVI, fol. 37. Mss. 2217. Inédita).

Asimismo, es innegable que estuvo Oviedo favorecido con una memoria excepcional hasta sus últimos años: «Yo vi lo que os he dicho, y todo el mundo; podía yo haber trece años, porque era paje muchacho, y mejor me acuerdo de ello que de lo que vi el año próximo pasado» (Bat. I, Quinc. III, Diál. 21: Martín de Córdoba). Y si en sus *Quinquagenas* o sus *Batallas* es capaz de evocar con asombrosa nitidez los más ínfimos pormenores de la vida de terceros, resulta no menos asombroso comprobar cómo algunas escenas de su niñez y juventud permanecen intactas en su recuerdo. Véase la precisión con que, a sus setenta años, plasma en su *Libro de la Cámara Real del príncipe don Juan* (1548) el día y la hora exactos en que su señor, el primogénito de los Reyes Católicos, pasó a mejor vida[7]: «... como testigo de vista yo no lo pude inorar, porque los postreros días de su vida yo tuve las llaves de su cámara, hasta que Dios le llevó a su gloria en la çibdad de Salamanca, miércoles día de Sanct Françisco, quatro de octubre del año de 1497 años, seyendo algo más de media noche passada; y por tanto diré aquí lo que mi memoria bastare» (Fernández de Oviedo, 2006, p. 110).

Bajo tales circunstancias, y confiando en la habitual correspondencia contrastada entre los hechos narrados por Oviedo y los acontecimientos históricos, la alusión al maestro no parece ser un mero recurso retórico, ni la redondilla atribuible a su propia autoría. Para mayor incertidumbre, el poema no ofrece un conte-

[7] El *Libro de la Cámara* se terminó de redactar en 1548, con la finalidad de «informar en la corte del futuro Felipe II acerca del orden que se siguió en la casa del príncipe don Juan, primogénito de Fernando e Isabel, que había sido educado y servido conforme a los usos que regían el llamado ceremonial de etiqueta de Castilla» (Fernández Oviedo, 2006, p. 11). El joven Oviedo, nacido en 1478 al igual que el príncipe –quien le aventajaba apenas unos meses de edad– entró al servicio del heredero como mozo de cámara en 1493.

nido especialmente significativo; la exaltación de lo divino y el menosprecio de lo humano constituye un tema ampliamente tratado en la poesía religiosa del momento. Ahora bien, el hallazgo de una variante de la redondilla anterior a las *Quinquagenas* parece respaldar, al menos en un primer momento, esta hipótesis acerca de la veracidad sobre la existencia del maestro. Dicha variante se halla en el *Cancionero de Juan Álvarez Gato*, obra a la que en adelante remitiremos como MH2, conforme a la nomenclatura empleada por Brian Dutton (1990-1991).

Este cancionero, que compila la obra poética del autor madrileño, nacido hacia 1440, incluye también una serie de textos en prosa, como una *Vida* de fray Hernando de Talavera o diversas epístolas. El códice manuscrito (ms.9/5535), compilado en torno a 1510, se custodia en la Real Academia de la Historia y está organizado en tres secciones temáticas: una primera de carácter amoroso, seguida de una segunda de contenido político, para concluir con una tercera orientada a la materia espiritual. El poema que reproduce Fernández Oviedo figura en la tercera sección temática de MH2 de la siguiente manera:

> Otra
>
> En esta vida prestada,
> do bien obrar es la llave,
> aquel que se salva sabe;
> el otro no sabe nada (ID3151, MH2-87, 66v).

Brian Dutton no documenta ningún otro cancionero, ya sea individual o colectivo, que transmita estos versos o sus variantes, lo que resulta aún más llamativo considerando que esta breve redondilla figura en el códice manuscrito MH2 contiguo a varios *contrafacta*. En estos, como señala el propio Álvarez Gato, algunos cantarcillos populares son «endereçados» a Nuestro Señor, lo que nos sugiere que el poeta podría haber tomado prestada esta letra de la tradición popular. Asimismo, la existencia de otras variantes arroja algo de luz acerca de la transmisión textual, la difusión y el posible origen de nuestro poema; de hecho, se documentan numerosas versiones, o al menos el uso parcial de algunos versos, en los testimonios que se detallan a continuación, dispuestos en orden cronológico:

1. *Cancionero de Juan Álvarez Gato* (compilado c. 1510).
2. *Quinquagenas de la nobleza de España*, de Gonzalo Fernández Oviedo (escrita la «Estança VI» en torno a 1546)[8].
3. *El cortesano*, de Luis Milán (impreso en 1561).
4. *Arte poética* de Miguel Sánchez de Lima (impresa en 1580).

[8] Al final de la «Estança VI» da Oviedo la fecha: «fueron escriptas estas estancas, e todo lo que hasta en fin de la estaba treze se contiene, antes quel año de 1546 entrase» (Fernández de Oviedo, 1880, p. 96).

5. El manuscrito II-570 de la Biblioteca Real o cartapacio universitario (compilado por Gaspar Hordóñez, c. 1596).
6. *Flores del desierto*, de fray Paulino de la Estrella (impresa la 2.ª parte en 1675).
7. Dos copias parciales del *Cancionero de Juan Álvarez Gato* (siglo XIX).
8. Múltiples variantes de la tradición oral hispanoamericana, documentadas por compiladores del siglo XX en Argentina, Puerto Rico, Nuevo México, entre otros.

Resultaría arriesgado atribuir la autoría de la redondilla a Juan Álvarez Gato con el único fundamento de que su cancionero personal alberga el testimonio manuscrito más antiguo conocido. No obstante, cabe resaltar la importancia de que dicho testimonio sea el único documentado en el vasto corpus reunido por Brian Dutton. Esta circunstancia cobra aún mayor relevancia cuando nos situamos en el contexto de la corte de los Reyes Católicos, momento de especial protagonismo para la lírica tradicional en la producción nobiliaria. Siendo así, si la redondilla en cuestión tuviera su origen en la tradición oral, resultaría sumamente extraño que ningún otro autor hubiera practicado su glosa. Bien es cierto que, en el apogeo de su madurez poética, Juan Álvarez Gato se dedicó al cultivo de los *contrafacta*, pero también a la composición de breves piezas de contenido doctrinal y otras estrofillas cuya autoría se puede afirmar con certeza. De hecho, la redondilla que nos ocupa (ID3151) aparece agrupada, bajo la rúbrica de «letras de doctrina», junto a varias estrofas de tres y cuatro versos de arte menor en MH2. Esta rúbrica casaría a la perfección con la afirmación que hacía Oviedo en sus *Quinquagenas*: «No dexaré de dezir al propósito presente unos versos que, quando yo aprendía a escrevir me dio mi maestro por materia, que dizen: en esta vida burlada, el buen saber es la llaue y aquel que se salua sabe, quel otro no sabe nada» (Quincuagena I, primera parte, fols. 21r-21v, mss. 2217, BNE).

En este contexto, cobran especial relevancia los maestros de Oviedo. Entre los más notorios del momento, se conoce con certeza que fray Diego de Deza (1443-1523) le ofreció su ayuda amistosa en varias ocasiones y además perteneció a la misma generación de Álvarez Gato. Deza, maestro del príncipe don Juan, ejerció como intermediario para que el pequeño Gonzalo ingresase en Sevilla, en 1490, como paje al servicio del joven duque de Villahermosa, sobrino del Rey Católico[9]. De nuevo por intercesión de Deza, no se le pudo presentar a Oviedo un horizonte más prometedor cuando, posteriormente, en 1493, obtuvo el cargo de mozo encargado de la cámara del príncipe don Juan[10]. Y el prelado le garantizó su apoyo una última vez tras la disolución de esta corte por la muerte del heredero, en 1497, ofreciéndole un puesto como secretario de la Santa Inquisición.

Sin embargo, se revela improbable que Deza hubiera conocido la obra poética de Juan Álvarez Gato, puesto que esta circuló a buen seguro entre el entorno

[9] La madre de fray Diego de Deza se llamaba Isabel Deza y guardaba parentesco con Leonor de Soto, duquesa de Villahermosa y madre del joven duque (Fernández de Oviedo, 1983, p. XVIII).

[10] Deza desempeñó durante once años el cargo de maestro del príncipe, desde 1486, cuando, cumplidos los ocho años, don Juan estuvo en edad de comenzar el curso de sus estudios (Cotarelo Valledor, 1902, p. 75).

más cercano al poeta[11]. Además, fue el inquisidor general conocido por su intransigencia hacia los conversos, a quienes hostigó con particular severidad. Nada podría estar más alejado del círculo de confianza de Álvarez Gato, cuya esposa, sin ir más lejos, pertenecía a una de las familias de judaísmo más conocido e indiscutible, pues su parentela había adoptado una postura de activísima resistencia contra el Estatuto de limpieza de sangre implantado por Silíceo en Toledo, en 1449 (Márquez Villanueva, 1960, p. 61). Más aún, conviene precisar que Deza fue el maestro del príncipe don Juan, no de Oviedo, por al menos dos razones: en su *Libro de Cámara del Príncipe don Juan*, Oviedo afirma expresamente que el príncipe recibía sus lecciones en solitario, circunstancia esperable si se considera que un mozo de servicio difícilmente habría accedido a una formación equiparable a la reservada al heredero de los Reyes Católicos[12]; por otro lado, Oviedo no llegó a la corte regia hasta 1493, cuando contaba ya con catorce años, edad a la que sin duda habría aprendido a leer. A tenor de esta misma razón, poco daría sus frutos localizar al maestro sevillano de la corte ducal de Villahermosa, con quien Oviedo habría entrado en contacto con unos doce años y al respecto de quien no hemos localizado menciones documentales.

El foco debe desplazarse, por lo tanto, del maestro al aprendiz. Es verosímil la afirmación de Oviedo sobre el haber aprendido aquella redondilla de un maestro, de modo que el interrogante se sitúa verdaderamente en dónde aprendió a leer el pequeño Gonzalo. La respuesta la sugiere el insistente orgullo con el que el cronista se refiere a su ciudad natal en sus obras: Madrid; cuna que comparte, además, con nuestro poeta. Más que identificar al maestro concreto, parece prioritario reconstruir el contexto de su alfabetización, pues todo indica que Oviedo no había aprendido a leer en la corte, donde se desenvolvió siendo ya mozo, sino en su infancia, probablemente hacia los siete u ocho años, edad que las normas pedagógicas del momento marcaban como el inicio obligatorio de la instrucción lectora en un hogar cristiano (Infantes, 1998, p. 26). Aunque los datos sobre sus padres son escasos, existen indicios de que no formaban parte de la alta nobleza. Poco dice Oviedo de su padre, de quien se cuida de mencionar siquiera el nombre; pero sí conocemos la procedencia de ambos progenitores, asturianos llegados a la capital:

[11] La presencia de Juan Álvarez Gato en las grandes compilaciones de su época es relativamente limitada. De sus poemas religiosos apenas figuran variantes en otros cancioneros y su circulación tuvo un alcance reducido, a excepción de unas *Coplas de la Natividad de Nuestro Señor* (15*NC) que circularon de forma impresa. El corpus más extendido fue el amoroso, del cual pasaron diez poemas al *Cancionero de Rennert* (c. 1500, LB1) y quince al *Cancionero General* (11CG, impreso en 1511). La tercera compilación colectiva en la que su obra tiene una representación significativa es el *Cancionero de Pedro Guillén de Segovia* (copia del XVIII del cancionero del XV, MN19) en el cual se incluyen solo seis poemas.

[12] «Acabado el vestir, o ante que se acabase, entrava el obispo de salamanca, su maestro, e en tanto que su alteza se aderesçaba por los de la capilla, rezava el prínçipe con el dicho su maestro e, acabado de rezar, oía misa, e después de dicha, estudiava una ora e estava solo con su maestro» (Fernández Oviedo, 2006, p. 95).

> Como ninguno, sin ser ingrato, debe olvidar su patria, hame parescido que yo sería culpado si [...] en esta segunda rima de mis *Quincuagenas* olvidase a Madrid, seyendo una villa tan noble y famosa en España y como yema de toda ella, puesta en la mitad de su circunferencia, en la cual yo nascí, de padres y progenitores naturales del Principado de Asturias de Oviedo, procreados en un pequeño pueblo que se dice Borondes, de la feligresía de San Miguel de Bascones y concejo de Grado, notorios hijosdalgo y de nobles solares; y como otros muchos, por diversos motivos, suelen dejar la tierra donde nacieron, y irse a ser vecinos en partes extrañas, así lo hizo mi padre, seyendo mancebo, y asentó en aquella villa... (*apud* Julián Paz, 1947, pp. 276-277).

Asegura Fernández de Oviedo tener parientes hidalgos de origen madrileño: «porque aunque en aquella villa, Madrid, nací e tengo allí deudos que no tienen allí mucho tiempo, pero hidalgos, por la parte que me toca, muchas más partes tengo en Asturias de Oviedo, donde nació mi padre en el Concejo de Grado» (Bat. I, Quinc. III, Diál. 32: don Juan de Zapata). Resulta llamativo que nuestro apasionado genealogista no especifique los apellidos de sus presuntos parientes hidalgos madrileños. Este detalle nos remite al particular estatus de los hidalgos: no formaban parte de la alta nobleza, sino que pertenecían a una nobleza menor, en muchos casos, reducida a una mera condición heredada o nominal. Su linaje era noble por ascendencia, aunque con frecuencia se encontraba empobrecido; ahora bien, podían carecer de recursos materiales, pero conservaban con firmeza y orgullo su otrora ilustre apellido. Dada la obsesiva preocupación de Oviedo por los linajes y la heráldica, resulta sospechoso que no haya ni una mención de soslayo al apellido de su parentela nobiliaria, incluso aunque permaneciese ahora empobrecida. En este marco, todo apunta a que Oviedo aprendió sus primeras letras en un entorno modesto, y es razonable suponer que, en lugar de recibir una instrucción particular, asistió a una escuela, como sería habitual para los niños de su condición. Asimismo, él mismo alude a que su vocación de anotador de sucesos históricos fue heredada de su padre (Fernández de Oviedo, 1983, p. XIII), lo cual refuerza la idea de que, de haber recibido de él su alfabetización, no habría dejado de mencionarlo con orgullo. Además, hay en sus textos un interesante encumbramiento de aquellos que, a su propio juicio, han tenido el privilegio de educarse en la capital:

> E así como más cortesanos naturales, naturalmente salen de Madrid bien inclinados y enséñanse desde su puericia a vivir virtuosamente e crísanse en conversación de gente bien criada e cortesana, e de necesidad han de ser mejores que los que mejor se crían e con buenos conversan. E veis aquí la causa por que la gente de Madrid es valerosa de su nacimiento, y por esto decía la Reina Católica doña Isabel, que el caballero de Madrid vivía e se trataba como un señor o hombre de título de otra parte dese reino, y el escudero de Madrid como el caballero de otra parte, e el plebeo o ciudadano de Madrid como un buen escudero de otra ciudad noble, y el labrador de Madrid como otro hombre de mejor calidad que labrador de otra parte. Y de aquí viene que hallarés en aquella villa muchos caballeros e hidalgos muy valerosos y en la Casa Real con preeminentes oficios, y tan bien inclinados a honra y a valer por sus personas, que a muchos ha hecho este deseo peregrinos por el mundo. Y dígoos verdad, que como yo he seído muy trabajado y he discurrido por muchas partes del

> mundo, nunca me vi en parte, en Indias ni fuera dellas apartado de España, que dejase de ver otro de Madrid (Bat. I, Quinc. III, Diál. 32: don Juan de Zapata).

Solo alguien nacido y educado en Madrid podría alardear con tal seguridad de su origen y formación, y esta actitud se comprende mejor si consideramos que, pese a sus supuestos vínculos con linajes hidalgos, Oviedo muestra una clara inclinación por el mérito individual como vía de ascenso social, como expresa sin reservas en la semblanza de sus *Batallas* dedicada a Hernán Álvarez de Toledo Zapata, a propósito, cuñado de Juan Álvarez Gato[13]. Así, el cronista recurre constantemente a su condición de madrileño, convencido de que nacer en la capital otorgaba, por sí solo, una superioridad social respecto a otros de igual estamento.

Aunque en 1478 Madrid no era más que una modesta ciudad con apenas 3000 habitantes –una cifra que apenas se duplicaría hacia 1546–, sería plausible que la difusión de la redondilla se hubiera producido en el ámbito escolar, lo que explicaría su rápida circulación por toda la ciudad a pesar de la escasa fama de su autor. Así las cosas, parece oportuno detenerse momentáneamente para considerar las prácticas escolares vigentes en España a finales del siglo xv y comienzos del xvi, pues ello no solo permitirá delinear el posible contexto de propagación de la redondilla, sino que contribuirá a entender por qué esta composición, y no pocas de sus variantes, se han instrumentalizado en entornos escolares y académicos religiosos desde el xvi hasta nuestros días.

1. PRÁCTICAS ESCOLARES DE LOS SIGLOS XV Y XVI: LA INSTRUMENTALIZACIÓN CATEQUÉTICA DE LAS ESTROFAS BREVES

Sabido es que «la versificación de los contenidos, habitual ya en el mundo clásico y en el medieval, ha sido juzgada siempre como recurso facilitador de la memorización» (Santolaria, 2021, p. 433). En este sentido, la escuela del mester de clerecía, ya desde el siglo xiii, entreveraba a través de la cuaderna vía una finalidad didáctica, una rima reiterativa, un proceso de memorización y un claro afán de adoctrinamiento dirigido al público oyente. Sin embargo, a partir de los siglos xv y xvi este método tan preferido por la Iglesia experimenta una simplificación progresiva en los ambientes pedagógicos y catequéticos: las estructuras rítmicas se vuelven cada

[13] «ALCAYDE. El principal secretario en las cosas e negocios de Castilla fue en un tiempo Hernán Dálvarez Zapata natural de la ciudad de Toledo, antiguo criado de la reyna doña Isabel. [...] Quanto a quien fue, digo quél fue el fundador de su casa e mayorazgo, y el ganó la hacienda e mayorazgo que sus hijos gozan; y puede decir con Mario y de sus palabras, quando dijo en una su oración al pueblo romano: "Más honroso me es a mí haber adquerido la dignidad e ser prencipio della, que a otros haber corrompido la que rescibieron de sus pasados"» (Bat. I, Quinc. III, Diál. 1: Hernán Álvarez Zapata).

vez más elementales, especialmente en composiciones dirigidas al público infantil en sus primeras etapas de aprendizaje.

En tiempos de la niñez de Oviedo, «el aprendizaje se realizaba en gran medida de manera auditiva: primero, la lectura simple o glosada por un solista; luego, la repetición colectiva, con recitación practicada por la mañana y por la tarde, completada casi siempre con interpelaciones, preguntas cruzadas y declamaciones individuales o por grupos (a modo coral)» (Santolaria, 2021, p. 433). Así, había en estos ambientes formativos religiosos una querencia a las estrofas breves, de no más de cinco versos, abundando en las *Doctrinas*, catecismos o cartillas que se empleaban para enseñar a los mozos a leer los pareados, redondillas y quintillas en metros de arte menor. Porque «mientras que en esa época el verso de arte mayor se consideraba la forma más elegante de la poesía española, no dejaba de ser una forma importada, y por tanto culta y artificial. Al ser además un verso acentual, para el oído castellano probablemente nunca perdió del todo su tono extranjero» (Clarke, 1941, p. 490)[14]. Parece natural, entonces, que el verso español autóctono, el octosílabo, resultase más adecuado que el largo y pesado verso de arte mayor para transmitir las enseñanzas piadosas a tan tierna edad. De hecho, así se comprueba en algunos de los manuales que Víctor Infantes recoge en una preciosa colección de treinta y cuatro facsímiles de *Cartillas españolas para enseñar a leer de los siglos XV y XVI* (1998). Entre ellas, el *Arte para enseñar a leer perfetamente y en muy breue tiempo* (1542) fue «compuesta según la vía y perfecta orden del deletrear, en la qual se ha de tener el siguiente modo con los discípulos [...]», y en ella se provee al *magister puerorum* de un repertorio de estrofillas breves por cada sílaba que el niño ha de aprender:

> Bra, bre, bri, bro, bru...
>
> Tú señor que quebrantaste
> el infierno y nos quesiste
> librar como nos libraste
> y todo el mundo saluaste
> quando en la cruz te posiste.
> Con humildad miraren
> obrador de las naciones
> aquellos que sin fe son
> que alumbres el coraçon
> te suplica y les perdones (Infantes, 1998, facsímil VI, 16 pp.).

De este modo, se puede constatar que «los alumnos, en realidad, adquirían unos "saberes de oídas" en estas escuelas llamadas de "leer y cantar"» (Ruiz García, 2014, p. 2). Esto, sumado al apunte que señala Baehr de que la redondilla española, a diferencia de la italiana, no fue concebida para el entretenimiento cortesano del canto ni el baile (Baehr, 1973, p. 239), lleva a pensar que el escenario inicial de difusión

[14] Es nuestra la traducción del inglés de esta cita.

cantada de nuestra redondilla no habría sido la corte regia, sino los colegios y espacios educativos, donde habría adquirido una función mnemotécnica, pedagógica y musical: «cuando los niños iban, tras la lección, entonando por las calles y plazas lo aprendido [...] cumplían así, en cierto modo, con la misión de ayudar a reformar y mejorar costumbres sociales y familiares (favorecer la divulgación de sana doctrina, difundir pegadizos cantares de aire popular, como posible contraofensiva a las coplas deshonestas, más comunes en el mundo rural y las tareas agrícolas)» (Santolaria, 2021, pp. 433-434). En ese contexto de compromiso social y sagrado, poco pesaría para los maestros y sus alumnos el nombre del autor de los versos, pues lo que estaba en juego era la salvación del alma de una toda una nueva generación de cristianos.

2. LA REDONDILLA ID3151, SU ORIGEN CORTESANO Y SU EMPLEO PEDAGÓGICO: ALGUNAS FUENTES CONTRASTABLES

Si admitiéramos que esta redondilla (ID3151) efectivamente fue utilizada como material escolar en el siglo XVI, se entendería fácilmente su proceso de pérdida de autoría, rezando ya anónima en 1561, cuando *El cortesano* de Luis Milán ve la luz en las prensas valencianas de Joan de Arcos. En esta publicación, que no se deslinda aún del ámbito áulico dado el público para el que fue ideada, el personaje del Maestre Zapater transmite una variante que adquiere ya cierta dimensión popular, pues la redondilla es referida como un «dicho»:

> Lo que no querria nadi para sí, no le quiera para otri, pues para ser verdadero sabio, no puede ser sino haciend lo qu'este *dicho* dice:
>
> Esta vida tan penada,
> si quereis que en bien acabe,
> aquel que se salva sabe
> qu'el otro no sabe nada (Milán, 1874, p. 268).

En la misma línea, es decir, compartiéndose aún entre un público cortesano, se halla su siguiente aparición de la mano del portugués Miguel Sánchez de Lima, en su *Arte poética en romance castellano*, dada a la estampa en las prensas de Juan Iñiguez en Alcalá de Henares, en 1580. Aquí la anonimia del poema tropieza además con un error de atribución, que no fue solventado hasta el siglo pasado, cuando María Rosa Lida enmendó la atribución en un estudio monográfico sobre la obra de Juan de Mena (1950). La investigadora localizó, además, el precedente exacto de esta confusión en las críticas que recibió el autor de *Las trescientas* por parte de algunos detractores como Jerónimo de Arbolanche, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza o el propio Sánchez de Lima. Estos lo acusaban de ser «poeta hinchado y de preñada vena, violento en las metáforas y corrompedor de la lengua» (Amador de los Ríos,

1861, tomo VI, 105)[15]. A este respecto ideó Sánchez de Lima una chanza malintencionada contra el cordobés, y en su *Arte poética* puso en boca de Silvio, un personaje escéptico ante la poesía, una irónica alabanza a Mena por su desbordante verbosidad, que lo llevó a escribir nada menos que trescientas coplas:

> Calidonio: Y así que lo mejor es no presumir ninguno de sí, pues la verdadera ciencia consiste en saberse uno salvar; que el que esto no sabe, por mucho que sepa, no sabe nada. Y por eso dijo nuestro Juan de Mena:
>
> En esta vida prestada
> donde el bien vivir es llave,
> aquel que se salva sabe,
> que el otro no sabe nada.
>
> Silvio: ¡Oh! ¡qué excelente *dicho*, oh, qué buena definición de sabiduría! A fe, señor Calidonio, que si en mi mano estuviera, aunque no hubiese dicho otra cosa Juan de Mena en toda su vida, por solo esto le daría el nombre de más que Poeta» (*apud* Lida, 1950, p. 340).

No se ha perdido, por lo tanto, aún la consciencia de que esta redondilla debe su creación a una pluma culta, aunque andan desencaminados aquellos que la atribuyen a Mena. Ante este panorama, María Rosa Lida resuelve: «siendo la copla conocida y habiéndose olvidado el nombre de su autor, nunca famoso, fue natural asociarla con el poeta que para el público general era todavía el poeta por excelencia [Juan de Mena]. Es probable que ese empleo escolar haya asegurado a la copla su extraordinaria perduración y difusión por todo el dominio hispánico» (Lida, 1950: 341).

A finales del siglo XVI sigue apareciendo la redondilla vinculada a ambientes educativos, esta vez en un cartapacio firmado por el estudiante universitario Gaspar Hordóñez. El manuscrito se custodia actualmente bajo la signatura II-570 y el título de *Poesías varias* en la Biblioteca Real[16]. En su contraportada, en el margen superior izquierdo, aparece su antigua signatura (2F-4), junto a una nota que advierte: «No alterar esta signatura que a ella hago multitud de referencias del catálogo» y justo debajo «este libro perteneció sin duda a la biblioteca de Gondomar»[17].

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[15] Lida ofrece el ejemplo del tudelano Jerónimo Arbolanche (1546-1572), quien ridiculizó a Mena en una epístola que precedía a su poema *Las Habidas* (1556) haciendo un juego de palabras a propósito de las famosas *Trescientas coplas*:

> No sé yo hacer, como hizo Joan de Mena,
> coplas que se han de leer a descansadas,
> el cual, como tenía preñada vena,
> trescientas dellas nos dejó preñadas... (*apud* Lida, 1950, p. 340, nota 10).

[16] Puede consultarse aquí su digitalización: https://rbdigital.realbiblioteca.es/s/realbiblioteca/item/2500.

[17] Este cartapacio cuenta con una interesante trayectoria. Para conocer las circunstancias que propiciaron que diversos cartapacios poéticos manuscritos que circulaban en Salamanca se incorporasen a la biblioteca de Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, I conde de Gondomar, ha de verse la bibliografía de

Como advierte María de Carmen Ponz Guillén (1991, pp. 223-225), el cartapacio no fue solo utilizado con fines literarios. Abundan en él las fórmulas administrativas propias de un estudiante de Leyes (fols. 90r, 91r, 92r) y de un escribano en ejercicio más adelante (fols. 182r, 183r, 184r, 186r, 188r), así como rúbricas y cuentas varias (186v, 187r). De ahí que el manuscrito presente dos tipos de letra, ambos influidos por la llamada letra itálica del siglo xvi: la letra humanística, de rasgos firmes y lectura relativamente fácil, y la procesal, usada en los borradores de documentos administrativos y en algunos literarios copiados apresuradamente. Eso sí, todo el manuscrito parece de la misma mano por el tamaño y el trazado de la letra. Sobre la identidad del copista nos dan una pista las alusiones a Gaspar Hordóñez que siembran todo el códice: «yo gasparordoñez estudiante en esta universidad de Valladolid y vezino deella [...]» (fol. 90r), así como varios intercambios poéticos y epístolas en prosa firmadas bajo este nombre. A la luz de todos estos hallazgos, Ponz Guillén concluye:

> La frecuencia de este nombre en un cartapacio que no prodiga los nombres de autores nos lleva a formular la hipótesis de que Gaspar Hordóñez, estudiante de leyes en la Universidad de Valladolid, siguiendo una costumbre más frecuente en la Universidad de Salamanca reúne en el mismo cartapacio que usaba para las notas de clase y que usará más tarde para los borradores de su actividad de escribano una colección de textos, tanto en prosa como en verso, entre los que incluirá algunas de sus propias composiciones (Ponz Guillén, 1991, pp. 231-232).

Entre los elementos paratextuales que enmarcan su contenido poético, destaca una dedicatoria dirigida a una de las figuras más relevantes del mecenazgo poético vallisoletano de fines del siglo xvi: «Al mui ilustrísimo señor don Enrrique Pimentel, hijo del conde Venavente, señor de Ruisellon, Viconde de Altamira, rector de las escuelas maiores de Salamanca» (fol. 203r), y aparece fechada de mano de Hordóñez, «En la muy noble ciudad de Valladolid, a veintiquatro días del mes de julio de mil e quinientos e noventa y seis años». Esta dedicatoria ocupa el folio inmediatamente anterior a lo que se puede considerar un cancionero de poesía renacentista, que Hordóñez titula «Sonetos y cancioneros y otras cosas», sección en la que se observa un mayor cuidado en la caligrafía[18].

Pablo Andrés Escapa (2016). Los orígenes de dicha biblioteca han sido, asimismo, objeto de estudio por parte de Pedro M. Cátedra (2002). En lo que atañe, de manera específica, al posterior ingreso del ms. ii-570 en la Biblioteca de Su Majestad en 1785, a los pormenores de su signatura y encuadernación decimonónicas, así como a las consecuencias derivadas del decreto gubernamental que dispuso en 1954 la restitución del patrimonio público a sus lugares de procedencia, véase Ponz Guillén (1991).

[18] Ponz Guillén (1991, pp. 261-288) ha descrito y clasificado el contenido del manuscrito en tres secciones principales. La primera, de naturaleza miscelánea y compuesta en su mayoría en prosa (fols. 1r-98r); la segunda (fols. 104r-203r), caracterizada por la presencia abundante de composiciones de carácter tradicional –glosas, romances, coplas, villancicos, entre otras–, dentro de la cual figura la redondilla objeto de nuestro análisis; y, finalmente, una tercera sección (fols. 203r-290r), integrada por un corpus de 150 piezas en verso, de autoría identificada, predominantemente en arte mayor, y dedicada al rector de la Universidad de Salamanca.

Pese a encontrarse la residencia de sus mecenas en Valladolid, Hordóñez hubo de enviar su cartapacio a Salamanca porque los Estatutos establecidos por Martín V impedían al rector ausentarse de la ciudad durante su periodo de rectorando, a no ser por causa grave (Ponz Guillén, 1991, p. 241). Sabemos que Enrique Pimentel ejerció el rectorado de la Universidad de Salamanca entre el 11 de noviembre de 1595 y el 11 de noviembre de 1596, lo que permite situar la redacción de la dedicatoria en ese marco temporal preciso y, con ello, la última intervención de su compilador. Se puede adelantar aún más la fecha recurriendo a los indicios documentales de que Hordóñez pudo desempeñar la labor de escribano entre 1585-1590 (Ponz Guillén, 1991, p. 232), de modo que los materiales procedentes de su etapa universitaria, que lo habilitó para desempeñar precisamente este trabajo, han de ser a la fuerza anteriores a 1585.

«Los estudios realizador por Hordóñez no debieron pasar de la licenciatura, que quizá no concluyó, y parecen los habituales entre los funcionarios administrativos en tiempos de los Austrias: Leyes, Gramática, Retórica y Aritmética, lo que debió de permitirle ejercer como secretario y escribano. El resto de sus conocimientos –Historia Universal y de España, Literatura– parecen pertenecer al ámbito de sus preferencias personales, así como su gusto por la poesía» (Ponz Guillén, 1991, p. 235). La redondilla tras cuya pista andamos se encuentra en la segunda parte del cartapacio, recogida junto a un grueso de sesenta composiciones tradicionales entre las que hay glosas, romances, coplas y villancicos que se suceden indistintamente. Solo seis de estos poemas aparecen con indicación de su autor, pero no es el caso de nuestra pieza, que figura en el folio bajo el epígrafe de «villanesca». A nuestra redondilla le sigue una de las veintitrés glosas que Hordóñez compuso sobre estrofas anónimas:

En esta vida prestada
el buen vivir es la llaue
aquel que se salba saue
quel otro no saue nada.

Glosa

Fuerte y cruda es la porfía
de las miserias y males
que persiguen los mortales
en esta dudosa vida,
con penas tan desyguales.
Mas bien del que lo pasare
con voluntad humillada,
que a este talle está guardada
la gloria si bien obrare
en esta vida prestada.

En el pecado dolor,
en los trabajos paçiençia,

y en lo demás la conçiençia
suelen dar al peccador
contrición y penintençia.
D'esto es justo presumir
el sauio y el que no saue
sin que demás yuntos trabe,
porque para bien morir
el buen vivir es la llabe.

Llaue podrá tener çierta
para abrir la herradura
de la çelestial altura
el que su sauer conçierta
con esta sola ventura.

Que este es el fino sauer
y este es justo que se alabe
el hombre bajo y el grabe,
porque a mi crudo entender
aquel que se salba saue.

Sauio será y sauidor
de todo lo que quisiere
el que con esto concluyere
su sauer y su primor,
y de lo demás supiere.
Que aquel se puede llamar
hombre de çiençia acabada
perfecta y bien conçertada;
qu'el se supiere saluar,
que ese otro no saue nada (fol. 132v, ms. 11-570, Biblioteca Real).

Destaca esta variante de «En esta vida prestada» por su singular fidelidad textual a la versión recogida por Juan Álvarez Gato en su cancionero. Ello sugiere que Hordóñez podría haberse servido o de un cancionero intermedio que transmitiera la redondilla o bien de alguna compilación de lírica tradicional universitaria transmitida en las *peciae* de que se servían los estudiantes de Valladolid[19]; no se trataría, en cualquier caso, del manuscrito MH2 propiamente dicho, pues, de ser así, la coincidencia textual sería prácticamente total. En cualquier caso, la forma de la

[19] A fines de la Edad Media los rudimentos de las primeras letras se confiaban a cartillas y catecismos, y los saberes universitarios discurrían por el ingenioso procedimiento de las *peciae* (Ruiz García, 2014, p. 1). Las *peciae* –del latín *pecia*, 'pieza' o 'cuaderno'– eran secciones individuales de un manuscrito que se alquilaban por separado a estudiantes o copistas. Este sistema permitía fraccionar obras académicas en unidades numeradas, que circulaban de manera independiente, permitiendo a varios estudiantes transcribir simultáneamente distintas partes de una misma obra.

redondilla no se aparta aún de los códigos cortesanos, como lo sugiere la presencia, en los folios inmediatamente anteriores, de dos alusiones al arzobispo Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña, figura central en la vida política y cultural del reinado de Enrique IV y de los Reyes Católicos, y coetáneo de Álvarez Gato, quien contó con su protección y mecenazgo[20]. Dos composiciones del corpus de «villanesca» recogido en el cartapacio hacen referencia explícita a Carrillo, «Cómo te va, di Carrillo» y «Quién ha puesto en ti, Carrillo», ambas transcritas y glosadas por Hordóñez en el folio 127r de su manuscrito. Volvemos, entonces, a las semblanzas que Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, apasionado de la heráldica, legó en sus *Batallas*, donde se testimonia cómo Carrillo fue fuente inagotable –como autor y destinatario– de sátiras, coplas y burlas populares, engrosando así un caudal literario creado al cabo por mano cortesana:

> ALCAYDE. Yo le conoscí e le hablé. [...] e fue muy gentil hombre de palacio e gran decidor; del qual oí muchos dichos donosos e vivos, celebrados en la lengua del vulgo, de respuestas acutas e gentiles sentencias, e aún malicias bien a propósito aplicadas. Pero los más de sus dichos son mordaces, e pellizcos, e cortesanos maliciosos; mercadería es en que se gana poco e es notoria pérdida ociosa del tiempo, e no para todos gustos honesta (Bat. I, Quinc. IV, tomo III, Diál. 42: don Alonso Carrillo).

Que el nombre del arzobispo Carrillo figure en estas glosas del mss. II-570 denota que su figura, aunque ya ausente en el presente histórico de Hordóñez, seguía operando como un referente reconocible en el ámbito cultural en el que se desempeñó este cartapacio universitario a finales del siglo XVI, lo que subraya una posible cercanía –o al menos conocimiento– de la producción literaria forjada en los círculos poéticos cortesanos del siglo anterior. Si la redondilla aparece sin atribución en el manuscrito de Hordóñez pese a una posible vinculación con el entorno cortesano de Álvarez Gato, esto, lejos de ser casual, es representativo de ciertos mecanismos propios de la cultura manuscrita de esta centuria:

> Si del manuscrito antológico [que sirve de modelo a la copia] [...] se seleccionan, a su vez, algunos de los textos que contiene, se ha iniciado el camino para que pasen a ser consideradas anónimas o bien atribuidas, no siempre correctamente, a los autores más famosos. Por otra parte, si un nuevo coleccionador no conoce ni puede conocer a los poetas y lo que le interesa es la poesía elegida, ¿tendría mucho interés en averiguar su nombre? (*apud* Ponz Guillén, 1991, p. 238).

De hecho, la posterior aparición de estos versos atribuidos erróneamente a Juan de Mena en otros testimonios del siglo XVI –como el *Arte poética* de Sánchez de Lima– sugiere que los copistas reconocían tras la redondilla una voz culta y cortesana, aunque no supieran (o no les importase verificar) su autoría exacta, desdibujada en favor del texto y de su funcionalidad dentro de compilaciones poéticas o ejercicios

[20] En el folio 60r de MH2, su cancionero personal, dice así la rúbrica de un poema dirigido al arzobispo: «Para Alonso Carrillo, señor de Maqueda. Rogándole en nombre de todos los de su casa que, cuando volviese de Brihuega, adonde estava, que se viniese por Guadalajara» (ID3129, MH2-67).

retóricos. Dicha funcionalidad lleva a que la redondilla inicie su propio recorrido, como decía María Rosa Lida, por el dominio hispánico, y a juzgar por su aparición en testimonios portugueses, por nuestro reino vecino en la península Ibérica.

Se documentarán los versos de nuestra redondilla en una obra doctrinal del reino de Portugal en la segunda mitad del siglo xvii, de la mano de fray Paulino de la Estrella. Poco más se sabe de este autor aparte de que fue un poeta lusitano que publicó en castellano sus versos líricos treinta años después de haber ocupado el trono los Braganzas, «cuando parecía que la hegemonía de la lengua de Castilla debía haber terminado en el dominio de la lengua de *Camoens*» (Estrella, 1953, p. xi).

La primera edición de *Flores del desierto* se publicó en Lisboa en 1667, mientras su autor residía en Londres en acompañamiento de doña Catalina de Braganza, lo cual explica que la dedicatoria estuviese dirigida a dicha soberana, consorte de Inglaterra, Escocia e Irlanda por su matrimonio con Carlos II de Inglaterra. La segunda edición obtuvo licencia, también en la capital portuguesa, el 12 de abril de 1673, aunque no se imprimió hasta 1675. En esta segunda impresión la dedicatoria original fue suprimida y reemplazada por otra dirigida a doña Luisa María de Mendoza, condesa de Santiago (Estrella, 1953, p. xv). La unión de ambas –que no corresponden a ediciones distintas, sino a dos secciones de una misma obra– dio lugar al volumen bipartito que conocemos hoy, con una primera parte de carácter penitencial y una segunda de tono hagiográfico. En lo que a dedicatorias concierte, nos interesa en esta investigación la dirigida «Al pío lector» por su marcado tono didáctico-moral:

> No hallarás, lector, aquí
> elegancias ni conceptos,
> mas saludables preceptos
> provechosos para ti.
> Estas flores que cogí,
> aunque toscas, por mi mano,
> si eres prudente y cristiano,
> tú las harás hoy mejores,
> volviendo en fruto las flores
> sazonado, dulce y sano.
> Sin adorno y sin beldad
> verás mi discurso, amigo,
> porque al fin verdades digo
> y es desnuda la verdad.
> Espero que tu piedad
> reciba mi pobre don:
> y pues sólo es mi intención
> procurar por este medio
> de tus faltas el remedio,
> da tú a las mías perdón (Estrella, 1953, pp. 4-5).

A pesar de sus «provechosos preceptos» no fue grande la fortuna editorial de esta obra en España. Su pequeño libro en dozavo nunca logró en nuestro país una segunda edición, aunque en el año 1779 salió de la imprenta madrileña de Andrés de Sotos un libro en octavo, cuya portada anunciaba *Poesías espirituales escritas por*

Fr. Luis León, Diego Alfonso Velázquez de Velasco, Fr. Paulino de la Estrella, Fr. Pedro de Padilla y Frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, en la que el colector ponía en buena compañía al poeta portugués (Estrella, 1953, p. XVIII). En rigor, no puede sostenerse que este autor formase parte de los círculos poéticos castellanos, ni que fuese un receptor directo de la producción literaria de los cancioneros (afirmación que resultaría imposible de verificar dada la extrema escasez de datos biográficos que se conservan sobre su figura). No obstante, en la segunda parte de *Flores del desierto* (Lisboa, 1675) asoma tímidamente un verso de nuestro poema, que ni siquiera mantiene, como en variantes anteriores, su forma de redondilla, sino que se presenta bajo la apariencia de motecillo, transmitiendo una pequeña dosis de sabiduría popular, al estilo de la paremia. En dicha segunda parte, de naturaleza hagiográfica, el franciscano se detiene en la figura de la Virgen, y bajo la rúbrica de «En el día de los placeres de Ntra. Sra. en que se canta el Evangelio "*Stabat juxta Crucem*"» glosa varios motes, entre ellos «Quien se sabe salvar, sabe»:

> Mote
> *Quien se sabe salvar, sabe*
> Glosa
> Del mundo todo el saber
> para con Dios es locura,
> y sólo es suma cordura
> amar, servir y temer
> a quien tiene tal poder
> que todo en su mano cabe;
> y así ninguno se alabe
> desde el uno al otro polo
> de otro saber, pues que sólo
> *quien se sabe salvar, sabe*. [...] (Estrella, 1953, pp. 180-181).

Si dejamos de lado las dos copias manuscritas parciales que se realizaron *del Cancionero de Juan Álvarez Gato* en el siglo XIX[21], y en las que ID3151 se transmite sin alteraciones, habremos de efectuar ahora un considerable salto temporal y geográfico para hallar documentada nuevamente nuestra redondilla; será en el continente americano donde esta experimente su más fecunda transmisión. Al abrigo de la oralidad, ID3151 parece haber sobrevivido lo suficiente para ser recogida por diversos compiladores a lo largo del siglo XX[22]. Por caso, en Puerto Rico (Mason, 1918, p. 338), en Perú (Palma, 1894, tomo III, p. 359), así como en Santa Fe, estado de Nuevo México (Estados Unidos), se canta todavía hoy así:

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[21] *Juan Álvarez Gato, obras en prosa y verso* (fol. 97r, ms. 2114; siglo XIX. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional) y una copia parcial del cancionero manuscrito de Juan Álvarez Gato (fol. 67r, ms. 4120; siglo XIX. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional).

[22] Extrañamente, Margit Frenk no recoge ninguna variante de la redondilla ni en el índice de primeros versos, ni entre los poemas atribuidos a Juan Álvarez Gato, ni siquiera en el apartado de refranes de su *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XVII)* (1987).

En esta vida prestada
que es de la ciencia la llave,
quien sabe salvarse, sabe,
y el que no, no sabe nada (Campa, 1946, p. 155).

Con una mínima variante sobrevive en La Rioja (Carrizo, 1942, p. 100) y Tucumán (Carrizo, 1937: núm.239), al noroeste de Argentina:

En esta vida emprestada
el buen vivir es la llave,
aquél que se salva, sabe
y el que no, no sabe nada

Por su parte, Juan Draghi Lucero (1938, p. 222) documenta también esta versión anterior en Mendoza, al suroeste de Argentina, mientras que, en la ciudad de La Plata, provincia de Buenos Aires, Juan Alfonso Carrillo presenta, en cambio, una llamativa alternativa:

La ciencia más elevada
es la de que el alma salve;
porque al fin de esta jornada,
aquel que se salva sabe
y el que no, no sabe nada (Carrillo, 1942, pp. 100-102, nota 119).

Lo curioso de esta última estrofa no está en las variantes que presenta, sino en la nota acerca de la procedencia de su transmisor: «Un joven profesor del Seminario San José de la Plata, me dictó esta otra coplilla sobre el tema, leída en un libro español» (*apud* Carrillo, 1942, pp. 100-102, nota 119). El testimonio oral de este profesor del Seminario Mayor San José –institución dedicada a la formación sacerdotal y dependiente de la Arquidiócesis de La Plata, en la provincia de Buenos Aires (Argentina)– evidencia que la redondilla de Álvarez Gato (ID3151), aun remontándose su origen a nuestra Edad Media, sigue latiendo en entornos religiosos formativos todavía a mitad del siglo xx.

Con todo, y pese a tener tan abundante representación en los catálogos de poesía popular hispanoamericana, hay un consenso entre todos los compiladores en atribuir su autoría a Juan Álvarez Gato. Dado el éxito del poema en cuestión y la aparente convicción de los estudiosos de la poesía popular acerca de su creador, cabe contemplar, por último, los vínculos entre el vate madrileño y el entramado educativo de su tiempo, a fin de esbozar algunas conclusiones finales.

3. CONCLUSIONES: JUAN ÁLVAREZ GATO Y SUS «LETRAS DE DOCTRINA»

No fueron pocos los puntos de contacto que a lo largo de su vida vincularon a nuestro poeta con la educación de su tiempo. El entorno era sin duda favorable, pues «habíase fomentado de tal modo el estudio [...] por los grandes días de los Reyes Católicos, que las escuelas particulares, las monacales y de los cabildos, y aun la augusta Universidad salmantina, resultaban ya escasas y angostas. Por necesidad de los tiempos púsose en moda, digámoslo así, la fundación de aquellos magníficos Colegios» (Cotarelo Valledor, 1902, p. 256). Se refiere Cotarelo a los colegios universitarios que venían floreciendo en España desde comienzos de siglo, y entre cuyos generosos benefactores encontramos, por ejemplo, a fray Diego de Deza, fundador del colegio de Santo Tomás de Sevilla, o, sin ir más lejos, a Francisco Álvarez de Toledo Zapata, el cuarto hermano de Catalina Álvarez de Toledo Zapata y, por tanto, cuñado de nuestro autor. Este fundó el colegio-universidad de Santa Catalina, núcleo de la futura Universidad de Toledo; «para ello obtuvo bula, expedida en Roma por Inocencio VIII el 3 de mayo de 1485» (Márquez Villanueva, p. 96).

Francisco Álvarez fue hombre de confianza del cardenal Pedro González de Mendoza[23], a tal punto que tomó posesión en su nombre del arzobispado de Toledo en 1483; y fueron numerosas las relaciones de clientelismo que vincularon a los Álvarez Gato, asentados en Madrid, y a los Álvarez de Toledo –familia política de nuestro autor– con la influyente casa de los Mendoza[24]. Por ello nos interesa, a propósito de esta investigación, la figura de este prelado especialmente. En MH2 se compila una composición cuya rúbrica reza: «Juan Álvarez a don Pedro de Mendoça, hermano del duque don Íñigo López[25], en que haze bivo el Amor que mató Guevara, y cuenta una habla que hovo con una señora que sirvié don Pedro no conosçiéndola» (ID3102, MH2-35), donde el poeta actúa como intermediario de amor entre el galán y la dama[26]. Esta rúbrica nos hace partícipes de la familiaridad que a buen seguro tuvo el Gran Cardenal de España con la producción poética del madrileño.

La identificación del cardenal Mendoza como uno de los propagadores de la letrilla doctrinal de Álvarez Gato parece prometedora: pertenecía a la rama de los Mendoza de Guadalajara, con la cual Juan Álvarez Gato mantuvo probadas relacio-

[23] Fue también fundador del colegio de Santa Cruz de Valladolid en 1480.

[24] «Como se ve, es significativa la recurrencia del apellido Álvarez y la invariable vinculación de las distintas ramas familiares a cargos de servidumbre real; existía en los Álvarez Gato una marcada tendencia endogámica que también ha sido señalada en múltiples ocasiones como característica de los linajes conversos» (Márquez Villanueva, 1960, p. 63).

[25] Se trata de Íñigo López de Mendoza y Figueroa (1419-1479), segundogénito del Marqués de Santillana autor de los *Proverbios*. Ostentó el cargo de I conde de Tendilla.

[26] Oviedo nos advierte en las *Batallas* de los devaneos carnales del cardenal: «ALCAYDE. El cardenal de quien hablamos nunca fue casado e ovo hijos. Pero caso que fuese sacerdote, no dejó de ser hombre para pecar, e también para servir a Dios. Como quiera que ello fue tres hijos conoscí yo suyos e por tales fueron tenidos» (Bat. III. Diálogo sin clasificar, tomo III, p. 303: don Pedro González de Mendoza).

nes clientelares (Márquez Villanueva, 1960, p. 345, apéndice IV); amén de que este prelado sobresalió en su labor reformadora, siempre ligada a una preocupación pedagógica, como lo demuestra el hecho de que en 1478 publicase un catecismo, obra hoy ilocalizable y conocida únicamente a través de referencias indirectas: «Aunque el gran Cardenal Mendoza había hecho publicar ya un Catecismo en 1478, siendo Arzobispo de Sevilla [...] a mediados del siglo siguiente [...] se dejaba sentir la falta de tal libro [...]. Mil ejemplares del Catecismo son nada para una diócesis y para una generación» (Fernández Oviedo, 1880, pp. XXIX-XXX, nota 2).

A pesar de su pérdida, sabemos que sirvió de modelo para el posterior catecismo escrito por fray Hernando de Talavera, la *Breue doctrina y enseñança que ha de saber y de poner en obra todo christiano y christiana. En la qual deuen ser enseñados los moçuelos primero que en otra cosa* (1492), que en su segunda edición (1501-1508) se intituló «para enseñar niños a leer» e incluyó, de hecho, un pequeño abecedario en minúscula separado por puntos al final del cuadernillo (Infantes, 1998, facsímil I y II). En la misma línea doctrinal, son sobradamente conocidos los métodos de conversión pacífica que promovió el confesor real a través de las letras en su nuevo arzobispado, tras la toma de en Granada en 1492. Hay por ello una indicial correlación entre el fortalecimiento del vínculo entre el poeta y fray Hernando de Talavera –cuya muerte en 1507 podría haber motivado al autor a redactar su vida al final del códice– y la reorientación temática de MH2 hacia temas espirituales[27].

En cualquier caso, mediadores aparte, las «letras de doctrina» incluidas en MH2 hablan por sí solas de, si no una preocupación pastoral de su autor, al menos pedagógica. «En esta vida prestada» (ID3151) aparece en el cancionero junto a otra letra de doctrina dedicada a «un pendón de la guerra de los moros» (ID3152, MH2-88). Habiendo acontecido la conquista de Granada entre 1482 y 1492, estimamos que Álvarez Gato pudo componer este corpus de letras de doctrina en esa misma horquilla temporal, en la que Oviedo, nacido en 1478, sería todavía un niño en edad de aprender a leer.

Sea como fuere, al término de este razonamiento, y habiéndose reunido tantos indicios que hablan de Juan Álvarez Gato como creador de la redondilla, pese a seguir envuelta en un halo de misterio la identidad de ese posible maestro madrileño mencionado por Oviedo en las *Quinquagenas*, no se pondrá aquí en entredicho el eco duradero que tuvo esa enseñanza primera no solo en la consciencia de quien, al cabo de los años, se erigió en testigo de su tiempo, sino también en la de todas las generaciones que le sucedieron como receptoras de sus múltiples variantes.

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[27] Álvarez Gato sobrevivió a Talavera por pocos años. Se fecha su muerte c. 1512.

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REALIDAD Y FICCIÓN DEL PAISAJE Y LA INFORMACIÓN GEOGRÁFICA EN EL DRAMA LATINO DEL MEDIEVO Y LA EDAD MODERNA

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Resumen

El estudio de la realidad y la ficción en el paisaje y la descripción geográfica en el drama latino del Medievo y la Edad Moderna permite dividir las referencias entre un paisaje escénico, expresado por medio de signos lingüísticos internos o por acotaciones dramáticas, y un paisaje narrado, al objeto de contextualizar las obras o realizar un relato tematizador o complementario a la trama. A partir de un análisis exhaustivo de estos elementos, en *Fabella Aenaria* de Palmireno, se trasladan las conclusiones obtenidas a una amplia nómina de obras medievales y al drama humanístico. Como resultado se obtiene un panorama global que liga la presencia de los elementos citados, paisaje escénico y paisaje narrado, a las noticias de representación y la discusión sobre la representabilidad de estas obras; e igualmente, permite establecer una diferenciación neta, dentro del teatro entendido como espectáculo y texto, entre el género literario dramático, y los dramas eclesiásticos y el mimo (v.g. *Cena Cypriani*).

Palabras clave: teatro, paisaje, geografía, espectáculo, latín medieval, neolatín, humanismo, *Locus amoenus*, *Locus horribilis*.

REALITY AND FICTION OF LANDSCAPE AND GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION IN THE LATIN DRAMA OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE EARLY MODERN AGE

Abstract

The study of reality and fiction in landscape and geographical description in Latin drama of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period allows us to divide references between a staged landscape, expressed through internal linguistic signs or dramatic stage directions, and a narrated landscape, to contextualize the works or create a thematizing or complementary narrative for the plot. Based on an exhaustive analysis of these elements in Palmirenus's *Fabella Aenaria*, the conclusions obtained are transferred to a broad list of medieval works and to humanistic drama. The result is a comprehensive overview that links the presence of the aforementioned elements –staged landscape and narrated landscape– to news of performance and the discussion about the representability of these works. It also allows us to establish a clear differentiation, within theater understood as spectacle and text, between the literary dramatic genre and ecclesiastical dramas and mime (e.g., *Cena Cypriani*).

Keywords: theater, landscape, geography, spectacle, medieval latin, neo-latin, humanism, *Locus amoenus*, *Locus horribilis*.

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0. PLANTEAMIENTO DE LA CUESTIÓN. «PARTIMOS DE LAS CANARIAS»; *FABELLA AENARIA,* DE JUAN LORENZO PALMIRENO, A MODO DE EJEMPLO*

> [Ecelinus] Quitáoslo de la cabeça; porque, como fueron estos *dos hermanos engendrados en la caverna* y criados en ellas, parece que el sol no quiere verlos. Recibimos la carta en que nos contavas quán áspera vida padecía *Alberto en la prisión del rey de Dinamarca*. A la hora *partimos de las Canarias y, al cabo de Bojador*, saliendo a buscar agua en la ribera, como él venía mareado y maltratado de la tormenta, a la hora fue vencido y preso de unos hombrazos negros, quemados del sol, los gestos horribles, y ahumados de vivir en el campo, los ojos garços, los cabellos erizados, las barbas hasta la cinta, arrebuxadas, unos corpazos gigantes, los miembros llenos de vello, el cuero duro y cozido al sol y al agua, las manos llenas de callos; en fin, *eran tales que parecían ministros del demonio* [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 48v-49r][1].

Este pasaje de *Fabella Aenaria*, de Juan Lorenzo Palmireno[2], en el que Ecelino, criado de Petronio, hermano del príncipe Alberto, cuya prisión en Dinamarca articula la trama de esta farsa, reúne en la interpelación a Fumano, criado del citado Alberto, elementos que, como veremos, propician la aparición de la geografía y el paisaje, imaginarios o no, en el drama. Las palabras de Ecelino hablan de la realización de un viaje –aspecto ligado habitualmente a la *descriptio* geográfica[3]–; subrayan el elemento mágico del oculto nacimiento de Petronio y Lauredana, caballero y dama andantes hermanos del mencionado príncipe, en una caverna –lugar relacionado

* Gr. Inv. *Corpus Documentale Latinum Valencie* (CODOLVA–Vigrob-145). I.U. de Investigación en Arqueología y Patrimonio Histórico (INAPH).

[1] Juan Lorenzo Palmireno, *Fragmentos de teatro escolar y Fabella Ænaria*, Julio Alonso Asenjo (ed.), Universitat de València, 2003, accesible en <http://parnaseo.uv.es/Ars/teatresco/textos/textos.htm> [consultado el 12.3.2024]; y Juan Lorenzo Palmireno, *Phrases Ciceronis, Hypotyposes clariss. Virorum, Oratio Palmyreni post reditum, eiusdem Fabella Ænaria*, Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, ms. 11228, fol. 46v-64r. (<https://books.google.es/books?id=qDpPd6f1Ye4C&printsec=frontcover&hl=es&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false>, [consultado el 9.8.2024]). Citamos por esta última edición.

[2] Juan Lorenzo Palmireno (1524-1579), profesor de gramática, retórica y griego en Barcelona y Valencia, quien abordó el estudio del estilo en *Campi eloquentiae* con la particularidad de apoyar la ilustración de sus explicaciones también con ejemplos en lengua romance. Él mismo justificó su teatro por el hecho de que proporcionaba urbanidad, instrucción moral y entrenamiento humanístico. Disculpándose por apartarse de las reglas clásicas y de la baja calidad literaria de la que se le acusaba, explicó que pretendió enseñarles modales a sus estudiantes y apartarles del juego por medio de un entretenimiento útil. Utilizó el teatro para atraerse estudiantes y ganarse el favor de los ciudadanos que asignaban las cátedras y recompensaban sus representaciones en Valencia en 1563, 1564, 1566, 1568 y 1574. Fragmentos de un *Dialogus* puesto en escena en enero de 1562 y cuatro comedias han sobrevivido a causa de que fueron publicadas entre 1564 y 1567 como ejemplos para animar el estudio de sus tratados retóricos. Propuesta de representación en Leal-Sirera (2000).

[3] Ambos elementos, la implicación directa del orador, quien ha participado en el viaje y la *descriptio locorum et personarum* que acompaña su relato son constituyentes de la *evidentia* (Lausberg 1967; §§ 810-819).

directamente con el misterio, lo mágico, y también con lo horrendo–[4]; e introducen aspectos geográficos: físicos –Canarias y Cabo Bojador– y humanos –la *descriptio* de esos «hombrazos negros» que parecen «ministros del demonio»–. El viaje, lo mágico y la geografía no son fruto exclusivamente de la trama desarrollada en esta obra por quien era profesor de retórica en la Universidad de Valencia; *Fabella Aenaria*, representada en 1574 por segunda vez, con ampliación de los pasajes redactados en lengua romance en detrimento de un latín cada vez menos conocido por el público, como denuncia el propio Palmireno, fue editada por el propio autor ese mismo año junto con *Phrases Ciceronis*, *Hypotyposes clarissimorum virorum* y *Oratio Palmyreni post reditum*; dicho conjunto en el orden en el que se editó constituye un programa docente completo: *Phrases Ciceronis obscuriores in Hispanicam linguam conuersae a Laurentio Palmyreno* –tal es su título completo– [2r-18r] supone un diccionario organizado alfabéticamente de fraseología del arpinate destinado a que el alumnado de Valencia emplee dichas estructuras con pleno conocimiento de su significado; el anterior se completa con *Rara in Cicerone, in alii rarissima* [18r-24r], donde se hace referencia a la primera parte y se cuida con más esmero de dar referencias de la procedencia de los términos estudiados; siguen los *Auisos al Latino de repente en las Hypotyposes que se siguen* [24r-40v], donde define este ejercicio retórico del modo siguiente:

> *Hypotyposis est rerum, quasi gerantur, sub aspectum pene subiecto, dicitur Demonstratio. Illustris explanatio, informata descriptio.*
> *In exponenda re / et ad illustrandum quod exponitur / et ad amplificandum / plurimum ualet* [24r].

Este ejercicio retórico, que pretende la *evidencia*, es el que incluye la *loci descriptio*, que puede desarrollarse por medio de una topografía, «descripción de un lugar especialmente nombrado» (Lausberg, 1967, §819), o una topotesia, «descripción de un lugar ficticio» (Lausberg, 1967, §819), y constituye el objetivo de esta obra. Por ello, sigue a la anterior colección de *descriptiones* la *Oratio post reditum in Academia Valentina, mense Augusto 1572* [40v-46r], pronunciada por el propio autor, a la que precede un prefacio que explica las intenciones de dicho discurso y las condiciones y lugar en el que se pronunció. El discurso ejemplar del docente de retórica da pie a que la edición concluya con *Fabella Aenaria Laurentii Palmyrenii acta in Academia*

[4] De los términos latinos que se emplean para «cueva», *cavea*, *caverna*, *spelunca*, *specus* y *antrum*, los dos primeros son de origen latino (Ernout-Meillet-André 1994, s.v. *cauus*) y se asocian a la actividad humana, tanto es así que *cavea* es una parte del *theatrum* e incluso llega a sustituirlo en algunos textos; en cambio, *spelunca* (Ernout-Meillet-André 1994, s.v. *spelunca*), e.g. «*Homines vetere more ut ferae in silvis et speluncis et nemoribus nascebantur*» (Vitruvio, *De Architectura* II 1, 1, 1), *specus* (Ernout-Meillet-André 1994, s.v. *specus*), e.g. «*hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis / monstrabantur*» (Virgilio, *Aeneidos* VII 568), y *antrum* (Ernout-Meillet-André 1994, s.v. *antrum*), e.g. «*subterque cavis grave rupibus antrum in vacuum in montem*» (Estacio, *Thebais* X 86), de origen itálico y etrusco los dos primeros, y griego por razones poéticas el tercero, se relacionan con lo alejado, lo natural, lo tenebroso, o, como ejemplifica Virgilio en el texto citado, el *locus horroris*, tal como lo ha definido Montaner (2018, p. 202).

Valentina 6 Idus Frebruarii 1574 [46v-64r], la aplicación de las enseñanzas recibidas en el aula por parte del alumnado ante el público.

Paisaje y geografía, pues, se unen en esta farsa, que no comedia ni tragedia, como indica el propio Palmireno [64r][5]:

> *Ne mihi uitio uertat benignus lector non seruatas esse Comediae leges, quandoquidem Farsas Hispanicas, non Terentii grauitatem, in gratiam uulgi imitatus sum.*

La razón para ello se encuentra en el propio imaginario de la época, sembrado de viajes y aventura debido a la conquista de Canarias y de Granada y al descubrimiento de América; también al gusto por las novelas de caballerías que requieren de estas descripciones, y, en consecuencia, a la propia trama; y, finalmente, el hecho de ser una obra concebida para la representación del alumnado de latín y retórica, donde la práctica de la *descriptio loci* supone uno de los ejercicios fundamentales. Por ello, *Fabella Aenaria*, de Juan Lorenzo Palmireno, en tanto que ejemplo por las razones apuntadas, permitirá que hagamos un repaso de las formas de presentación del paisaje y la geografía, real y ficticia, topografía y topotesia.

0.1. Geografía real e imaginaria en *Fabella Aenaria*

Ya desde el arranque de la obra la *narratio*, que presenta a los personajes, se enmarca en una geografía extensa, que en la práctica constituye una anatopía, y en un tiempo anacrónico que enlaza la Antigüedad –siglo I al que pertenecen Vespasiano y Julio Sabino– con el presente; los límites quedan así difuminados, generando un espacio y un tiempo dramáticos, solo contemplables y comprensibles en la escena[6]:

> **En aquella noble ciudad que los mellizos criados de la loba fundaron** reynava el gran emperador **Vespasiano**. Y, como por ciertos **alcaldes** fuesse maltratada la **Francia**, rebelláronse muchos Príncipes de aquella provincia. Entre ellos fue muy señalado **Iulio Sabino**, hombre de gran linage y el más rico de todos. Pero como no les sucedió como esperavan, unos se **huyeron a tierras de bárbaros**; otros se mataron con sus propias manos. El Iulio Sabino, por verse en lo mejor de su edad y casado con Eponina, gallarda y hermosa para mirar, no se atrevió a llevar moça de tan tiernos años a **Bervería**, temiendo que, o se la quitarían, o por causa della sería

[5] Los intereses y objetivos que expresa Palmireno permiten encuadrar esta producción en lo que refiere Vélez-Sainz (2023, p. 8): «... las inercias propias de la tradición crítica insisten en situar los comienzos del teatro comercial en la península ibérica en los alrededores de la composición de Lope de Vega, cuyo adánico *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* eclipsa y subsume una rica e interesante tradición anterior pues el fenómeno del teatro de masas ya libre de embocaduras eclesiásticas y nobiliarias se produce mucho antes, en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI. La tendencia crítica de situar a los autores del Quinientos como "pre"-lopistas ha de desaparecer». De hecho, si se pretende completar el panorama de la literatura dramática peninsular han de ponerse en relación tanto las producciones en lengua castellana y catalana como las producciones latinas.

[6] La negrita es nuestra.

conoscido. En fin, llamó dos de sus criados de quien mucho se fiava y recogióse a **una casa de monte que tenía y escondióse en unas cuevas y cavernas**, donde él y sus antepasados en tiempo de Communidades escondían la moneda, y dixo a los criados que diessen fuego a la casa por todas partes y contassen a su muger que él mismo se havía muerto con tóxigo, por no venir a manos del Emperador. [...]. Tenía entonces el Príncipe Alberto, hijo déstos, quatro años y recabó del Emperador el mismo título del padre. Pero, yendo a ratos hurtados la madre a la **cueva**, quedó preñada; y, como era obligada a dissimular, parió sin madrina **en las cavernas (que podemos dezir en el otro mundo)** un niño y una niña, los quales fueron muy señalados en el arte militar, llamados Petronio y Lauredana [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 48r-48v].

Roma, Francia, tierra de bárbaros y Berbería configuran ese extenso espacio geográfico, mientras que las cavernas y cuevas aportan ese otro mundo mágico y milagroso; ambas geografías, que en la mentalidad del público del siglo XVI no estarían tan diferenciadas y delimitadas como en la actualidad puede parecernos, son el paisaje en el que se forjan los protagonistas. Estos han realizado largos desplazamientos geográficos que han de ser explicados; este es el caso de Fumano, el sirviente del príncipe Alberto, quien debe explicar cómo ha llegado hasta Dinamarca:

*Antequam ipse caperetur perierat omnia **infelici naufragio**; quod tibi melius, aut commodius depingere non possum, quàm fecit his uersibus Varro:*

Repente, noctis circiter meridiem,
cùm pictus aër feruidis latè ignibus
coeli choreas astricas ostenderet,
nubes æquales frigido uelo leues
coeli cauernas aureas subduxerant,
<aquam uomentes inferam mortalibus>
ventique frigido se ab axe eruperant,
phrenetici Septentrionum filii
secum ferentes tegulas, ramos, strus.
At nos caduci naufragii ciconiæ,
quarum bipennis fulminis plumas uapos
percussit altè, meste in terram cecidimus.

*Nam, inusitata et planè fatali uentorum coniuratione, adeò mare commotum intumuit, ut toto littore iactatæ naues, deinde feruente æstu in altum abreptæ, mergerentur. Mox elapsi magna difficultate et labore ex isto naufragio, in eos quos dixi Vulcani ministros incidimus. Videns autem herum meum armis superatum, erepta spe fugæ, in syluis delitui, ne inexorabili rabie barbarus ille me flammis absumeret. Errabam in nemore uestigia hominum deuitans, agrestibusque pomis uescebar, cum magno casu à prædonibus **Massiliensium**, qui biremes aquandi causa ad illud littus appulerant, captus sum; et, post durissimos maritimi cursus errores **in Galliam** deuectus, fuga mihi salutem comparaui.* [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 49r-49v]

La *narratio*, realizada en lengua latina, emplea el *topos* del naufragio[7], para lo que se recurre a la *auctoritas* de Varrón (*Satirae Menippeae*, vv. 269-280), de modo que el paisaje y la geografía descritas no se corresponden con una *autopsia*, sino con una *auctoritas* heredada. Del mismo modo, otro *topos* literario, los piratas, que aparece, por ejemplo, en las comedias de Plauto[8], y mucho más en las comedias bizantinas[9], posibilita la llegada de este personaje a la Galia, probablemente a Marsella, origen de los piratas que le habían capturado. Llegado allí, esta concepción laxa y anatópica de la geografía permite que no deba dar más explicaciones: ha llegado a Francia y, por tanto, llega a Dinamarca.

Hasta el momento hemos observado *narrationes* cuya función en la obra ha sido generar el marco general de los personajes y la trama: quiénes son, de dónde provienen, cómo han llegado allí, etc. Es el fondo en el que se inserta la trama de la obra. Ahora bien, ese marco engloba una geografía inmediata, un paisaje, en el que se mueven los personajes y que a falta de un desarrollo pleno del texto técnico teatral, *i.e.* las acotaciones escénicas, aparece incluido en el propio texto dramático por medio de signos lingüísticos expresivos o directos –o ambos, las hipercaracterizaciones– (Molina, 1991, pp. 27-30), dándole primacía al lenguaje escénico por encima del aparato escenográfico (Baldwin Lind, 2020, pp. 100-101), como establecía Lope de Vega en *Arte Nuevo de hacer Comedias*, vv. 350-355 (Pedraza-Conde, 2016):

> pues lo que les compete a los tres géneros
> del aparato que Vitrubio dice,
> toca al autor, como Valerio Máximo,
> Pedro Crinito, Horacio, en sus Epístolas,
> y otros los pintan, con sus lienzos y árboles,
> cabañas, casas y fingidos mármoles.

[7] Este tópico es ampliamente utilizado, anclando sus raíces en el folklore, pero con referentes clásicos evidentes (Redondo, 2024, pp. 112-113; y Hilton, 2012), que son explicitados en el tardomedievo (Redondo, 2024, pp. 114-119) y son explotados en las literaturas románicas (Flecniakoska, 1979; Thomasset, 1999).

[8] *Miles Gloriosus*, *Rudens* o *Vidularia,* de Plauto, fundamentan aspectos esenciales de su trama en la relación de alguno de los personajes con los piratas.

[9] Las comedias bizantinas, con ejemplos tan relevantes como *Leucipa y Clitofonte,* de Aquiles Tacio, o *Historia etiópica,* de Heliodoro, fueron difundidas en los siglos XIV y XV por los *novellieri*, quienes en su adaptación de los *topoi* al contexto histórico contemporáneo concedieron un relieve especial al cautiverio, las aventuras marinas y la presencia de corsarios, así como a la anagnórisis final (Fernández Rodríguez, 2019, pp. 39-61). Todos estos aspectos son recogidos por Palmireno en su farsa, quien, además de esos referentes, pudo contar con referentes españoles: *Clareo y Florisea* (1552), de Alonso Núñez de Reinoso; *Selva de aventuras* (1565, 1581), de Jerónimo de Contreras (Fernández Rodríguez, 2019, pp. 69-73); la historia de Marcelio y Alcida de *La Diana enamorada* (1565), de Gaspar Gil Polo; las novelas VI y VII de Pedro de Salazar (ca. 1565), o la patraña IX de *El Patrañuelo,* de Juan de Timoneda (1567) (Fernández Rodríguez, 2019, pp. 75-79). No faltaron piezas teatrales coetáneas de *Fabella Aenaria*, *El degollado* (1579), de Juan de la Cueva; *Los cautivos,* de autor anónimo o *Comedia de Miseno* (ca. 1570-1580), de Loyola (Fernández Rodríguez 2019, pp. 39-61), y posteriores hasta llegar a las nueve comedias bizantinas de Lope de Vega, a cuyo estudio dedica su trabajo Fernández Rodríguez (2019), constituyéndose así un género dramático prolífico en el Siglo de Oro.

O puede aplicarse igualmente al vestuario de modo que «sacar un turco un cuello de cristiano / y calzas atacadas un romano» (vv. 360-361)[10].
Al concluir la *narratio* el citado Fumano anuncia el cambio de escena con las siguientes palabras:

> *Mane. Auscultemus taciti.* ***Hæc est aula Regis****, qui herum meum in uincula coniecit. Iussit eius filia ut* ***iuxta pomarium*** *eam expectarem, quoniam desiderabat nonnulla percontari, quæ credebat mihi esse cognita* [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 49v].

Este pasaje es canónico en lo que hace referencia al cambio de escena. En primer lugar, indicadores de tono y movimiento escénico (*mane*, *auscultemus* o *expectarem*) dan cuenta de la acción de los personajes. En segundo lugar, los indicadores de espacio escénico (*haec est aula regis* y *iuxta pomarium*) señalan los dos paisajes, los dos escenarios podemos decir, en los que se realizará la representación; a su vez, el uso del deíctico *haec*, que invita al gesto del actor de señalar un espacio en la escena, y de *iuxta*, acompañado del contexto oracional referido al propio personaje (*eam expectarem*), permite que queden delimitados en escena ambos espacios, el palacio (*aula regis*) y el bosque (*pomarium*) sin que se precise de más aparato escenográfico. Ahora bien, para que el recurso sea completo, deberá desarrollarse más la descripción de ambos escenarios.

Como anticipábamos, la geografía física y humana participa de la trama de la obra. Ticinia, sirviente de la princesa Enaria, arranca la siguiente escena lamentándose a solas por la pérdida de calidad de vida que le ha supuesto su desplazamiento desde su Italia natal:

> *Cur* ***ab Italia*** *discessi, misera? Quæsunt diuites, locupletes, et opulenti* ***Florentini*** *mercatores! Quanta laborant egestate hîc et ipsi et aulici!* [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 49v].

La llegada de la princesa concluye dicho lamento y se establece un diálogo entre ambas en el que Enaria defiende la supremacía de las tierras danesas –«*Videbis tandem nostra aucupia, et uenationes, quæ* ***nunquam non tuam Italiam*** *magnis titulis exornas*» [Palm. *Fab. Aen.* 49v]–, en el transcurso del cual Ticinia desea para su señora que sea capaz de encontrar un pretendiente que sea *princeps Italus aut Gallus*:

> *Hera, credis me affectu ductam id efficere?* ***Vtinam princeps aliquis Italus aut Gallus te ducat uxorem****, ut intelligas quam uera protulerim.* ***Sunt enim in nostra regione uiridaria, et sæpta ferarum****, quæ aparcendo Parcos uulgus appellat,* ***ea lateritiis mœnibus cincta*** *uiginti miliarium spatium complectuntur; paratis semper ad Principum uoluptates omnis generis uenationibus, et aucupiis* [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 49v-50r].

[10] Como ha señalado Garrido (2011), las condiciones para la enunciación que dieron lugar al Arte nuevo –se trataba de un discurso protocolario– propician lo escueto de las afirmaciones vertidas y lo abierto que está a interpretaciones: «Un acto de discurso protocolario es un *indecidible* semántico. Una vez proferido el discurso no cabe pregunta verdadera por el contenido semántico de la totalidad ni de sus partes» (Garrido, 2011, pp. 117).

La contraposición entre las ricas Italia y Francia y la pobre Dinamarca se concreta en la descripción del *pomarium*, controlado, cultivado y cerrado –*Parcos uulgus appellat*– en el primer caso, o salvaje, silvestre y abierto en el segundo. A lo que la princesa apostilla que la *amoenitas* de sus terrenos no tiene comparación:

> *Erunt fortasse uera isthæc omnia, quod uiri nobiles liberalitate summa aucupia comparent; sed* ***de amoenitate loci*** *non est quod aliquid addas;* ***longo enim interuallo Italia a nostra regione superatur*** [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 50r].

La princesa ha recurrido al *topos* del *locus amoenus* para describir *pomarium*. Ello da pie a la intervención de otra sirvienta, Firmina, que cita el canto CXXXI del *Satyricon* de Petronio, para recrear dicho *topos* en la descripción de la ciudad que ha sido identificada con Lyon:

> *Recitabo uersus, quos heri dulci patriæ recordatione componebam. Veniebat in mentem ciuitas illa cæliclementia, ubertate agri, duorumque fluminum, omnis generis fructus admirabilem copiam inuehentium, opportunitate clarissima. Videbar mihi uidere lapideum pontem perpetua protectum contignatione, munitumque propugnaculis ad utrumque caput, et ornatum peristyliis. Sed audi carmen:*
>
> *Nobilis æstiuas Platanus diffuderat umbras;*
> *et baccis redimita Daphne, tremulæque cupressus;*
> *et circum tonsæ trepidante uertice pinus;*
> *has inter ludebat aquis ludentibus amnis*
> *spumeus, et querulo uersabat rore lapillos.*
> *Dignus amore locus; testis syluestris Aedon,*
> *atque urbana Progne, quæ circum gramina fusæ,*
> *ac molles uiolas, cantu sua rura colebant* [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 50r].

A lo que contesta Enaria:

> *Egregie laudasti* ***patriam****, sed carmina fide carent****. Ego miram haurio iucunditatem mei pomarii aspectu****. Oblectant me ac tenent* ***hæc umbrosa cacumina*** [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 50r].

Es decir, la princesa subraya el hecho de que el desarrollo pleno de un *locus amoenus* en la *descriptio* propicia la exposición de un paisaje y una geografía ficticias o literarias, una topotesia, *carmina fide carent*; a ello, se opone la realidad que se extiende ante sus ojos, *aspectu*, y que se describe escuetamente, *haec umbrosa cacumina*, y por oposición a ese *locus amoenus*. No se realiza, por tanto, una topografía, sino que se produce el hecho paradójico de que una de las escenas de la obra es por contraste un *locus horridus* (Montaner, 2018, p. 202)[11], por más que la princesa

[11] De hecho, esta descripción por contraste es propia del *locus horroris*, topos cuya caracterización «resulta un tanto difusa», hasta el punto de recibir diversas apelaciones (*horroris*, *horridus*,

Enaria quiera subrayar otros aspectos: el espectador, fruto de la comparación y los datos suministrados, puede recrear las características del *pomerium* sin más necesidad de aparato escenográfico.

Según avanza la trama del enamoramiento de la princesa, se habla de viajes *ad Oceanum Borealem*, que el príncipe Alberto había oído de la belleza de Enaria en Italia, de las cosas de Génova en una escena bufa entre dos bachilleres y la hija del carcelero, de cómo un personaje secundario se traslada de Italia a Hungría. Todo ello contribuye a esa geografía entre real –los lugares existen– e imaginaria –los desplazamientos en tan corto espacio de tiempo son imposibles– que caracteriza toda la obra.

A las oposiciones que venimos exponiendo –real/imaginario, rico/pobre, *locus amoenus*/*locus horridus*, visto/aprendido (o literario), etc.– se añadirá la oposición campo/ciudad que desarrolla Barcenio cantando borracho las maravillas del retiro a una villa en el campo:

> *Villa est amoenissimo in loco sita, et maxime ad rusticanas uoluptates accommodata, montes a tergo habet coniunctos, eius dextram sinuosus amnis exhilarat; itaque stue rapaci aue, seu mordaci cane, plagis, uenabulo, cursu, feris, auibus, piscibus, dilecteris, uicini montes, subiecta planities, præterfluens amnis affatim omne genus prædæ largiuntur. Verum nobis illuc profectis,*
>
> *nec uenari apros placuit;*
> *nec figere ceruos;*
> *nec rursus canibus lepores agitare fugaces;*
> *nec fera bracteolis ungues armata sonoris*
> *coepit auis prædam.*
>
> *Sed traxit nos et uendicauit sibi incredibilis amoenitas flauii, qui tectus fronde populea, cristallino alueo, uiridibus ripis a placiditate fluebat; depositis igitur togis et calceis cum summa uoluptate piscati sumus. In quo ita luximus, ut pueri ita clamauimus, ut ebrii, ita concertauimus ut dementes insanique uideremur. Egressis tandem e fluuio, cæna dubia apposita fuit modo, neque pes, neque manus suum officium faciunt. Somnus me opprimit; recipio me in cubiculum, ut ibi hoc uilli obdormiam* [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 56r-56v].

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horribilis, *terribilis* o *terrificus*) y ser muy reciente su conceptualización como tipo de paisaje y tópico retórico, al contrario de lo sucedido con *locus amoenus* (Montaner, 2018, p. 202). Montaner, (2018, p. 202) subraya la ausencia de este concepto en Curtius, quien, tras describir *locus amoenus* (1955, I, pp.280-286), solo alcanza a tratar el bosque bajo la etiqueta de «paisaje épico» (1955, pp. 286-289), por más que la dicotomía ya había sido señalada por Sarbievius (1626, VIII, p. 6), «*Delectat enim nos v.g. locus amoenum pratorum, silvarum etc., mouet insuper locus terrificus et horribilis, ut inferorum lib. VI <Aeneidos>*»; por ello, procede a la siguiente definición de *locus horroris*: «... el *locus horroris* es, independientemente del aspecto concreto que adopte, el espacio caracterizado por su carácter indómito o no domesticado, alejado de la acción y la presencia humana y donde, por lo tanto, las fuerzas naturales resultan incontroladas. Es esa combinación de aislamiento e indefensión la que es capaz de producir la sensación de temor (en gradación desde el recelo al pánico) que le ha dado nombre, y la clave de su utilización como escenario propio del crimen violento en determinados ordenamientos jurídicos y de la aventura, a menudo con tintes maravillosos, en las obras literarias».

Dicha oposición se completa por parte de Vulpino, el cazador, quien se recrea en los olores del campo, completando así la descripción del *pomarium*:

> *Odor hic, quem* ***rosmarinus, ocymum syluestre, et thymi flores*** *naribus nostris aspirant, cerebrum magna ex parte reficit. Aër ignauus in urbe uentriculi imbecillitatem adducit; at syluestris aurae idem uires ad concoctionem suppeditat* [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 58v].

Esa puesta en valor del campo, de lo silvestre y salvaje, recibe el giro inmediato del comportamiento de Vulpino, nombre parlante, que intenta violar a Enaria en una escena cargada de comicidad por el comportamiento bufo del príncipe Alberto; se nos recuerda así el carácter de *locus horridus* de este bosque, donde aparecerán el caballero andante Petronio y la dama *bellatrix* Lauredana: «Bozes siento en este bosque, y de muy gran dolor». [Palm. *Fab. Aen.* 60r] Efectivamente, *locus horridus* es el paisaje donde se producen los encuentros de aventura en las novelas de caballería; ahora bien, este espacio de lo horrible también tiene sus grados, lo que será expresado por Petronio, en un pasaje que ayuda a entender el otro espacio escénico de la obra, *aula regis*, de la que apenas se ha hablado:

> *Audi:* ***ædificarat in singulis in urbibus atque oppidis carceres tenebris horribiles****, in quos inuiso rumagmina contruderet, ut inedia miserabilique illuvie, tetro odore, et lurido squalore enecti, in compedibus et robore crudeliter interirent; putrescentiumque cadauerum immenso foetore ceteris pallentibus exoptata mors contagione et metu accerseretur. Erant adeo truculenti custodes, ut raro carceres stercore, et cadauerum sanie redundantes expurgarent, et cumulata inter semianimes enectorum corpora, uncis extraherent. Vix carceres spatiosissimi captiuos accumulatos etiam in strues capiebant. Vix tortorum atque carnificum numerose manus edendis cruciatibus expediendisque laqueis atque securibus sufficiebant; uiui homines in frustra laniorum cultris secabantur, aut deligati ad palos et circumuenti flamma torrebantur. Capitale erat tortori, aut carnifici maturasse supplicia, ut uita per articulos, momentaque temporis ad longos cruciatus extenderetur. Si quando fictam clementiam uellet ostendere, eos quos leue crimine notato suidebat monoculos, unipedes, aut unimanos dimittere consueuit, postremo lugentibus suorum funera oculos eruebat* [Palm. *Fab. Aen*. 62r-62v].

Ya en la conclusión, mientras se celebra la justa que ganará Lauredana, los amantes Alberto y Enaria serán encerrados en el ¡castillo de Játiva! –clarísima anatopía–; finalmente se describirá con gran precisión la geografía de Dinamarca al relacionar los territorios que se legan a los futuros esposos:

> No diga Vuestra Señoría desdichas, sino prosperidad y buena andança, pues queda yerno del rey de Dinamarca con gran contento. Y, para que vea quán liberal ha sido el Rey, **pondere cómo todo este reyno es más de lo que allá en Italia se creýan**. Pues les parescía que por el gran frío era inhabitable y que los Romanos havían hecho un gran milagro en llegar al cabo de Scagen, que es en la parte occidental, que llamamos Iutlandt y los estrangeros llaman Cimbrica Chersonesus, porque se pone entre dos mares, como una lengua de tierra. Ésta se queda el Rey y la parte oriental, que tiene las grandes islas ricas y fértiles de la Scandinavia, Fion, Falster, Lalandt, Zelandt y las demás da en dote a vuestra Excellencia. Allí baxo, en aquel cortijo, están las damas para vestir a la Infanta. Vístase vuestra Excelencia estas ropas que le traemos.

0.2. Conclusiones de la geografía real e imaginaria en *Fabella Aenaria*

El análisis de *Fabella Aenaria* ha permitido que reflexionemos sobre las condiciones en que el paisaje y la información geográfica aparecen en una obra dramática. Obviamente existirán condicionantes de época, autor, ubicación geográfica, relación con la educación, con la retórica en el caso de Palmireno, etc., pero otros elementos observados consideramos que son comunes y permiten ser rastreados en el drama.

En primer lugar, en el teatro el paisaje y la información geográfica son, como poco, recreados; y, en consecuencia, imaginados. Dicho de otra manera, los autores dramáticos, mediante la palabra poética y performativa, utilizando recursos ticoscópicos, logran producir la ilusión teatral que hace visible lo invisible al crear espacios imaginarios en el escenario, en un proceso colaborativo entre los actores y el público. Esta afirmación es aplicable tanto al paisaje-escenario como al paisaje-narrado. El segundo, como hemos visto, pertenece al terreno de la *narratio* entre los personajes, o al desarrollo por parte de uno de ellos, o incluso a la *altercatio*, si así catalogamos el debate sobre las excelencias de Francia e Italia frente a Dinamarca, que articula toda la farsa de Palmireno, donde la memoria juega también un papel fundamental. Al primero pertenecen todas las indicaciones lingüísticas directas sobre el paisaje en el que se desenvuelve la trama, o, en el caso de los relatos ticoscópicos, la narración de lo que se supone ve fuera de escena un personaje en escena.

Todos los recursos mencionados, las indicaciones lingüísticas directas y los relatos ticoscópicos, suponen herramientas de lo que Anne Ubersfeld (1996) define como espacio dramático, a saber, el espacio imaginario a partir del texto, evocado por él, esté o no esté figurado sobre la escena: espacio extraescénico que también forma parte de la representación que el lector/espectador reconstruye para enmarcar la acción de la obra; este espacio, el que podemos considerar propiamente literario, se diferencia así del 'espacio teatral', en el que confluyen los actores y el público, del 'espacio escénico', propio de los comediantes, y el 'espacio escenográfico', que aúna el 'escénico' más la mirada del espectador (Baldwin, 2020, p. 87). Así pues, sin ánimo de caer en presupuestos holísticos, al analizar el texto literario dramático se han de tener presentes las relaciones con el resto de los espacios. En otros términos, pero con conclusiones similares, se ha expresado Fl. Dupont (1988, p. 9-25) para referirse al drama latino antiguo; dice que es una expresión no literaria en la que el texto es solo el pretexto para el espectáculo lúdico de la música, el canto, la danza, la decoración y los actores; es el *monumentum* que permite repetir una representación. Pero claro, si excluimos la magra información que aportan las didascalias y algunas acotaciones, si podemos llamarlas así, que aparecen ya en dramas litúrgicos y escolares, así como algunas que se registran en los dramas humanísticos, muy escuetas las más de las veces, la verdad es que el texto técnico debe buscarse en el propio texto dramático. Cuando la producción dramática se asociaba al espectáculo teatral, esa fusión de textos literario y técnico-dramático, de texto y acotación, exigía un gran dominio de la práctica escénica por parte del dramaturgo. La maestría de este consistía en realizar la síntesis de texto literario y texto dramático en un solo texto sin pecar de exceso ni de deficiencia. Esta fusión

de textos se convierte en una exigencia del texto dramático en tanto que género literario; es decir, un texto dramático, incluso cuando se produce por imitación, debe mantener la ficción de su representabilidad, lo que, también, cuando no se puede dar representación alguna, se traduce en la inclusión de las acotaciones en el texto literario. De este modo, el grado de coherencia e información suministrada que se alcance redundará, por un lado, en ofrecernos una visión cabal del grado de imitación alcanzado, y, por el otro, mejorará las posibilidades de proponer las acotaciones escénicas de un modo fundamentado.

En resumen, a partir de los elementos señalados en *Fabella Aenaria* espigaremos los ejemplos que podemos localizar en la producción dramática latina medieval y humanística relacionados con la información geográfica y del paisaje, atendiendo a estos dos conceptos: (i) paisaje escénico, que puede expresarse por medio de signos lingüísticos internos o por medio de acotación dramática; y (ii) paisaje narrado, que puede contextualizar el drama o formar parte del propio relato.

1. PAISAJE Y GEOGRAFÍA EN EL DRAMA LATINO DEL MEDIEVO

El teatro durante el Medievo parte de una concepción con numerosos elementos peyorativos. El espectáculo en sí mismo no goza de buena consideración, si bien, como señaló Oldoni (1994, p. 492), teniendo el mimo como forma genérica de espectáculo –a la que suele condenarse–, la Edad Media vive en un constante intento de representar y representarse; eso produce una originalísima tensión que puede considerarse una auténtica poética del teatro más que teatro propiamente dicho. De esta poética del teatro no está ausente el conocimiento del *Ars poetica* de Horacio que, sobre todo desde fines del siglo XI, vuelve a circular en abundancia. Por otro lado, como ha señalado Eva Castro (1996), cabe establecer una división entre el teatro escénico, cuya peculiaridad consiste en que en el momento de la elaboración del texto se tuvo presente la faceta espectacular de la representación, y el teatro literario, cuyo análisis de las piezas y las noticias externas referidas a ellas manifiestan que la intención del autor raramente fue la de crear obras destinadas a una representación teatral.

1.1. Información geográfica y del paisaje en el teatro literario medieval

El teatro literario integra productos en forma dialogada cuyo origen se encuentra en géneros poéticos de la Antigüedad clásica, esencialmente el teatro al que prestaremos atención. La importancia de esta producción, por tanto, reside en que establece una suerte de continuidad literario-cultural desde la Antigüedad hasta el Renacimiento. Esta se inicia en el periodo tardío con *Aulularia sive Querolus* y tiene en la Edad Media una rica expresión por medio de Rosvita de Gandersheim, las comedias elegíacas de los siglos XII y XIII, hasta llegar a las comedias y tragedias

humanísticas en el paso del Medievo al Renacimiento[12]. En este apartado atenderemos a las comedias de ambiente urbano (§1.1.1.), la comedias que se articulan en torno al viaje (§1.1.2.) y concluiremos con un caso especial, Rosvita de Gandersheim (§1.1.3.).

1.1.1. *Comedia de ambiente urbano*

La comedia es esencialmente urbana. Los textos conservados de la Antigüedad así lo reflejan y esa misma línea es la que mayoritariamente se verá reflejada en los desarrollos medievales y humanísticos. A este grupo pertenecen *Aulularia sive Querolus*, y las comedias elegíacas *Aulularia* y *Geta*, de Vidal de Blois; *De Afra et Milone*, de Matteo di Vendôme; *Babio*, *De nuntio sagaci*, *De tribus sociis*, de Godofredo de Vinsauf; *Baucis et Traso* y *Pamphilus de amore*. En todas ellas, junto a la imitación y emulación de la comedia latina antigua, también se produce lo que Stephano Pittaluga señala (Bertini 1980, III, p. 37): «La comedia refleja un ambiente social ciudadano, se hace referencia muchas veces a una *villa* (163, 339) o *urbs* (347, 357), en una época en la que se estaba consolidando el poder económico de la burguesía sobre todo mercantil, que encontraba conveniente concordar con los intereses de la nobleza». Son estos elementos lingüísticos explícitos los que podemos localizar en estas obras[13]:

- ***Villa***: *Pamphilus* 163, 339.
- ***Urbs***: *Pamphilus* 347, 357; *Aulularia* 370.
- ***Domus***: *Aulularia sive Querolus passim*; *Pamphilus* 645-660; *Babio* 81, 95, 382, 421-422; *Geta* 135, 240, 248, 261-262, 515-517; *Baucis* 75-78; *Aulularia* 109-110, 599.
- ***Fores***: *De nuntio sagaci* 218.
- ***Forum***: *De tribus sociis* 10; *Baucis* 75-78.
- ***Viam***: *Geta* 126.
- ***Portus***: *Geta* 131-132.
- ***Ianua***: *Geta* 240.
- ***Limina:*** *Baucis* 28.
- ***Arva***: *Baucis* 75-78.

Si atendemos a la utilización repetitiva de estos términos, coincide con aquellas obras que la investigación ha considerado más representables; es decir, la mayor

[12] No obstante, debemos señalar que estas últimas ocupan una posición liminar entre el teatro literario y el escénico, ya que muchas de ellas fueron concebidas para su representación, algunas de las cuales tenemos constancia de haberse puesto en escena, como veremos más adelante.

[13] Hemos rastreado los términos referidos a partir de las ediciones de Havet (1880), Peiper (1875) y Bertini (1976 y 1980).

presencia de elementos que aportan información escénica en el texto está ligada a su vinculación con la representación.

Todo ello permite que espiguemos algunos ejemplos en los que se aportan mínimas diferencias en cuanto a los modelos clásicos. Así, por ejemplo, el ambiente tétrico y ominoso que envuelve la tumba en torno a la que se desarrolla la trama tanto en *Aulularia sive Querolus,* que presenta posteriormente su relación con elementos paganos, como en *Aulularia*, de Vidal de Blois:

> [*Aul. sive Quer*. p. 21, ll. 17-22.] *Sed ubinam fures ipsos modo requiram? ubi inuestigem nescio. Vbinam illa est cohors fuliginosa uulcanosa atra, quae de die sub terra habitant, nocte in tectis ambulant. Vbi illi sunt qui urbane fibulas subducunt quique curtant balteos? Nisi fallor, unum ex ipsis uideo. Atque ecce rem gerit.*

> [Vit. *Aul*. 107-8] *Prodigus ad sumptum superis pater extulit oras, / Extulit et tumulos ossaque fouit aui. / Funeris omen erat: domus dampnata sepulchro, / Funereeque domus omina sortis habet.*

En *De Afra et Milone* se describe un *locus amoenus* que devendrá en un perjuicio:

> [*De Afra* 199-214] *Floruit et viguit michi tradita vinea, dives / Fructu, presignis palmite, fronde virens. / Me duce, florigera celum cervice salutans / Vultu respexit lucidiore Iovem. / Edomui, colui, fovi, vigil, impiger, astans, / Vimen, humum, fructum, falce, ligone, manu. / Floruit, emicuit, viuit, stirps, virgula, tellus, / Palmite, vite, mero, plena, superba, potens. / Fractus, hebes, tristis, lego, sentio, gusto, miricas, / Litigium, taxos, messe, favore, favis. / Sedulus, immeritus, insons, meto, perfero, sumo / Crimina, dampna, malum, laude, nitore, bono. / Renuo, nolo, nego, dare, credere, mittere, saxis / Naufragio, scopulis, semina, vela, ratem. / Ne lateat vos causa mali, cur vinea languet, / Destino succincta sub brevitate loqui.*

No abundan precisamente otro tipo de precisiones geográficas ni paisajísticas, más allá de desarrollos más bien estereotipados que sirven para la descripción, como es el caso de hablar de los Etiopes o Indios como ejemplo de 'negritud':

> [Vit. *Geta* 329-353] *Non alium Getam nisi me modo Grecia novit: / Fallere me queris nomine nempe meo: / Solus ego Geta. Nunc accipe quis color et que / Forma michi, quo sint singula facta modo: / Totus inaudita fedaque nigredine dampnor / Atque dolor membris omnibus unus inest. / Sum velut Ethiopes aut quales India nutrit, / Eterna scabie leditur atra cutis. / Hirsutum caput est et cinctum crine caprino, / Frons brevis et naris longa, rubent oculi; / Menta genasque tegit et obumbrat silva pilorum / Collaque longa michi sunt humerique breves. / Sic tumeo ventre quod dicor ydropicus esse / et stomacus parvum nescit habere modum / Zonaque nulla potest hunc castigare tumorem / cum pane absortis dum tumet alvus aquis: / Deest spatium lateri, deest renibus. Hispida crura / sunt michi que scabies ut sua regna tenet. Sed michi dum crebro singultu colligit iram, / Ad curvum muto tenditur usque genu. / Tibia curta michi sed grossa pedesque recurvi / Ut pedibus solea nulla sit apta meis. / Cuique sat est me nosse semel Getamque videntes / Fastiditi abeunt nec repetisse iuvat. Miratur Geta: qualis sit spectat et audit.*

1.1.2. *Comedia de viaje*

En cuanto a las comedias elegíacas que transcurren en un viaje, estas son mucho menos específicas. *Pamphilus, Glicerium et Birria* transcurre toda ella en el viaje y concluye con la llegada a la ciudad [207-208]: «*Urbi succedunt; hilaris pater excipit illos; / Gaudent; illa suum sic habet, ille suam*».

De tribus puellis expresa el escenario y el tema en el primer dístico (1-2): «*Ibam forte viam quadam nullo comitante, / Solus Amor mecum, qui solet esse, fuit*»; en el transcurso de ese viaje se producirá el encuentro con las tres jóvenes en un entorno idílico [71-76]: «*Conspicimus gratum florenti gramine pratum / Cum fuit in medio quercus et umbra loco. / Illic iudicium fieri placet: huc properamus, / Nam placuit nobis omnibus ille locus. / Hic in graminea primus tellure resedi / Precepique suo quamque sedere loco*»; destacamos, finalmente el pasaje en el que se produce la seducción del protagonista por parte de la tercera de las doncellas, una escena en la que se hace uso del recurso del paisaje en el que ha caido la noche [167-176]: «*Hic tibi sint nostri communia gaudia leti, / Hic nos una Venus iungat et unus Amor. Nox tenebrosa venit, totum nox occupat orbem, / Nec nitet in celo luna serena suo, / Ianua nulla patet per quam possis remeare / Nec potes in tenebris solus abire domum. / Sepe solent etiam noctis simulacra nocere / His qui nocte viam continuare solent. / Hinc nox, hinc et amor te conantur retinere; / Impedit ecce tuas utraque causa vias*».

En *De clericis et rustico* se describe de un modo muy ágil y rápido el viaje que se realiza hasta llegar al momento en el que avistan un refugio al que se adelantará uno de los clérigos viajeros [1-9]:

> *"Consocii!" "Quid" "Iter rapiamus." "Quid placet?" "Ire / Ad sacra." "Quando?" "Modo." "Quo?" Prope." Fiat ita." / "Addatis peram lateri." "Ecce." "Crucem scapule." "Ecce." / "Et baculum manibus." "Ecce." "Venite!" "Bene est." / "Immo male est!" "Quid obest?" "Quod abest expensa." "Quid ergo / In gremio portas?" "Ecce, tot." "Hoc nichil est!" / "Ecce, moram facimus." "Sol iam declinat, eundum est / Quam citius!" "Procul est urbs." "Stimulate gradus." / "Sed quis ad hospitium prior ibit?" "Si placet, ibo".*

De mercatore, en cambio, relata la historia del «niño de nieve» comenzando por el viaje [1-4]: «*Institor, intentus augendis rebus in orbem, / Pontum conscendit ut cumularet opes. / Pulcra sui coniux, et adhuc immunis ab omni / Prole, relicta fuit et sine teste domi*»; así se llevará al niño consigo, pero el calor lo derretirá, *institor dixit!* [87-94]:

> *Desiit esse puer, primordia fine secuto. / Ortus lege sui finis habendus erat. / Partibus his habitans ubi sol ferventius urget, / Cereus ad solem sole solutus erat. / De nive conceptus, nivis instar sole solutus, / In liquidam fluxit nix homo totus aquam. / Est natura nivis non ferre valere calorem, / Sic nec ferre potest de nive factus homo.*

En suma, las comedias que hemos repasado ofrecen un paisaje urbano idealizado, a imitación de las comedias antiguas, pero cuyo escaso movimiento escénico contribuye a la escasez de referencias; exceptuamos, como hemos tenido la oportunidad de comprobar, aquellas que aumenta justamente ese movimiento. En las

comedias en las que se produce el relato del viaje, este ejerce el papel de generador de un espacio imaginario, habitualmente asociado a la caída de la noche y la aparición de un lugar especial, bien un *locus amoenus*, bien un posible alojamiento, lugares en los que, en ese alejamiento de la ciudad, se produciran hechos especiales. Solo *De mercatore* escapa a esta reflexión, puesto que aborda una bufonada, y resulta un relato puramente jocoso.

1.1.3. *Comedias de Rosvita de Gandersheim*

Las obras de Rosvita de Gandersheim (ca. 935-ca. 1002) presentan una inversión en relación con los aspectos desarrollados anteriormente. El ambiente de las obras es igualmente urbano, o más bien diríamos palaciego: *Galicano, Dulcidio, Calímaco, Pafnucio* y *Sabiduría*; también recurre al viaje en *Abraham*, pero la acción principal se desarrollará en una posada urbana.

En este sentido, frente a la mirada neutra que hemos podido observar sobre la *urbs* en los textos anteriores, o positiva, cuando se trataba del viaje, puesto que este hacía salir de la ciudad y nos adentraba en lugares aislados e imaginarios, en las obras de Rosvita se produce el elemento inverso. La *urbs*, y los elementos que se consideran en ella, singularmente la posada y el palacio, son *loci horroris*, los lugares en donde reina el pecado, de los que hay que huir. Así los desplazamientos hacia lugares apartados, el monte, el lugar del monasterio, el túmulo, la tumba, son lugares donde se produce la conversión, el martirio gozoso, el retiro, etc. Montaner Frutos (2018)[14] justamente define *locus horroris* a partir de los privilegios monásticos fundacionales del Reino de Aragón; dicha relación, *locus horroris* y fundación monástica, es reproducida por Rosvita al hablarnos de la fundación de su monasterio (*Primordia coenobii Gandeshemensis,* vv. 186-232), muy especialmente los dos versos finales, donde afirma que «*Silvestremque locum, Faunis monstrisque repletum / Fecit mundatum divinis laudibus aptum*».

Tal como relata en los orígenes del Monasterio, se describe el entorno salvaje en el que fue ubicado. Ahora bien, en la escueta descripción del paisaje que aparece en sus obras –propiamente hablaríamos de mención–, se produce la inversión del proceso: el terreno agreste es el lugar de la maravilla, pero será justamente el lugar de la salvación, frente al entorno urbano, que es donde se producen todo tipo de pecados, del que hay que huir y del que hay que aislarse. En esos espacios es donde se sitúan las tramas de esta obra didáctica de Rosvita; como señala en la introducción del libro II, pretende imitar a Terencio y evitar los riesgos que supone el aprendizaje de la lengua latina realizado con la lectura de autores paganos[15]; asimismo, desarro-

[14] Este se articula a partir de toda una serie de oposiciones, en las que cada primer miembro de la oposición corresponde a *locus horroris* (Montaner, 2018, p. 201): *indomitus/domitus; eremus/cultus; eremus/populatus; desertum/populatus; solitudo/uilla; solitudo/uia*.

[15] Rosvita II, *Praef.* 1-2: «*Plures inveniuntur catholici, cuius nos penitus expurgare nequimus facti, qui pro cultioris facundia sermonis gentilium vanitatem librorum utilitati praeferunt sacrarum scrip-*

lla *Academia*, un programa completo en el que las comedias presentan los perfiles de las hermanas que ingresan en el monasterio: nobles, como la hija del emperador y de un general (*Gallicanus*) o de noble familia (*Dulcidius*, y *Sapientia*, que incluye a la madre y las hijas), mujeres casadas (*Callimacus*), jóvenes seducidas y prostituidas (*Abraham*), o prostitutas de profesión (*Pafnucius*). El conjunto de estas obras, que arrancan con el prefacio mencionado, concluye con un breviario del *Apocalipsis*, un recordatorio del arrepentimiento y la conversión necesarios que subrayan cada una de ellas. Concretaremos esta función del paisaje y la geografía en esta autora.

Gallicanus, propiamente *Conversio Gallicani principis militiae*[16], se ha dividido tradicionalmente en dos partes, coincidentes con la presencia del emperador Constatino en la I, y con el emperador Juliano en la II. Sin embargo, el papel motor de las conversiones en la obra son las figuras de Juan y Pablo, quienes dotan de unidad a las dos partes. En la parte I, ambos partirán con el mencionado general a pacificar a los escitas, «*iturus ad bellum contra Scythas*» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* I, praef.), a instancias de «*sacratissimam virginem Constantiam, Constantini imperatoris filiam*» (*ibidem*), de la que eran sirvientes personales, con la intención de librarse del matrimonio concertado entre ella y el general. Esta parte, en consecuencia, transita espacialmente entre el palacio del emperador, del que se sale y al que se vuelve, y el país de los escitas, espacio ubicado en un horizonte alejado y mítico en el que se producirá la batalla, la asombrosa aparición de Cristo y la conversión del protagonista[17]; junto a ello, la salida de la urbe permite la mención del Capitolio y los templos, «*Capitolium et templa primum nobis intranda numinaque deorum placanda sunt ritu sacrificiorum, quo properentur exitum pugnae*» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* I, VII), mientras que a la vuelta serán despreciados, «*Unde templa arbitror transeunda*» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* I, X), frente a la morada de los apóstoles, «*Et limina apostolorum supplici confessione esse intranda*» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* I, X), y la casa de san Pedro, «*Ut urbem*

turarum. Sunt etiam alii, sacris inhaerentes paginis, qui licet alia gentilium spernant, terrentii tamen fingmenta frequentius lectitant, et, dum dulcedine sermonis delectantur, nefandarum notitia rerum maculantur».

[16] Si bien hemos mantenido los títulos de las obras de Rosvita establecidos por Conrado Celtis en su edición al objeto de facilitar su localización en la tradición crítica, incluimos igualmente los títulos completos de la mano de la autora, puesto en la mayoría de los casos supone la ocultación de las auténticas protagonistas de las obras.

[17] Los escitas fueron vencidos en 332 e incorporados al Imperio. No obstante, es necesario tener presente su conexión con el Imperio sasánida, si tenemos en cuenta la atribución establecida por Amiano Marcelino; este representa a los persas, debido a su origen escita, por medio de léxico peyorativo y heteroimágenes degradantes (Sanz, 2018, pp. 196-199). En lo que respecta a nuestro tema debe subrayarse que «(...) las conexiones entre los persas y los escitas van mucho más allá de unos orígenes compartidos. Las digresiones sobre los persas, los hunos y los alanos se comunican a un nivel metaliterario por medio de dos no-lugares, situados en los confines más remotos del Imperio sasánida: Escitia y Sérica. Ambos se configuran como "utopías" en el sentido expresado por Foucault. Son lugares abruptos, rodeados de cumbres heladas, pero también planicies interminables, abiertas a la barbarie, recorridas por escitas errantes. Pueblos de lo más variado habitan estos territorios ignotos: los piadosos galactófagos y los salvajes gelonos; los pacíficos seras y los abominables antropófagos; los misteriosos agatirsos y las legendarias amazonas» (Sanz, 2018, p. 198).

intravit, gressum ad domum sancti Petri concite tetendit» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* I, XI), cambio que explicará con todo detalle en Rosvita, *Gallicanus* I, XII.

La segunda parte se inicia con la persecución contra los cristianos desatada por Juliano. En primer lugar, la acción se dirige contra los *castella* de Galicano, un espacio indeterminado designado con un término muy identificable en el Medievo: «*Castella, quae Gallicanus sibi retinuit, decrevimus intrasse tuaeque servituti usurpasse; sed, si quis ex nostris pedem admovit, leprosus seu inerguminus est factus*» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* I, II). Galicano, por su parte, abandona su patria para dirigirse a Alejandría y sufrir martirio: «*Unde patriam desero et exul pro Christo Alexandriam peto, optans ibidem coronari martirio*» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* II, III –y IV, donde se comunica que ha sido martirizado–). En segundo lugar, Juliano dirige su ira contra Juan y Pablo, quienes son ajusticiados por Terenciano; este hecho propiciará que el desenlace de la obra se produzca en el sepulcro de los dos mártires, cuando el hijo del ejecutor queda endemoniado: «*Ante sepulchra martirum Iohannis et Pauli humi provolvitur seque ipsorum precibus torqueri fatetur*» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* II, VIII). Y él acude a postrarse ante los túmulos: «*Quid, si curram et paenitens sceleris sacris provolvar tumulis?*» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* II, VIII). Es allí donde se producirá la culminación final milagrosa: «... *sed etiam mortua in tumulis ossa variis fulgent miraculorum titulis in testimonium sui sanctitatis, praestante domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui vivit*» (Rosvita, *Gallicanus* II, IX). De este modo, la segunda parte realiza un trayecto de la *urbs* –no olvidemos que los *castella* son narrados– a su periferia, lugar donde se ubican los túmulos; en este sentido el cambio de la denominación, de *sepulchra* a *tumuli*, no es gratuito, ya que, si bien el uso de Rosvita puede dar a entender su sinonimia, mientras el primero procede de *sepelio* y esta ligado a los rituales fúnebres (Ernout-Meillet, 1994, p. 615 s.v. *sepelio*), el segundo resulta de la descripción de una prominencia natural o artificial del terreno y, en ese sentido, un elemento mucho menos elaborado, más salvaje y rústico (Ernout-Meillet, 1994, p. 707 s.v. *tumulus*).

Passio sanctarum virginum Agapis, Chioniae et Hirenae, conocida como *Dulcidius*, transcurre en su mayor parte en el entorno del palacio imperial, realmente entre el palacio y la cárcel en 12 de las 14 escenas que configuran la obra. En el famoso pasaje de las ollas se emplea el término etíope en relación con la negrura que ha cubierto a Dulcidio: «*Nam facies, manus ac vestimenta adeo sordidata, adeo coinquinata, ut nigredo, quae inhaesit, similitudinem Aethiopis exprimat*» (Rosvita, *Dulcidius* IV). Ahora bien, el final conduce en las escenas XIII y XIV a la cima de un monte donde «(...), *sed supervenere duo ignoti iuvenes asserentes, sed ad hoc ex te missos, ut Hirenam ad cacumen montis producerent*» (Rosvita, *Dulcidius* XIII). Es en ese lugar, alejado del entorno urbano, donde no se pueden localizar caminos de ascenso ni de regreso («*en, montem circumeo, et, semitam aliquioties repperiens, nec ascensum comprehendere, nec reditum queo repetere*» (Rosvita, *Dulcidius* XIV)), en el que se llevará a cabo la apoteosis final de la pequeña Hirena.

Resuscitatio Drusianae et Calimachi, conocida como *Calimachus*, reproduce el esquema que venimos desarrollando. La obra se inicia con diversas intervenciones en palacio (escenas I-VI) hasta que la muerte de Drusiana trasladará toda la acción a la tumba de esta; para su descripción Rosvita vuelve a jugar con los términos ya vistos de *sepulchrum* y *tumulus* (Rosvita, *Calimachus* V):

Andronichus. Marmoreum in proximo sepulchrum habetur; in quod funus ponatur, servandique cura sepulchri Fortunato nostro relinquatur procuratori.
Iohannes. Decet, ut tumuletur honorifice. Deus laetificet animam in requie.

Allí transcurrirá la escena de necrofilia y los milagros posteriores que conducirán a la resurrección de Drusiana, Calímaco y Fortunato, y la segunda muerte de este último.

Lapsus et conversio Mariae, neptis Habrahae heremicolae, conocida como *Abraham*, se inicia en el eremitorio de Abraham, «*In meis mansiunculis*» (Rosvita, *Abraham* I); allí recoge a su sobrina de aproximadamente ocho años, a la que, para proteger su virginidad, encierra en una celda: «*Ideo faciam illi exiguam ab introitu cellulam meis mansiunculis contiguam, per cuius fenestram psalterium ceterasque divinae legis paginas illam crebrius visitando instruam*» (Rosvita, *Abraham* II). A pesar de dicha precaución, la joven, seducida por un monje y cargada de culpabilidad, se da a la fuga, por lo que tendrá que ser buscada «*civitates villasque peragrans*» (Rosvita, *Abraham* III 16); es localizada ejerciendo de prostituta en una posada de una ciudad cercana: «*In domo cuiusdam lenonis habitationem elegit, qui tenello amore illam colit*» (Rosvita, *Abraham* IV 3). Las escenas centrales, V-VII, transcurren en la posada, hasta llegar a la habitación de Maria (Rosvita, *Abraham* VII 1):

Ecce triclinium ad inhabitandum nobis aptum; ecce lectus haut vilibus stramentus compositus. Sede, ut tibi detraham calciamenta, ne tu ipse fatigeris discalciendo.

Abraham desvelará que ha acudido disfrazado a la posada y consigue el arrepentimiento de Maria; ambos emprenden el viaje de regreso (Rosvita, *Abraham* VIII 1): «*Quanta celeritate asperi difficultatem itineris transcurrimus!*». Y finalmente se encierra en una celda interior del eremitorio (Rosvita, *Abraham* VIII 2): «*Ingredere in cellulam interiorem, ne vetustus serpens decipiendi ultra inveniat occasionem*».

Conversio Thaidis meretricis, conocida como *Pafnutius*, recorre el mismo trayecto de la ciudad, lugar en cuya plaza se desarrolla una discusión erudita, al enclaustramiento que acaba de sufrir Maria. Sin embargo, en la medida en que Thais no dispone del pasado de Maria, las características de su encierro son descritas con una crudeza terrible, un auténtico *locus horroris* en el que realizar la penitencia y morir en santidad (Rosvita, *Pafnutius* VII):

Pafnutius. Quia enim aegritudo animarum aeque ut corporum contrariis curanda est medelis, consequens est, ut haec, a solita saecularium inquietudine sequestrata, sola in angusta retrudatur cellula, quo liberius possit discutere sui crimina.
(...).
Pafnutius. Nullus introitus, nullus relinquatur aditua, sed solummodo exigua fenestra, per quam modicum possit victum accipere, quem statutis diebus et horis illi debebis parce praebitum ire.
(...).
Thais. Quid inoportunius quidve poterit esse incommodius, quam quod in uno eodem loco diversa corporis necessaria supplere debebo. Nec dubium, quin ocius fiat inhabitabilis prae nimietate foetoris.

(...).
Pafnutius. Convenit, ut male blandientis dulcedinem delectationis luas molestia nimii foetoris.

Passio sanctarum virginum Fidei, Spei et Karitatis, conocida como *Sapientia*, transcurre entre el palacio y la cárcel, donde serán martirizadas las tres jóvenes, y la tumba situada, «*Tertio miliario ab urbe, si vobis non displicit prolixitas*» (Rosvita, *Sapientia* VIII 2), emplazamiento en el se producirá la muerte en santidad de Sabiduría.

En suma, si bien las indicaciones de tono, gesto y movimiento son abundantes en las obras de Rosvita, las referencias al paisaje escénico son muy limitadas; de hecho, solo contrapone *urbs* –donde se ubica el palacio y la cárcel también– al paisaje natural –*mons*– o directamente un *locus horroris -tumuli, Scithia, cellula, eremum-*. El trayecto es sencillo y unidireccional en *Dulcidius, Calimachus, Pafnutius* y *Sapientia*, y más elaborado en Gallicanus (*urbs* → *locus horroris* → *urbs* → *tumuli*) y Abraham (*eremum* → *urbs* → *eremum*).

1.2. Información geográfica y del paisaje en el teatro escénico medieval

Otras composiciones, algunas de tradición literaria previa, como el mimo literario del siglo IX, y otras propias del Medievo, como las conectadas con el rito, los dramas litúrgicos o los *Planctus Mariae*, o como las piezas literarias de tradición escolar, los denominados *Ludi*, presentan la peculiaridad de atender explícitamente en el momento de su elaboración a la faceta espectacular, a la puesta en escena; es lo que Castro (1996) ha definido como teatro escénico[18].

Por ese orden, dadas las dificultades de rastrear la existencia del mimo popular, disponemos de un cierto conocimiento de un mimo literario o una pantomima donde los argumentos populares son sustituidos por temas de la literatura escolástica y religiosa. El ejemplo es *Cena Cypriani*[19]; esta obra, originada en un texto del siglo IV[20], se conserva en la reelaboración de Juan Diácono en el siglo IX, cuyo prólogo, destinado al papa Juan VIII, reúne todos los tópicos de una comedia romana (*Cena Cypriani* I 1), p.

[18] El drama religioso se concibe para ser representado, incluso «Las extensas indicaciones sobre la representación permiten deducir que se pensaba en una puesta en escena no dentro sino delante de la Iglesia» (Zielske, 1989, p. 412).

[19] Citaremos por la edición de Strecker (1923) en *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* IV, que es la que sigue siendo canónica, si bien se dispone de una más reciente de Modesto (1992), que identifica las cuatro reelaboraciones medievales.

[20] Sobre Cipriano de Cartago *vide* Nieto-Torres (2024, pp. 240-242, 358-359, 412-413), si bien no incluyen la adscripción de la *Cena Cypriani*. Sobre la discusión de la autoría o el carácter anónimo de la obra de época tardía puede seguirse la discusión en Mosetti (2002), donde es significativo señalar la duda que se ha puesto de manifiesto dadas las características de la obra: «*Cena Cypriano falso adscripta, opus stultum lectuque indignum, cum aliis quibusdam aeque parum spectantibus ad Cyprianum*» (Oudin, 1722, p. 274).

Quique cupitis saltantem *me Iohannem cernere,*
Nunc cantantem auditote, *iocantem attendite:*
Satiram ludam percurrens *divino sub plasmate,*
Quo Codri findatur venter. *Vos, amici, plaudite.*

A saber, pide atención y aplauso del público (*auditote*, *attendite*, *plaudite*), y emplea términos técnicos (*saltantem*, *cantantem*, *iocantem*) para referirse al actor que llevará a cabo la sátira[21], término con el que califica a la pieza[22]. El poeta imagina que todos se divertirán, el papa y el emperador (*Cena Cypriani* I 3-4):

3. Hac ludat papa Romanus *in albis pascalibus,*
Quando venit coronatus *scolae prior cornibus,*
Ut Silenus cum asello *derisus cantantibus,*
Quo sacerdotalis lusus *designet misterium».*
«4. Hanc exhibeat convivis *imperator Karolus,*
In miraculis gavisus, *prodigus in vestitus,*
Quando victor coronatur *triumphatis gentibus,*
Ut imperialis iocus *instruat exercitum.*

Y finaliza invitando a asistir a la obra que fue redactada por un maestro de retórica tomando como fuente relatos de milagros y no comentarios satíricos ni fábulas de actor cómico (*Cena Cypriani* I 6):

Ad cenam venite cuncti *Cypriani martiris,*
Rhetoris et papae clari *Libicae Cartaginis,*
Quam sophista verax lusit *divinis miraculis,*
Non satiricis commentis *non comoedi fabulis.*

La propia dedicatoria de Juan Diácono manifiesta su visión de la puesta en escena por medio de la lectura del texto y la representación (*Cena Cypriani* IV, *Suppositio*):

[21] Bertini (1976), como la mayor parte de la crítica literaria, niega el carácter dramático tanto de esta obra como de *Terentius et delusor* (*vide infra*); Molina (2007, pp. 119-120) reconoce en ambas «trazas de escenificación». Se opone, por tanto, una categorización teatro profano frente a teatro sacro divergente de la de teatro literario/ teatro escénico (Castro, 1996) que seguimos aquí.

[22] Esta obra ha sido calificada de pantomima (Ermini, 1935, p. 25), obras en las que un bailarín –o varios– representaban mímicamente el desarrollo de la acción, mientras un coro o un cantor ofrecían el texto que le acompañaba (Thiede, 1998, p. 57). Se ha llegado a realizar una tentativa de puesta en escena (Bellingeri, 1982, p. 662), si bien se ha llegado a poner en duda dicha representabilidad, concluyendo que se trata de un ejercicio literario (Mosetti, 2016b). En este sentido, Jacobsen (2014, p. 136) expresa una opinión media sin comprometerse con la representabilidad: «Un breve squarcio dei divertimenti intellettuali dell'epoca alla corte papale è offerto dalla *Cena Cypriani*, la vecchia parodia di una predica del vescovo Zenone di Verona (360/371) che Rabano Mauro aveva trasformato per Lotario I in un compendio alquanto pedante per la memorizzazione di personaggi e fatti della Bibbia; Giovanni Diacono adattò per Giovanni VIII e Carlo il Calvo il vecchio testo in versi ritmici per la recitazione e lo svago burlesco per il banchetto pasquale».

Ludere me libuit; ludentem papa Iohannes
Accipe; ridere, si placet, ipse potes.
Tristia lassatis dum currunt secula tegnis,
Suscipe de rithmis dogmata grata tibi,
Quis laetus poteris spectacula cernere festis,
Iam variis monstris dissimulata nimis.
Aspice depictam multo variamine mensam,
Dum nova cum veteri dogmata iure legis.
Fac relegat balbus Crescentius ista vietus:
Qui risum poterit stringere, marmor erit,
Temporibus musam mutat sine labe poeta:
Nunc hilarem popolum musa iocosa beat.

La obra, pues, en la concepción de Juan Diácono, está pensada para la representación. En este sentido genera un marco anacrónico y anatópico en el epílogo escrito, puesto que afirma haber visto a Cipriano (*Cena Cypriani* III 1):

Haec cantabat papa Tascius *solio Cornelii,*
Graphium tenens vietis *iam retunsum digitis,*
Et detritis ludibundus *scribebat in tabulis,*
Quem ab Hostia conspexi *sub portu Cartaginis*

Por lo demás, el trasfondo bíblico de *Cena Cypriani* traslada el escenario a Oriente, en Canán, junto al río Jordán (*Cena Cypriani* II B 1-3):

Quidam rex nomine Iohel nuptias faciebat in regione Orientis in Chana Galileae. Is invitavit plures, ut cenam eius confrequentarent. Qui temperius loti in Iordanem adfuerunt in convivio.

A continuación, se realiza la preparación del lugar en el que se procederá a cenar (*Cena Cypriani* II B 3-6 p. 28):

Tunc / commundavit Naaman, aquam sparsit Amos, / Iacobus et Andreas adtulerunt foenum, Matthaeus et Petrus straverunt, / mensam posuit Salomon, atque discubuit omnis turba.

Y finalmente, los comensales se sentarán «*quisque ut poterat locum sibi inveniebat*». (*Cena Cypriani* II B 7-8), si bien cada uno estará asociado a un elemento relacionado con él (*Cena Cypriani* II B 8-28):

Primus itaque omnium sedit / Adam in medio, Eva super folia, / Cain super aratrum, Abel super mulgarium, / Noe super arcam, Iafeth super lateres, / Abraham sub arbore, Isaac super aram, / Iacob supra petram, Loth iuxta ostium, / Moyses super lapidem, Helias super pellem, / Danihel super tribunal, Tobis super lectum, / Ioseph super modium, Beniamin super saccum, / David super monticulum, Iohannes in terra, / Pharao in arena, Lazarus in tabula, / Iesus super puteum, Zacchaeus super arborem, / Matthaeus super scamnum, Rebecca super hydriam, / Raab super stuppam, Ruth super stipulam, / Thecla super fenestram, Susanna in horto, / Abessalon in frondibus, Iudas super locu-

lum, / Petrus super cathedram, Iacobus super retem, Samson super columnam, Heli super sellam, / Rachel super sarcinam. / Patiens stabat Paulus, et murmurabat Esau, / et dolebat Iob, quod solus sedebat in stercore.

El paisaje escénico queda configurado así en los primeros versos, por no hablar de que supone la muestra del modo en que irá avanzando la acción de la obra: se establece una enumeración de los personajes con los elementos que les permiten realizar algún tipo de acción[23]. En lo que nos ocupa, tras la ubicación geográfica global en el horizonte bíblico, se ha producido una compleja descripción de la escena donde un escenario sencillo preparado para la cena se ha cargado de elementos concretos, llenos de connotaciones simbólicas, sobre los que los comensales se sientan. Ya no habrá más referencias al paisaje o a la escena en toda la obra, salvo la mención de los vinos que se sirven en la cena (*Cena Cypriani* II B 142-149):

Sed quoniam aliquot vini habebant, / Passum bibebat Iesus, Marsicum Ionas, / Surrentinum Pharao, Pelinum Adam, / Laletanum Moyses, Creticum Isaac, / Adrianum Aaron, Arbustinum Zachaeus, / Arsinum Thecla, Albense Iohannes, / Campanum Abel, Signinum Maria, / Florentinum Rachel.

O la construcción de una tumba al final de la obra (*Cena Cypriani* II B 265-267):

Tunc iussit rex, uti qui mortuus esset / sepeliretur / et vendidit agrum Emnor, emit Abraham, / Nacor monumentum fecit, et aedificavit Cain, / (...).

Terentius et delusor, pieza anónima del siglo IX, deriva del ambiente escolar. Trata de una disputa entre un joven estudiante que se burla de las obras de Terencio y el comediógrafo que se presenta como una *auctoritas* de la cultura escolar, lo que se refuerza con la caracterización de este como un anciano. Lo llamativo reside en que cada intervención está precedida de una rúbrica en prosa sobre la actitud y los

[23] Manca (2008-2009, p. 86) señala que se trata justamente del mecanismo en el que se fundamenta la comicidad de la obra: «ogni personaggio è associato a un oggetto o un'azione che richiama la sua funzione nella Bibbia». Este mecanismo es estudiado con detalle por el mismo autor (Manca, 2007) y referentes literarios en obras entorno al banquete: Petronio, *Satyricon* 35, Ateneo, *Deipnosofistai* 60, o la referencia, ya puesta de manifiesto y editada por Stecker (1923, pp. 861-862), así como recogida por Fontana (1999, pp. 76-81), a Zenón de Verona, *Ad neophytos post baptisma*; o incluso Apuleyo (Mosetti, 2006, pp. 239-245). En este sentido estamos ante una obra singular que rompe con la visión negativa del teatro por parte del cristianismo tardío desde el *De spectaculis* de Tertuliano: «al passaggio fra Tardo-Antico e Medioevo, circola in Occidente un nuovo modello di "teatralità", corrispondente a una concezione propagandistica, apologetica, virtuale del "teatro"; la *Cena Cypriani* vi si oppone come irriverente risposta ludica, come espressione della cultura dell'antimodello; come forma non lontana, in fondo, dai tentativi di legittimazione degli spettacoli, che taluni Cristiani, riluttanti ad abbandonare i "teatri", avrebbero condotto, strumentalizzando, specularmente, in chiave "teatrale" alcuni passi biblici, quasi a voler controbattere l'Apologetica tardo-antica con i suoi stessi mezzi» (Mosetti, 2016a, pp. 997-998). Pues «Per il Cristianesimo si trattava di costruire un'autentica alternativa drammatica, che riuscisse ad appropriarsi dell'intera gamma espressiva della "spettacolarità" (...)» (Mosetti, 2006, pp. 217-218).

gestos de los interlocutores –una acotación, por tanto–. Esta *altercatio* no precisa de describir un escenario, de modo que el movimiento se limita a señalar la entrada de Terencio a escena, «*NUNC TERENTIUS EXIT FORAS AUDIENS HAEC ET AIT*» (*Terentius et delusor* v.13) o «*ECCE PERSONA DELUSORIS PRAESENTATUR ET HOC AUDIENS INQUIT*» (*Terentius et delusor* v.22). En cuanto a la existencia de referencias geográficas, estas se limitan a una breve mención de lo nocivo que procede de tierras lejanas: «*Hic quibus externis scelerosus venit ab oris, / Qui mihi tam durum iecit ridendo cachinnum?*» (*Terentius et delusor* v.16)[24].

Los dramas eclesiásticos, término con el que aunamos tanto el drama litúrgico como el escolar, participarán de algunos de los elementos ya citados[25]. El origen de este fenómeno, específicamente medieval, debe buscarse en la relación establecida entre el sacerdote y el actor trágico[26]. Honorio de Autún afirma que el sacerdote es un actor trágico que representa el combate y triunfo de Cristo en el teatro de la Iglesia ante el pueblo (*De gemma animae siue de diuinis officiis* 38, *De tragoediis*): «*Sic tragicus noster pugnam Christi populo christiano in theatro Ecclesiae gestibus suis repraesentat, eique uictoriam redemptionis suae inculcat*».

Establecido así el carácter teatral de la liturgia cristiana, se procedió a un despliegue de desarrollos diferentes de representaciones; y decimos representaciones, puesto que la liturgia romana disponía de un gran vigor dramático y espectacular: cantos de tropos del introito, lecturas, sermones o procesiones, y, por supuesto, los denominados dramas litúrgicos y escolares. Prescindiendo de la diferencia entre unos y otros, directamente ligada a su relación con la liturgia, al buscar en ellos las referencias al paisaje y la geografía, al paisaje escénico y al narrado, hemos encontrado concomitancias con aspectos ya mencionados a lo largo de nuestro trabajo.

Es obvio subrayar que la geografía referida en todos estos dramas es bíblica[27], coetánea a la redacción –*e.g. Clerici*– o alegórica –*e.g.* la Jerusalen celeste del *Ordo*

[24] Citamos por la edición de Winterfeld (1902, pp. XX-XXIII). Un estudio completo puede consultarse en Giovini (2007).

[25] «En el multiforme ámbito de la literatura latina medieval nos encontramos con un enorme corpus que surge en el siglo X y llega hasta el XVI; nos referimos a ese conjunto de composiciones literario-musicales que reciben el nombre genérico de dramas eclesiásticos y que la competencia literaria contemporánea percibió como posibles piezas teatrales. Bajo esta denominación se engloban, por una parte, los "dramas litúrgicos", que formaron parte del rito como una ceremonia eclesiástica más, y, por otra, los "dramas escolares", es decir, esas piezas que, aun pudiendo formar parte del rito, manifiestan que su función no es tanto al servicio del culto como de la creación estética y literaria de obras destinadas a la puesta en escena» (Castro, 2001, p. 5). El drama litúrgico es definido como «toda composición literario-musical que formó parte de una ceremonia religiosa, pero que rebasó los límites de la dramatización simbólica de la liturgia y se aproximó, desde el punto de vista moderno, a la dramatización imitativa y mimética de la *impersonation* teatral» (Castro, 1996, p. 74).

[26] Además, es un fenómeno que se extiende por una cada vez más compleja dramatización de la liturgia en la Edad Media (Castro, 1994, pp. 80-82).

[27] No haremos mención explícita de ella, ni de ejemplos, pues se trata de un aspecto ligado directamente con la temática: Jerusalén, Judea, el palacio de Herodes, etc.

virtutum de Hildegarda de Bingen[28]–, siendo las dos últimas muy poco precisas. Para su presentación espigaremos ejemplos de tres aspectos que hemos considerado relevantes: (i) la presencia de un/el sepulcro; (ii) el viaje como motor de la historia; y (iii) el desarrollo de escenografías completas hasta cierto punto estáticas.

En primer lugar, el sepulcro (de Cristo) está asociado al origen de los dramas litúrgicos; igualmente hemos analizado su papel en las obras de Rosvita, donde se liga al espacio mágico, salvaje, al *locus* en el que pueden suceder los milagros. Ese espacio imaginario milagroso, piedra angular de la creencia en la resurrección, aparece en la *Visitatio Sepulchri*[29]:

> *INT. Quem queritis in sepulchro, cristicole?*
> *RESP. Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole*
> *Non est hic surrexit sicut predixerat*
> *Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro*.

Hilario de Orleans en *Suscitacio Lazari*, en el marco de la geografía bíblica, presenta Judea de la siguiente manera (Hilarius, *Suscitacio Lazari* 101-108)[30]:

> Ihesus ad Di<s>cipulos dicent:
> *In Iudeam iterum / nos oportet pergere, / ubi quiddam paululum / decreui peragere*.
> Cui Dis<ci>puli dicent:
> *Te nuper lapidibus / uolebant obruere, / et uis tamen iterum / in Iudeam tendere!*

La obra desarrolla su escena principal en el sepulcro de Lázaro (Hilarius, *Suscitacio Lazari* 173-180):

> Et Ihesus ad illam:
> *Volo, soror, uolo multum / me deduci al sepultum, / ut in uitam reuocetur / qui a morte detinetur*.
> Illa autem, ducens Ihesum ad sepulcrum, dicet:
> *Hic eum possimus; / ecce locus, Domine; / quem in Patris poscimus / suscitari nomine*».

Es más explícito *Resuscitatio Lazari* del manuscrito de Fleury (*Resuscitatio Lazari* 1)[31]:

> In primis adducatur Simon cum quibusdam Iudeorum, et resideat in domo sua. Post h*ec* ueniat Ihesus in plateam, cum discipulis cantantibus:

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[28] «Virtudes. Estás en el edificio de la Jerusalén celestial floreciendo entre los brillantes lirios» (Hildegarda, *Ordo virtutum* 47), no dando lugar a más desarrollo del escenario ni el paisaje. Sobre esta autora *vide* Castro (2001, pp. 83-88), Dronke (2002, pp. 272-280), Moulinier (2006, pp. 77-90) y Notz (2006, pp. 125-132).

[29] Young (1993, I 393-397).

[30] Young (1933, II, pp. 212-219).

[31] Young (1993, II 199-211).

Se hace, pues, referencia al escenario imaginado, *domus*, pero también al real de la representación, *plateam*; posteriormente nos trasladará al túmulo (*Resuscitatio Lazari* 281-286):

> Ihesus tran*siens* ante monumentum dicat:
> *Velox huius saxi remocio, / et spelunce fiat apertio / sine mora. / Qua debetis miranda cernere / atque Dei nomen extollere / hec est hora*.

Y, si podemos considerar el *sepulchrum*, por más que se cargue de connotaciones positivas para el cristianismo, la expresión de un *locus horroris*, a este grupo pertenece la primera aparición conocida de demonios en escena, que, por supuesto, se acompaña de la ausencia de luz a la que han llegado las necias (*Sponsus* 84-90)[32]:

> Modo veniat Sponsus. <Fatuae dicant:>
> *Audi, Sponse, uoces plangentium: / Aperire fac nobis ostium / Cum sociis <ad dulce prandium; / Nostrae culpae> praebe remedium! / Dolentas, chaitiuas, trop i auern dormit!>*
> Christus:
> *Amen dico, uos ignosco, nam caretis lumine, / Quod qui perdunt procul pergunt huius aule limine.*

En segundo lugar, el viaje supone un motor de la acción escénica. Es lo que sucede en el ambiente urbano en el que se sitúa *Ludus super Iconia Sancti Nicolai* de Hilario de Orleans (Hilarius, *Ludus super Iconia Sancti Nicolai* 1-16)[33]:

> In primis Barbarus, rebus suis congregatis, ad Ichoniam ueniet et, ei res suas commendans, dicet:
> *Nicholae, quidquid possideo, / hoc in meo misi teloneo; / te custodem rebus ad<h>ibeo; / serua quę sunt ibi. / Meis, precor, adtende precibus; / uide, nullus sit locus furibus. / Preciosis aurum cum uestibus / ego trado tibi. Proficisci foras disposui; / te custodem rebus inposui; / reuertenti redde quę posui / tua sub tutela. / Iam sum magis securus solito, / te custode rebus inposito, / reuertenti uide ne merito / mihi sit querela*».

Así sucede también en *Iudeus ad Sanctum Nicholaum*[34], en la que no son unos viajeros los que llegan, sino que un judío encomienda su tesoro al santo al salir de viaje. En *Tres clerici*, obra en la que el viaje y el alojamiento que encuentran entre dos ancianos, que asesinarán a los estudiantes y san Nicolás los resucitará posteriormente, supone la causa de la peripecia dramática (*Tres clerici* 13-16)[35]:

> Insimul omnes ad Senem dicant:
> *Hospes care, querendo studia / huc relicta uenimus patria; / nobis ergo prestes hospicium / dum durabit hoc noctis spacium*».

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[32] Young (1933, II, pp. 361-369).
[33] Young (1993, II, pp. 337-343).
[34] Young (1993, II, pp. 343-351).
[35] Young (1993, II, pp. 330-334).

Ordo ad representandum Herodem recrea la llegada de los Reyes Magos y desarrolla en acotación el movimiento de los actores en el templo (*Ordo ad representandum Herodem* p. 84)[36]:

> Tunc demum surgentes cantent intra se *Transeamus*, et cetera; et sic procedant usque ad Presepe, quod ad ianuas monasterii paratum erit:

El movimiento hasta la puerta del coro (*Ordo ad representandum Herodem* p. 85):

> Venientes ad hostium chori interrogent astantes:
> *Dicite nobis, O Ierosimilitani ciues, ubi est expectatio gencium; ubi est qui natus est rex Iudeorum, quem signis celestibus agnitum uenimus adorare?*».

Y expone en el texto el origen de los Magos de Oriente (*Ordo ad representandum Herodem* p. 88):

> *Nos sumus, quos cernitis, reges Tharsis et Arabum et Saba dona ferentes Christo nato, Regi, Domino, quem, stella ducente, adorare uenimus.*

Ad interfectionem Puerorum presenta un juego interesante, pues la acotación inicial habla de que «*<A>d interfectionem Puerorum induantur Innocentes stolis albis, et gaudentes per monasterium, orent Deum*» (*Ad interfectionem Puerorum* p. 110)[37], es decir, explicita el espacio real en el que se desarrollará la representación, mientras que la obra trasladará al público al espacio imaginario de Judea (*Ad interfectionem Puerorum* p. 113):

> *Tunc Ioseph, Ioseph, fili David! Reuertere | in terram Iudam, defuncti sunt enim qui querebant animam pueri.*

Ludus de Emmaus[38] se inicia en su acotación con la referencia anacrónica de *castellum* (*Ludus de Emmaus* 1):

> *Incipit exemplum apparitionis Domini discipulis suis iuxta castellum Emaus, ubi illis apparuit in more peregrini et tacuit videns, quid loquerentur et tractarent.*

Son muy escasas otro tipo de descripciones, lo que hace más llamativo, si cabe, la presencia de un *locus amoenus*, tomado de *Canticum canticorum*[39] (*Ludus de Emmaus* 26a*):

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[36] Young (1993, II, pp. 84-92).
[37] Young (1933, II, pp. 110-117).
[38] Citamos la edición por medio de Martínez Gázquez-Florio (2006, pp. 152-154); Young (1993, I, pp. 463-465).
[39] *Vide* Colunga-Turrado (1953, pp. 819-824).

<Dominus.> *Vox turturis audita est in turribus Ierusalem. Veni, amica mea. Surge, Aquilo, et veni, Auster; perfla hortum meum, et fluent aromata illius.*
Respondet Maria: *Veniat dilectus <meus in hortum suum, ut comedat fructus pomorum suorum.>*
Dominus: *Comedi <favum cum melle meo, bibi vinum meum cum lacte meo.>*
Maria: *Talis est dilectus <meus, et ipse est amicus meus. Filie Ierusalem.>*
Dominus*: Tota pulchra <es, amica mea, et macula non est in te. Favus distillans labia tua, mel et lac sub lingua tua, odor unguentorum tuorum super omnia aromata. Iam enim hiems transiit, imber abiit et recessit, flores apparuerunt, vinee florentes odorem dederunt, et vox turturis audita est in terra nostra. Surge, propera, amica mea, veni de Libano, veni, coronaberis>.*

Para el tercer lugar hemos dejado los dramas en los que se explicita por medio de las acotaciones el desarrollo de un escenario complejo y, en ese sentido, estático en tanto que simbólico. Así sucede en *Danielis ludus*, que desde la magnificencia del palacio del rey Baltasar se traslada al *locus horroris* que supone el foso de los leones (*Danielis ludus,* inter vv. 352-353)[40]: «*Tunc proicient Danielem in lacum*»; lo que se repite en *Historia de Daniel representanda* de Hilario de Orleans[41], que ya en su inicio traza el escenario en el palacio y con un pozo de leones (Hilarius, *Historia de Daniel representanda* 1):

In cuius prima parte he persone sunt necessarie: / Rex unus sub persona Baltasar / Regina / Daniel / Quatuor Milites / Quatuor Seniores.
In secunda uero parte: / Rex unus sub persona Darii / Idem Daniel / Milites et Seniores qui et in prima / Angelus unus in lacu leonum / Abacub / Angelus alius, qui deferat Abacub ad lacum / Angelus tercius, qui cantet, *Nuncium uobis fero*».

La acotación inicial del *Ludus de Antichristo* dará una idea precisa de lo que tratamos de expresar (*Ludus de Antichristo* 1)[42]:

Templum Domini et vii sedes regales primum collocentur in hunc modum: Ad orientem templum Domini; huic collocantur sedes Regis Hierosolimorum et Sedes Sinagogę. Ad occidentem sedes Imperatoris Romanorum; huic collocantur sedes Regis Theotonicorum et sedes Regis Francorum. Ad austrum sedes Regis Grecorum. Ad Meridiem sedes Babilonię et Gentilitatis. His ita ordinatis, primo procedat Gentilitas cum Rege Babiloni<e> cantans:.

Al inicio de la obra se realiza por medio de la correspondiente acotación un reparto del espacio escénico de un modo simbólico, cubriendo los puntos cardinales. De ese modo, las acotaciones del resto de la obra se recrearán en el vestuario, la gestualidad y los movimientos de una zona a otra del escenario, o recreará el enfrentamiento entre los ejércitos; todo ello, sobre un paisaje escénico imaginario que se ha

[40] Young (1933, II, pp. 290-306.
[41] Young (1933, II, pp. 276-290)
[42] Young (1933, II, pp. 369-396).

establecido desde el primer momento y requiere de utilización de elementos decorativos en escena (Jackson, 1979).

El mismo patrón se reproduce en *Filius Getronis* 1[43] (Walsh 2001):

> Ad representandum quomodo Sanctus Nich<o>laus Getron<is> Filium de manu Marmorini, Regis Agarenorum, liberauit, paretur in competenti loco cum Ministris suis armatis Rex Marmorinus in alta sede, quasi in regno suo sedens. Paretur et in alio loco Excoranda, Getronis ciuitas, et in ea Getron, et cum Consolatricibus suis, uxor eius, Eufrosina, et Filius eorum Adeodatus. Sitque ab orientali parte ciuitatis Excorande ecclesia Sancti Nicholai, in qua puer rapietur.

Otro tanto sucede en la *Conversio Beati Pauli Apostoli* (p. 219)[44]:

> Ad representandum Conuersionem Beati Pauli Apostoli paretur in competenti loco, quasi Ierusalem, quedam sedes, et super eam Princeps Sacerdotum. Paretur et alia sedes, et super eam iuuenis quidam in similitudine Sauli; habeatque secum Ministros armatos. Ex alia uero parte, aliquantulum longe ab his sedibus, sint parate quasi in Damasco due sedes, in altera quarum sedeat uir quidam nomine Iudas, et in altera Princeps Sinagoge Damasci. Et inter has duas sedes sit paratus lectus, in quo iaceat uir quidam in similitudine Annanie.

Cuando hay un pequeño cambio del escenario, se procede a la acotación oportuna (*Conversio Beati Pauli Apostoli* p. 222):

> Tunc Ministri eant et quera<n>t Saulum. Quo comperto, Saulus cum Discipulis suis in sporta ab aliquo alto loco, quasi a muro, ad terram demittatur.

O lo mismo en *Ordo de Ysaac et Rebecca et filiis eorum* (1)[45]:

> *Ordo de Ysaac et Rebecca et filiis eorum Recitandus*
> *Tria tabernacula disparatim disponenda* sunt *cum lectis et aliis ornatibus prout facultas erit, vnum Ysaac, secundum Iacob et Rebecce, tertium Esau. Coquine Esau et Iacob, vbi delicate dapes cum pane et uino promte sint. Capreolus, si esse p*otest. *Duo hedi. Tece manuum pilose. Pellis, que tegat collum, pilosa. Pillea Iudaica Ysaac et filiis, et coloribus uariata; cetera simplicia aptentur. Vestes prout decentiores prouideantur. Arcus cum pharetris. Cuique predictorum plurimi clare uestiti assistant cum cantoribus suis, qui in singulis locis historie allegorias dulciter canant. Hoc cantu producendus est Ysaac usque ad lectum honorifice dispositum:*».

Entre las obras del *Codex Buranus*, *De Natiuitate* desarrolla la disposición del escenario de modo similar a los anteriores (*De Natiuitate* 1)[46]:

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[43] Young (1993, II, pp. 351-360).
[44] Young (1993, II, pp. 219-224).
[45] Young (1993, II, pp. 258-266).
[46] Young (1993, II, pp. 172-196).

> Primo ponatur sedes Augustino in fronte ecclesie, et Augustinus habeat a dextera parte Ysaiam et Danielem et alios Prophetas, a sinistra autem Archisynagogum et suos Iudeos.

No obstante, lo que resulta más relevante es el canto de la Sibila, que presenta el apocalipsis, en lo que es una descripción completa de un *locus horroris* (*De Nativitate* 3b)[47]:

> *Iudicij signum: Tellus sudore madescet; / E celo rex adueniet per secla futurus, / <S>cilicet in carne presens ut iudicet orbem, / Vnde Deum cernent incredulus atque fidelis / Celsum cum sanctis, eui iam termino in ipso. / Sic anime cum carne aderunt quas iudicat ipse. / Cum iacet incultus densis in uepribus orbis, / Reicient simulacra uiri, cunctam quoque gazam. / Exuret terras ignis, pontumque polumque; / Inquirens tetri portas effringet Auerni; / Sanctorum sed enim cuncte lux libera carni, / Tradetur; sontes eterna flamma cremabit. / Occultos actuis retegens, tunc quisque loquetur / Secreta, atque Deus reserabit pectora luci. / Tunc erit et luctus, stridebunt dentibus omnes. / Eripitur solis iubar, et chorus interit astris; / Soluetur celum, lunaris splendor obibit; / Deiciet colles, ualles extollet ab imo. / Non erit in rebus hominum sublime uel altum. / Tum equantur campis montes, et cerula ponti. / Omnia cessabunt, tellus confracta peribit. / Sic pariter fontes torrentur, fluminaque igni. / Et tuba tunc sonitum tristem demittet ab alto / Orbe, gemens facinus miserum, uariosque labores, / Tarthareumque chaos monstrabit terra de<h>i<s>cens; / Et coram hic Domino reges sistentur ad unum; / Decidet e celo ignisque et sulphuris amnis.*

Frente a ese *locus horroris* se contrapone *Ludus de Rege Aegypti*, donde, cargado de connotaciones clásicas, se describe un completo *locus amoenus*, en el que se dará rienda suelta a la elegíaca *militia amoris* (*Ludus de Rege Aegypti* 2-17)[48]:

> *Ab estatis foribus / nos amor salutat; / humus picta floribus / faciem conmutat. / Flores amoriferi / iam arrident tempori, / perit absque Venere / flos etatis tenere.*
> *Omnium principium, / dies est uernalis; / uere mundus celebrat / diem sui natalis. / Omnes huius temporis / dies festi Veneris; / regna Iouis omnia / hec agant sollempnia».*

Y se completa con la descripción de los jardines de Babilonia (*Ludus de Rege Aegypti* 36-72):

> *Hec noua gaudia / sunt ueneranda, / festa presentia / magnificanda. / Dulcia flumina / sunt Babylonis, / mollia semina / perditionis. / Concupiscentia / mixti saporis / ingerit somnia / lenis amoris.*
> *Heccine gaudia / cupiditatis / tribuunt ydola / captiuitatis. / Dulcia.*
> *Apta delitiis / caro letatur, / hac <uia> uiciis / mens uiolatur. / D<ulcia>.*
> *Affectionibus / motus tumultus / tollit uirtutibus / proprios cultus. / D<ulcia>.*

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[47] Young (1993, II, pp. 130-131) considera que este canto de la Sibila es una pieza diferente que se inserta dentro de la representación.

[48] Young (1993, I II I, pp. 463-469).

Ista sunt deuia / felicitatis, / ocia mollia / sunt uoluptatis. D<ulcia>.
Ista negocia / plena malorum / et desideria / flagiciorum. D<ulcia>».

En suma, en los dramas eclesiásticos, dado su carácter musical y que la escena esté ligada al espacio sacro o al espacio público, y no propiamente a una escena, las acotaciones escénicas cobran un gran protagonismo. El paisaje y la geografía en el texto se reduce a muy pocas expresiones que hemos tratado de mostrar; en la escena este es imaginario y simbólico, con expresión de lugares fijos.

2. PAISAJE Y GEOGRAFÍA EN EL DRAMA LATINO DEL RENACIMIENTO

El final del siglo XIII y sobre todo el siglo XIV darán lugar a un nuevo tipo de producción dramática caracterizada por la *imitatio* y la *aemulatio* de la producción dramática de la Antigüedad. Este drama humanístico sentará las bases del teatro neolatino de los siglos XVI y XVII, hasta que el siglo XVIII ceda el paso a las producciones populares en lenguas vernáculas y al pujante teatro jesuítico. Por ello, nos centraremos, en el final de nuestro estudio, en la observación de la comedia y la tragedia humanísticas.

2.1. Comedia humanística

El carácter imitativo de las comedias hace que se multiplique la aparición de los términos que tienen que ver con *urbs*, convirtiéndose en este sentido no solo en continuación de la comedia antigua, sino también con una evidente relación con la comedia elegíaca del mismo tema[49]. Estos se multiplican y hablan de la representabilidad de estas obras[50], tal como ya subrayábamos: *macellum*, *hortulus*, *ecclesiam*, *vicinia*, *templum*, *posticus*, *cella*, *platea*, *edis*, *cubiculum*, *taberna*, *angiportus*, turrim, *hortus*, *divorticula*, *porticus*, *deambulatorium*, *scaligradium*, *fenestrellam*, celula, *balneum*, *cavea*, *area*, *tectorio*, *aedicula*, *cauponam*, *fanum*, etc., incrementan el vocabulario descriptivo de la ciudad que se había limitado a un léxico elemental (*villa, urbs, domus, fores, forum, viam, portus, ianua, limina, arva*). Todo ello y términos como *ecclesiam*, *turrim* o *scaligradium* muestran la adaptación a la realidad de la época de

[49] *Vide* punto 1.1.1. en el presente trabajo.

[50] Limitamos nuestro estudio a las cinco comedias humanísticas contenidas en la edición de Grund (2005): *Paulus* (ca. 1390), de Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444); *Philodoxeos fabula* (1424/1437), de Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472); *Philogenia et Epiphebus* (1437/1438), de Ugolino Pisani (¿1405?-¿1445?); *Chrysis* (1444), de Enea Silvio Piccolomini, futuro papa Pío II (1405-1464); y *Epirota* (1483), de Tommaso Mezzo (nacido ca. 1447). Una visión de conjunto de esta producción trágica, incluyendo las referencias a obras perdidas o conservadas en escasos fragmentos, puede conocerse en Grund (2015, pp. 104-108).

la redacción en el siglo xv[51]. No obstante, como señala Grund (2005, pp. xii-xxi), resulta complicado averiguar hasta qué punto fueron representadas las comedias humanísticas[52], y las que lo fueron a menudo formaron parte de ceremonias académicas, entretenimientos de la corte o espectáculos religiosos. Este alejamiento de la escena, unido a la *imitatio* de las comedias de Plauto y Terencio, contribuye, en nuestra opinión, a la ausencia de acotaciones escénicas –aspecto ya repetido en nuestro trabajo– y a cierta falta de precisión en el momento de utilizar los signos lingüísticos indicadores del espacio escénico[53].

Tales son las características que se pueden rastrear en *Paulus*, de un joven[54] Pier Paolo Vergerio (ca. 1390), cuya escena se ubica en Bolonia y sigue muy de cerca el patrón terenciano (Paolini, 2017, pp. 307); es la ciudad en la que el protagonista se encuentra estudiando, para, finalizados sus estudios, retornar a la patria (vv. 30-33: «*Videbar ipse michi / coronatus iam emerita lauro in patriam / ivisse me, ac protinus sponsam virginem / generosam michi, que decore superaret solem*»); de lo contrario, deberá dedicarse a la milicia o retirarse a territorios donde impera la barbarie (*Paulus* vv. 152-153: «*aut miliciam secuturum aut in extremam / barbariem*»). Son abundantes los términos ya referidos, de entre los que destacamos el uso de *posticum* (*Paulus* v. 489: «*Ego postico vos admittam*») o de *monasterium* (*Paulus* vv. 816-817: «*quot intra monasteriorum / claudier septa!*»; o la referencia a la realidad de la ciudad de Bolonia por medio de su mercado y de la puerta que daba salida hacia la ciudad de Rávena, en *Paulus* vv. 161-165:

> *Abi igitur / et duos illos codices, qui soli apud me / sunt, vestesque ex scrinio collige, quoad / libras auri tres cogas; deinde in macellum / ito et in Ravennensem portam.*

O, finalmente, la referencia a los esclavos a la venta en función de su origen geográfico (*Paulus* vv. 219-224):

> *Cum enim preteriero, omnes me domine / spectabunt et mirabuntur qui sim, / qui Ethiopes Teucrosque servos habeam / empticios, cum ceteri non nisi / immundos Germanos, qui caules / sepo condiant et potent poculis oleum.*

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[51] Una visión de conjunto, desde sus orígenes humanísticos y su evolución a lo largo del Renacimiento y la Edad moderna, puede consultarse en Tilg (2015).

[52] De hecho, «None of the comedies included in this volume can be proven with any certainty to have been presented publicly» (Grund, 2005, p. xii). Se trata de obras calificadas por Van Thieghem (1944, p. 149) de «comédie à la antique» en las que los modelos de Plauto y Terencio son más evidentes.

[53] Una visión más optimista de la representación de las obras dramáticas del Renacimiento y la Edad Moderna es la que ofrece Bloemendal (2014, pp. 480-481): «Most Neo-latin dramas were meant to be both read and staged. Such a performance added to the impact of a play by means of the spoken word as well as decor and props. Often plays were printed only after the performance, whereas many remained in manuscript form. Those manuscripts contained the entire play, or 'roles', viz. the text to be spoken by one actor». Esta visión se sustenta en el impacto en las audiencias de estas obras y en el papel desempeñado por estos dramas en la formación de la opinión pública (Bloemendal, 2008 y 2013).

[54] Katchmer, 1998, pp. 77-88 concluye que la redacción fue anterior a los treinta años.

Philodoxeos fabula, de Leon Bautista Alberti (1424/1437), de clara raigambre plautina (Paolini, 2017, p. 307), ofrece una riqueza mayor en las descripciones, más que probablemente relacionadas con la dedicación a la arquitectura y urbanismo del autor, famoso por su obra *De re aedificatoria*, presentada al papa Nicolás V el año 1452 y editada por primera vez en 1485 (Rivera, 1991, p. 7). Por ello, sus descripciones son más precisas, como en la descripción del deterioro en el que se encuentra la casa de Philodoxeus a su regreso y que describe su compañero Phroneus (*Philod*. 18):

> *Et quam accurate, quam premeditate hoc me iupsit negotii conficere! Hec dixit:"Nosti quod te diligo et nosti angiportum, ubi operam omnem, diem omnem meque omnem contrito consumoque miserum. Istuc ito ac, siquid videris sive quem transeuntem, speculator. Ibi directo ad levam, quasi edibus, amate coadiunctum, ostium est. Edes ille multo mihi commodo esse poterunt, dum in illius familiaritatem, qui inhabitat, nos inserpias. Est ut hominem convenias teque amico et vitee mee amicum ac veluti vitam prestes. Hinc haud commoneo quicquam necdum impero: tute sapis frugi es. Hominem ut agnoscas, huc adverte: est fuscus, barba et capillo prolixus, claudicans, cesius".*

Al igual que en los casos anteriores, aparece un vocabulario específico, *v.g. angiportum* (*Philod*. 18, 32, 101 y 104), *vinarias tabernas* (*Philod*. 19), o, sin caer en la exhaustividad, el recurso a un término plenamente medieval (*Philod*. 47): «*accesi ad turrim*». Así lo medieval se mezcla con elementos clásicos como un desfile triunfal en el foro (*Philod*. 53):

> Phron. *Dicam. Namque in foro legati es Africa, bene re gesta, cum pompa nunc cum transirent, seduxi me ut eam ipsam pompam spectarem, quam tu quidem triumphum esse diceres: nam illic tibicines, currus, equi, leones, panthere, res denique mire atque innumerabiles, que videre longe opere pretium est. Interea putus caballum effrenum acriter virga et calcibus concussit. Nescio rem ut dixerit: hoc ipse aperto novi, crus mihi semifractum esse.*

O el relato del que participa la descripción de un *hortus* (*Philod*. 86):

> Mni. *Narro. Doxia Doxie soror Phimiaque Alithiaque, hec virgo, atque ego flores in horto et apium opera animi gratia spectabamus, dum is convicinus senex suo ex horulo proximo, qui cratibus ab hortis Doxie conseptus est, nos quam plurime iubet salvere.*

O Tychia realiza las indicaciones oportunas para que Phroneus identifique su casa (*Philod*. 119):

> Tych. *Ergo adhibe huc animum: hac recta usque apud publicanos, tum verte ad levam usque ad pistrinum, demum conscende ad plateam; ibi ad dextram e conspectu videbis umbonem ad postes appensum, de more ubi hec inscripta sunt aureis litteris:* NISI IAM FORTE. *Ille sunt edes nostre: advocato gnatum. Intellextin?*

En suma, el uso de los términos y la aparición de algunas descripciones, poco habituales en otras obras similares, hacen que del texto de Alberti se obtenga una visión más aproximada de los paisajes y escenarios en los que se desenvuelve la comedia.

Philogenia et Epiphebus (1437/1438): de Ugolino de Parma, comparte con las anteriores el ambiente urbano en el que las puertas de las casas o el modo en que se accede a ellas configura la escena y el paisaje en el que se desarrolla la comedia (*Philog*. 15):

> Ph. *Quia parentes mei umbris advenientibus primum foribus obdunt pexulum, post non credentes pexulo, clavibus se tuciores reddunt et eas secum deferunt. Itaque nullo pacto tibi patere possent fores.* Ep. *Occurram huic probe.* Ph. *Quonam pacto?* Ep. *Ex deambulatorio apud angiportum per scaligradium descendentem te, mi Philogenia, meos in amplexum accipiam.*

Se produce una *narratio* rápida de las acciones que se producen en la casa (*Philog*. 24):

> Cl. *Mi vir, sensi profecto nescio quid in edibus tumultuari.* Cal. *Corripe te igitur e lecto et videas.* Cl. *Faciam. Ad gnatam primum pergam. Heus, heus, Philogenia, hem quid est? Hostium pulso; nil enim obstat quin recta possim ingredi via. Quid, Philogenia, foribus pexulum non dedisti? Ubi es? Hem abiit; ve misera mihi! Quid viro nuntiabo? Caliste mi, accurre huc propere.* Cal. *Hem, quid est?* Cl. *Philogenia nostra hedes est egressa*. Cal. *Unde?* Cl. *Nescio. Exploravi hostia, seras et omnes fenestras. Video omnia ordine esse quo statuta fuerant*. Cal. *Unde igitur potuit exire?* Cl. *Nescio, nisi forte ex deambulatorio in ultimis hedibus*. Cal. *Eamus igitur visere*. Cl. *Sequar*. Cal. *Hem, Cliopha, hinc omne malum est, hinc abiit impurissima, hic sunt vestigia*. Cl. *Ve mihi! Quid igitur est faciundum, mi vir?*

En esta obra se menciona «*ex oppido Castigii eam abduxit*» (*Philog*. 56), situándonos en el momento de la redacción, ya que se trata de una pequeña villa a 20 millas de Pavía, donde se lleva a cabo la acción. Desde esas poblaciones acuden los campesinos *in urbem* (*Philog*. 58 y 59).

Chrysis, de Eneas Silvio Piccolomini (1405-1464), el futuro papa Pío II, redactada en 1444, cuya acción se sitúa en Basilea, repite los mismos patrones de clara influencia plautina (Jocelyn, 1991)[55], con las referencias ya indicadas a términos espaciales: *in angiportu* (*Chrysis* v. 37), *ad ianuam* (*Chrysis* v. 40), *in foro* (*Chrysis* vv. 110; 160; 253; 681), *in balneas* (*Chrysis* v. 112), *domum* (*Chrysis* vv. 121; 268; 504; 684), *in cavea* (*Chrysis* v. 176), *in edibus* (*Chrysis* v. 256), *in scannis* (*Chrysis* v. 668). Ahora bien, cabe resaltar la relación geográfica realista de una Basilea en conflicto con Francia, con la mención a las tropas de Armagnac, que derrotaron a las tropas suizas en la batalla de St. Jakob an der Birs (24 de agosto de 1444), en los alrededores de Basilea; para terminar señalando la indiferencia entre gobernantes franceses o alemanes (*Chrysis* vv. 160-176):

[55] La motivación para la redacción de esta obra era su utilidad para el aprendizaje de la elocuencia, como el propio autor afirma en su *Tractatus de liberorum educatione*, «*Comedi plurimum conferre ad eloquentiam possunt, cum per omnes personas et effectus eant*», lo que la sitúa en la línea educativa que ya hemos señalado en varias ocasiones (Paolini, 2017, p. 305).

Charinus. *(...) Vidi plures in foro / nuper propter Armeniacos ire anxios; / illos namque invasisse dolent imperium / et occidisse quosdam Suicenses truces. / Hostem volunt alii externum propulsarier / ulciscique suos. Tum post quidam togati / non capio quid divisionis flebile / inter pontifices aiunt esse maxumos. / Ego sapientis verbum mente teneo: / curas post tergum decet inanes mittier, / Ut in cavea certant pulli gallinacei / esse causa, quibus cras est decretum mori, / sic propter imperium contendunt homines, / quod quam diu tenere debeant nesciunt. / At ubi carendum sit, imperio prius / quam cibo malim carere. Quid refert mea, / Gallus an Teutonicus uter imperet?*

De la misma manera que los personajes manifiestan su relación con las ciudades de Maguncia (*Chrysis* vv. 700-701, «*Bacchidem colui / Maguntie*») y Siena (*Chrysis* v. 709, «*Dixin tibi quo pacto Senis dilaniarim mecam?*»).

Finalmente, la propia trama de *Epirota* (1483), de Thomasso Mezzo, traslada a los espectadores hasta la antigua Grecia. Comparte con las anteriores el ambiente urbano que se refleja en el vocabulario empleado, que aparece en la *salutatio urbis* del protagonista (*Epir.* 35):

Salve urbs optata, meorum profugium, ubi fratris filiam esse praedicant! Quam sane urbem salvus videre aut contingere numquam speravi, ita mare venti caelum in nos navigantes saevierant. Quam ob rem, antequam incipiam fratris filiam per urbem quaeritare, recipiam me in aliquid diversoliorum, ubi corpus curem. Sed quis est, quaeso, ille, qui ex editiori loco verba facit ad plebem? Exquiram iam ex proximo, tametsi nihil ad me verba eius. Dic, sodes, tribunus est hic an aliquis subtribunus, qui concionatur in foro?

La obra realiza un auténtico paseo por la ciudad, mostrando a los ojos de los espectadores los espacios por los que se mueven los personajes; no obstante, resaltamos aquí la aparición del uso de los referentes geográficos, ficticios –el Jardín de las Hespérides– y reales –Mauritania, donde se afirma que no hay ladrones–, con motivo de realizar una buena venta de hierbas por parte de un charlatán (*Epir.* 39):

Ut occepi dicere vobis, iuvenes, in horto Hesperidum hanc herbam ortam fuisse aiunt. Innumeras illi virtutes esse constat, de quibus omnibus ipse periculum feci, et vos, si diis placet, hodie parva impensa periculum facietis. Eius maxima virtus est ad indicia furtorum. Nam citius manu continebit ignem is, qui furti noxa tenetur, quam radicem istam; cadit protinus e manibus, si eam ullo pacto tetigerit. Proinde in Mauritania, ubi haec nata ferunt, nulli perhibentur esse fures, nisi forte qui post furtum statim fugam meditantur.

Al igual que el posadero describe su trabajo *in cauponam* (*Epir.* 43).

2.2. Tragedia humanística

El descubrimiento por parte de Lovato Lovati (1240/41-1309) del *Codex Etruscus* del siglo XI en la Abadía benedictina de Pomposa, que contiene la colección más antigua de las nueve tragedias de Séneca –*Hercules furens*, *Troades*, *Phoenissae*, *Medea*, *Phaedra*, *Oedipus*, *Agamemnon*, Thyestes y *Hercules Oetaeus*–, marca el inicio

de la tragedia humanística, cuya principal característica es justamente la imitacion y emulación de los dramas senecanos. Veremos a continuación la presencia de la geografía y el paisaje en una muestra de estas tragedias humanísticas[56].

Ecerinis, escrita en 1314 por un discípulo de Lovato, Albertino Mussato (1261-1329), en cinco actos, tiene coro, diálogo y emplea el trímetro yámbico en los pasajes narrativos con clara influencia senecana (Grisafi, 2003) y muy especialmente de la pseudosenecana *Octavia* (Bisanti, 1994). El personaje central es Ecelino III da Romano (1194-1259), el llamado 'Tirano de Padua', que en su calidad de lugarteniente de Federico II fue una figura principal en los enfrentamientos entre Güelfos y Gibelinos en el siglo XIII. No obstante, la narración histórica de Mussato realizaba un cuidadoso y artesanal retrato del tirano veronés Cangrande della Scala, que amenazó la soberanía de Padua, cuando el autor ejerció de diplomático y soldado en las guerras entre Verona y Padua (1312-1328). En ella el pueblo de Padua desempeña un papel fundamental, hasta el punto de que, poeta laureado de la ciudad-estado el 3 de diciembre de 1315, su drama fue leído cada Navidad al público para fortalecer su patriotismo. Estos tiranos serán presentados como auténticos demonios, reencarnaciones del anticristo, *sub specie diaboli* (Bosisio, 2014, p. 3), para lo que debe crearse un ambiente «meraviglioso, fantastico» y demonológico en el que el contexto geográfico y el paisaje acompañan a los elementos cronológicos e ideológicos (Bosisio 2014, p. 1).

Adeleita, la madre de Eccelino, inicia la tragedia por medio de una descripción subjetiva de la escena y su paisaje; en él, recoge la descripción del palacio, que se inspira en el de Pélope, descrito en el *Thyestes* de Séneca (vv. 641-647), cargado de tintes funestos (*Ecc*. vv. 8-17):

> *Arx in excelso sedet / antiqua colle, longa Romanum vocat / aetas: in altum porrigunt tectum trabes, / premitque turrim contigua ad austrum domus, / ventorum et omnis cladis aëreae capax. / Hoc accubans ipso Monachus olim loco / parens eburno vester Ecerinus thoro est / dormire visus, cuius ad laevum latus / supina iacui. Iam eloqui factum pudet, / pavet animus, advenit horror et membra occupat*.

Se desarrolla desde el comienzo un *locus horroris*, que culminará con una invocación a Satán (*Ecc*. vv. 28-38):

> *Cum prima noctis hora, communis quies, / omni teneret ab opere abstractum genus, /et ecce ab imo terra mugitum dedit, / crepuisset ut centrum et foret apertum chaos / altumque versa resonuit caelum vice: / faciem aëris sulphureus invasit vapor, / nubemque fecit. Tunc subito fulgur domum / lustravit ingens, fulminis ad instar, tono / sequente: ole-*

[56] Limitamos nuestro estudio a las cinco tragedias humanísticas contenidas en la edición de Grund (2011): *Ecerinis* (1314), de Albertino Mussato (1261-1329); *Achilles* (ca. 1390), de Antonio Loschi (1369-1441); *Procne* (ca. 1427/1430), de Gregorio Correr (nacido en 1409); *Hiempsal* (ca. 1440/1442), de Leonardo Dati (1407-1472); y *Fernandus servatus* (1493), de Marcellino Verardi; a las que hemos añadido *Historia Baetica* (1492), de Carlo Verardi (1440-1500) (Chiabò-Farenga-Miglio-Morelli 1993).

tum sparsa per thalamum tulit / fumosa nubes. Occupor tunc et premor, / et ecce pudor, adulterum ignotum ferens.

Que se completa en *Ecc*. vv. 86-90, con una acotación escénica (única en todas las tragedias analizadas):

Sic fatus ima parte secessit domus / petens latebras, luce et exclusa caput / tellure pronus sternit in faciem cadens/ tunditque solidam dentibus frendens humum / patremque saeva voce Luciferum ciet.

Si ese es el paisaje escénico que se presenta al público, hay un paisaje geográfico de dominio narrado en la obra, como cuando Eccerino expone el alcance de su poder (*Ecc*. vv. 290-296):

Capiamus urbes undique et late loca. / Verona Vicentia Padua nutu meo / iam subiacent: progrediar ulterius cito. Promissa Lombardia me dominum vocat: / habere puto. Meos nec ibi sistam gradus. Italia michi debetur.

O la tremenda descripción que hace Eccelino de su conquista de Mantua (*Ecc*. vv. 328-337):

Hem vicimus! Iamque omne fas licet et nefas. / Ferro tuenda civitas nostro vacat. / Cum plebe pereat omne nobilium genus; / non sexus aetas ordo non ullus gradus / a caede nostra liber aut expers eat. / Vagetur ensis undique et largus cruor / abundet atra tabe perfusus foro: / hinc inde patulae corpora ostentent cruces; / subdantur ignes, illa qui flammis crement, / stilletque sanies: fumus ad summos polos / a me litatas victimas tales ferat.

O la descripción que hace el mensajero de la batalla (*Ecc*. vv. 401-411):

Progressa Venetis exulum fervens aquis / invasit agros magna Patavorum cohors / Ferrariensiumque, quot plenae rates / deferre poterant, totus et Venetus favor, / cruce praevia Papaeque legato duce. / Districtualium subito victis locis, / venere ad urbem. Currit ad pontem pedes; / subiectus altas incremat portas focus / undante fumo. Desuper nullus stetit, / omnisque cessit victa custodum manus. / Capta Padua est, et exules illam tenent.

Los ejemplos presentados reflejan la tipología que venimos repitiendo a lo largo del trabajo: paisaje escénico en el que se desarrolla la trama, paisaje narrado, en este caso por el mensajero, relacionado con la trama, pero no integrante de la escena, y paisaje narrado, no directamente relacionado con la trama, sino con el contexto –político en este caso– en el que se desarrolla la misma. Esta riqueza de referencias está asociada al tratamiento de un asunto directamente ligado al presente tanto del autor como del público[57]; es lo que acontece en *Fernandus serva-*

[57] Es lo que Van Tieghem (1944, p. 164) califica de «Tragédies d'actualité», ligándolo al temprano origen medieval, en el siglo XIV, de la tragedia humanística.

tus, que relata el atentado de Barcelona en diciembre de 1492 contra Fernando el Católico, o *Historia Baetica*, que narra el momento en el que se produce la conquista de Granada en 1492[58].

Marcelino Verardi, quien califica en su prólogo la obra como *tragicocomoedia* (*Ferd*. Praef. 5), pone en boca de Plutón la geografía política del rey Fernando, que culmina con su aspiración de alcanzar Oriente (*Ferd*. vv. 36-53), y por ello exhorta a las Furias a oponerse con todas sus fuerzas a este monarca:

> *Nec contentus adhuc nuper Magmede repulso / sede sua, veteres proscindens undique leges, / Baudelique meo foedissima sub iuga misso, / granatam domuit, victorque intravit in urbem, / improbus, et populum dictis parere coegit. / Optima nonne mihi dudum pars cesserat orbis? / Africa nonne mei fuerat latissima iuris? / Nonne Asiam nostris dederam parere ministris / Europaeque bonam partem? Lateque vagabar / et totum nostro molibar subdere mundum / servitio, vestra confisus fraude dolisque. / At nunc Fernando contraria signa ferente, / pro dolor! Europa iandudum cessimus omni. / Nec dubium quin hic Nabatheum subiuget orbem / Eoasque domos, proprio nisi forte labore / nunc mihi fertis opem, qua vobis bella movere / innumerasque datur gentis ad proelia ferre / et pacem turbare gravisque ciere tumultus.*

La propia mención de los personajes, Plutón y las Furias, sitúa esta escena inicial de la obra en un entorno infernal, que tras el diálogo entre el futuro magnicida, Rufo, y la furia Tisífone, que le induce a cometer el intento de asesinato, se confirma, pues, orgullosa de haber cumplido su misión (*Ferd*. vv. 333-335), «*Quis digna me laude feret, quae sola sororum / nunc fuerim commenta viam, qua nostra iuventur / imperia, heu, tantam iandudum passa procellam?*», retorna al oscuro reino del Tártaro (*Ferd*. vv. 338-339): «*Hinc Acherontaeas descendere cogor ad umbras / Tartareique Iovis tenebrosa revisere regna*», que solo ha abandonado brevemente para captar a dicho sicario. Este espacio imaginario oscuro y tenebroso cambia ya en el resto de la tragedia, pues se desarrollará en palacio y, para facilitar un cambio tan brusco, se vale Verardi de la acotación escénica (*Ferd*. post 339): «Regina audito regis vulnere exanimata egreditur cum nutrice», que repetirá en la escena dando entrada a los diversos personajes, Santiago apóstol, Cardenal Mendoza o el propio rey; es lo que sucede, por ejemplo, tras la invocación al apóstol Santiago que la reina Isabel realiza, donde repite esa geografía política y que provocará la aparición milagrosa del mismo (*Ferd*. vv. 373-382):

> *Impia profuerit Maurorum castra fugasse / insignesque sacris templis posuisse triumphos / et Magmedaeas totiens fudisse cohortes. / Tu quoque, quo foelix patrono Hispania fertur, huc ades et meritum regem, divine Iacobe, / aethereo committe patri, relevetur acerbum / vulnus et ignavo reddatur poena nocenti. / Nec liceat regnare malis virtute iacente / sub pedibus diris. Quis enim fas esse putarit / vexarique pios contraque vigere nocentis?*

[58] Ambas tragedias forman parte de la campaña propagandística desarrollada en Roma para validar la monarquía hispánica (una visión clara de esta función propagandística puede verse en Fernández de Córdova, 2005 y 2015).

La aparición se indica por medio de dos acotaciones: *Ferd*. post 382), «Eadem viso divo Iacobo»; y *Ferd*. post 385, «Divi Iacobi ad reginam consolatio». Se contrapone así la oscura aparición de Plutón y las Furias, a la brillante aparición de Santiago que culmina confirmando los temores que había señalado Plutón (*Ferd*. vv. 410-414):

> *Gaude igitur matrona dei dignissima donis: / vir tuus evasit servatus grandibus actis, / imperioque Asiae. Veniat iam sub iuga supplex / Africa, et inmensus divinis legibus orbis / sub vestro imperio discet parere subactus*.

Este paralelismo entre los dos espacios escénicos (y los personajes que los pueblan), que hemos mostrado de forma breve, junto al uso de las acotaciones escénicas, habla a las claras de la hibridación producida entre la tragedia clásica –los ecos senecanos son evidentes– y los *ludi* medievales y religiosos. No en vano sabemos de la representación en Roma de esta obra[59], al igual que lo fue *Historia Baetica*[60].

Carlo Verardi organiza *Historia Baetica* en dos partes esencialmente: la primera transcurre en Granada y asistimos a las tribulaciones de Boabdil ante lo que es su inminente derrota (*Hist. Baet.* p. 9,«*Adeste iam aequis animis et pernoscite / Maurorum Rex en qui foras egreditur / suis cum consultoribus sibi quid uelit*»); la segunda nos traslada al campamento de los Reyes Católicos, donde se narrará la conquista definitiva de la ciudad[61]. Es así que en la primera parte abundan las referencias a lo que hemos denominado geografía política; destacaremos la descripción que hace Boabdil de los medios con los que cuenta su enemigo (*Hist. Baet.* p. 16):

> *Haec igitur omittamus; consideremus, si placet, hostis potentiam. Longum esset referre quot urbes, quot prouintias, quot regna possideat. At non habundant iis rebus quae bello usui sunt; immo praeter caeteras prouintias, iis refertae sunt maxime, ut enim omittam quod frumenti, uini caeterarumque rerum ad uictum pertinentium Hispania feracissima est, et equorum multitudine ac pernicitate reliquas anteit prouincias: Sicilia, quae Fernando paret, frugum mater appellatur, equos mittit omnium bellicosissimos; Calybes ferrum tanta copia sufficiunt, ut inde in caeteras orbis partes asportetur. Auro uero, quo non minus quam ferro bellum administratur, hostes habundare quis dubitet? Cum Tagus et alia nonnulla eorum flumina harenis aureis fluere dicantur*.

Por su parte, el resto de la tragedia transcurre con descripciones del terreno de la batalla y el asedio, hasta que se produce la conquista definitiva, pasaje que hemos seleccionado (*Hist. Baet.* p. 55):

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[59] La obra fue representada el 27 de marzo de 1493 ante el papa, el colegio cardenalicio y otros dignatarios en el Palacio del Cardenal Riario (Fernández de Córdova, 2015, p. 206).

[60] Se representó el 21 de abril de 1492, una obra que «nasce dunque con una destinazione inmediatamente teatrale, pensata per essere rappresentata da un autore che valuta con sicurezza la superiore efficacia della parola recitata» (Farenga, 1993, p. xxv).

[61] Al contrario que en el arranque de la obra, que hemos citado en el texto, el paso al campamento cristiano es propiciado por las últimas palabras pronunciadas por Boabdil en la primera parte (*Hist. Baet.* p. 50): «*Eamus igitur intro, ut oratores eligam et ea quae ad deditionem faciendam pertinent parem*».

> *[REX] Tu, Gutteri, cum lecta peditum manu paratus sis ut, cum obsides dederint et huc arma detulerint, urbem recipias, portas, arcem, munitaque omnia urbis loca ualidissimo praesidio firmes. Id ubi feceris, ex summa arcis turre solita nostra signa extollito. Tibi enim tanquam praeceptori maiori equitum Iacobensium merito debetur hic honor et labor.*

Las tres tragedias que analizamos en último lugar no guardan relación con los acontecimientos contemporáneos, son un ejercicio culto, hasta el extremo, que Gregorio Correr, en *Procne*, realiza en la introducción un completo excurso métrico, *Genera metrorum totius tragoediae*[62]. Si bien las obras, en consecuencia, se dirigen a un público culto y erudito, requiere que haya una ubicación y actualización del tema al inicio de las mismas; Antonio Loschi, en *Achilles*, emplaza a los espectadores en Troya por medio de las palabras de Hécuba (*Ach*. vv. 1-14):

> *O coniugales horridas Troie faces, / quas profuga coinunx numine infausto tulit, / thalamos secutas regius puppes cruor / cuius pelasgas solvit! Immites deos / placare potuit cede virginea cohors / argiva? Ratibus mille suffecit caput? / Nunc Xantus, alto sanguine immixto fluens, / yliaca pulsat maria; purpurea vehit / Simois procellas cede nec dudum labat / fortuna belli. Victor Atrides premit / menia deorum clara, que Phebus cheli / struxit canora. Sevit armigera potens / Europa classe; quelibet nostram lues / affligit Asiam. Vincimur bello Friges.*

Gregorio Correr, en *Procne*, anuncia los argumentos terribles que se desarrollarán en esta tragedia por medio del tirano Diomedes, que retorna de los infiernos, quien traza un paisaje escénico y contextual de tintes profundamente sombríos, toda la obra transcurre en un *locus horribilis* (*Proc*. vv. 1-38):

> *Lucos et amnis desero inferni Iovis, / ad astra mittor supera convexi poli: / neque enim inter umbras noxius visus furor / est ullus aeque. Thracia, heu, solus potest / explere Furiis corda Diomedes. (...) / Parum videtur? Torqueat per me suas / Phlegeton harenas, igneo torrens vado. / Cur me innocentem facitis alterna vice / sceleris nefandi Thraces? Agnosco scelus! / Pars iam peracta est, noster explebit nefas / adventus. Unde hoc? Omnis arescit seges, / (sensere terrae), deficit pratis color / quacumque gradior fontibusque humor solitus / deest, cavernis intimis quaerens fugam. / En alta cerno decora natalis soli / thracosque muros: regiae est illinc locus / atque hinc superbas alta pro templo pater / Gradivus ipse limina horrendus tenet. / Pudet referre: facinus agnosco meum / stabulumque, quo me victor Alcides feris / obiecit ipse, pabulum armentis ducem. Sed ecce subeo regiae limen domus / aulamque Terei. (...) / Nunquam vacabit scelere Diomedis domus, / nunquam nocentes leviter Thraces erunt.*

En tercer lugar, Leonardo Dato, en *Hiempsal*, que realiza un ejercicio literario más que una apuesta teatral propiamente dicha («*Leonardus Dathus cuique lec-*

[62] La imitación de Séneca debía ser completa, y eso incluía la métrica, lo que no estuvo exento de múltiples dificultades (Fedchin-Burns-Chaudhuri-Dexter, 2022).

turo salutem», dice en el arranque del *Argumentum*), establece el paisaje escénico en *Argumentum* 1-2:

> *Massinissa, rex Numidarum, post bellum Punicum secundum inm amicitiam populi romani receptus, treis proceavit filios: Gulussam, Manastabilem et Micissam. (...). Inde regnum Libyae calamitatibus obrutunt conruit.*

Establecidos así, por el argumento y los personajes, literarios, míticos o históricos, en horizonte culto y alejado del público, lo que les confiere una extraordinaria vaguedad, el estatismo caracteriza las tres obras, que apenas dejan espacio a descripciones del paisaje o geográficas. Son descripciones realizadas por el mensajero, como en *Ach*. vv. 639-650:

> *Ut seva fulsit dardani Phebi domus, / Peleus cacumen vidit huc velox gradum / tum concitabat. Astra vergebant ducis, / horrenda fata miserant summum diem. / (...) / Ecce ecce tetigit liminis sacri fores. / Non thure flamma pinguis ante aras micat; / non est sacerdos more dardanio colens / secreta divum; nullus aspicitur, gregis / rector ferocis, taurus immunis iugi / sparsurus aras.*

O la enumeración de los lugares míticos que realiza Procne (*Proc*. vv. 621-625):

> *Scilicet nullus premat, / natura finis ipsa custodit loci: / hinc alta Rhodope nutat excelsis iugis, / hinc vasta Syrtis geticum inversat mare, / Maeotis inde stringit Arcthoos sinus.*

O la enumeración de lugares emblemáticos de Libia que realiza la pitonisa en *Hiempsal* (vv. 347- 356):

> *Tu Cirtha profugum, he he, tuo / profugum, tuo haud gremio satis servas diu! / Stat ales Evandri atque rostro et unguibus / libycos male exturbat gravi nidos lue. / Heu, Zama, purpureis madescis imbribus! / Vaccea pubes, tertio haud rides die! / Igne tibi, Tala, facis tenebras ultimas! / Capsa, aureos tum reddis ungues aliti / et tibi, Mulucha, non cocleis laetus tuis / noctem iubare fuscat alacrem Titan suo!*

O que forman parte de la geografía histórica o mítológica. Tal es el caso de *Procne* 621-625:

> *Scilicet nullus premat, / natura finis ipsa custodit loci: / hinc alta Rhodope nutat excelsis iugis, / hinc vasta Syrtis geticum inversat mare, / Maeotis in stringit Arcthoos sinus.*

Por último, entresacamos la descripción que hace Discordia de los habitantes de Numidia (*Hiemp*. vv. 638-639): «*Genus hoc enim Numidiae et tumidum et ferox / et insolens odi*».

En consecuencia, las tragedias humanísticas analizadas establecen una división nítida en la descripción de los paisajes y la geografía en función de su relación con los hechos más cercanos al público; así, aquellas que tratan hechos cercanos, cuando no contemporáneos, lo que incluso les hace ser instrumentos de propaganda

política, a la vez que se testimonia claramente su representación ante un público más o menos amplio, más o menos selecto, recurren a una mayor precisión en la descripción, tanto del paisaje escénico –con acotaciones escénicas incluso– como del paisaje narrado; las que remontan a un pasado clásico literario, mitológico o histórico, lo que supone unos receptores mucho más formados, y de cuya representación cabe dudar, o incluso sabemos que no fueron representadas, carece de todos esos elementos, quedando la descripción de ambos paisajes, escénico y narrado, de un modo vago y al que se le da escasa importancia, tal vez debido a que los propios personajes y los argumentos trasladan directamente a esos paisajes y geografías.

Otro aspecto que no queremos dejar de señalar es la relación que hemos establecido entre estas tragedias, sobre todo las que sabemos representadas con los *ludi* medievales de carácter sacro, en cuanto a su esfuerzo de acotación y el estatismo de las escenas, aspecto en absoluto compartido con las comedias humanísticas.

3. CONCLUSIONES

Responder a la pregunta de si un paisaje o la información geográfica de un drama, o de un drama latino en particular, es realidad o ficción sugiere glosar la frase de George Orwell (2010: 14/3/1942): «All propaganda is lies, even when one is telling the truth». En efecto, el paisaje y la geografía en el drama responde a una convención, al diálogo que se establece entre el autor y sus personajes, y el público, un público espectador de la representación o lector, pero involucrado en las convenciones propias del género literario, a saber, el hecho de poder ser representado en escena. Dicho de otro modo, todo paisaje en escena es mentira, porque tiene que ser recreado: no hay un bosque, ni un palacio, ni estamos en una plaza, etc.

Establecida esta premisa, el análisis practicado de *Fabella Aenaria* y, a partir de las conclusiones teóricas ejemplificadas con ella, la revisión de la producción del Medievo hasta llegar al teatro humanístico han permitido observar la presencia en dichas obras del paisaje y de la información geográfica. Estas se manifiestan de dos modos principalmente: el paisaje escénico y el paisaje narrado.

El segundo, el paisaje narrado, es el que guarda una mayor relación con el resto de los géneros literarios; es el paisaje desarrollado verbalmente en escena por alguno de los personajes, quien relata paisajes o realiza descripciones geográficas para enmarcar acciones o hechos relacionados con la temática del drama, o, como hemos visto sobre todo en las tragedias, permite contextualizar el mismo. En este último sentido, suelen aparecer en el arranque de la obra, generando de este modo un marco referencial que traslada al público a los territorios en los que se desarrollará el drama. Contexto y relato se entrecruzan, pues, en esto que hemos dado en denominar 'paisaje narrado'.

El primero, el paisaje escénico, es el propiamente teatral en la medida en que es en el que se desarrolla la acción dramática, en el que se desenvuelven los personajes; por tanto, se trata del paisaje que el público ve –o imagina– en escena y que el autor dramático debe manifestar para que se pueda representar. Sin embargo, tradicionalmente esta descripción se ha resuelto dentro del propio texto dramático, junto con

los restantes signos lingüísticos que nos hablan de la expresión y el movimiento escénicos, y no con texto técnico-dramático, las acotaciones, que hemos visto nacer progresivamente y sobre todo ligadas a los dramas eclesiásticos y escolares del Medievo. Incluso esto conduce a la tensión que señala Lope de Vega, para quien debe ser el texto dramático el que traslade a los espectadores a los lugares en los que se encuentran los personajes, sin que deba recurrirse a ningún tipo de ayuda escenográfica; de hecho, hemos podido asistir a la evidencia de que el aumento de la acotación teatral se asocia a la reducción de la descripción del paisaje, especialmente el escénico.

Todo lo anterior se resume en nuestro estudio en la siguiente tabla[63]:

Obra o conjunto de ellas		Paisaje escénico		Paisaje narrado	
		Interno / signos lingüísticos directos e indirectos	Acotación dramática	Contexto	Relato
Fabella Aenaria		+	(+)	+	+
Comedia elegíaca	urbana	+	-	-	-
	de viaje	+	-	-	(+)
Comedias de Rosvita		+	-	(+)	(+)
Cena Cypriani		(+)	-	-	-
Drama eclesiástico	*sepulchrum*	(+)	+	(+)	-
	viaje	(+)	-	(+)	-
	escenográfico	-	+	+	(+)
Comedia humanística		+	-	(+)	(+)
Tragedia humanística	contemporánea	+	+	+	+
	Literaria, mitológica o histórica	+	-	+	+

Las conclusiones que se obtienen así, a partir de la mención del paisaje y la descripción geográfica, se relacionan directamente con la representabilidad. Es decir, observamos que tanto la tragedia humanística contemporánea como *Fabella Aenaria*, obras cuya representación está atestiguada, presentan muestras de los cuatro rasgos que hemos analizado –por más que la acotación dramática esté escuetamente representada en la segunda–. En el otro lado de la balanza, las comedias elegíacas, tanto urbanas como de viaje, *Cena Cypriani* y el drama eclesiástico de viaje apenas presentan rasgos, de modo que hacen más compleja su representación, y contribuyen a caracterizarlas como de menor representabilidad; cercanas a esta consideración están las comedias de Rosvita, aunque abunden en más rasgos. Una posición más intermedia, de alta representabilidad, aunque sin noticia de representación, la ocupan

[63] Señalamos con + el hecho de que aparezcan estos recursos en las obras; con (+) cuando puede aparecer, si bien en alguna de ellas no aparezcan en absoluto o sean poco significativos; con – señalamos la no aparición de este tipo de recurso.

la tragedia humanística (literaria, mitológica e histórica) y la comedia humanística –esta en mayor medida–, las cuales carecen de acotaciones dramáticas; justamente la presencia de las acotaciones dramáticas, que incluso llegan a eliminar totalmente el uso de los signos lingüísticos internos, hablan de la representación y representabilidad de los dramas eclesiásticos de *sepulchrum* y escenográficos. Por último, este mismo esquema plasma que los signos lingüísticos internos, aquí referidos al paisaje escénico, establecen una diferencia neta entre el género literario dramático y otras formas representación, ya que deben estar presentes en el texto; *Cena Cypriani* y, especialmente, los dramas eclesiásticos se configuran así como un género particular, propio de la Edad Media, ligado al espectáculo y cercano al género dramático en la medida en que es trasladado por escrito, pero con características diferenciadoras. No obstante, la importancia concedida en ellos a las acotaciones dramáticas será adoptada por el género dramático e incorporada con naturalidad en la medida en que se realicen las representaciones, tal como hemos visto en la tragedia humanística de tema contemporáneo.

Otros muchos aspectos de la realidad y la ficción del paisaje y la descripción geográfica en los dramas del Medievo y de la Edad Moderna que hemos repasado, y que precisan de posteriores trabajos, son la oposición de *locus amoenus* y *locus horribilis* en la escena, el uso de los recursos retóricos o la utilización de léxico específico, que se amplía con el paso del tiempo, al igual que se amplía y profesionaliza el uso de las acotaciones teatrales.

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USO, SIGNIFICADO E IMÁGENES ASOCIADAS AL AZUL ULTRAMARINO EN LA EUROPA DE LOS SIGLOS XI-XV

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Resumen

Este artículo pretende explorar un período cronológico hasta ahora menos abordado, en lo que respecta al estudio de la imagen, desde el horizonte teórico y metodológico de las humanidades azules. Las dos cuestiones concretas de las que parte la investigación son ¿hasta qué punto el estudio de la imagen producida en la Europa medieval puede contribuir a avanzar en el conocimiento sobre las interacciones entre los seres humanos y los espacios acuáticos en el pasado? A su vez, ¿cómo ese nuevo conocimiento puede, en sí mismo, contribuir a forjar una sociedad más consciente y activa con relación a la sostenibilidad? Para dar respuesta a estas cuestiones, este trabajo propone el caso de estudio de las imágenes asociadas al azul ultramarino en la Europa de los siglos XI-XV.

Palabras clave: color azul, lapislázuli, Europa, siglos XI-XV, humanidades azules, humanidades ambientales.

USE, MEANING AND IMAGES ASSOCIATED WITH ULTRAMARINE BLUE IN EUROPE IN THE 11TH-15TH CENTURIES

Abstract

This article aims to explore a chronological period that has so far been less addressed from the theoretical and methodological perspective of Blue Humanities in terms of the study of images. The two specific questions on which this research is based are: to what extent can the study of images produced in medieval Europe contribute to advancing knowledge about the interactions between humans and aquatic spaces in the past? In turn, how can this new knowledge contribute to forging a more conscious and active society regarding sustainability? To answer these questions, this paper proposes a case study of images associated with the ultramarine blue in 11th-15th-century Europe.

Keywords: blue color, lapis lazuli, Europe, 11th-15th centuries, blue humanities, environmental humanities.

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0. INTRODUCCIÓN

El área de conocimiento transdisciplinar de las humanidades azules, en la que convergen especialistas de las humanidades, ciencias sociales y ciencias de la naturaleza, se ha destacado, en los últimos años, por avanzar en el conocimiento sobre las interacciones entre los seres humanos y los espacios acuáticos, tanto en sociedades del pasado como en la era actual del Antropoceno. Este discurso académico, permeado e influenciado por fenómenos como la globalización, el ecologismo, los estudios tecnológicos y el poscolonialismo, se interesó inicialmente por la relación de los seres humanos con los espacios marítimos (Mentz, 2009, p. 1000)[1]. Posteriormente, se amplió el enfoque a cualquier ecosistema acuático (Opperman, 2023, p. 9-16). La investigación llevada a cabo –a escala global– ha permitido comprender que las conexiones humanas con el medio acuático van mucho más allá de la mera explotación económica de sus recursos naturales. Así, se ha constatado que las conexiones de índole cultural, emocional o espiritual son igualmente intensas y constantes en el tiempo (Gillis, 2013).

En esta agenda de investigación, el estudio transdisciplinar de la imagen, en sus más diversas acepciones, se revela fundamental. Steve Mentz, impulsor inicial de los «estudios culturales azules», ya partía de esta premisa en sus estudios dedicados a las imágenes literarias de época moderna (Mentz, 2009). No obstante, a lo largo de las dos últimas décadas, se ha ampliado el foco a la imagen visual o mental, ocupando un espacio cada vez más importante en las que, con el tiempo, han venido a ser definidas como humanidades azules (Opperman, 2019; Smith y Mentz, 2020).

Partiendo de este mismo principio, el presente trabajo pretende explorar un período cronológico hasta ahora menos abordado desde este horizonte teórico y metodológico de las humanidades azules. Las dos cuestiones concretas de las que parte la presente investigación son ¿hasta qué punto el estudio de la imagen producida en la Europa de los siglos XI-XV puede contribuir a avanzar en el conocimiento sobre las interacciones entre los seres humanos y los espacios acuáticos en el pasado? A su vez, ¿cómo ese nuevo conocimiento puede, en sí mismo, contribuir a forjar una sociedad más consciente y activa con relación a la sostenibilidad?

Para dar respuesta a estas cuestiones, este trabajo propone un caso de estudio concreto, el uso, significado e imágenes asociadas al azul ultramarino en la Europa de los siglos XI-XV. La pertinencia de este arco cronológico viene determinada por dos factores. Por un lado, el creciente y variado uso del vocablo *ultramarino* en diversas lenguas europeas y, por otro lado, el generalizado uso del pigmento conocido como azul ultramarino en la cultura material y visual europea, producido gracias a la transformación de la roca lapislázuli.

[1] Autores como Elizabeth M. DeLoughrey consideran que el desarrollo de las humanidades azules también debe ser comprendido como resultado del proceso de neoliberalización de la academia y la renovación de la imagen del trabajo en el área de las humanidades, en una época marcada por la recesión económica y también intelectual (DeLoughrey, 2022).

1. EL TÉRMINO *ULTRAMARINO* EN LA EUROPA DE LOS SIGLOS XI-XV

El término *ultramarino* existe en muchos idiomas europeos en la actualidad: *ultramarine* en inglés; *oltremarino* en italiano; *outremer* en francés; *ultramarijn* en holandés; *ultramarin* en rumano, en varias lenguas de raíz germánica –como el alemán (*Ultramarin*; *Überseeisch*), sueco (*ultramarin*, *utome*) o danés (*ultramarin*, *overseas*)– y en otras de raíz eslava como el ruso (ультрамарин); *ultramarí* en catalán; y *ultramarino* en castellano, gallego y portugués. El *Diccionario de la lengua española*, publicado por la Real Academia Española, recoge dos acepciones de este término. La primera de ellas hace referencia a aquello «que está o se considera del otro lado o a la otra parte del mar», mientras que la segunda refiere lo «dicho de un género o de un comestible: Traído del otro lado del mar, y sobre todo de América o Asia» (Real Academia Española, 23.ª ed.). Como se puede intuir por esta segunda acepción y por determinadas expresiones en otros idiomas europeos, como, por ejemplo, el giro francés *France d'outre-mer* o el portugués *Guerra do Ultramar*, el término está relacionado con un amplio conjunto de ecosistemas acuáticos a escala global, pues designa todo aquel, aquella o aquello relacionado con los territorios de los vastos imperios coloniales europeos forjados en época moderna y descolonizados en los siglos XIX-XX.

Sin embargo, el origen de este término se encuentra en el vocablo del latín altomedieval *ultramarinus.* Por ejemplo, Cynehard, obispo de Winchester entre el 754 y el 780, enviaba una misiva a Lull, arzobispo de Maguncia, en la que refería su dificultad de poner en práctica algunas recetas médicas descritas en obras que poseía, debido a la imposibilidad de obtener algunos ingredientes específicos. Subrayaba, entre ellos, *s(p)igmenta ultramarina* y solicitaba al obispo carolingio que, siempre que fuera posible, le ayudara a obtenerlos (Tangl, 1916, p. 247; Burridge, 2024, pp. 39-41).

El término coexistió, en las fuentes alto- y plenomedievales, con el adjetivo *transmarinus*, vocablo ya utilizado en el latín clásico y que, asimismo, designaba a algo o alguien de más allá del mar. Al mismo tiempo, fue contrapuesto a otros dos términos, *cismarinus* y *citramarinus*, de forma que se hacía alusión *a este y al otro lado del mar*. Así sucede, por ejemplo, en un documento de 1151, recogido en el *Liber Feudorum Maior*, en el que se establece un acuerdo entre el conde de Barcelona y los caballeros templarios de Jerusalén, de los cuales se identificó tanto a aquellos residentes en la parte cismarina como en la de ultramar. La imagen mental que proyecta esta fuente permite colegir, por un lado, que el ecosistema acuático al que se hacía referencia es concreto, pues se trata del mar Mediterráneo y, por otro lado, que ese espacio marítimo es visualizado como una frontera, un espacio que separa:

> hec est ... spontanea diffinitio que facta est inter illustrem Raimundum, comitem Barchinonensem et Aragonensium principem, et inter uenerabiles fratres sancte Milicie Templi Iherosolimitani, tam cismarinis quam ultramarinis partibus commorantes, tam presentes quam futuros, super castro de Boria (ACA, Cancillería, Registros, núm. 1; Pietro Espinosa, 2025, p. 329).

El término *ultramarinus* fue traducido a las lenguas europeas derivadas del latín, en las que se mantuvo como adjetivo, pero también se asumió como nombre propio. En cuanto sustantivo, el vocablo *Ultramar* pasó a designar un territorio muy concreto, el de los Estados Cruzados situados en la zona oriental del mar Mediterráneo, especialmente al reino de Jerusalén. La presencia del término con esta acepción es habitual en fuentes de diversa índole. Por ejemplo, en el ámbito de las transacciones comerciales, las fuentes aluden a todo tipo de productos que llegaban al continente europeo a través de la cuenca mediterránea procediendo de la orilla opuesta del mar. Así sucede, por ejemplo, en unas ordenanzas de Perpiñán, de finales del siglo XIII, en las que *Otramar/Otremar* surge equiparado con el de la ciudad de Alejandría, en la medida en que ambos vocablos designan territorios del Mediterráneo oriental de los que proceden determinados productos: «Bagadel d'otramar, o boqueran, la pessa, i.m*; – camalotz d'otremar, la pessa, ii. d; – draps bortz d'Elaxandria (*sic*), i.m.; – samitz vermels e ab aur, m.d.» (Alart, 1881, p. 111; Gual Camarena, 1981, p. 323).

Como referido, el término *ultramarino* tuvo también continuidad en cuanto adjetivo, en latín y en las lenguas derivadas de él. Uno de los ámbitos en los que se consolidó fue en su uso para designar una determinada tonalidad de azul, el designado como «azul ultramarino», muy frecuente tanto en latín –*az(z)ur(r)um ultramarinum*– como en lenguas vernáculas, por ejemplo, en italiano diversas versiones como a*z(z)or(r)o oltramarino*. En ocasiones, la expresión ofrece variantes, como sucede en los tratados de alquimia de Michael Scotus y Alberto Magno, en los que el término *ultramarino* aparece sustituido por su sinónimo latino *transmarinus* (Klaas, 2011).

La presencia de esta expresión y sus diversas variantes puede rastrearse en fuentes de diversa índole. Además de los tratados de alquimia ya citados, surge en fuentes vinculadas al comercio. Así, en su *Pratica della Mercatura*, el banquero florentino Francesco Balducci Pegolotti diferenciaba varios tipos de azul –*azzurro*–, entre los que destacaba el *Oltramarino* y el *della Magna,* considerando el primero citado como el mejor y ofreciendo instrucciones para poder distinguirlo:

> Azzurro fiè di più maniere, cioè Oltramarino, e della Magna; e l'oltramarino ſi è il migliore, e vuole avere colore d' aria azzurra, e convientene far prova, e faſſene in queſto modo: abbi uno ferro nettoo, e rovente, e ponvi ſuſo un poco della polvere dell' azzurro oltramarino, e lo azzurro non arderà, le fia fine, e quello, che non fia fine, arderà di preſente. Ancora altra prova d'azzurro: piglia un poco di ſcialiva di bocca, e mettulati in mano, e piglia un poco d'azzurro fino oltramarino, e impaſtalo colla detta ſcialiva tanto, quanto ſarebbe uno granello di cece, e fallo un poco ſodetto, e poi abbi due carboni roventi, e nell'uno carbone abbi prima fatra una foſſetta , e mettivi dentro il detto azzurro impastato, e cuoprilo coll'altro carbone, e toffiavi dentro tanto, che l'azzurro diventi come fucco, e poi abbi uno fondo d'uno bicchiere con un poco d'acqua, e gettalovi dentro, e vedrai, che ſarà bello, come lo vi metteſti, o più, e poi abbi di quello, con quale il volli provare, e fa il fomigliante di eſſo, e ſe non farà fine, o che ſia di quello d' Alamagna, ſi arderà, e faraffi carbone, e ſe fu fine, tornerà bello, come coſa fine, e per queſto modo ſi prova (Pegolotti, 1766, p. 373).

Sin embargo, las fuentes relacionadas con la práctica artística son las que, de forma progresivamente más consistente, refieren la existencia de un azul ultrama-

rino. El propio pintor Cennino Cennini, en su *Libro dell'Arte*, describió este azul, a finales del siglo XIV, como un color noble, hermoso, perfectísimo, sin parangón y, que, además, se podía utilizar junto con el oro para producir importantes efectos visuales. Por ello, en su tratado, proporcionó una receta específica para obtenerlo:

> Azzurro oltramarino si è un colore nobile, bello, perfettissimo oltre a tutti i colori; del quale non se ne potrebbe nè dire nè fare quello che non ne sia più. E per la sua eccellenza ne voglio parlare largo, e dimostrarti appieno come si fa. E attendici bene, però che ne porterai grande onore e utile. E di quel colore, con l'oro insieme (il quale fiorisce tutti i lavori di nostr'arte), o vuoi in muro, o vuoi in tavola, ogni cosa risprende (Cennini, cap. LXII, Della natura e modo a fare dell'azzurro oltramarino).

El azul ultramarino fue, de hecho, una de las tonalidades de azul más presentes en la paleta cromática de este período, paleta cromática en la que, a su vez, a lo largo de la Plena y la Baja Edad Media, el azul se fue imponiendo como color predominante. En la cultura visual fue imprescindible, por ejemplo, para decorar el manto de la Virgen (Pastoureau, 2000). Así lo atestigua, por ejemplo, el contrato firmado por el pintor Lluís Dalmau en 1443 para la realización de la conocida tabla de la *Mare de Déu dels Consellers* –Barcelona, Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Num. Inv. 015938-000–, en el que se consignó:

> ... Item, el dicho Luis Dalmau pintará en debida proporción y mesura al centro del retablo la imagen de Ntra. Sra. Santa Maria, sentada en suntuosa silla, con el Infante Jesus al brazo, efigiada y vestida de variedad de colores, vivas, altas y salientes, pero el manto deba ser coloreado de azul de acre, el más fino que hallarse pueda, con solemne galonadura de oro fino de Florencia, sembrada à semejanza de perlas o piedras... (Puiggarí, 1870).

Sin embargo, la obtención del color azul dependía, en gran medida, del acceso a diversas materias primas que, una vez transformadas, se convertían en colorantes que podían usarse para teñir textiles o decorar diversos tipos de superficies, como un muro de piedra, un manuscrito en pergamino o una escultura de madera. Estas materias primas podían ser de origen orgánico o inorgánico. Entre las primeras pueden señalarse el pastel o glastum (*Isatis tinctoria*), presente en numerosas regiones europeas, y la *Indigofera tinctoria*, de la que se deriva el tinte índigo, importada de África y Asia (Balaram,m 2012; Schweppe, 1997). Entre las segundas, por su parte, se incluyen el lapislázuli, del que había pequeños depósitos en ámbito europeo y mediterráneo y minas más relevantes en Asia Central; la azurita, presente en Armenia y Chipre, pero también en varias montañas de Alemania y Bohemia (Gettens & Fitzhugh, 1993; Pastoureau, 2000, pp. 16-23); el cobalto, que podía provenir de yacimientos de Europa Central (Delamare, 2013, pp. 37-45); y la aerinita, que podía encontrarse en las regiones geográficas norte y sur de la cordillera de los Pirineos (Crespí, Rius y Melgarejo, 2009). A ello es preciso añadir los azules preparados con cobre (Kroustallis, 2011).

De todas estas materias primas, aquella que permitía obtener esa tonalidad de azul ultramarino, tan procurada por su vivacidad, intensidad y resistencia, era la roca lapislázuli. En realidad, ambos términos, *azul* y *lapislázuli*, tienen el mismo origen

etimológico. Los especialistas han sugerido que procede del persa *lājvard* (*lâzhvard*; *lâzvard*) –a través del árabe *lāzaward* y el genitivo medieval del latín *lazulum*– o del sogdiano *r'zβwrt*, *r'zwrt* or *r'cβrt.* El vocablo *lapislázuli*, más complejo etimológicamente, procede de la unión del término latino medieval para piedra (*lapis*) y *lazuli*, genitivo del término *lazulum* en latín, a su vez el referido préstamo del persa o del sogdiano (Frison & Brun, 2015, 2016; Kostov, 2003; Plahter, 2010; Plesters, 1993; Wyart *et al.*, 1981).

El uso del lapislázuli fue muy diversificado en Europa y la cuenca mediterránea, desempeñando un papel relevante en la práctica medicinal en las culturas islámica, cristina y judía, siendo utilizado para la curación de problemas oculares (Lev, 2007). Además, fue considerado un amuleto al que se le atribuían poderes mágicos y curativos ya desde la Antigüedad (Duffin, 2014). Sin embargo, debe destacarse también la profusa utilización del lapislázuli como materia prima de referencia en la producción de la cultura material y visual del período en estudio, especialmente en relación con la obtención del pigmento azul ultramarino (Aceto 2021; Kroustallis, 2011). Por ello, merece la pena detenerse en analizar su difusión por todo este ámbito geográfico para, en última instancia, poder profundizar en las conexiones que, a través de él, se pueden establecer entre las sociedades europeas de este período y los posibles ecosistemas acuáticos al que el propio término hace referencia.

2. EL AZUL ULTRAMARINO EN LA CULTURA MATERIAL Y VISUAL EUROPEA

El lapislázuli es una roca de composición muy compleja. Contiene granos de lazurita, mineral que pertenece al grupo de los silicatos y que es el constituyente esencial del pigmento debido a su color azul. En la composición del lapislázuli destacan también la calcita y las piritas, así como otros minerales, entre los que se puede destacar el diópsido, la forsterita, la moscovita y la wollastonita (Angelici, 2015; Favaro *et al.*, 2009; Ganio *et al.*, 2017; Hassan, Peterson & Grundy, 1985; Parodi, 2015; Wali Faryard, 2002; Wyart *et al.*, 1981). Para la conformación de un tipo de roca de composición tan compleja, se requieren condiciones geológicas y geoquímicas muy específicas, por lo que existen pocos yacimientos en todo el mundo. En el entorno de la cuenca mediterránea y el continente europeo, han sido identificados depósitos en la península itálica y en la zona del monte Atlas, en el actual Marruecos (Zöldföldi *et al.*, 2006). El lapislázuli extraído de estos depósitos pudo haber sido utilizado para la producción de cultura material en el entorno mediterráneo desde la Antigüedad (Bernabale *et al.*, 2025).

Sin embargo, se trata de depósitos de reducido tamaño que, con poca probabilidad, habrán podido proveer de toda la materia prima suficiente para el uso tan profuso que se puede identificar en la cuenca mediterránea y el continente europeo. Además, es necesario tener en cuenta que las propias fuentes medievales hacen referencia a un pigmento que procede de «ultramar», que era así llamado porque procedía de más allá del mar, lo que sugiere que los depósitos italiano y marroquí, a pesar de haber podido ser lugares de procedencia, no fueron las únicos. Por ejemplo, el

italiano Antonio Filarete señalaba en su tratado de arquitectura que el azul fino se obtenía de una piedra que venía de ultramar y, por ello, se llamaba *azurro oltramarino*: «L'azzurro fine nasce di pietra et viene d'oltramare et poi si chiama oltramarino» (Filarete, libro XXIV).

Asimismo, la existencia de protocolos, basados en técnicas como el análisis de luz iónica, permite comparar la composición del lapislázuli de diversos depósitos y así poder determinar la proveniencia del material utilizado en la producción de la cultura material y visual, tanto en cuanto materia prima *per se* como molido y transformado en pigmento (Angelici, 2015; Lo Giudice *et al.*, 2009; Lo Giudice *et al.*, 2017; Guidorzi *et al.*, 2023; Magalini *et al.*, 2024; Magalini *et al.*, 2025a; Re *et al.*, 2011, 2013, 1015; Paterson, Walton & Trentenman, 2009).

En efecto, una parte significativa del lapislázuli utilizado en la cuenca mediterránea y el continente europeo en el período en estudio procedía de depósitos extraeuropeos, que no se localizan en la otra orilla del mar Mediterráneo, como en principio se podría intuir debido a las connotaciones del término *ultramarino* en diversos ámbitos de la cultura europea, sino que podía proceder de un territorio geográficamente mucho más lejano. Así, hay evidencia de que minas de Badakhshan, en el noreste de Afganistán, de los montes Pamir en Tayikistán y de las montañas Chagai, en Pakistán, fueron explotados desde la Antigüedad y continuaron siéndolo durante la Edad Media. El propio relato de viaje de Marco Polo, a finales del siglo XIII, mencionaba la existencia de minas en las regiones de Balascian y Tenduc, de las que se extraía el mineral con el que se podía producir el *açur:*

> Et encore sachiés de voir que en cest meisme contree, en une autres montagnes, se treuvent les pieres des quelz l'en fait le açur, et ce est le plu fin açur et le meior qui soit ou mon|de. E les pieres que je voç ai dit, de coi l'en fait l'açur, est voine qe naist en montagnes come autres voines (Marco Polo, XLVI, 9-10, pp. 68-69).

Estos depósitos de Asia Central abastecieron a los continentes asiático, africano y europeo especialmente desde el tercer milenio a. C. (Casanova, 2019; Herrmann, 1968; Majidzadeh, 1982; Magalini *et al.*, 2025b; Vidale & Lazzari, 2017, Tosi, 1974; Von Rosen, 1988, 1990). En cuanto a la materia prima *per se*, es bien conocido su uso en las culturas mesopotámica y egipcia para la producción de joyas, amuletos o sellos, así como se ha atestiguado su presencia en fuentes literarias (Casanova 2008, 2013, 2014; Kostov, 2004). En cuanto al uso del lapislázuli ya molido y transformado en pigmento, en el continente asiático fue utilizado desde época muy temprana. Pueden señalarse, por ejemplo, los testimonios de Bamiyan, en Afganistán (Taniguchi *et al.*, 2022), o las pinturas murales de las cuevas de Ajanta, en Maharashtra, India (Sharma & Singh, 2021). En la cuenca mediterránea, el uso del pigmento ha sido también hallado, por ejemplo, en el conjunto de pinturas murales procedentes de Gla, actual Grecia, fechadas en el siglo XIII a.C. (Brysbaert, 2006). En el resto del continente europeo, su presencia está asimismo atestiguada desde época antigua, como demuestran los vestigios de pinturas murales de época romana halladas en Colchester, Inglaterra (Edwards, Middleton & Hargreaves, 2009).

En la Antigüedad Tardía y la Edad Media, en lo que respecta al continente europeo y el espacio mediterráneo, territorios en los que se centra este estudio, el lapislázuli fue comercializado desde Asia Central a través de un amplio conglomerado de rutas no solo terrestres, sino también marítimas. Entre las primeras, las rutas que atravesaban la meseta iraniana permitían el transporte de la materia prima hasta ciudades relevantes como Bagdad y, desde ahí, hasta puertos de la costa levantina –como Acre y Tiro– y del norte del mar Mediterráneo, como Constantinopla, a través de la península de Anatolia. Entre las segundas, es preciso destacar que el lapislázuli cruzó ecosistemas acuáticos del océano Índico, como el golfo Pérsico y el mar Rojo, a través de puertos como Siraf y Adén (Chaltodi, 2024; Daryaee, 2003). Gracias a estas rutas, alcanzó los puertos de Alejandría y Fustat, en la costa nororiental africana. Su comercio, tal como demuestran los documentos de la Genizah de El Cairo, estuvo en manos no solo de comerciantes islámicos sino también judíos (Goitein & Friedman, 2008). Desde los puertos del Mediterráneo oriental, el lapislázuli fue comercializado en toda la cuenca mediterránea, a través de puertos como Al-Madiya, Bugia, Denia, Génova o Venecia, tanto en lo que se refiere al lapislázuli en cuanto materia prima como la roca ya molida y transformada en pigmento (Mozzato, 2013; Matthews, 2002).

El vínculo de estos puertos mediterráneos con el comercio de esta materia prima aparece reflejado en la cultura escrita europea del momento, ya que en muchas ocasiones era identificado como *oltremare da Venecia* o como azul de Acre, siendo, además, comparado con materias primas procedentes de otros territorios. Por ejemplo, en un documento emanado de la cancillería portuguesa del rey Don Duarte, en el siglo xv, se citan onzas de azul de Acre (*Jtem D azur d acre duas onças*) y onzas de azul de Alemania (*Jtem de azur d alemanha huu arratell e duas onças)*, expresión que hace referencia al azul obtenido de la azurita (*Chancelarias Portuguesas*, vol. ii, doc. 41, p. 62).

En las últimas décadas, el *material turn* en el ámbito de disciplinas como la historia del arte, la conservación y restauración de bienes culturales y la arqueología ha permitido realizar análisis técnicos de los que se han extraído paletas cromáticas moleculares que prueban el profuso uso del pigmento azul ultramarino en la cultura material y visual de la cuenca mediterránea y la Europa continental de los siglos xi-xv. Pueden ser destacadas obras pictóricas como la conocida *Anunciación* de Fra Angelico (Madrid, Museo del Prado, N.º Inv. P000015; Sánchez Martin & Garcia Torres, 2019) o la ya citada tabla de Lluís Dalmau (Salvadó *et al.*, 2014); códices iluminados en los principales *scriptoria* y talleres, como prueban los manuscritos de Alfonso X el Sabio (Vieira *et al.*, 2024) o *Las Muy Ricas Horas del Duque de Berry* (Villela-Petit, 2004); conjuntos de escultura policromada como el Pórtico de la Gloria en Santiago de Compostela (Kroustallis & Bruquetas, 2021) o el Pórtico de la Catedral de Senlis (Hugon, 2008); y la producción de cerámica (Catalano *et al.*, 2007; Clark *et al.*, 1997).

A ello es preciso añadir el uso también frecuente de la materia prima *per se*, fragmentos de lapislázuli tallados y pulidos, para la producción de objetos de diversa índole en variados contextos culturales, geográficos y religiosos: el conocido icono bizantino para cuya producción fue utilizada una magnífica pieza de lapis-

lázuli decorada por un lado con una representación de la Virgen y por otro con la imagen de Cristo (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des objects d'art, MR95); una pieza de anillo procedente del yacimiento arqueológico de San Emetiel (Los Corrales, Huesca), vinculada con la cultura islámica debido a la presencia de inscripciones labradas en caracteres cúficos (Huesca, Museo Provincial, NIG 07857; Cabañero Subiza & Lasa Gracia, 1997; Esco Sampériz, Giralt & Sénac, 1988, p. 172); o la conocida Cruz de Herimann e Ida, una pieza del siglo XI para la que fue reutilizada una cabeza femenina, tallada en lapislázuli en época romana (Colonia, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Inv. Nr. H11; Kinney, 2011; Surmann, 1999).

La generalización del azul ultramarino en la cultura material y visual europea de este período no quedó circunscrita a la cuenca mediterránea y la Europa continental. Al contrario, el material alcanzó otros territorios bien alejados del espacio mediterráneo, como las islas Británicas, en las que fue habitual su aplicación en manuscritos miniados y pintura mural (Howard, 2003). Asimismo, se ha identificado su uso en Escandinavia, especialmente en la producción de escultura policromada (Kollandsrud & Plahter, 2019; Plahter, 2002). A esta región pudo llegar a través del Mediterráneo occidental y Centroeuropa, obtenido de las compañías que operaban en la Liga Hanseática (Nord & Tronner, 2022). En alternativa, a través del Mediterráneo oriental, de puertos como el de Constantinopla y a través del mar Negro, la cuenca del río Dnieper y el mar Báltico; o incluso desde Asia Central a través del mar Caspio y la cuenca del río Volga.

Estas otras rutas eran, de hecho, utilizadas para el transporte y comercio de otras materias primas utilizadas en la práctica artística, por ejemplo, el marfil de morsa procedente de Islandia y Groenlandia, como demuestran los recientes hallazgos arqueológicos encontrados en ciudades como Novgorod y Kiev, fechados en el siglo XII (Barrett *et al.*, 2022; Gillman, 2017; Jaspert, 2025, pp. 261-284; Kostov, 2003). En este sentido, es preciso destacar que estudios muy recientes, presentados por un equipo multidisciplinar en el *20th international seminar on the Care and Conservation of Manuscripts* (Zorzan *et al.*, 2025), han permitido también identificar el uso del azul ultramarino en manuscritos iluminados islandeses de los siglos XIII y XIV (Reykjavík, The Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, Safn Árna Magnússonar Collection, MS AM 334 y AM 127). La identificación de la paleta de colores molecular de estos manuscritos permite, además, reevaluar la información que ofrece otro manuscrito islandés, del siglo XV, que contiene una lista de precios de materias primas utilizadas para la policromía. Entre ellas aparece una denominada *steinadzur* –piedra o pigmento azul–, que tradicionalmente había sido asumido como una referencia a la azurita (Plahter, 2010, p. 69). A la luz de los datos aportados por los análisis técnicos, podría quizá referir el lapislázuli.

En todo caso, los recientes hallazgos permiten añadir la isla de Islandia al mapa de la presencia del pigmento azul ultramarino de la Europa medieval. Este hecho es especialmente llamativo, pues la cronología de los manuscritos iluminados islandeses coincide con el decreciente uso del pigmento azul ultramarino en varios territorios europeos. En Noruega, desde mediados del siglo XIII, el azul ultramarino comenzó a ser reemplazado por la azurita y en el siglo XIV desaparece de la paleta cromática molecular (Plahter, 2010, p. 69). Estos resultados concuerdan con lo que sucede en

otros territorios de la Europa occidental, como es el caso de Portugal, donde diversos estudios han determinado que la paleta cromática molecular del *scriptorium* del monasterio de Santa Maria de Alcobaça presenta una profusión de lapislázuli en los siglos XII-XIII, que, sin embargo, fue progresivamente substituido por la azurita a partir del siglo XIV (Melo & Miranda, 2014; Mirada *et al.*, 2010; Miguélez Cavero, 2016; Miguélez Cavero *et al.*, 2016; Fernandes Barreira *et al.*, 2016). Aun así, es en este período en el que tratados como el de Cennino Cennini comienzan a ofrecer recetas detalladas sobre el proceso de transformación del lapislázuli en pigmento azul ultramarino (Ganio *et al.*, 2017).

3. AZUL ULTRAMARINO Y HUMANIDADES AZULES

Los datos recogidos hasta el momento pueden ser útiles para la producción de nuevo conocimiento en el marco teórico de las humanidades azules desde varios puntos de vista: el relacionado con el propio término *ultramarino*; el relacionado con su comercio y uso en Europa; y el vinculado con el impacto que su comercio y uso tuvo en diversos ecosistemas naturales y humanos.

En cuanto al primero, se puede destacar que la acepción del término *ultramarino* en latín y los idiomas surgidos de él en la Plena Edad Media, amplió su contenido semántico. Así, en cuanto sustantivo, estuvo vinculado a un territorio específico, aquel espacio geográfico localizado en la costa levantina, destino de los cruzados desde finales del siglo XI. Su versión en cuanto adjetivo, sin embargo, tuvo diversas acepciones, siendo una de las principales aquella que lo relacionaba con un conjunto muy numeroso de ecosistemas naturales. Estos, tanto terrestres como acuáticos, se encontraban localizados entre las minas de Asia Central de donde se extraía ese material y los muy diversos puntos geográficos a los que llegó y donde fue utilizado en la producción de una determinada cultura material y visual.

Así, el término *ultramarino* pudo adquirir un valor distinto en el imaginario colectivo de cada una de las diversas sociedades europeas en las que el lapislázuli fue utilizado, en la medida en que podía aludir a espacios acuáticos muy diferentes, dependiendo de las coordenadas geográficas de cada una de las sociedades en las fue comercializado y utilizado. El mismo término, *ultramarino*, podía aludir desde el mar Báltico al mar Negro, desde el océano Índico al océano Atlántico y desde el mar Mediterráneo al mar Caspio. Un recurso natural, no extraído de las profundidades del mar sino del fondo de la tierra, establecía, sin embargo, una conexión profunda con el espacio acuático, que comenzaba en el color compartido. Es sintomático, por ejemplo, el uso del azul ultramarino para decorar los espacios acuáticos representados visualmente en el manuscrito bizantino *Skylitzes Matritensis* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, VITR/26/2), o la imagen paradisíaca descrita en los versos del destacado escritor Ibn al-Sīd de Badajoz (1052-1127), en los que cantaba la almunia que tenía el rey taifa al-Ma'mūn de Toledo, a orillas del Tajo, y en los que establecía una comparación directa entre el lapislázuli y el elemento acuático:

«El agua es como lapislázuli con que las bocas de los leones fuente fabrican perlas» (Vílchez, 2018, p. 81)[2].

En segundo lugar, la asidua presencia del lapislázuli en la Europa del período en estudio obliga a analizar el continente europeo con relación a un mundo interconectado. El axioma de la conectividad permite comprender hasta qué punto el continente europeo no fue, durante este período, un territorio aislado, lo que ciertamente contradice la visión eurocéntrica propuesta por la narrativa tradicional del pasado medieval. De hecho, considerar el globalismo premoderno desmonta la noción peyorativa de la que surgió la propia categoría de «Edad Media» en la Europa moderna (Dagenais y Green, 2000). Además, permite aproximarse al patrimonio medieval, no solo desde el punto de vista de su contexto de producción original, sino también desde la noción de movimiento y circulación, y del traspase de fronteras teóricamente establecidas por el idioma, la religión, la etnicidad y la geografía (Walker, 2012). Este enfoque también contribuye a demostrar hasta qué punto Europa no solo dependía de las conexiones con otros continentes, sino que también, en muchos aspectos, no fue un territorio central, sino más bien distante de regiones de gran movimiento, creación de riqueza y florecimiento cultural (Lomuto, 2023: 9). Destaca, en este sentido, la importancia del océano Índico, mucho antes de la forja de los grandes imperios europeos de época moderna, como ha sido señalado ya en numerosos estudios (Abu-Lughod, 1989; Alpers, 2014; Beaujard, 2012; Chaudhuri, 1985; Goitein & Friedman, 2008).

En tercer lugar, la relativa frecuencia con la que el lapislázuli y el pigmento derivado de él llegaron al contexto geográfico europeo obliga también a reflexionar sobre las consecuencias que tuvo la demanda de esta materia prima por parte de las principales élites europeas. Como ha señalado Arjun Appadurai, «demand, as the basis of a real or imagined exchange, endows the object with value» (Appadurai, 1986, pp. 3-4). Las élites eclesiásticas y civiles europeas no dudaron en invertir importantes recursos económicos en la adquisición de la materia prima y el pigmento. Por ejemplo, los estudios materiales realizados en el Pórtico de la Gloria de la catedral de Santiago de Compostela demuestran el uso exclusivo del pigmento azul ultramar para obtener el color azul. Además, este fue aplicado sobre vastas áreas, en grandes cantidades, y sin recurrir a ningún método de reducción de costes (Kroustallis y Bruquetas, 2021).

Sin embargo, es ineludible tener en cuenta las consecuencias y el impacto, a veces devastador y destructivo, que esa demanda pudo tener en diversas sociedades

[2] Esta asociación entre el espacio acuático y el lapislázuli continuará siendo utilizada en época moderna, como demuestra la representación cartográfica de la península Ibérica, rodeada de un espacio acuático para el que se utilizó el pigmento azul ultramarino, hoy degradado y de color gris oscuro, realizada en la segunda mitad del siglo xvi para decorar una mesa baja de forma redonda (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, BK-17007; Van Bennekom y Biemond, 2012; Bretz, 2012), o el paisaje marítimo que representa el puerto de Livorno (Italia) desde el mar, realizado con incrustación de ágata, calcedonia y lapislázuli, en un tablero de mesa encargado por Fernando I de Médici y realizado por Cristofano Gaffuri a principios del siglo xvii (Florencia, Galleria Degli Uffizi, Inv. Mobili Artistici, n. 1505; Baader, 2017).

humanas y ecosistemas naturales. Destacan, en este sentido, las difíciles condiciones de extracción de la roca en las minas, o las condiciones de transporte del material, tanto las caravanas que lo transportaban por tierra como los navíos que surcaban las aguas de tantos y tan diversos ecosistemas acuáticos. El color azul vivo e intenso que identificaba visualmente a la realeza francesa, al manto de la Virgen o al mundo celestial identifica también la explotación masiva de recursos naturales extraeuropeos o el impacto negativo en los ecosistemas naturales y las sociedades humanas implicadas en los procesos de transporte y comercialización de la materia prima. El azul del lapislázuli invoca, ya desde época medieval, el color del colonialismo, como también lo hará en períodos cronológicos posteriores (Ferwerda, 2024).

A este respecto, parece indicado aplicar, en este contexto, la noción de «teleconexiones ecológicas», es decir, los vínculos que involucran lugares distantes y que conllevan importantes consecuencias ambientales (McNeill, 2019). El ejemplo utilizado por John McNeill para esclarecer esta noción se refiere a la sustitución de tierras forestales por plantaciones de algodón en diversos entornos agrarios del sur de Estados Unidos, alrededor de 1825-1860, como consecuencia de la creciente demanda de algodón en las ciudades industriales de Gran Bretaña. Con el tiempo, esas tierras florestales podrían haber sido urbanizadas o haber tenido algún otro tipo de proceso de transformación, pero, sin embargo, continuaron siendo tierras con plantaciones algodoneras, lo que tuvo numerosas consecuencias sociales, políticas, económicas y ecológicas. De acuerdo con el planteamiento de John McNeill, el vínculo establecido entre Gran Bretaña y el sur de Estados Unidos sería una teleconexión ecológica. De la misma manera, el vínculo creado entre el continente europeo, donde la demanda del lapislázuli fue constante durante un largo período de tiempo, y las minas de Asia Central podría ser también considerado una teleconexión ecológica.

Reflexionar sobre las consecuencias que tuvo la constante demanda de esta materia prima por parte de las principales élites europeas y tener en consideración la noción de teleconexiones ecológicas lleva, además, a conectar el estudio del azul ultramarino y del lapislázuli con el área de estudios de las humanidades ambientales, y específicamente con algunas de sus líneas de trabajo, como la justicia climática y de la biodiversidad (Robin, 2018). Además, este conocimiento sobre las sociedades del pasado puede permitir tomar conciencia de algunos objetivos de desarrollo sostenible de la propia sociedad contemporánea, aquellos establecidos por la ONU en 2015 e integrados en la Agenda 2030. Entre ellos destaca el Objetivo 12, que pretende garantizar modalidades de consumo y producción sostenibles, o los Objetivos 15 y 16, que pretenden proteger, conservar y potenciar el uso sostenible de los ecosistemas terrestres y marinos.

4. CONSIDERACIONES FINALES

El caso de estudio de las imágenes asociadas al azul ultramarino en la Europa de los siglos XI-XV demuestra que el estudio de la imagen en el marco teórico y metodológico de las humanidades azules resulta eficaz y productivo para producir conocimiento sobre las conexiones entre las sociedades humanas y los ecosistemas acuáticos.

La constante demanda de un recurso natural como el lapislázuli, útil para la obtención de un color azul utilizado profusamente en la cultura material y visual, supuso destinar un gran número de recursos económicos por parte de las élites europeas para hacer llegar a Europa la materia prima desde territorios extraeuropeos. Esta materia prima, en su forma original, o molida y transformada en pigmento, atravesó un conjunto significativo de ecosistemas naturales, terrestres, pero también acuáticos. Estos últimos supusieron un impacto significativo en el imaginario colectivo, en la medida en que el propio material fue identificado a partir del adjetivo *ultramarino*, pues procedía de más allá de un espacio marítimo, siendo este muy diferente en función de las diversas sociedades humanas en cuyo seno se produjo esa conexión.

El presente estudio podría conducir, por otro lado, a desarrollar futuras investigaciones centradas en analizar otros aspectos, por ejemplo, hasta qué punto y en qué medida la intensa producción de imágenes visuales con azul ultramarino obtenido del lapislázuli en la Europa de los siglos XI-XV tuvo o no continuidad a partir del siglo XVI en aquellos territorios colonizados por los europeos. Estudios técnicos recientes llevados a cabo en América del Sur resultan prometedores (Tomasini *et al.*, 2016), por lo que un estudio más amplio y desde el marco teórico de las humanidades azules y las humanidades ambientales podrá contribuir a avanzar en el conocimiento del uso, significado e imágenes asociadas al azul ultramarino.

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REPRESENTACIÓN VISUAL DEL PODER EN EL REINO DE PAMPLONA (SIGLOS X-XI). CAMBIOS, PERMANENCIAS Y VACÍOS EN ALGUNOS CÓDICES Y OTRAS PIEZAS SINGULARES

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Resumen

Durante el último cuarto del siglo x y a lo largo del siglo xi, los círculos intelectuales de la monarquía pamplonesa desplegaron una serie de recursos bien conocidos al servicio de la propaganda regia. En una nueva vuelta de tuerca sobre su estudio, se pretende ahora analizar la propia organización de los textos y de las imágenes en los diferentes códices y obras artísticas, su presencia o ausencia en las copias, dónde y cómo se colocan, el proceso en suma de transmisión textual e iconográfica. El objetivo consiste en intentar valorar hasta qué punto estos elementos, aparentemente menores, contribuyen también o no a construir un programa propagandístico sobre cuya definición se despiertan todavía importantes interrogantes.

Palabras clave: ideología del poder, reino de Pamplona, códices, propaganda regia, tradición textual.

VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF POWER IN THE KINGDOM OF PAMPLONA (10-11TH CENTURIES). CHANGES, CONTINUITIES AND GAPS IN SOME CODICES AND OTHER SINGULAR TEXTS

Abstract

During the last quarter of the 10th century and throughout the 11th century, the intellectual circles of the Pamplona monarchy deployed a series of well-known resources in the service of royal propaganda. In a new twist on their study, the aim now is to analyze the organization of the texts and images in the different codices, their presence or absence in the copies, where and how they are placed, the process in short of textual and iconographic transmission. The aim is to try to assess the extent to which these apparently minor elements also contribute or not to the construction of a propagandistic program, the definition of which still raises important questions.

Keywords: ideology of power, Kingdom of Pamplona, codices, royal propaganda, textual tradition.

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0. INTRODUCCIÓN*

Hace ahora veinte años, se publicó un breve trabajo (Miranda García, 2006) sobre la ideología del poder monárquico donde se analizaban con cierto detalle los diversos códices de finales del siglo x que se habían producido en el entorno de la monarquía pamplonesa. En aquella ocasión se trataba ante todo de establecer una serie de premisas conceptuales en las que, sin duda, el uso de la iconografía, singularmente la miniatura, contaba con un relieve singular.

Pero ese aspecto no constituía el objeto central del trabajo, pese a su especial valor y pese a que las formas, no solo las imágenes en sí, sino su disposición en relación con el texto, e, incluso, la propia ordenación visual de la narración, es decir, las imágenes en el sentido polisémico que ofrece el latín *imago* (Schmitt, 1996 y 2003; Baschet, 1996), y especialmente las «mentales, inmateriales y evanescentes», hubieran merecido en cuanto tales una atención mucho más detallada para completar la propuesta allí formulada. En su momento, Soledad de Silva (1984) realizó un exhaustivo análisis del panorama gráfico de los manuscritos pamploneses de aquella centuria, y ofreció numerosas pistas sin las cuales no hubieran sido posibles los avances realizados en las décadas posteriores.

Se trata hoy, pues, apoyado en esos y otros estudios, de ofrecer una serie de hipótesis plausibles sobre el sentido de esa conformación visual y textual; de cómo, en su propia ordenación, dentro de los manuscritos sobre todo, como principal fuente de información, pero también en otros materiales que quepa analizar en paralelo, desde los relieves escultóricos a las primeras acuñaciones monetales, podemos atisbar elementos que nos conducen al simbolismo de lo que se pretende transmitir, contribuyendo a ese juego tan medieval de orden y desorden (Larrañaga Zulueta, 2015, pp. 406-409; Lahoz, 2022). Y que nos permitan una nueva aproximación a un tema, el de la representación del poder y la ideología que lo sustenta en los siglos altomedievales, donde la escasez de la información nos obliga a volver sobre ella una y otra vez, desde los mismos o desde otros ángulos, para intentar ampliar nuestro conocimiento hasta donde sea posible, sabedores de que los pasos que se den serán pequeños y, quizás, deban ser desandados pronto.

1. LA REPRESENTACIÓN VISUAL DEL PODER

Como casi siempre, el punto de partida se sitúa en el reinado de Sancho Garcés II (970-994) –donde pueden situarse las primeras fuentes en relación con estas cuestiones– y en los grandes códices procedentes de los *scriptoria* del entorno najerense de la corte: San Martín de Albelda, San Millán de la Cogolla y la propia Nájera. Se trata, sobre todo, de los llamados Códice Albeldense BRME d.I.2; Emi-

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lianense BRME d.I.1 y Rotense RAH 78[1]. El exhaustivo análisis que de ellos, y del conjunto de manuscritos surgidos en ese entorno espaciotemporal, hizo Manuel Díaz y Díaz (1991) exime de detallar aquí su contenido, y permite centrarse en los apartados que interesan para este estudio. También, en este recorrido visual, cabe detenerse en los relieves coetáneos de San Miguel de Villatuerta (Navarra) y de Luesia (Zaragoza), que proporcionan igualmente una información sin duda de interés respecto de la representación figurativa de ese imaginario por cuanto se elaboraron en espacios vinculados al reino y, al menos en el caso de Villatuerta, en relación con ese mismo impulso (Miranda García, 2012).

No cabe duda de que la construcción textual e iconográfica de los códices Albeldense y su pseudocopia Emilianense se encuentran entre lo mejor de la labor del siglo x en ese terreno. Ya se ha dejado de manifiesto en sucesivas ocasiones el papel que tuvieron en la conformación del llamado ideario «neogoticista» pamplonés, con los matices que pudiera corresponder (Martín Duque, 1996; Miranda García, 2008), y el peso que en esa tarea pudo tener la influencia del linaje de Ramiro de Viguera, el mediohermano del rey Sancho Garcés II, y sus hijos, por cuyas venas corría la sangre de Ramiro II de León; pero también, la posible contraposición, más «pirenaísta» e incluso romanista, que frente a ese ideario supone el tercer gran códice, sin duda menos elaborado en su presentación aunque igualmente relevante en su contenido, el Rotense (Miranda García, 2005). Por supuesto, las imágenes –numerosas en los dos primeros, muy escasas en el tercero– que aparentemente «complementan» los textos presentan una carga ideológica también fundamental, como ocurre en otras latitudes en este mismo tiempo (Alibert, 2012) y así se han considerado. No se trata pues de volver sobre ello, sino de, por un lado, retomar el peso iconográfico de esos modelos y, sobre todo, marcar las diferencias que la propia presentación de los códices aconseja analizar y, en consecuencia, interpretar; aunque, necesariamente, eso obligará a recordar algunas cuestiones ya estudiadas.

Y dentro de los dos primeros, CA y CE, destacan de modo singular los «retablos» (f. 428r y 453r respectivamente), construidos el segundo a imitación del primero, donde el monarca, flanqueado por su esposa Urraca (*Urraca regina*) y su hermano Ramiro (*Ranimirus rex*), se presenta como la figura central, enmarcada arriba y abajo por tres monarcas hispanogodos, Chindasvinto, Recesvinto y Égica, y por los autores de los respectivos manuscritos: el abad y escriba Vigila, su compañero (*socius*) Sarracino y el discípulo García en el caso de Albelda; el abad y obispo Sisebuto, su homónimo el notario Sisebuto y el escriba Velasco en el de San Millán (figs. 1-2). Aunque no se trate propiamente de «imágenes de dedicación» (Colin, 2010), sí señalan, desde luego, una evidente vinculación entre la *familia regis* y los dos centros productores y sus comunidades monásticas, un cierto sentido de «mece-

[1] BRME= Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial. RAH= Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid. Las reproducciones aquí recogidas proceden de las ediciones digitales en abierto de las dos instituciones (https://rbme.patrimonionacional.es/s/rbme/page/t-rminos-de-uso y https://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/inicio/inicio.do). En adelante, Códice Albeldense=CA, Códice Emilianense=CE y Códice Rotense=CR.





Figuras 1 y 2. Códice Albeldense 428r y Códice Emilianense 453r.

nazgo» que igualmente puede apreciarse en otras monarquías hispánicas y ultrapirenaicas (Castiñeiras González, 2000; Rodríguez de la Peña, 2015), y que permite intuir, cuando no afirmar, corrientes de transmisión sobre temas y modelos (Nordenfalk, 1964, Gameson, 2001).

En análisis previos sobre estas imágenes (Miranda García, 2006 y 2021) ya se ha llamado la atención sobre la curiosa pervivencia del «retrato» de Ramiro en CE, finalizado en torno a 992, pese a haber fallecido una década antes en la batalla de Torrevicente (981), donde el contingente pamplonés que lideraba en apoyo del general andalusí Ghālib fue derrotado por las tropas de al-Manṣūr, en el marco de la lucha entre los dos últimos por el control del califato durante la minoría de Hishâm II. Diferente es el caso del rey y de su esposa Urraca, que no murieron respectivamente hasta 994 y en torno al año 1000 (Ubieto, 1986: n.os 73 y 77). La propia representación de la reina –y de la pareja real– es en sí misma un claro símbolo del relieve de las mujeres, tanto de la *familia regis* como de la alta aristocracia del reino, en este complicado siglo (Pavón Benito, 2014, pp. 31-82; Silva Verástegui, 2016).

La presencia del infante en CA se explica ampliamente por el peso que todo el códice le da en relación con la defensa y protección del reino, como una figura complementaria del rey, su brazo militar (Martín Duque, 1999, pp. 221-222); la pervivencia en CE tras la muerte no parece deberse a una mera copia, puesto que el miniaturista pone un especial cuidado en sustituir en la fila inferior a los monjes albeldenses por sus colegas emilianenses. De hecho, y en ese detalle por la composición que interesa aquí, conviene fijarse en las notas que acompañan a las ilustra-

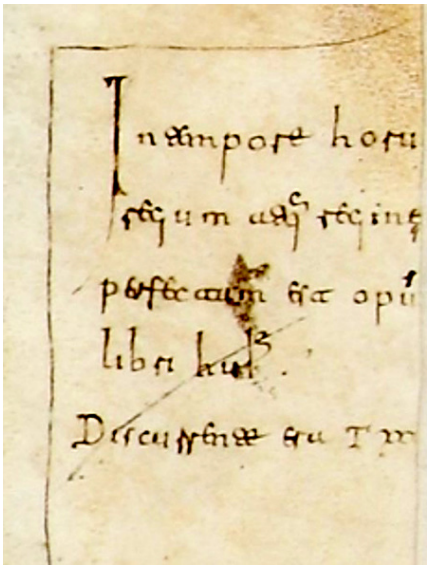


Figura 3. Nota marginal tachada. *Códice Emilianense* RBME d.I.1 f.453r (detalle).

ciones en el margen derecho, y que se han denominado, en un sentido más amplio, como «la fecundación de los contornos vacíos» (Boto Varela, 2007).

En CA, la primera de esas notas explica que la presencia de los monarcas hispanogodos se debe a su papel de monarcas legisladores, promulgadores (*abtauerunt*) del *Liber Iudicum*. En esa línea, el «neogoticismo pamplonés» tendría una mayor conexión con la pervivencia jurídico-legislativa (el orden godo que reseña *la Crónica Albeldense* precisamente, aunque referido en primera instancia a Alfonso II de Asturias[2]) que con una supuesta continuidad con el antiguo reino toledano, aunque esta interpretación resulte también plausible (Silva Verástegui, 2016). La misma nota marginal se repite, palabra por palabra, en CE.

Inmediatamente debajo, se menciona en una segunda nota de CA que el correspondiente códice se finalizó en tiempos de esos reyes y reina (*in tempore horum regum atque regine)*, y señala la fecha de 976 (*Era TXIIII*ª –era 1014–). Lo curioso en este caso es que la nota de CE repite una vez más el texto de CA, aunque rectifica la fecha, que se ve incompleta (*era TXX...*), pese a que el códice se acabó con Ramiro ya muerto. Sin embargo, hay que resaltar que, bien el mismo escriba, bien otro posterior, tacha esa información –que sigue completamente legible–, claramente contradictoria con la realidad (fig. 3).

[2] *Crónica Albeldense*, XV.9.

No hay que descartar que fuera la misma mano quien escribiera y quien tachase, puesto que la tercera nota de CA y de CE, aunque mantiene la estructura expositiva, cambia los nombres de los protagonistas, como corresponde a los clérigos que aparecen. Bien es cierto que, en ese sentido, la persistencia de Ramiro podría interpretarse también como un simple automatismo; pero resulta mucho más difícil de creer, puesto que se trata de una imagen estereotipada que, por tanto, podría haber visto sustituido su rótulo por el de otro príncipe (el heredero García, ya adulto, por ejemplo). Por eso, se insiste aquí en la idea de que el CE se impulsa, al menos en parte, de la mano de los hijos de Ramiro, y de ahí la conservación de la cabeza del linaje en la memoria iconográfica del retablo, dotándolo de una cierta atemporalidad legitimadora.

A esta interpretación ayuda la segunda gran cuestión relacionada con el contenido de los códices y su presentación. Se trata del añadido que, dedicado al nacimiento de la monarquía pamplonesa, se realizó al final de la copia de la *Crónica Albeldense*, también en ambos manuscritos, y la versión singularizada que recoge CR. No interesa aquí el texto tal cual se presenta en las impecables ediciones críticas modernas, la última de ellas, como alguna anterior, realizada por Juan Gil (2018). Importa su disposición en los códices y la presencia –o ausencia– de determinada información que recogen las diversas copias, y su manifestación visual.

Aunque en las ediciones críticas este «apéndice pamplonés» aparece titulado (*Initium regum Pampilonie*), ni en la versión más antigua de la Crónica, la que figura en el f. 242v de CA, ni en su copia poco posterior del f. 394bis-r de CE cuenta con ningún título, a diferencia de otros apartados del texto; así, por ejemplo, en la misma página *Item explanatio gentis gotorum*[3] (fig.4-5). Simplemente, la información, que se inicia con el famoso *In era* DCCCCXLIII *surrexit in Pampilona rex nomine Sancio Garseanis*, se copia inmediatamente después del texto «asturiano», sin solución de continuidad –apenas una nota marginal *De Sancione Garseanis rege* y la fecha coloreada–. En el caso de CA, sigue hasta cubrir la totalidad de la página.

Se crea así una idea visual de prolongación, como si el relato sobre Pamplona fuese el resultado evidente del proceso previo, el nacimiento y despliegue del reino ovetense. Recuérdese además que esa parte más narrativa de la crónica –o del conjunto de textos que denominamos *Crónica Albeldense*– culmina cronológicamente con el reinado de Alfonso III en que se habría escrito inicialmente (en torno al 883), por lo que enlazar con Sancho Garcés I (905-925), coetáneo en sus inicios de los últimos –y complicados– años de aquel, resulta perfectamente natural. Si el texto previo no tuviese apartados distintivos podríamos suponer que se trata de un mero continuismo estilístico de la copia que se hubiera tenido como modelo –no necesariamente con el mismo contenido, claro–. Pero ese no es el caso, por lo que

[3] En la edición de J. Gil (2018, p. 481) figura como XIX. *Explanatio vivs a nobis edita*, siguiendo a RAH 39, que considera más fiel al original. A este autor y su estudio previo a la edición crítica (pp. 181-241) seguimos en lo que hace a la tradición textual y redacción del texto, salvo indicación en contrario o reflexión propia.

intuir una intencionalidad en marcar la linealidad del discurso con la ausencia de subtítulo no parece descabellado.

El modelo se mantiene en la copia de la crónica que efectúa CE y con la misma imagen de continuidad, sin señalar un apartado singular para la parte «pamplonesa» de la crónica. Pero, sin embargo, sí introduce un elemento específico de incuestionable relieve. Cuando llega el momento de trasladar la parte que hace alusión al reinado de Sancho II, allí donde CA se refería al rey y a su hermano Ramiro, CE omite el nombre de este último e interrumpe bruscamente la copia. Tan bruscamente que inicia ese apartado en plural, al igual que CA, pero finaliza la oración –y la copia– con la referencia singular a Sancho y un punto final: *Supersunt eius filii in patria ipsius*, *vicelicet Sancius.* («Le sobreviven sus hijos en su patria, es decir, Sancho.»), en un claro error de concordancia, y omitiendo también la invocación a la protección divina y la referencia a la era con que se cerraba en CA. A continuación, el resto del folio queda en blanco, transmitiendo todavía más si cabe esa idea de interrupción forzada. El espacio sobrante es muy superior al necesario para el fragmento que falta, pero no deja de ser visualmente atractivo para subrayar la imagen de texto inacabado.

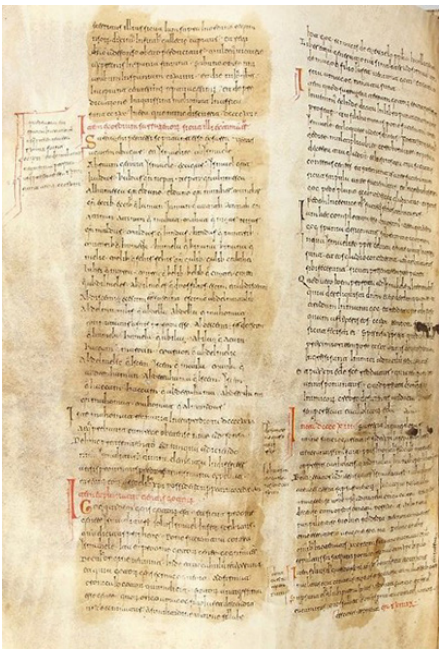
Por supuesto, cabría suponer simplemente que, al igual que ocurre con otras partes del códice inconclusas y con otros muchos manuscritos (Díaz y Díaz, 1991, p. 161), el copista interrumpió su trabajo y luego, por la razón que sea, no lo continuó. Pero teniendo en cuenta lo ya señalado, que el Ramiro que aquí desaparece había fallecido hacia una década, no parece improbable pensar que esa «interrupción» se debió a que alguien consideró ilógico señalar que estaba vivo y pedir también para él la protección divina en la tierra. El error gramatical de un verbo en plural para un sujeto singular y el punto final que se coloca tras *Sancius* difícilmente pueden achacarse a un escaso conocimiento del latín por parte del escriba o a un mero despiste.

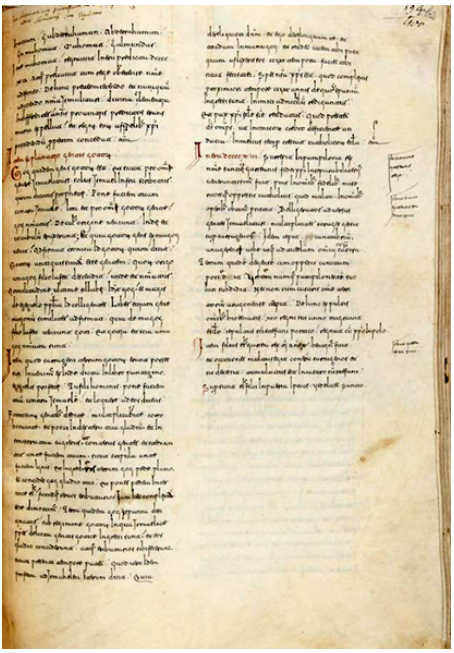
Así «dibujada», esta imagen de texto y blanco conformando un sistema que se proyecta visualmente se complementa perfectamente con el marginal tachado –sutilmente tachado cabría decir– que se ha señalado en el retablo del f. 453r (figs. 4-5).

En abierto contraste con esa ausencia final de CE, CR establece un modelo de copia del *Initium* pamplonés muy distinto en forma y contenido. En la segunda mitad del f. 231, una mano distinta a la del texto inmediatamente anterior y distante en el tiempo una centuria copió y singularizó ese fragmento, desgajándolo del resto de la crónica –de la que solo recoge algún elemento suelto– y otorgándole por primera vez un título que hizo fortuna hasta hoy, *Initium regnum Pampilonam*[4], y que se ha repetido en las sucesivas ediciones críticas, pese a que solo ahora, a finales del siglo xi, aparece en un manuscrito (fig. 6).

En este caso, el vacío textual no es el punto de llegada, sino el de partida. Tras el último de los apartados que conocemos como *Genealogías de Roda* (Lacarra, 1945), y que, en este caso, bajo el significativo título *De Pampilona*, menciona, casi telegráficamente, los reinados de Sancho Garcés I, su hermano Jimeno Gar-

[4] J. Gil (2021, p. 484) edita y corrige como *xx. Initivm regni Pampilonensis.*





Figs. 4 y 5. El *Initium regum Pampilonie* en los códices Albeldense RBME d.I.2, f. 242v y Emilianense, RBME d.I.1 f.394bis-r.

cés y García Sánchez I, y la muerte de la reina Toda y de su sobrino Ramiro, había quedado en la redacción de finales del siglo x un espacio en blanco, que ocupaba la mitad inferior del folio.

Ahí se trasladó, hasta cubrirlo por completo, una versión actualizada –y adulterada– del *Initium* en torno a 1086[5]. Visualmente, el texto inserto se muestra abigarrado; el interlineado se estrecha de modo paulatino y el cuerpo de las letras se reduce para poder introducir toda la información que se pretende, hasta el punto de que el paso del tiempo y la acción química de la tinta apretada hace, casi ilegible buena parte de las últimas líneas. Sin embargo, parece que el esfuerzo del escriba tenía un interés muy claro. La versión copiada procede muy probablemente de CE, puesto que también elimina del relato a Ramiro, aunque en este caso acomoda el texto: *Item filius eius Sancius regnauit*... habla en pasado y singulariza el verbo. La *damnatio memoriae* de Ramiro, voluntaria o no, se había consumado (Miranda García, 2021). Pero en su afán por prolongar el texto, el escriba identifica a este *Sancius*, que en CA y CE era evidentemente Sancho Garcés II (970-994), con Sancho III

[5] En el f. 232v sigue una lista de obispos de Pamplona.

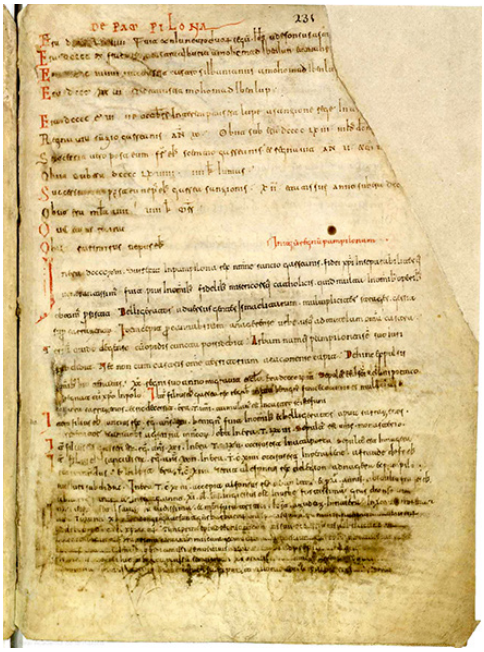


Fig. 6. El *Initium regnum Pampilonam* en el Códice Rotense RAH78, f.231r.

(1000-1035). Le hace reinar sesenta y cinco años y sitúa su entierro en Oña. Omite así también, por el camino, a García Sánchez II (994-1000).

Esta versión, que borraba inopinadamente a dos monarcas de la nómina regia pamplonesa, será curiosamente la que pase a textos posteriores, como el *Liber Regum* del entorno de 1200 o *De Rebus Hispaniae* de Jiménez de Rada, mediado el siglo XIII, y, con alguna variante, se perpetuará en la memoria historiográfica durante siglos. No es posible saber si el anónimo autor o copista desconocía la genealogía real (resultaría sorprendente apenas tres generaciones después), se saltó alguna línea al copiar la información desde algún posible borrador o, simplemente, intentó aprovechar mejor el espacio que le quedaba para redactar lo que realmente interesaba, sin importarle la adulteración que ello suponía. Pero en todo caso, pudo así, siquiera forzando la presentación, que se ofrece confusa, como lo es la lectura, añadir, muy brevemente, la trayectoria de los monarcas pamploneses del siglo XI. El ya mencionado Sancho III, y sus hijo y nieto García Sánchez III y Sancho Garcés IV.

Pero también, y es aquí sin duda a donde quería llegar el «narrador», alcanza hasta Alfonso VI de León, que tras el regicidio de Sancho Garcés IV en 1076 se hizo de inmediato con el control de La Rioja y de la sede najerense donde con toda probabilidad se custodiaba entonces CR (Lacarra, 1945, pp. 194-196). Es cierto que, en esa parte del relato, el acontecimiento que se narra, la presencia almorávide en

al-Ándalus y la batalla de Sagrajas de 1086 (de Badajoz según el cronista), se muestra como una enorme calamidad para los ejércitos del «príncipe Alfonso»; sin duda expresaba con rotundidad el pánico que se apoderó, incluso en esa zona tan alejada del área de combate, de los medios intelectuales al servicio del monarca derrotado.

Este añadido interesado presenta de este modo al rey leonés como una continuación natural en el discurso de la historia de los reyes pamploneses y, además, gracias a su colocación en ese vacío previo dentro del manuscrito, de su entramado genealógico previo, que recorre dos siglos, y que no remonta a los importantes lazos que se mantuvieron con la monarquía leonesa del siglo x, como hacían CA y CE, sino a los linajes aristocráticos pirenaicos de los que procedían. El monarca se manifiesta como el heredero lógico de ese bagaje histórico y familiar, sin necesidad siquiera de hacer mención de un hecho incontestable; su condición de descendiente directo (nieto) de Sancho III y, por tanto, de legítimo aspirante al trono tras la muerte de su primo, una vez preteridos los hijos del monarca asesinado (Martín Duque, 1992, p. 383; Ramírez Vaquero, 2025, pp. 114-117). Que su otro primo, Sancho Ramírez de Aragón, también nieto de Sancho III pero por vía ilegítima, se hubiese hecho con el control del territorio de donde procedían precisamente la mayor parte de aquellas familias «antecesoras» no impedía señalar, antes al contrario, a quién correspondía la legitimidad del poder.

Cabe recordar, además, que en 1079 Alfonso había colocado la colegiata de Santa María de Nájera bajo la obediencia de Cluny (Cantera Montenegro, 1991, n.º 22), y que a partir de ese momento los monjes del ahora priorato pusieron sus armas intelectuales al servicio del soberano, pero también de los sucesores, con obras tan relevantes como la *Crónica Najerense*, del último cuarto del siglo XII (Estévez Sola, 1995; Reglero de la Fuente, 2009). El pequeño texto tan estratégicamente añadido y revisado en CR, siquiera con un resultado visual más que mejorable pero igualmente significativo, no constituiría sino un primer ensayo en esa línea de trabajo.

Resulta por tanto curioso observar cómo, en un sorprendente giro historiográfico, un texto elaborado en 976 a mayor gloria de los que consideraba primeros reyes pamploneses, herederos de un legado jurídico que remontar a la monarquía hispanogoda, y que tomaban así el relevo de los soberanos asturleoneses, servía, por mor de los avatares dinásticos y la actualización interesada del relato, para legitimar a un rey leonés en el control del territorio conquistado casi dos siglos antes por Sancho Garcés I, como esa misma crónica se había encargado de señalar con entusiasmo. Había bastado con ocupar el hueco dejado por medio folio en blanco en el lugar adecuado y comprimir la información necesaria para que encajase.

En esa misma línea de uso del vacío, y aunque resulte casi anecdótico, merece la pena señalar otro pequeño espacio que CA nos muestra entre los folios dedicados a la *Crónica Albeldense*, aunque en este caso se trate de un breve relato genealógico, colocado inmediatamente antes del apartado que constituye el grueso narrativo del relato, el conocido como *Ordo Gotorum regum* (que en CA figura, significativamente, como *Ordo gotorum Ouentensium regum)* y que, pese al título «oficial», cuenta en realidad la historia de la monarquía ovetense desde Pelayo hasta Alfonso III. En efecto, en el f. 240v, donde, en la columna derecha, se inicia ese *Ordo Gotorum*, a la izquierda se reproduce una *Nomina regum catholicum Legionensium.* El listado, ape-

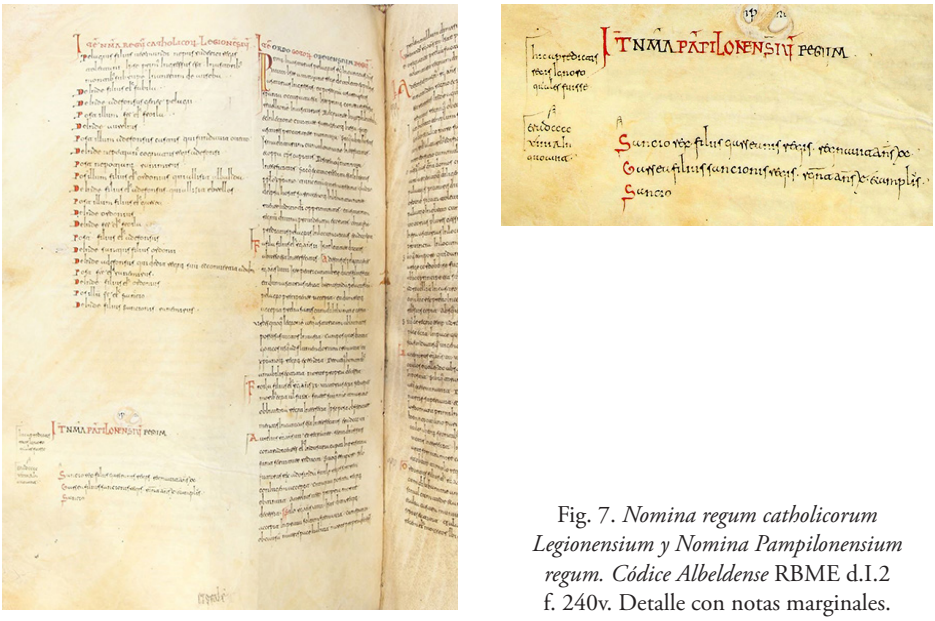
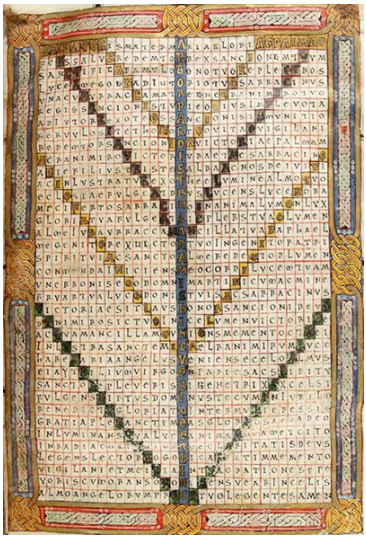
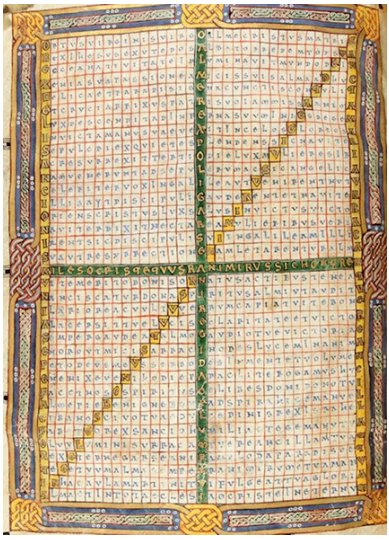


Fig. 7. *Nomina regum catholicorum Legionensium y Nomina Pampilonensium regum. Códice Albeldense* RBME d.I.2 f. 240v. Detalle con notas marginales.

nas una sucesión de nombres, alcanza hasta el monarca reinante en León en 976, Ramiro III. Podría apuntarse aquí el interés en omitir a algunos de los diversos rivales que se disputaron el trono leonés a la muerte de Ramiro II (951), en beneficio de candidatos, como Sancho I, apoyados desde la corte pamplonesa.

Sin embargo, no es ese el punto que se quiere resaltar. Tras esa relación, sigue un espacio en blanco que solo se corta al final de la columna, donde, tras el título *Item nomina Pampilonensium regum*, se menciona a los mismos monarcas de los que se hablará al final de la crónica más en extenso (Sancho I, García I y Sancho II), aquí solo mencionados y, en el caso de los dos primeros, con sus años de reinado, a semejanza de la relación leonesa. Tal vez, el objetivo del escriba, presumiblemente Vigila, al llevar la nómina pamplonesa a la parte baja del folio era que las dos columnas quedasen visualmente más parejas. Pero al lado de esa breve relación incluyó una nota marginal que produce un efecto muy distinto. Añadió: *Hic, a predictis regi[bu]s ignoro quales fuisse[nt]*. Esa «ignorancia» de los posibles reyes anteriores, unida a ese espacio en blanco que le precede, transmite más bien una idea de «memoria perdida», o, mejor quizás, visto el resto del relato, «deliberadamente olvidada», que conviene mencionar (fig. 7). El surgimiento explosivo del rey Sancho que se reflejaba en ese *surrexit in Pampilona* con que se inicia el epítome y que ayudaba a marcar la *translatio legitimitatis* desde Oviedo, puesto que la crónica, en esa parte del *Ordo gotorum Legionensium regum* con la que encajaba, se interrumpía con Alfonso III, casaba mal aquí con una nómina leonesa que se cerraba con monarcas coetáneos a los pamploneses. Los reinos y la legitimidad de sus reyes se ofrecen en las crónicas medievales





Figs. 8 y 9. *Composiciones ideográficas del Códice Albeldense RBME d.I.2*, f.2r-v.

casi como atemporales, surgidos directamente o por sucesivas continuidades desde la noche de los tiempos. Un primer rey sin antecedentes –porque no existen o porque no interesan– choca con ese modelo. Marcar un vacío, o aprovecharlo, como si se quedase a la espera de poder cubrirlo, y señalar finalmente, en una oportuna nota al margen, de apariencia discreta pero evidente, una supuesta ignorancia, podía parecer en ese sentido más creíble.

No cabe duda de que las propuestas que aquí se hacen, tanto del «añadido» de CR como la «ignorancia» de CA, no dejan de ser hipótesis que se consideran más o menos plausibles. La incorporación a diferentes códices de textos posteriores, en ocasiones siglos posteriores, no es algo extraño, y el propio Díaz y Díaz (1991, pp. 32-33) recoge en su análisis de los manuscritos riojanos, y en concreto de CR, la intencionalidad de sus compiladores que añadieron a una primera parte (sector A) compuesta inicialmente por las *Historias* del Orosio, otra serie de textos, copiados y unidos décadas más tarde, cuya autoridad se apoyaría, según el autor, precisamente en el acompañamiento de aquellas. Siguiendo esa posibilidad, el breve añadido del f. 231 de CR apoyaría su programa en ese entorno narrativo de las genealogías, por mucho que el modelo retórico resulte, en parte, visualmente distinto.

Los últimos vacíos que interesa señalar por su singularidad y significativo «silencio gráfico» son las páginas enmarcadas de CE que, siguiendo a Díaz y Díaz (1991, p. 161), parecen haberse destinado a copiar los poemas o composiciones figurativas que orlan CA, y que están dedicados a poner a los artífices del códice y los miembros de la *familia regis* pamplonesa bajo la protección divina, de la Virgen María y de diversos santos (figs. 8 y 9). El mismo autor apunta a que CE quedó





Figs. 10 y 11. *Marcos decorados del Códice Emilianense RBME d.I.*2, f.2r-v.

inconcluso, como tantos otros de su tiempo («acaso les faltaron fuerzas e ingenio, ya que no voluntad»), y ello habría afectado también a la copia de los poemas. Todo ello, por supuesto, aparte de la importancia no solo decorativa sino también simbólica que puede mostrar la cuidada ornamentación de esos marcos, fueran finalmente rellenados o no, como se encargó de mostrar, por ejemplo, Jean-Claude Bonne a propósito de las placas de marfil de Saint-Rémi (1996).

Pero la pregunta, en relación con los marcos sin contenido de CE, es si quedaron inacabados de modo voluntario, involuntario o, incluso, intencionadamente. CA incluye nueve piezas, que Díaz y Díaz (1991, pp. 351-370), numera, analiza en detalle y transcribe, resolviendo el puzle de letras que despliegan imágenes de cruces patadas, rombos, aspas y hasta ramas de árboles. La mayor parte de ellas (seis) se presentan al comienzo del manuscrito (f. 1r-3v), en clara relación con esa idea de encomienda a las fuerzas celestes, con el propio códice como símbolo de la comunidad orante y militante que se sitúa tras él. Las tres restantes se reparten, siguiendo la numeración del editor, en los f. 428v y 429r, inmediatamente después del retablo con los reyes y eclesiásticos, y en el f. 19v. En CE solo se reservaron, con matices que se comentarán enseguida, cinco marcos, lo que necesariamente implica que en el programa previo de copia y diseño del manuscrito ya se había optado por eliminar al menos cuatro, aunque finalmente no se trasladase ninguno (figs. 10 y 11).

Naturalmente, la propia composición obligaba a forzar el texto, sus concordancias y el uso del latín, pero aquí solo cabe detenerse en el evidente sentido estético y de impacto visual que se pretendía. El uso del color, de letras y líneas destacadas donde aparecen los nombres que interesa resaltar se sitúan como principal

elemento sobre el que llamar la atención, y no tanto el texto en sí, difícil de leer en su propia concepción. Al fin y al cabo, el contenido está destinado a la ciudad de Dios celestial a la que se elevan las oraciones; para los humanos que lo contemplen, queda en primer plano lo llamativo del resultado y las frases más destacadas y por tanto fáciles de seguir. Por supuesto, se trata de un recurso bien conocido desde tiempos muy anteriores y hasta hoy, pero adquieren aquí una notoria importancia (Romera Castillo, 1980).

En cuatro de las seis primeras composiciones, las que aparecen en los f. 1-3 de CA, se suceden las menciones a Vigila (n.os 1, 3, 6), Sancho, Urraca y Ramiro (n.os 3 y 4), e incluso García Sánchez I , fallecido seis años antes, para quien se pide que Dios le conceda el paraíso (n.º 4). En la n.º 5, dedicada a san Martín –patrono del monasterio–, san Miguel y Daniel, otro de los referentes clásicos del sufrimiento aceptado en este siglo (Vallejo Bozal, 1997), se menciona a Sarracino, uno de los artífices del códice. Solo el número 2, centrado en las virtudes de Cristo, podría ser incluido en el texto emilianense sin que resultasen chocantes las menciones a personajes y santos de raigambre albeldense o a un infante ya muerto (Ramiro), para el que se solicitaba la protección de san Miguel, jefe de los ejércitos celestiales, mientras que Sancho y Urraca se encomendaban respectivamente a Cristo y san Martín y a la Virgen María y san Rafael. Por supuesto, estos paralelismos guardan un sentido con las misiones que se reservan a cada uno de ellos (Miranda García, 2005). Otro tanto ocurría con el n.º 9, situado más adelante pero dedicado a san Martín, el patrono de Albelda (*Ob honorem Sancti Martini* es de hecho la única frase que se repite en sucesivas combinaciones horizontales, verticales y en ángulo). Así pues, tiene perfecto sentido que esos marcos iniciales quedasen vacíos en CE. Quizás se plasmaron con el propósito de modificar el contenido de alguno de los ideogramas y de adaptarlo a la realidad emilianense, y ese proyecto se abandonó, o no llegó a concretarse por la evidente dificultad de tener que reajustar para ello toda la composición y poder casar la imagen final.

En cuanto a los números 7 y 8, siempre según la relación establecida por Díaz y Díaz, enlazan directamente con el retablo regio tantas veces mencionado y que figura inmediatamente antes, formando un conjunto que se explica en sí mismo. Vuelven sobre las figuras de Vigila y Sarracino, los monjes artífices de CA, y las de Ramiro, Sancho, Urraca y García (*sexto anno obitum regis Garseani*). Una vez más, cambiar el texto para ajustarlo con la realidad de 992 y con los monjes emilianenses que aparecen en la particular versión del retablo en CE parece una empresa plena de dificultades.

Sin embargo, en este caso se opta por una decisión diferente (figs. 12 y 13). Se deja también en blanco (salvo el omnipresente marco) el fol. 453v, que constituye el verso del retablo, pero se cubre el 454r con una imagen del *Agnus Dei* y el Tetramorfos que contribuye de algún modo a reforzarlo ideológicamente y que golpearía la vista al pasar el folio. Esa relación entre la ciudad terrenal de los reyes y la Iglesia y la ciudad de Dios que la protege y guía, y que constituía el programa de todas las composiciones de CA, se resume en CE en una sola, la imagen del Cordero de Dios que «quita los pecados del mundo» (Jn. 1, 29), acompañado de las letras griegas alfa mayúscula (A) y omega minúscula (ω), «Inicio y Fin» (Ap. 1, 8; 21, 6), como reza



Figs. 12 y 13. Marco decorado y *Agnus Dei* con Tetramorfos en el Códice Emilianense, RBME d.I.1 f. 453v-454r.

además la leyenda del brazo horizontal de la cruz (*initium et finis*), acompañada de los símbolos de los evangelistas –con sus nombres en el brazo vertical–, cuya palabra es, en ese modelo, la Palabra de Dios (Carvajal, 2010; Torres, 2013).

En clara relación con los ideogramas de CA y su ausencia en CE puede ponerse el conjunto relivario que, procedente de San Miguel de Villatuerta, se custodia actualmente en el Museo de Navarra. No se trata de analizar aquí en detalle esta iconografía específica, sino de ponerla en relación con el programa que se presenta –o no– en los códices y del que es coetáneo, al menos en lo que hace a CA. Uno y otros se complementan a la perfección y por ello merece la pena traerlos aquí, puesto que ayudan a entender mejor el programa discursivo en su conjunto. El desgaste provocado por los siglos en que estuvo instalado a la intemperie en los muros de la ermita y una factura original seguramente mediocre dificultan sobremanera su identificación y significado, pero algunos estudios parecen haber conseguido propuestas bien interesantes, aunque todavía discutidas (Poza Yagüe, 2006, pp. 609-627). Sin detenerse en exceso en esa cuestión, sí parece clara la identificación de Daniel con los leones, de la entrega de la cruz por un clérigo (¿obispo?) a otro personaje (¿rey?), de san Miguel y de un personaje a caballo que se ha identificado con un obispo, pero para el que también se ha propuesto que sea un rey y que, en todo caso, forma parte del modelo de imagen ecuestre destinada a transmitir una sensación de poder muy acorde con todo el programa escultórico (Ruiz Maldonado, 2013). Junto a ellos, debió de haber una imagen de un «guerrero con lanza» que se ha perdido, y se conserva además la inscripción de la consagración de la ermita, que permite situar las obras en la década de 970, en coincidencia por tanto con CA.

No cabe pues volver sobre el debate, bien resumido y acotado sobre todo por A. Bronisch (2016), acerca del papel que pudieron tener en la liturgia de la convocatoria a la guerra y la continuidad del modelo hispanogodo. Solo se pretende manifestar cómo se visualiza escultóricamente (pese a la muy deficiente conservación de las imágenes) el ideario que CA y, en menor medida por las razones ya señaladas, CE reflejan en textos e imágenes miniadas: el círculo de poder pamplonés, laico y/o eclesiástico, arropado por las figuras de Miguel y Daniel, a quienes ya se encomendaban en los ideogramas de CA. La pérdida de una de las imágenes, la del ¿guerrero?, podría quizás relacionarse con otra procedente de Luesia, generada en ese mismo tiempo y dentro por tanto del área gobernada por la monarquía pamplonesa en el último tercio del siglo x (Galtier Martí, 2006a). Se trata del relieve de una figura coronada que recuerda a la miniatura de Luis el Piadoso en *De laudibus sanctae crucis* de Rábano Mauro, en la versión más antigua conocida, la de la Biblioteca Histórica de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Mss. 131. El emperador franco aparece como un *miles Christi* (Sears, 1990), con una cruz y un escudo y dentro además de una composición figurativa sobre cuyo calado ideológico ya se ha tratado antes y de la que este manuscrito constituye uno de los ejemplos más célebres. El parecido nos remite una vez más a las líneas de transmisión de imágenes e influencias a lo largo del occidente cristiano en ese tiempo.

Respecto a la obra de Luesia, de construcción tosca, como lo eran las de Villatuerta, solo podemos hipotetizar sobre su posible parecido o relación con la pieza perdida de la ermita de San Miguel y la posibilidad de que ambas representasen igualmente a Sancho Garcés II o a un monarca arquetípico. En tal caso, nos encontraríamos con una de las escasas representaciones pamplonesas de esta época, en la que aparece coronado, como lo sería igualmente si el personaje a caballo de Villatuerta fuese, como sugiere A. Bronisch (2016), un rey y no un obispo. En efecto, tanto en CA como en CE figuran numerosas miniaturas de monarcas coronados, singularmente los emperadores romanos y reyes hispanogodos que presidieron o convocaron concilios, sobre cuyo atuendo se han hecho variadas interpretaciones (Silva Verástegui, 1984, pp. 375-418; Galván Freire, 1995); y habituales son las representaciones de monarcas con diadema en el ámbito carlingio, otónida o capeto (Laffite 2007; Mayr-Harting 1995; Pinoteau, 1997). Sin embargo, las escasas figuraciones relativas a Sancho II y alguna otra imagen singular, como la que ilustra el *Ordo pro rege* del *Liber Ordinum* (RAH 56) procedente de San Millán de la Cogolla y también elaborada en estos años (Sáenz Pascual, 2006, pp. 80-81), que representa a un rey en el momento previo a la unción, se componen sin tocado identificable con una corona. Es cierto que aparecen nimbadas, pero quizás tendría más que ver con esa idea espiritual de *miles Christi,* incluso con la misión «sacerdotal» que le acompañaba y de la que se dota la monarquía leonesa (Ayala Martínez, 2008), y por ende la pamplonesa en el contexto ideológico ya señalado; numerosos clérigos de las miniaturas procedentes de CA y CE se cubren con ese mismo nimbo. No así los tres magos que figuran en la Adoración de CR que acompaña a la genealogía de Jesús (f. 206), prácticamente la única imagen con figuras humanas del códice, en un tiempo en que estos personajes ya se identifican con reyes en la tradición cristiana occidental; en cambio, tanto María como el Niño aparecen nimbados (fig. 14).



Fig. 14. Adoración de los Reyes Magos. *Códice Rotense RAH 78,* f. 206r.

Las primeras representaciones monetales de los monarcas navarroaragoneses del siglo XI y los navarros del XII, cuando comienzan las acuñaciones, muestran también el busto del titular sin corona (Ibáñez Artica, 2001, pp. 83-110; Serrano Coll, 2015); a diferencia de los coetáneos aragoneses que desde el reinado de Alfonso II (1162-1196) ya la portan, siguiendo quizás modelos francos (Morte García, 2006, 129). La misma ausencia se aprecia en los magníficos marfiles del Arca de san Millán (1067-1076), patrocinada por Sancho Garcés IV, y que nos ofrecen representaciones de algunos personajes regios, como el hermano del monarca, calificado, siguiendo la tradición pamplonesa, de *Ranimirus rex* (bien es cierto que no es el propio soberano), o el propio Leovigildo que combate a los cántabros, ataviado como guerrero, pero sin distintivo real alguno en la cabeza (Bango Torviso, 2006b). Tampoco la tienen los reyes del Apocalipsis de los beatos de procedencia riojana, como el del Escorial o la BNE (Silva, 1984, pp. 297-301), ni Salomón en la crismera de marfil de la primera mitad del XI, del mismo origen, custodiada hoy en el Glencairn Museum (Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania), donde aparece camino de la unción, en el Juicio o en su entrevista con la reina de Saba (Bango Torviso, 2006a; Perratore, 2013). Pero sí el David –rey ungido– que figura junto a su nombre destacado en el salmo 26 del Psalterio de San Millán de mediados del siglo XI (RAH 1006B, f. 17v).

Curiosamente, en la copia que se elaboró en la segunda mitad del siglo XII de la fundación de Santa María de Nájera por García Sánchez III (1052), y que aparece decorada con dos pequeñas miniaturas del rey y de su esposa Estefanía, el monarca

sí parece contar –el estado del documento no permite afirmarlo con rotundidad– con una especie de diadema (Galtier Martí, 2006b; Silva Verástegui, 2016); pero nos encontramos ya en un espacio vinculado a Castilla desde 1076, donde la tradición sobre este asunto, como reflejan en ese momento obras como el Tumbo A compostelano o el *Liber Testamentorum* de la catedral de Oviedo (Chao, 2025; Yarza, 1995; Asensio, 2025), era diferente.

No parece pues que entre los siglos x y xi constituyese una característica inherente a la imagen del soberano pamplonés. Habrá que esperar a la efigie de Sancho VII en su sepulcro de Roncesvalles, elaborada en en el segundo tercio del xiii, tal vez bajo inspiración anglonormanda, para encontrar una testa coronada de un soberano local (Miranda García, 2019), y a Teobaldo II para que la corona aparezca en los sellos del monarca (Menéndez-Pidal: 1995, pp. 103-109).

Teniendo en cuenta estos elementos, en su momento se propuso una vinculación, para las imágenes del siglo x y xi, entre imagen coronada y rey ungido, de acuerdo con la percepción, cierta o equivocada, de los miniaturistas y tallistas (Miranda García, 2008), pero convendría analizar esa posibilidad con un mayor detalle que no es posible ofrecer aquí. Aunque procedan del ámbito escultórico, si el relieve de Luesia y el personaje tocado a caballo de Villatuerta representan a monarcas pamploneses concretos o a sus arquetipos, esa hipótesis debe reconsiderarse.

En todo caso, sí parece evidente que los reyes aparecen siempre en su labor legisladora (el rolde con el *Liber Iudicum* en el caso de los reyes hispanogodos) o de administración de la justicia –la vara/cetro en Sancho II o el personaje del *Liber Ordinum*–. Ni siquiera el personaje a caballo de Villatuerta lleva lanza o espada, y el de Luesia porta una cruz. Y la función militar parece reservada, en su caso, a otros personajes, como Ramiro en CA y CE, que sí muestra una espada. Tiene así perfecto sentido que sus advocaciones protectoras de referencia sean el propio Cristo y san Miguel respectivamente.

Solo en dos casos –hasta donde se ha podido comprobar– procedentes de CE, las ilustraciones que representan a los concilios de Arlés III (455) y Valencia (546), los monarcas que figuran aparecen con espada. Se ha sugerido que se trate tal vez de los emperadores Marciano (450-457) y Graciano (375-383), que se mencionan en las respectivas actas, pero en ningún caso asistieron a las sesiones ni las impulsaron (Silva, 1984, pp. 396 y 436), por lo que su papel de legisladores no tendría sentido en ese caso. Pero también podrían identificarse con Teodorico II y Teudis, los respectivos príncipes godos coetáneos, de confesión arriana, que de algún modo habrían consentido la celebración de ambos sínodos –como ocurre con algunas de las representaciones de emperadores–, pero a los que sin duda no correspondería, a los ojos de los monjes del siglo x, un carácter necesariamente vinculado con la ortodoxia católica y reservado todavía a la autoridad imperial, de quien emanaba su legitimidad. Es, con todo, una hipótesis muy discutible y que exigiría un mayor análisis.

También merece una atención especial la presencia anecdótica –o la práctica ausencia, si se prefiere– de miembros de la aristocracia militar –aparte Ramiro– en CA y CE –en CR apenas hay imágenes–, pese a su asistencia habitual a una parte de las sesiones de los concilios toledanos de la monarquía católica hispanogoda, frente a la profusión de eclesiásticos que recorre las miniaturas. Solo se ven refleja-



Fig. 15. II Sínodo Hispalense. *Códice Emilianense* d.I.1, f. 205v.

dos en dos ocasiones. La primera, en la relativa al *Ordo de celebrando concilio*; en CA perfectamente identificados con una leyenda (*omnis turma*) junto al rey (*princeps*), aunque sin espadas u otros elementos distintivos (f. 344)*;* y en CE aparentemente transmutados en clérigos, puesto que aparecen nimbados (f. 347v) y la leyenda ha desaparecido. Otra curiosa representación, en este caso de CE f. 205v (fig. 15), y al parecer inspirada en un manuscrito anterior (Silva, 1984: 410), los sitúa fuera de la ciudad de Sevilla en el II sínodo hispalense de 619, convocado por san Isidoro, en forma de tres guerreros –aunque nimbados también–, ahora sí armados con lanzas y arco, y protegiendo la ciudad en cuyo interior se celebra el concilio, pero ajenos a las sesiones[6].

Pero en ninguna de las representaciones específicas de los diversos concilios y sínodos de ambos códices figuran como asistentes (Silva Verástegui, 1984, pp. 398-412). El papel subsidiario que les otorgan los arquitectos de los códices, bien del monarca en el caso del *Ordo*, bien de la propia Iglesia como institución en el de la reunión hispalense, parece evidente.

[6] En la versión de CA 221r solo aparece una imagen del arzobispo Isidoro (*Isidorus episcopus*). También aparecen transmutados en obispos en CE 69r los tres *consules* que aparecen en CA 85v en el Concilio de Constantinopla de 394 junto al obispo Nectario.

Más anecdótica resulta si cabe la presencia de la población «corriente», limitada a las cabezas de los habitantes que sobresalen sobre los muros de Toledo, la *urbs regia* (CA 142r y CE129r), como meros espectadores de los rituales que se representan en la parte inferior del folio.

2. CONCLUSIONES

Más allá del análisis e interpretación que nos ofrecen los contenidos y las imágenes de los grandes códices de la monarquía pamplonesa de finales del siglo x o de las representaciones escultóricas o numismáticas coetáneas o inmediatamente posteriores, puede proponerse que el estudio de la propia ausencia o presencia de determinados elementos iconográficos, la forma en que se representan, el lugar en que se colocan e incluso la disposición de los textos y leyendas a lo largo de los códices y la omisión o introducción novedosa de determinados elementos suponen en sí un objeto de atención que debe tomarse en consideración para intentar comprender los procesos mentales e ideológicos que llevaron a su proyecto y confección.

A partir de ese presupuesto, parece evidente que en la transposición de diversos materiales del *Códice Albeldense* BRME d.I.2 (CA) al *Emilianense* BRME d.I.1 (CE) no solo se tuvo en cuenta el interés en perpetuar determinados lugares de la memoria real y eclesiástica que figuraban en el primero, sino también el sentido o no de transmitir elementos que habían quedado desfasados o resultaban difíciles de actualizar para dotarlos de contenido lógico. El mensaje de continuidad con la obra hispanogoda o asturleonesa y del protagonismo de las instituciones eclesiásticas se mantuvo, pero adaptado a una realidad distinta que no cabía ignorar, desde la ausencia del infante Ramiro hasta la difícil adaptación de los diseños vigilanos de Albelda al relato emilianense. Y en el renovado mensaje tuvo una función singular el uso de los vacíos o la trasposición de las imágenes. Y también, que cuando alguno de esos materiales, singularmente escriturarios en este caso, se plasmó más tarde y en otras circunstancias en el tercer gran códice, el *Rotense* RAH78 (CR), se efectuó de tal modo que intentó cambiar drásticamente su sentido original, tanto el de la narración que se introducía como el del códice que la acogía, y lo puso al servicio de otros intereses, que además se perpetuaron y triunfaron en el tiempo.

Para todo ello, se optó, en efecto, por mantener unos elementos, omitir otros, dejar espacios vacíos, copiar y luego tachar textos inarmónicos o trasladar, adulterados y ampliados, algunos más, allí donde podían ayudar a construir un nuevo relato legitimador. No fue necesario crear nuevos mensajes, solo cambiarlos de lugar, adaptarlos o ignorarlos. En paralelo, otras obras escultóricas y evorarias ayudaban a complementar el mensaje y proyectarlo hacia el exterior, fuera de los muros monásticos, aunque su repercusión fuese sin duda muy limitada. En todo ello, la gran beneficiaria no fue solo una determinada manera de entender la ideología de la monarquía, sino, sobre todo, el papel de la Iglesia que la sostenía e impulsaba estos relatos narrativos, poéticos e iconográficos.

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LA *REGLA DE LOS MONJES GRISES*: UN *COLLAGE* DE POESÍA MONÁSTICA IRLANDESA ALTOMEDIEVAL

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Resumen

A diferencia de otras «reglas métricas» irlandesas (poemas espirituales de carácter parenético que se titulan *Ríagul* o *Ríagail*, compuestos en el siglo IX), aquella conocida como *Regla de los monjes grises* (*Ríagail na Manach líath*) ha sido identificada por Liam Breatnach (2020) como una fabricación tardomedieval: una compilación de estrofas sueltas llevada a cabo por el escriba del único testigo manuscrito (Uilliam mac an Leagha, fl. 1460). Si bien la compilación es tardía, muchos de sus componentes son antiguos y revelan aspectos interesantes de la espiritualidad y las creencias de la Iglesia irlandesa de época prenormanda. Más aún, la selección y disposición de estos sugiere la intención de Mac an Leagha de crear una «regla» que diera voz a la sabiduría colectiva de los ancestros monásticos de su patria. El presente artículo consiste en un estudio introductorio completo, transcripción diplomática, texto reconstruido y traducción castellana de las diferentes estrofas, notas lingüísticas y traductológicas finales y conclusiones.

Palabras clave: Irlanda, irlandés antiguo y medio, poesía, regla, monacato, espiritualidad.

THE *RULE OF THE GREY MONKS*: A COLLAGE OF EARLY MEDIEVAL IRISH MONASTIC POETRY

Abstract

Unlike other Irish «metrical rules» (spiritual poems of a parenetic nature entitled *Ríagul* or *Ríagail*, composed in the 9th century), the one known as the *Rule of the Grey Monks* (*Ríagail na Manach líath*) has been identified by Liam Breatnach (2020) as a late medieval fabrication: a compilation of loose stanzas by the scribe of the only manuscript witness (Uilliam mac an Leagha, fl. 1460). Although the compilation is late, its components are early products and reveal interesting aspects of the spirituality and beliefs of the Irish Church in the pre-Norman period. Moreover, their selection and arrangement suggest Mac an Leagha's intention to create a «rule» that would give voice to the collective wisdom of the monastic elders of his homeland. This article consists of a comprehensive introductory study, a diplomatic transcription, reconstructed text and a Spanish translation of each stanza, linguistic and translation endnotes, and conclusions.

Keywords: Ireland, old and middle Irish, poetry, rule, monasticism, spirituality.

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0. INTRODUCCIÓN: LIAM BREATNACH Y LA *REGLA DE LOS MONJES GRISES* COMO FABRICACIÓN TARDOMEDIEVAL

Hasta el año 2020, la obra que a continuación se presenta se solía considerar en el contexto de cinco poemas religiosos titulados «reglas» que sobreviven de la Irlanda medieval, grupo que incluye también la *Regla del Señor* (o *Regla de Comgall de Bangor*), la *Regla de Ailbe* (Albeo) *de Emly*, la *Regla de Cormac mac Cuilendáin* (Cromac de Cahsel) y la *Regla de Ciarán* (Ciarán)[1]. Se trata de poemas de extensión breve, escritos en irlandés antiguo o medio[2], de inspiración y temática religiosa. No obstante, la aparición del artículo «*Ríagail na Manach Líath*: "The Rule of the Grey Monks": A late mediaeval fabrication», de Liam Breatnach (2020), ha cambiado completamente nuestra comprensión de la obra: allí, el autor revela cómo en realidad la *Regla de los monjes grises* es una compilación llevada a cabo por el erudito escriba Uilliam mac an Leagha[3] alrededor del año 1467 a partir de estrofas sueltas, de diferente datación, halladas en los márgenes de ciertos manuscritos de los que disponía. Al respecto, los argumentos de Breatnach son concluyentes y definitivos: las diferentes estrofas que componen la *Regla* contienen rasgos gramaticales y ortográficos que apuntan a estadios demasiado dispares del desarrollo de la lengua irlandesa y se

[1] Resulta obvio que ninguna de estas obras es una verdadera «regla monástica», sino representaciones poéticas de la vida religiosa, en parte encomio y en parte parénesis, para la edificación de los cenobitas. Es seguro que con este fin se dotó a algunas de ellas de su autoría ficticia: para cargarlas con la autoridad y capacidad de persuasión que manarían de la reputación de los santos padres fundadores. Hasta la época de la invasión normanda (s. XI), Irlanda parece haber quedado del todo inmune al influjo normalizador de las reformas carolingias en las que, de hecho, se origina la idea de la «regla» como *locus* autónomo de autoridad religiosa en cuanto avatar del fundador difunto que puede incluso oponerse al poder del abad. Véase Diem 2011: 53-55. Respecto a esta *Regla de los monjes grises*, existe una edición diplomática, sin traducción, en Strachan, 1905. Estudio, edición diplomática, *textus restitutus* y traducción inglesa en Breatnach, 2020. Existe también una traducción inglesa (y libérrima, al punto de inducir a franca confusión) en Ó Maidín, 1996. Referencias en Ó Corráin, 2017: 820-821. La menciona al paso O'Dwyer, quien vacila en atribuirla al «movimiento de los *céli Dé*» (O'Dwyer, 1977: 135-136). Follett, en su monografía sobre el mismo tema, incluye una descripción y comentario de la regla (Follett, 2006: 150).

[2] En el presente artículo, me refiero a la lengua histórica de Irlanda en sus diferentes estadios como «irlandés», en línea con el uso más extendido en la academia (que habla siempre de *Old* / *Middle* / *Modern Irish*) y que responde a la nacionalización de la lengua por parte de la República de Irlanda en el siglo XX. No obstante, es importante subrayar que el glotónimo más orgánico, aquel que designa al idioma en sí mismo y es usado por los hablantes contemporáneos, es «gaélico» (*gaeilge*). La designación «irlandés» es aún más imprecisa para los estadios antiguos de la lengua, ya que el «irlandés» antiguo (ca. 600-900) y el «irlandés» medio (ca. 900-1200) se empleaban no solo en Irlanda, sino también en Escocia y en la Isla de Man. Solo en la Edad Moderna se verifica una varianza lo suficientemente pronunciada para distinguir propiamente el «irlandés» (moderno) del gaélico escocés y el manx. La opción elegida se justifica solamente en atención, como se ha dicho, a la convención académica. Véase McCone *et al.*, 1994.

[3] Para conocer una biografía del escriba y bibliografía especializada, véase *Dictionary of Irish Biography* s.n. *Mac An Lega, Uilliam (Iollann).* Revisado a 10 de octubre de 2025 en https://www.dib.ie/biography/mac-lega-uilliam-iollann-a4990.

estructuran de acuerdo con diferentes esquemas métricos. Además, el poema carece de *dúnad* («cierre»): un dispositivo ubicuo en la poesía irlandesa en que una obra lírica debe cerrarse repitiendo, en todo o en parte, los contenidos del verso inicial. Más aún, al menos una de las estrofas de la *Regla de los monjes grises* (la número 9, en concreto) figura en otros dos manuscritos, separada del resto. Breatnach prueba además que el escriba habría creado compilaciones semejantes al menos en otras dos oportunidades (Breatnach, 2020, pp. 81-88).

Si bien los hallazgos de Breatnach desacreditan la *Regla de los monjes grises* en su conjunto como una composición original de la Iglesia irlandesa altomedieval, el análisis cronolingüístico prueba que, considerados en forma independiente, sus componentes son composiciones tempranas y revisten interés para nuestro entendimiento de las creencias y la espiritualidad del período prenormando. Por ello, se considera pertinente y relevante publicar el presente estudio y edición anotada, con su primera traducción a la lengua castellana, para facilitar el acceso de los estudiosos hispanohablantes a estos contenidos.

Salvo por la estrofa 9[4], la *Regla de los monjes grises* sobrevive en un único testigo (a saber, Dublin RIA MS 23 P 3)[5] cuyo texto se halla afectado por numerosas modernizaciones ortográficas atribuibles al escriba tardío y contiene varias formas corrompidas. Por ello, la producción de una edición crítica se considera inviable. En cambio se ha optado por reproducir, para cada estrofa, una transcripción diplomática seguida del texto reconstruido y su correspondiente traducción castellana.

1. MANUSCRITO Y CONTENIDOS

El único testigo de la *Regla de los monjes grises* es Dublin Royal Irish Academy MS 23 P 3 f. 13v col. B – f. 14r col. A. Informalmente apodado *Féilire Beag* («Martirologio Pequeño» puesto que empieza con una versión fragmentaria del *Martirologio de Óengus*), el códice está formado por tres legajos originalmente independientes. El primero (ff. 1-19) tuvo por escriba a Uilliam mac an Leagha, quien se atribuye el trabajo y lo data en 1467, parte del cual llevó a cabo en la casa de Aodh Óg Mac Craith en «*Mélaigh Moir ar Sliabh Dile*» (a f. 16r), al sur de Windgap, en el límite entre los actuales condados de Tipperary y Kilkenny (Follett, 2006, pp. 104). La producción de Mac an Leagha consiste en obras religiosas: entre otras, incluye el célebre martirologio métrico ya mencionado, dos fragmentos de *Apgitir chrábaid* (el «Alfabeto de la piedad», una catequesis vernácula, a ff. 15v y 18v), y también cinco «reglas» métricas: la *Regla de Ailbe de Emly* (Albeo de Emly) (f. 13r, acéfala y

[4] A saber, en Dublin RIA MS D iv 2 f. 52v (margen superior) y Oxford Bodleian Library MS Laud. Misc. 615 s 7 (Breatnach, 2020, pp. 81-88).

[5] Disponible en formato digital en el sitio web del proyecto *Irish Script on Screen* del Instituto para Estudios Avanzados de Dublín, donde se halla también la descripción de los contenidos del manuscrito y otras informaciones de catálogo. Véase https://www.isos.dias.ie/RIA/RIA_MS_23_P_3.html#28.

sin título), la *Regla de Comgall* (f. 13r-v), la *Regla de los monjes grises* (ff. 13v-14r; aquí presentada), la *Regla de Cormac mac Cuilendáin* (Cormac de Cashel) (f. 14r) y finalmente la *Regla de Ciarán* (f. 14v)[6]. Mientras que la *Regla de Comgall*, la *Regla de Ailbe* y la *Regla de Cormac*, productos auténticos del período irlandés antiguo tardío, se conservan en varios códices[7], la *Regla de Ciarán* y la *Regla de los monjes grises* sobreviven solo en el manuscrito de Mac an Leagha. Como se ha dicho, Breatnach ha probado que esta *Regla de los monjes grises* es una compilación *ad hoc* del mismo escriba, tal vez llevada a cabo bajo presión de sus patronos, quienes le habrían encomendado copiar un cierto número de poemas de este tipo. Uilliam mac an Leagha creó compilaciones similares en otras oportunidades (Breatnach, 2020, pp. 81-88). Considero probable que también la *Regla de Ciarán* sea en parte obra de Mac an Leagha, aunque en este caso el escriba habría procedido interpolando algunas estrofas sueltas a los componentes básicos de una obra auténtica[8].

La *Regla* comienza al final de la col. B del f. 13v (a línea 37), con el acápite *Ríagail na Manach líath and-so* («Esta es la *Regla de los monjes grises*»). La primera estrofa empieza en la línea siguiente con una gran <*C*> mayúscula decorada con espirales, una cabeza de perro estilizada y toques de color rojo. El poema concluye a la mitad de la col. A del f. 14r (línea 22), justo donde inicia otro texto religioso, hasta ahora inédito, con las palabras *Taibret duit a coibhsina* («Ellos te confiesan»). Las diez estrofas de la obra se contienen en veintiséis líneas manuscritas. Con la sola excepción de la estrofa 2, cada una empieza al margen izquierdo con una letra mayúscula, algunas de las cuales están rubricadas. La separación de los versos se marca regularmente con un *punctus*.

En lo que respecta al contenido, Breatnach considera que la obra carece de unidad temática y ve en ello una prueba adicional de su carácter artificial (Breatnach, 2020, p. 88). En cambio, Donnchadh Ó Corráin, que la leyó como obra unitaria, la describe como «un poema sarcástico [...] escrito por un monje sardónico y perezoso» (Ó Corráin, 2017, p. 821)[9]. Mi interpretación difiere considerablemente

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[6] Una información completa acerca de estos textos (manuscritos, ediciones, traducciones y estudios) se encuentra en Ó Corráin, 2017, pp. 816-822. Otras obras aproximadamente contemporáneas y tituladas también *Ríagul* / *Ríagail* son distintas: la *Regla de Patricio* es en verdad un tratado legal; la *Regla de Colum Cille* no es una obra lírica; la mal llamada *Regla de los céli Dé* es una adaptación tardía de partes del *Memorial de Tallaght*, una gran miscelánea monástica del siglo IX. La *Regla de Fothad na Cannóine* está escrita en verso, como las «reglas» breves, pero por su gran extensión, complejidad y articulación temática considero pertinente considerarla separadamente. Véase Ó Corráin, 2017: 812-814, 819-820.

[7] La autenticidad de estas obras se verifica por su homogeneidad lingüística y su cohesión métrica. Sin embargo, en el caso de las «reglas» Ailbe y Comgall, las atribuciones insinuadas en los títulos son ciertamente espurias: el análisis cronolingüístico revela que ninguna es anterior al año 800 y por lo tanto no podrían haber sido compuestas por figuras de los siglos V y VI respectivamente. La *Regla de Cormac*, en cambio, bien podría ser obra del epónimo rey-obispo de Munster (m. 908).

[8] Mis argumentos a este respecto se incluyen en una edición de la *Regla de Ciarán*, con traducción castellana, que será publicada próximamente en la *Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales.*

[9] «... a sarcastic poem [...] by a sardonic and lazy monk» (Ó Corráin, 2017, p. 821). Algo de esta postura escéptica se advierte también en la interpretación de Breatnach en varios pasajes (Breatnach, 2020, pp. 89, 91-92).

de ambas posturas. Al compilar la *Regla de los monjes grises* y yuxtaponerla a obras como la *Regla de Comgall* y la *Regla de Ailbe*, me parece lógico que Mac an Leagha haya pensado que su producto era semejante a ellas, al menos en espíritu. Como un artista plástico que empleara la conocida técnica del *collage*, el compilador seleccionaría y dispondría sus materiales con una intención literaria, determinada en su caso por sentimientos piadosos. En mi opinión, la clave de la lectura la da el título: *Ríagail na Manach líath.* Westley Follett, al considerar este tema en su descripción de la *Regla*, destaca que, en textos tardomedievales irlandeses, la expresión *manaig líatha* (lit. 'monjes grises')[10] se aplica normalmente a los cistercienses, por lo que el título no podría ser anterior al siglo XII y habría resultado de la inferencia errónea de un escriba que, hallando el adjetivo *líath* en dos de las estrofas (a saber, #1 y #9), creyó que se refería a miembros de esta orden continental (Follett, 2006, p. 150). No obstante, Breatnach ha probado que la *Regla de los monjes grises* como producto completo es obra del mismo Mac an Leagha y se colige por lo tanto que sería él mismo quien le dio su título. Pero *manaig líaith* no quiere decir solamente «monjes grises», sino ciertamente también «monjes viejos»[11]. Postulo que este es justamente el tema unificador que Mac an Leagha quiso darle a su compilación. El autor crea su hablante lírico como portavoz imaginario de una generación de monjes ancianos (los santos ancestros de Irlanda) que dan cuenta de su espiritualidad y aconsejan a sus hermanos más jóvenes. En mi análisis, los contenidos de la *Regla* compilada podrían resumirse de la siguiente manera:

1-4: «Retrato» y confesión del hablante lírico.

1. En clave autoirónica. Manifiesta su edad avanzada [«una tonsura gris»] y la pobreza de su apariencia (su tonsura tan escasa, [«de un dedo de ancho»], que, después de que el fuego la destruye, empeora poco [«No sería mucha la belleza, aún si la flama no le hubiera prendido fuego»]).
2. «Ante la cruz», expresa gratitud para con Cristo, pues, aun elevado al episcopado o a la condición de abad [«con mi báculo nuevo»], conserva su carácter parco y discreto [«por estar en silencio, sin habla»].
3. Expresa su desinterés por las cosas mundanas, así como su preocupación por que la práctica religiosa (*cléirchide*) se mantenga oculta y humilde (*clith*), sin que por ello se oculte nada pecaminoso.
4. Expresa cómo su disposición a las prácticas ascéticas, con el sacrificio que implican, está motivada solo por el temor de Dios (*Manib ómun Fíadat find...*).

[10] La ortografía aquí corresponde al estadio irlandés moderno. En irlandés antiguo, el nom. pl. es *manaig líaith*, como se emplea a continuación.

[11] Véase *Dictionary of Irish Language* s. v. *líath* I a. Revisado a 9 de octubre de 2025, en http://www.dil.ie/30139. Ciertamente con este sentido aparece en la estrofa 9 de esta *Regla*.

5-10: Consejos.

5. Advertencia contra la influencia de las mujeres (*banairli*).
6. Admonición contra la negligencia religiosa u olvido de Dios, especialmente para los jóvenes clérigos (*óclaig naím*).
7. A favor de comunidades poco numerosas («Es la voluntad» de Dios: «pocos hermanos bajo un único yugo»).
8. De cómo el estado clerical no es garantía de salvación.
9. Contra la desobediencia y por el respeto debido a los ancianos sabios (*líatha*).
10. Contra la traición o el perjurio.

Parece más que probable que algunas de las estrofas escogidas por Mac an Leagha para su composición (especialmente la #1) hayan tenido originalmente un carácter irónico o burlesco, pero no creo obvio ni plausible que el escriba y autor las haya incorporado ya sea despreocupadamente, sin atender al contenido, ya sea con ánimo cínico. Por el contrario, sugiero que, al reunir diferentes estrofas cortas descubiertas por él en los márgenes de aquellos manuscritos antiguos con que trabajaba, Mac an Leagha se sintió en cierto modo vocero de los anónimos ancestros monásticos de Irlanda. Por ello, no sin cierta genialidad, construyó un discurso que alude explícitamente a la vejez y la juventud para crear un marco en el que se sitúan consejos piadosos convencionales.

2. ANÁLISIS MÉTRICO Y CRONOLINGÜÍSTICO

Como se ha dicho, siguiendo a Breatnach (2020, p. 80), el poema evidencia su carácter artificial primeramente por la carencia de *dúnad*: aquel adorno omnipresente en la lírica medieval irlandesa en que la obra debe cerrarse con un verso similar, si no idéntico, al verso inicial (Murphy, 1961, pp. 43-45). Por otro lado, las estrofas escogidas se estructuran de acuerdo con dos esquemas métricos generales diferentes –*rannaigecht* (rima final *b* : *d*) y *deibide* (rima final *a* : *b*; *c* : *d*)– de los cuales se manifiestan varios tipos[12]:

1. *deibide* regular ($7^1\,7^1\,7^1\,7^2$): estrofas 3, 5.
2. *deibide nguilbnech recomarcach* ($7^2\,7^2\,7^2\,7^2$): estrofa 1.
3. *deibide scaílte ngairit* ($3^1\,7^1\,7^1\,7^2$): estrofa 7.

[12] En la lírica irlandesa medieval, los diferentes tipos de estrofa se dividen, primeramente, respecto a la rima: la rima *b* : *d* caracteriza a los esquemas llamados *dían* y *rannaigecht*, mientras que la rima *a* : *b*; *c* : *d* es propia del esquema llamado *deibide.* Las variedades internas a estos tipos generales, cada una con un nombre especial en la nomenclatura tradicional de los bardos tardomedievales, dependen del número de sílabas (representado en el análisis que sigue por el número de línea base; e.g. 7 o 3) y el patrón de acentuación (el número en superíndice: e.g. 7^1 representa un verso heptasílabo acentuado en la última sílaba; 3^2, un verso trisílabo acentuado en la penúltima sílaba). Al respecto, véase Murphy, 1961, pp. 48-70.

4. *rannaigecht mór* ($7^1\,7^1\,7^1\,7^1$): estrofas 4, 6, 8.
5. *rannaigecht fota recomarcach* ($7^2\,7^2\,7^2\,7^2$): estrofa 10.
6. *rannaigecht gairit recomarcach* ($3^2\,7^2\,7^2\,7^2$): estrofa 2.
7. *rannaigecht* irregular ($7^3\,7^2\,7^2\,7^2$): estrofa 9[13].

En general, en cada estrofa se cumplen las exigencias básicas en lo que se refiere al metro y la rima final[14].

En cuanto al análisis cronolingüístico, a pesar de que los marcadores significativos sean poco numerosos debido a la brevedad del poema, también de este resulta evidente que las diferentes estrofas pertenecen a estadios dispares en el desarrollo histórico de la lengua irlandesa y no pueden haber integrado un todo original. A modo general, es posible aseverar que varias de las estrofas corresponden al estadio irlandés antiguo tardío (800-900) y ninguna es posterior al estadio irlandés medio (900-1200), sobre las siguientes bases:

1. No se emplean pronombres personales independientes fuera de oraciones copulativas. En cambio, en aquellas instancias en que se distinguen pronombres infijos, su uso se ajusta a las reglas del irlandés antiguo.
2. En general se distingue entre formas independientes y dependientes en verbos simples, así como entre formas deuterotónicas y prototónicas en verbos compuestos, con una única excepción (8, *aithgén*).

Se concentran ciertos rasgos diagnósticos de composición temprana en las estrofas 2, 4 y 6, a saber:

1. Se preserva el género neut. en *dha no* / *dá n-ó* (4), lo cual se evidencia en la nasalización consecutiva al numeral *dá* en el acusativo. Adicionalmente, el sustantivo *óclach* muestra su inflexión fem. más temprana en el dat. sg. *oclaigh* / *óclaig* (6).
2. El verbo *atlochur* / *ad·tlochur* (2) aparece con su terminación deponente.
3. En la estrofa 2, el metro garantiza el carácter disilábico de *nuï* y *tuï*, con hiato.

Por el contrario, en las estrofas 8 y 10 se concentran claros indicadores de innovación:

1. *Bíd* monosilábico, garantizado por el metro (8).

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[13] A decir de Breatnach, si las variantes de esta estrofa mencionadas en la introducción son más cercanas al original, este correspondería al esquema *aí freislige* ($7^3\,7^2\,7^3\,7^2$) (Breatnach, 2020, p. 80).

[14] En la poesía irlandesa tradicional, la rima perfecta requiere que, a partir de la sílaba tónica (generalmente, la primera), haya correspondencia entre las vocales y que las consonantes coincidan en cualidad (palatal vs. no palatal) y «clase» (por ejemplo, /v/ rima con /ð /, con /ɣ/ y con *n*, *l*, y *r* lenizadas, todas las cuales conforman la «clase l»). Las seis clases fueron descritas por los teóricos gaélicos del período moderno temprano y se encuentran resumidas en Murphy, 1961, p. 32.

2. La partícula demostrativa *sein* (10).
3. El pronombre preposicional *gá* (vs. *oca*) (10), que sin duda es muy tardío.

3. POLÍTICA EDITORIAL

Tal cual sobrevive en el único testigo, y al igual que muchísimas obras irlandesas preservadas en manuscritos «de anticuario», el texto de la *Regla* se halla afectado por numerosas alteraciones ortográficas ciertamente atribuibles al escriba tardomedieval que la compiló (*e.g.*, lenición marcada de oclusivas sonoras [<*bh-*, *dh-*, *gh-*->], sustitución de oclusivas sonoras intervocálicas por sus contrapartes sordas [e.g. <-*g*-> por <-*c*-> en *loscud*], adición de *glide vowels*[15] [*e.g.*, *leithet* por *lethet*], confusión de vocales cortas no acentuadas, etc.), las cuales carecen de interés directo para la lectura de la obra original. La interferencia del escriba, un autor del período irlandés moderno que no dominaba los estadios más tempranos de su lengua materna, resulta asimismo en errores de lectura y formas gravemente corrompidas. Esto dificulta la comprensión del texto y obliga a sugerir enmiendas e interpretaciones que, en algunos casos, no se pueden considerar seguras[16].

Por ello, no se estima conveniente seguir la práctica más convencional en que se reproduciría el texto irlandés como bloque unificado, tomando como base la versión del manuscrito y marcando oportunamente las intervenciones editoriales (*e.g.*, expansión de abreviaturas en itálicas, inserción de corchetes para formas reconstruidas, etc.). Para entregar una versión cercana al original irlandés antiguo/medio, las alteraciones serían tan numerosas que el resultado quedaría completamente oscurecido por los signos críticos. En cambio, se opta por reproducir, para cada estrofa del poema (signadas con números arábigos del 1 al 10), transcripción diplomática, texto reconstruido «en limpio» y traducción al castellano. Al final de la edición se halla un apartado con notas lingüísticas y traductológicas.

En la transcripción diplomática, la cual se ha producido a partir de un examen detallado de la copia digital del manuscrito disponible en el sitio web del proyecto *Irish Script on Screen*[17], se reproduce con fidelidad el texto preservado, excepto

[15] En irlandés, en todos sus estadios, la cualidad de las consonantes (palatal vs. no palatal) se marca normalmente por medio de vocales yuxtapuestas a las mismas. Estas *glide vowels* no tienen un valor fónico, sino que simplemente indican cómo se pronuncia la consonante adyacente. Mientras que en los estadios antiguo y medio de la lengua su uso es restringido (según si se da en sílabas acentuadas o no acentuadas, y en relación con consonantes antecedentes o sucesivas), la multiplicación de estos marcadores es propia del irlandés moderno (por ejemplo, *sen* en irlandés antiguo vs. *sean* en irlandés moderno, donde ambas cosas se pronuncian /ʃen/: la <*a*> solo marca que la <-*n*> final es no palatal). En ediciones, convencionalmente, las *glide vowels* se distinguen de los diptongos por la presencia del *síneadh fada* (<ˊ>, e.g. *fiach* /fjaχ/ «deuda») y de los hiatos por la inserción de diéresis (<¨>, e.g. *fïach* / fi-ɔχ/ «cuervo»). Véase Thurnyesen, 1949, pp. 55-72; McCone, 2005, p. 77.

[16] Esto lo destacaron, entre otros, Strachan (1905, p. 227) y O'Dwyer (1977, p. 135).

[17] Véase https://www.isos.dias.ie/RIA/RIA_MS_23_P_3.html#28.

por la numeración y separación de las estrofas. Las abreviaturas se resuelven en itálicas, incluidos los símbolos tironianos de uso común en ámbito insular.

Respecto al texto reconstruido, mi edición se apoya considerablemente en la de Breatnach (2020, pp. 89-97), que difícilmente puedo pretender superar, en la cual se estandariza la ortografía a las convenciones del irlandés antiguo o medio según corresponde, a la luz del análisis cronolingüístico. La enmienda de formas ininteligibles y/o indudablemente corrompidas se explica en las notas lingüísticas finales. Se restituyen leniciones, nasalizaciones y aspiraciones iniciales faltantes, así como las marcas de longitud (*síneadh fada*, <´>). Las letras <*f*> y <*s*> lenizadas se transcriben bajo *punctum delens* <*ḟ, ṡ*>. La lenición de las oclusivas mudas se marca con una <-*h*> a continuación (<*ch*-, *ph*-, *th*->). El interpunto <·> separa las partes acentuada y no acentuada en las formas verbales[18]. Los enclíticos enfáticos y demostrativos se escriben separados por un guion corto <-> (*e.g.*, *-so*), así como la nasalización antes de vocales (*e.g.*, *dá n-ó*). La diéresis indica un hiato. La puntuación y mayúsculas son editoriales.

En la traducción, aquellas inserciones orientadas a ayudar la comprensión se escriben entre paréntesis redondos. Un signo de interrogación (también entre paréntesis redondos) indica que la interpretación propuesta es incierta.

4. LA *REGLA DE LOS MONJES GRISES*: EDICIÓN Y TRADUCCIÓN

[Dublin Royal Irish Academy MS 23 P 3 f. 13v col. B línea 37]

Riag*ail* na manac*h* liath and so
Ríagail na Manach líath and-so
Esta es la Regla de los monjes grises.

1. Coran*n* liat*h* l*eth*et baisi . rolas oc losg*ud* d*r*isi . nípa romór i*n*maisi . ce*n* ní drosa*cht* i*n*d loisi

Corann líath, lethet bise
ro·las oc loscud drise;
nípa romór in maise,
cenidros·acht ind laise.

[18] Se adopta la convención empleada, entre otros, por Thurneysen (1949) para marcar esta separación. Otros autores recurren a diferentes signos críticos (*e.g.*, dos puntos <:> en McCone [2005], guion corto en Breatnach [2020]). Se opta por el interpunto para evitar confusiones con otros usos dados en el texto al guion corto. La ubicacón del acento que se marca por esta vía resulta fundamental, entre otros motivos, para la configuración de la rima y la identificación de los diferentes esquemas métricos, ya que en las formas verbales con elementos pretónicos el acento no cae, como de costumbre, en la primera sílaba (Murphy, 1961, pp. 39-40).

Una tonsura gris de un dedo de ancho
que se encendió cuando se quemaban zarzas;
no sería mucha la belleza,
aún si la flama no le hubiera prendido (fuego).

2. Atloch*ur* . do m*a*c dé uasal [f. 14r] amra . o c*r*ois co*m*bac*h*uil núi . beit*h* atai ci*n* labra

Ad·tlochur
do Mac Dé úasail amrai,
oc crois com bachuil nuï,
buith i tuï, cen labrai.

Doy gracias
al Hijo del noble, maravilloso Dios,
ante una cruz con mi báculo nuevo,
por estar en silencio, sin habla.

3. Cu*m*a limsa ní do*n*bit*h* . *acht* rop cleircig*h*i rop clit*h* . is c*um*a le*m* gid*h* bé d*h*e . *acht* rop clit*h* rop cleirc*h*id*h*e

Cumma lim-sa ní don bith,
acht rop cléirchide rop clith;
is cumma lem cid bé dé,
acht rop clith rop cléirchide.

Da igual para mí cosa alguna del mundo,
mientras que lo que sea religioso esté oculto;
Lo que sea, entonces, para mí da igual,
mientras que lo que esté oculto sea religioso.

4. Te*cht* do*n* i*ar*m*ergh*i mór sæt*h* . loiscis i*n* gæt*h* mo d*há* no . munbad o*m*un fiad-*h*at fi*n*d . gid bi*n*d i*n* cloc nit*h*iag*h* dó

Techt don íarmérgiu mór sáeth
loisces in gáeth mo dá n-ó;
manid ómun Fíadat find,
cip bind in cloc, ní·tíag dó.

Acudir a maitines, es grande el esfuerzo
cuando el viento me quema ambas orejas;
si no fuera por miedo al Conocedor blanco,
por dulce que fuera la campana, no acudo a ella.

5. Ad*h*am sa*m*so*n* solu*m* rí . romersat a mban*air*li . gid*h*bé *con*tuasi f*r*i mná . gen guas*acht* ní ernama

Ádam, Samsón, Solum rí,
ro·mersat a mbanairli;

ci bé con·túaisi fri mná
cen gúasacht ní·érnaba.

Adán, Sansón, el rey Salomón,
sus consejos femeninos los descarriaron;
quien preste atención a las mujeres
no se librará sin peligro.

6. Dia*m* do de*r*mat deog*h* do bás . ni fotha gaís gni*m* do t*h*áir . p*at*er terc daca*ch* oclaig*h* nai*m* . m*air*g ricf*ad* uai*m* if*ir*n áin .

Día do dermat deog do bás;
ní fotha gaís, gním do tháir
Paiter tercda óclaig naím;
mairg r'·icfad úaim Ifirn áin.

Olvidar a Dios es un trago mortal;
no es sabio cimiento, (sino) un acto de desprecio
el Padrenuestro infrecuente de un joven santo;
ay de quien acabara en el pozo del Infierno llameante.

7. Clogán bi*n*d . ina coth*r*aim os n*ach* gli*n*d . isi toil *ar* fiag*h*ad fi*n*d . uath*ad* b*r*ath*ar* fo æn cui*n*g

Clogán bind
ina chaithréim ós nach glind;
is í toil ar Fíadad find,
úathad bráthar fo áenchuing.

Una campanita melodiosa,
triunfando (?) sobre cada valle;
esta es la voluntad de nuestro Conocedor blanco,
unos pocos hermanos bajo un único yugo.

8. O ralath*ur* suil d*ar* cac*h* . atb*eir* lit*er* aid*hch*ei*n* fei*n* bid a p*arrt*u*s* f*er* gi*n* g*r*ad*h* . gid fer gu ng*r*ad bid a pein

Ó ra·láthar súil dar cách,
at·beir Liter– aithgén féin –
bíd a Parrthus fer cen grád,
cid fer cu ngrád bíd a péin.

Cuando el ojo se fija en todos,
lo dice la Escritura – yo mismo lo reconozco–
a menudo se halla en el Paraíso un seglar,
mientras que a menudo un sacerdote se halla en el tormento.

9. M*air*c dana bés bit*h*diult*ad* . m*air*c n*ach* orrai*m* a liat*h*a . misc*us* ga*ch* buirb a ti*nch*osc . b*er*id*h* slea*m*ai*n* a f*h*iac*h*a

Mairc dána bés bithdíultad,
mairc nách·orraim a líatha;
miscuis cach buirb a thinchosc,
berid sleamain a fíacha.

Ay si la contumacia permanente fuera costumbre,
ay de quien no honre a sus ancianos;
toda persona necia odia ser corregida,
una persona templada se hace cargo de sus deudas.

10. Na cl*echt* insirfeall[19] sád*h*al . is n*er*t dílen*n* gadig*h*b*ail* . bid*h* anei*m* isna nellaib . feg*h*aid*h* sei*n* *ar*na si*n*aib

Ná·clecht in sírḟell sádail,
is nert dílenn gá dígail;
bíd a neim isna néllaib,
fégaid sein arna sínaib.

No cometas traición constante y ligera,
es la fuerza de un diluvio que la venga;
(hasta) las nubes suelen guardar rencor,
fíjate en ello en las tormentas.

5. NOTAS LINGÜÍSTICO-TRADUCTOLÓGICAS

1. El texto de esta estrofa ha sido restaurado al estándar irlandés antiguo, como en la edición de Breatnach (2020).

Corann. Del latín *corona*, significa «corona, diadema» o, como en este caso, «tonsura». No cabe duda de que, para la época de la redacción de la estrofa, los irlandeses habían adoptado la tonsura circular romana en desmedro de aquella polémica tonsura nativa, a veces mal llamada «céltica» en la bibliografía clásica, que tanto había escandalizado a los clérigos romanos de la Iglesia anglosajona en el siglo VII (Corning, 2011).

lethet. Sust. abstracto aparentemente derivado del adj. *lethan* «ancho» (Thurneysen, 1949, p. 167), en su origen se declina como un neut. de tema dental, pero, al igual que otros sust. abstractos, tempranamente asume una inflexión fem.

[19] En la línea, *insire* con la *e* tachada. Sobre la línea, con marcas de inserción, *feall* («engaño, traición»). Strachan sostiene que la mano es de otro escriba (Strachan, 1905, p. 229), pero lo duda Breatnach (2020, p. 97).

Considero que en esta instancia se trata del gen. sg., tal como se lo halla en el cuento *Immram Brain*, del siglo VII (Strachan y Stokes, 1903: 307).

bise. Enmienda propuesta por Breatnach (2020, p. 89) en sustitución de *baisi* en el MS para posibilitar la rima con *drise* al final del verso *b.* Según el editor, la forma *baisi* podría haber surgido por analogía con *maisi* y *loisi* al final de los versos *c* y *d.* El significado «dedo» para *bise* (*Dictionary of the Irish Language* s.v. *1 bise*)[20] se verifica en el glosario *Dúil Laithne* del siglo XVII: *bisi .i. mér* («*bisi*, es decir, dedo») (Stokes, 1872, p. 75). En la *Vita Tripartita* de San Patricio (s. IX) aparece la frase *bisi ega* (lit. «dedos de hielo», es decir «carámbanos») (Mulchrone, 1939, pp. 6.125-32). Asimismo en una inscripción irlandesa moderna temprana (Greene, 1952, p. 81). Según Breatnach, esta instancia en la *Regla de los monjes grises* sería la única en que *bise* aparecería con su significado básico de «dedo», fuera del tardío *Dúil Laithne*.

drise. Forma aquí analizada como gen. pl. de *dris* «zarza», fem. del tema *-i-*, pero bien podría ser gen. sg. de *dres* (una forma más tardía, con el mismo significado), del tema *-ā-*.

nípa romór in maise. Como destaca Breatnach (2020, pp. 89-90), *in maise* podría ser una alusión al término *foltmaise* (lit. «belleza de cabello»), el cual se aplica a la tonsura eclesiástica en irlandés antiguo.

cenidros·acht. En la enmienda y análisis de Breatnach (2020, p. 90), se analiza la forma subyacente como el pretérito (tipo *t*) del verbo *aigid*/*ad·aig* («impele, empuja, pone»), el cual se emplea corrientemente en la frase *ad·aig i tenid* (lit. «pone en fuego») con el significado «prende fuego». La parte acentuada sucede a la conjunción *ceni* con el infijo *-d-* (véase Thurneysen, 1949, pp. 268-269), el aumento *ro-* y el pronombre infijo *-s-* (3sg. fem. clase A), referido al sust. *corann*. En el texto enmendado de Breatnach se lee *cenidros·acht ind laise* (trad. «*if the flame had not set it* [*on fire*]», «si la flama no le hubiera prendido [fuego]»), lo que requiere aceptar que el verbo *aigid*/*ad·aig* pueda significar «prende fuego» por sí solo (sin la frase *i tenid* o una similar).

laise. Enmendado por Breatnach (2020, p. 90) del MS *loise* («flama») para posibilitar la rima con *maise* al final del verso *c.* Como destaca el editor, a pesar de que la voz *loise* en *Dictionary of the Irish Language* no reporta instancias de la ortografía *laise*[21], se encuentran dos atestaciones de esta en la copia del *Leabhar Breac* de la *Vida de Colum Cille* (irlandés medio): *Laisse mór tánic dosam fechtus in Hií* («En cierta ocasión en Iona su rostro se ruborizó grandemente») y *tanic laisse mor da gnuis ⁊ dia agaid* («un gran rubor se extendió por su cara y su faz») (Herbert, 1988, pp. 240.278-263).

2. El texto de la estrofa se presenta restaurado, como en la edición de Breatnach (2020, p. 90), al estándar lingüístico del irlandés antiguo, lo cual se justi-

[20] Recuperado el 7 de octubre de 2025, de http://www.dil.ie/5962.
[21] Revisado el 7 de octubre de 2025, en http://www.dil.ie/30572.

fica por la presencia del temprano verbo deponente *ad·tlochur* y el carácter disilábico de *nuï* y *tuï*.

Ad·tlochur. Verbo compuesto *ad·tluichetar* («agradece»). Dado que conserva su terminación deponente, se lo considera como una forma temprana. En todas las atestaciones de la 1sg. pres. ind. de este verbo colapsan la <*-d*> final del preverbio con la <*t-*> inicial de la raíz (como en el MS *atlochur*).

úasail amrai. Esta enmienda de Breatnach (2020, p. 90), por *uasal amra* en el MS, se requiere para posibilitar la rima con *labrai* al final del verso *d.* Ambos adjs. califican el gen. sg. *Dé* («de Dios»). Las formas del MS *uasal* y *amra* resultan, a decir de Breatnach, de una reinterpretación posterior donde se consideró que calificaban al dat. sg. *Mac* («Hijo»).

oc crois com bachuil nuï. Aunque el sust. *cros* es fem. (tema *-ā-*), a menudo aparece con inflexión masc. (tema *-o-*) en el ac. y dat. sg. (*cros*, vs. fem. *crois*, como en este poema) (*Dictionary of the Irish Language* s. v. *cros*[22]; Thurneysen 1949, p. 575). En su traducción libre, Uinseann Ó Maidín supone que es Cristo quien está *en* la cruz con un báculo nuevo, en silencio y sin habla (Ó Maidín, 1996: 51). Pero esto no puede ser correcto, ya en el *Memorial de Tallaght* (específicamente en §62 de la recensión más antigua [*ca.* 840], conocida como *El Monasterio de Tallaght*) se emplea la frase *oc cros* (inflexión masc.) en forma absolutamente unívoca respecto de un sujeto religioso que se planta «frente a una cruz» en su visita a las monjas de la comunidad (Monge-Allen, 2023, p. 362). La lectura de Breatnach (2020, p. 90) *com bachuil* («con mi báculo») difiere de la de Strachan (1905, p. 229) *co mbachuil* («con un báculo»), lo cual el autor justifica por «la naturaleza introspectiva de la estrofa». Esto parece perfectamente aceptable. No obstante, no veo motivo para asumir, como hace Breatnach, que la mención del báculo implique necesariamente que el hablante lírico se halle en situación de *ailithre* o «peregrinación», en cualquiera de los sentidos que Ó Corráin le atribuye a esta palabra (a saber, de peregrinación propiamente tal o de retiro penitencial) (Ó Corráin 1989, p. 261), a pesar de que la frase *gaibid bachuil* («toma báculo») tenga a veces la connotación de asumir el rol de peregrino.

nuï y *tuï*. Para conformarse al metro, ambas formas deben ser disilábicas, con hiato, lo que es indicativo de una fecha de composición relativamente temprana.

buith. El MS tiene *beith*, una variante ortográfica común del sustantivo verbal *buith*, del verbo sustantivo («existe, está presente, hay»).

3. No hay rasgos diagnósticos en la estrofa que permitan asignarla firmemente al estadio irlandés antiguo o al irlandés medio. Como en la edición de Breatnach (2020, p. 91), se estandariza el texto a los usos gramaticales y ortográficos del irlandés medio.

[22] Recuperado el 7 de Julio de 2025, de http://www.dil.ie/13123.

acht rop. Siguiendo a Breatnach (2020, p. 91), se analiza la sintaxis de los versos *b* y *d* como cópula (en el pres. subj.) con aumento (*rop*) + predicado (respectivamente *cléirchide* y *clith*) + sujeto (las *headless clauses* o «cláusulas acéfalas» *rop clith* y *rop cléirchide* respectivamente). En este sentido, es muy útil la referencia a Thurneysen, 1949, p. 559.

clith. Como apunta Breatnach (2020:92), es dudoso que una forma *clith* tenga una existencia independiente, sea como adjetivo o como sustantivo. En cambio, pertenece realmente a *cleth* (*Dictionary of the Irish Language* s. v. *2 cleth*)[23], sust. verbal de *ceilid* («oculta»), del cual *clith* puede ser el ac. o el dat. sg. No obstante, la traducción preferida por Breatnach (*comfort*, «comodidad») no parece convincente. Para justificarla, el editor aduce un pasaje de *Trecheng Breth Féne* en que se listan «las tres excelencias del vestido»: *maisse, clithcha, suthaine*, traducidas por Kuno Meyer como *elegance, comfort, lastingness* («elegancia, comodidad, durabilidad») (Meyer, 1906, pp. 24-25). Allí, *clithcha* sería un sust. abstracto derivado del adj. *clithach*, derivado a su vez del sust. *cleth*. Pero si en efecto la palabra *cleth* funciona como sust. verbal de *ceilid* («oculta»), sería perfectamente aceptable que un vestido excelente, además de ser elegante y duradero, también debiera aportar adecuada cobertura al cuerpo. La lectura de Breatnach, que interpreta la estrofa como *[t]the expression of a smug sentiment that membership of the clergy should be synonymous with a comfortable life* («la expresión de un sentimiento presumido de que la pertenencia al clero debiera ser sinónimo de vida cómoda»), requiere ciertamente la traducción de *cleth* como «comodidad», pero por mi parte propongo una interpretación menos escéptica: que la vida religiosa, por su propia naturaleza de renuncia, debiera ser una vida «oculta» a los ojos del mundo. Cuando los términos se invierten en el verso *d*, bien podríamos entender que aquello que está oculto debiera ser religioso (es decir, que no se oculte nada pecaminoso).

dé. Adverbio con el significado «entonces» (*Dictionary of the Irish Language* s. v. *1 de, di* XLV a)[24].

4. En el texto restituido se estandariza la estrofa a la gramática y ortografía del irlandés antiguo, elección que se basa en la enmienda *loisces* (pres. ind. relativo de *loiscid* [«quema»]) por *loiscis* (pretérito) en el MS (Breatnach, 2020, p. 92). Nótese también que, en *mo dá n-ó*, se conserva el género neut., como se evidencia por la nasalización después del numeral *dá* en el acusativo. Breatnach (2020, p. 92) destaca la importante similitud de contenido con una estrofa preservada en el margen superior de Dublin Royal Irish Academy MS 23 P 16 (el *Leabhar Breac*) a p. 90 y en el margen superior de London British Library MS Harleian 5280 a f. 46v. Tanto esta estrofa como la de la

[23] Revisado el 9 de octubre de 2025, en http://www.dil.ie/9454.
[24] Revisado el 9 de octubre de 2025, en http://www.dil.ie/14787.

Regla de los monjes grises contrastan notablemente con el entusiasmo que se expresa en el famoso poema *Clocán binn / benar i n-aidchi gaithe* (Murphy, 1956, pp. 4-5).

dond íarmérgiu. En irlandés, la palabra *íarmérge* designa a la hora canónica de maitines, entre medianoche y el amanecer. Respecto al controvertido asunto de los nombres hibérnicos para las horas del Oficio Divino, véanse Best, 1912 y Ó Néill, 1990.

loisces. Breatnach (2020, p. 93) enmienda el MS *loiscis* (en pretérito) por *loisces*, el pres. ind. relativo del verbo *loiscid* («quema»). Respecto al uso del relativo para expresar circunstancia («cuando»), véase Breatnach, 1980. El uso de la terminación especial de los verbos simples relativos es un signo de composición relativamente temprana.

dá n-ó. La palabra *ó* («oreja») preserva su género neut. del irlandés antiguo, como se observa por la nasalización después de numeral *dá* en el acusativo.

manid. La enmienda es de Breatnach (2020, p. 93) por MS *munbad* (*manipad* en irlandés antiguo; conj. condicional *má-* + partícula negativa *ní-* + 3sg. subj. pasado de la cópula). A decir del editor, la forma verbal *munbad* causaría problemas con la secuencia de los tiempos: en vez del presente indicativo *ní·tíag* en la línea sucesiva, se requeriría un fut. secundario (condicional) después del subj. pasado.

Fíadat find. El sust. *fíadu* (masc., tema dental; aquí en gen. sg.) quiere decir «conocedor» y se aplica como epíteto al Dios del cristianismo en referencia a Su omnisciencia. El adj. *find* quiere decir «blanco brillante» (tema *-o-*).

5. El texto restituido se ajusta al estándar del irlandés antiguo, como en Breatnach 2020, p. 93. La datación de la estrofa se verifica por la presencia de la forma verbal deuterotónica *con·túaisi* en el verso *c.* Destaca también la rima entre vocales largas y sus contrapartes cortas (<*-í* : *-i*; *-á* / *-a*>), que podría ser diagnóstica de una datación temprana.

ro·mersat. 3pl. pret. aumentado del verbo *meraid* («distrae, descarría»). Strachan sugiere leer la 3pl. pret. aumentada *ro·mertatar* («son distraídos»), del verbo fuerte *mairnid* («traiciona, engaña»), tomando a los tres personajes de la línea anterior como sujeto (Strachan, 1905, p. 229), pero con la adición de una sílaba se incumpliría el metro. Si en cambio *a mbanairli* («sus consejos femeninos») es el sujeto, el objeto del verbo (las tres figuras bíblicas antes nombradas) queda implícito, con seguridad porque este está suficientemente identificado gracias al uso del adj. posesivo a^N en *a mbanairli.*

a mbanairli. La palabra *banairle*, aquí en el nom. pl., es un compuesto de *ben* («mujer») + *airle* («consejo»), y designa un consejo dado por mujeres.

ní·érnaba. 3sg. fut. del verbo *as·roinni* («escapar»). La formación de la raíz futura tipo *f* (vs. tipo *é* en irlandés antiguo clásico) sería diagnóstica de composición tardía, pero, según Breatnach, esta innovación ya se halla atestiguada antes del estadio irlandés medio (Breatnach, 2020, p. 93). La enmienda propuesta por

Strachan (*·érnaba* por MS *·ernama*; Strachan 1905, p. 229) es trivial, ya que ambos grafemas son homófonos en posición intervocálica (/v/).

6. En su análisis, Breatnach (2020, p. 94) concluye que esta estrofa es relativamente tardía, a juzgar por el gen. sg. *gaís* («de sabiduría», nom. sg. *gáes*; aquí como gen. atributivo), declinado como un tema *-o-* masc. (vs. tema *-ā-* en irlandés antiguo; gen. sg. *gaíse*). El texto restituido se estandariza a las convenciones lingüísticas del irlandés medio.

Día. Enmienda sugerida por Strachan (1905, p. 229) y aceptada por Breatnach (2020, p. 94), en reemplazo del MS *diam*.

tercda. Como nota Breatnach (2020, p. 94), el texto del MS *terc dacach* resulta en un verso octosílabo, por lo que es seguro que se está en presencia de un error de parte del escriba. Se elimina la palabra *cach* y se revisa la división de palabras, de lo que se obtiene el sust. abstracto *tercda* (*Dictionary of Irish Language* s. v. *tercdae*)[25], derivado del adj. *terc* («escaso»; en este contexto, probablemente «infrecuente»).

óclaig. Aquí, en el dat. sg. La palabra compuesta *óclach* («hombre joven», a menudo «joven guerrero») presenta inflexión tanto masc. (tema *-o-*) como fem. (tema *-ā-*, como en este caso), pero la inflexión femenina parece ser la más antigua (*Dictionary of the Irish Language* s. v. *óclach*)[26].

r'·icfad. 3sg. condicional de *ro·icc* («alcanzar»), con la vocal del preverbio colapsada para ajustarse al metro.

7. *ina chaithréim ós nach glind*. A este punto, mi análisis difiere del de Breatnach (2020: 95), quien interpreta el MS *ina cothraim* como *hi*^{N} («cuando») + *ná-* (partícula negativa) + *·cothraim* (una forma verbal desconocida, pero ciertamente en la 1sg. pres. ind.). Su traducción incompleta es: *since I do not … above any valley*. Propongo analizar *ina* como la preposición *i*^{N} + adj. posesivo *a*^{L} (3sg. masc.) = «en su…», y la forma sucesiva como un sust. verbal funcional, fórmula que en irlandés tiene el valor de un gerundio (e.g.: *i mo chomnaide*, lit. «en mi permanencia» = «quedándome, viviendo»; en irlandés moderno, *i mo chónaí*). Tentativamente, enmiendo *cothraim* a *chaithréim* (con lenición inicial después del adj. posesivo *a*^{L}, para lo cual admito que falta una justificación paleográfica satisfactoria), y leo *ina chaithréim* (de *cath* + *réimm*, «acción marcial, triunfo, victoria») = «militando, triunfando».

8. El texto restituido se estandariza a las convenciones ortográficas del irlandés medio, siguiendo a Breatnach (2020, p. 96), lo que se justifica en el carácter monosilábico de *bíd* (tanto en *c* como en *d*), y en la forma tardía *ra·láthar* en el verso *a*. Nótese también el verbo prototónico tardío *aithgén* en el verso *b*.

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[25] Revisado el 9 de octubre de 2025, en http://www.dil.ie/40545.
[26] Recuperado el 5 de julio de 2025, de http://dil.ie/33460.

aithgén. Enmienda de Breatnach (2020, p. 96) por *aithcein* en el MS. Se trata sin duda del verbo *ad·gnin* («reconocer, darse cuenta»), 1sg. pret. *ad·gén*. La ortografía en el manuscrito sugiere que se trata de una variante prototónica tardía.

fer cen grád… fer co ngrád. Lit. «hombre sin orden (sacerdotal)» (= un seglar) y «hombre con orden (sacerdotal)» (= un sacerdote, en el sentido amplio que incluye órdenes menores y mayores).

9. Como subraya Breatnach (2020, pp. 96-97), existen dos variantes de esta misma estrofa:

– Dublin RIA MS D iv 2 f. 52v (margen superior) (Meyer, 1910, p. 298):

> Mairg dianadh bes beith diultad.
> mairg na*ch* riaraigh a liatha.
> olc le borb a chairuig*ud*.
> be*n*idh slemain a fiachu.

– Estrofa 13 del poema *Fersaighecht an tempuill tall* (Meyer, 1913, pp. 172-175):

> Mairc dána bēs bithagra,
> mairc nāch rīaraigh a līatha,
> nī maith borb ré cairechadh,
> be*r*idh sleamuin a fiacha

nách·orraim. Consideradas las variantes reportadas arriba, a decir de Breatnach (2020, p. 96), *·orraim* solo puede ser un verbo denominativo basado en el sust. *airraim* («honor»).

berid sleamain a fíacha. Respecto de la primera palabra, en el MS aparece abreviada *bīd*, pero con el sust. *fíach* como objeto directo, solo parece razonable expandirla como *berid* («lleva»), como se explica a continuación. Breatnach (2020: 96) traduce esta línea como *a tactful person obtains his dues* («una persona sensata *obtiene* lo que se le debe»), pero la frase *berid fiach aibne* (lit. «lleva la deuda del azote», es decir «se flagela») se emplea varias veces en *El Monasterio de Tallaght* y en la *Regla de los céli Dé* (Monge-Allen, 2023, pp. 111-112). Por lo tanto, se concluye que el sentido de este verso es que «una persona sensata *paga* sus deudas».

10. A decir de Breatnach (2020, p. 97), la estrofa puede pertenecer al estadio irlandés medio o incluso de uno más tardío, lo cual se verifica por la presencia de la preposición *gá* (vs. irlandés antiguo *oca*), además del verbo *bíd* monosilábico (disilábico en irlandés antiguo), el art. dat. pl. *-na* (vs. *-naib*) y el demostrativo *sein* (que rima con *neim*; vs. *sin* en irlandés antiguo).

in sírḟell. El MS tiene *insire,* con la *-e* final tachada y *feall* escrito sobre la línea con marcas de inserción. Siguiendo a Breatnach (2020, p. 97), se adopta la forma corregida, que se corrobora por la rima interna con *dílenn* en el verso *b.*

gá dígail. El MS tiene la forma contraída *gadigb–* . La enmienda adoptada es de Breatnach (2020, p. 97) y corresponde al dat. sg. de *dígal* («venganza»), que rima con *sádail* al final del verso *a*.

sein. Forma tardía del pronombre demostrativo *sin*. Por sí solo, en el contexto, bien indica el sujeto del verbo *fégaid* («obedece»), que en este caso sería intransitivo, o bien representa el objeto.

6. CONCLUSIONES

A diferencia de las otras «reglas métricas» breves de la Irlanda medieval, existe una edición reciente de la *Regla de los monjes grises*, con un exhaustivo estudio introductorio y traducción inglesa del profesor Dr. Liam Breatnach (2020). Informada por los conocimientos más actualizados en el campo de los estudios célticos y llevada a cabo por un experto cuya maestría de la lengua irlandesa no cabe discutir, es seguro que en el futuro la de Breatnach se considerará la edición de consulta estándar para el estudio de este texto. Más aún, y como se ha hecho constante hincapié, las evidencias aportadas por Breatnach y sus conclusiones respecto del carácter fabricado de la *Regla de los monjes grises* son convincentes en extremo, al punto de parecer de hecho irrefutables.

Así, el valor del presente artículo no pretende radicar en su contribución al estudio del texto desde el punto de vista de la lingüística histórica. En cambio, se lo ha llevado a cabo, primeramente, con el fin de facilitar el acceso de estudiosos hispanohablantes a este interesante *collage* de poesía irlandesa vernácula: el contenido de las diferentes estrofas será de interés para quienes, en España o en América Latina, quieran dar sus primeros pasos en el campo de los estudios irlandeses, así como para quienes quieran hacer uso de este desde otras especialidades temáticas y disciplinas académicas.

En segundo lugar, en varios puntos cruciales mi edición y traducción plantean lecturas e interpretaciones que difieren de aquellas suscritas por Breatnach, las cuales se basan en la tesis de que el escriba-autor de la *Regla*, Uilliam mac en Leagha, en efecto dotó a su compilación de un unidad temática y un orden lógico: su *Regla* compuesta sería una sinfonía de voces anónimas, formada por confesiones, consejos y admoniciones piadosas, legada por los ancianos anónimos de la antigua Iglesia irlandesa para el beneficio de sus discípulos lejanos.

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POBREZA, OBEDIENCIA, CASTIDAD Y GÉNERO. LA VIDA SEXUAL DE MONJES Y FRAILES EN CASTILLA ENTRE EL SIGLO XIII E INICIOS DEL XVI

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Resumen

Este trabajo busca conocer la vida sexual de los monjes y frailes castellanos entre el siglo XIII e inicios del XVI, pues es un tema que ha recibido poca atención debido a diferentes dificultades documentales. Primero se estudian las normas que se crearon para limitar al máximo el contacto entre monjes, frailes y mujeres y que el deseo sexual no surgiera. Luego se examinan diferentes casos de clérigos regulares que no guardaron castidad, lo que da pie a analizar quiénes eran ellos, quiénes sus amantes y qué tipo de relaciones mantenían. También se analizan casos de monjes y frailes homosexuales. A continuación, se ahonda en el por qué se castigaba a estos hombres, más allá de por su transgresión, y en el cómo. Finalmente se compara la vida sexual de monjes, frailes y monjas, evidenciando una tolerancia hacia las transgresiones sexuales de los hombres, pero no de las mujeres.

Palabras clave: sexo, Castilla, Edad Media, monjes, frailes, monjas, castidad, género.

POVERTY, OBEDIENCE, CHASTITY, AND GENDER. THE SEXUAL LIFE OF MONKS AND FRIARS IN CASTILE BETWEEN THE 13TH AND EARLY 16TH CENTURIES

Abstract

This article seeks to understand the sexual life of Castilian monks and friars between the 13th and early 16th centuries, as this topic has received little attention due to various documentary difficulties. First, it studies the norms that were created to limit contact between monks, friars, and women as much as possible, preventing sexual desire from arising. It then examines different cases of regular clerics who did not observe chastity, which leads to an analysis of who they were, who their lovers were, and what types of relationships they maintained. It also analyzes cases of homosexual monks and friars. It then delves into why these men were punished, beyond their transgression, and how. Finally, it compares the sexual lives of monks, friars, and nuns, revealing tolerance toward sexual transgressions among men but not among women.

Keywords: sex, Castile, Middle Ages, monks, friars, nuns, chastity, gender.

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0. INTRODUCCIÓN

Cuenta el Arcipreste de Hita que, tras los juglares, quienes van a recibir a Don Amor no son las personas casadas o las jóvenes y solteras, sino las dedicadas a servir a Dios: curas, monjes, frailes, freiles de las órdenes militares y monjas (Ruiz, 1992, estrofas 1234-1241). Este es uno de los testimonios más conocidos sobre la sexualidad del clero, pero no el único. Los hay de los siglos x y xi sacados de diferentes archivos, protagonizados por monjes y monjas incastos. También del xiii como las *Cantigas de Santa María*, con relatos donde la vida sexual activa de clérigos regulares de ambos géneros es protagonista (Rucquoi, 2008, pp.164-167). Por su parte, el Sínodo de Santiago de Compostela de 1320 denunció que mujeres y hombres pertenecientes a órdenes religiosas engendraban hijos pese a sus votos (García y García, 1981, pp.297-298). Más de siglo y medio después, los Reyes Católicos hacían una denuncia parecida, al afirmar que en el Reino de Galicia existían monjas y monjes que no acataban ninguna de las normas que, como pertenecientes al clero regular, debían respetar (García-Fernández, 2016, p.125, n. 10).

Un somero repaso por el estado de la cuestión de este tema arroja como resultado que se conoce bastante la vida sexual de los clérigos seculares[1]. Esto ocurre tanto en Castilla como fuera, donde incluso hay investigadores/as como Armstrong-Partida o Cossar que mantienen líneas de investigación abiertas sobre la poca castidad de los clérigos de órdenes sagradas[2]. Mientras, el clero regular parece olvidado. Sobre la vida sexual de monjes y frailes la bibliografía escasea, y no es raro que la mayoría de las reflexiones se centren en las monjas. Esto se puede ver claramente en la inmensa *La ley, el sexo y la sociedad cristiana en la Europa medieval*, publicada en 1987, donde en la mayor parte de capítulos dedicados al clero se habla sobre todo del secular, siendo pocas las ocasiones donde los datos permiten hablar del regular (Brundage, 1987, pp.121-123, 159-161, 216-222, 260-261, 300-302, 375-378, 453-454, 516-518). La situación se repite en *Sexuality in Medieval Europe. Doing Unto Others*, en cuyas páginas centradas en la sexualidad de estos hombres y mujeres, la autora tiene que recurrir a fuentes primarias y no a estudios de medievalistas como ocurre en otras secciones (Karras, 2005, pp. 37-43). Otro tanto pasa en *Aimer dans l'Espagne médiévale. Plaisirs licites et illicites*. Aquí Adeline Rucquoi, pese a su gran barrido bibliográfico, tiene que auxiliarse de fuentes primarias para hablar de la vida sexual de quienes prometían pobreza, obediencia y castidad (Rucquoi, 2008,

[1] Sin ánimo de ser exhaustos, pasamos a mencionar algunos trabajos donde se trata la falta de continencia del clero secular, algunos dedicados exclusivamente a este tema. Para Castilla: Córdoba de la Llave, 1986; Muro Abad, 1993; Aznar Gil, 1998; Salvador Miguel, 2001; Sánchez Herrero, 2008; Arranz Guzmán, 2008; Ortega Baún, 2018. Compárese con el escaso número de obras que tratan esta temática de manera específica o en obras generales, para el clero regular castellano: Pérez Celada, 1998; Reglero de la Fuente, 2021.

[2] Para el Reino de Navarra: Jimeno Aranguren, 2011. Para la Corona de Aragón: Kelleher, 2002; Armstrong-Partida, 2017. Para Italia: Bornstein, 1997; Cossar, 2017. Para Inglaterra: Werner, 2010. Para una perspectiva desde la Canonística, la Escolástica y la Teología, Wertheimer, 2006.

pp. 164-171). Como bien dice Ruth Mazo Karras, «la literatura sobre el monacato es extensa, y la mayor parte no se centra específicamente en la castidad, que era un hecho. La mayoría de los estudios abordan el aprendizaje y la espiritualidad, o bien la propiedad y la estructura institucional» (Karras, 2005, p. 164). A día de hoy se han incorporado nuevos temas a los trabajos sobre el clero regular, aunque la castidad, o más bien su falta, no es uno de los recurrentes[3]. No obstante, pese a las dificultades al respecto, con mayor o menor profundidad, este tema sí ha sido tratado (Valous, 1970, t.1, 70; Pacaut, 1986, p. 244; Pérez Celada, 1998; Reglero de la Fuente 2014, pp. 205-213; Reglero de la Fuente, 2021, pp. 279-281, 331-337, 345-347), incluso por medievalistas provenientes de otras especialidades como la literatura o la historia de género (Salvador Miguel, 2001; García-Fernández, 2016, 2022).

Pese a los esfuerzos al respecto, sigue faltando un trabajo centrado en la vivencia sexual de monjes y frailes. No es raro que así sea. Las fuentes, generosas y seriadas para otros temas, no lo son para este. Las de este trabajo basculan entre noticias desperdigadas en el tiempo y el espacio, y cinco grupos documentales más amplios. Estos últimos se detallan a continuación. En primer lugar, las declaraciones de las integrantes del monasterio femenino de las Dueñas de Zamora sobre lo ocurrido dentro de esos muros con los dominicos de la ciudad en la segunda mitad del siglo XIII (Linehan, 2000, pp. 175-191). En segundo, las Actas de las visitas y las de los Capítulos generales de la Orden cluniacense referentes a sus cenobios en Castilla desde finales del XIII y durante todo el XIV (Robert, 1892). La importancia de este grupo documental se ve reflejada en que han sido la fuente más estudiada para hablar de las faltas de castidad del clero regular (Pérez Celada, 1998; Reglero de la Fuente, 2014, pp. 205-213; Reglero de la Fuente, 2021, pp. 279-281, 333-334, 345-347). En tercer lugar, las constituciones para la reforma de diferentes monasterios benedictinos de Asturias, escritas tras la visita a esos lugares de su obispo, Gutierre de Toledo, entre los años 1377 y 1389 (Fernández Conde, 1978). Cuarto, los procesos de reforma abiertos a diferentes monasterios benedictinos gallegos, y alguno asturiano, a finales del XV e inicios del XVI con el fin de que se sumaran a la Observancia (Zaragoza Pascual, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2006). En quinto y último lugar, las reformas impuestas por Diego de Sahagún, abad de San Benito de Valladolid y general de la Congregación del mismo nombre, a los monasterios de Sopetrán, San Millán y Silos entre 1522 y 1523 (Zaragoza Pascual, 1983).

Como se puede ver, estos cinco corpus documentales no pertenecen a una única orden monástica, sino a tres diferentes, cada cual con su idiosincrasia, problema al que hay que añadir el hecho de que se sitúan en diferentes registros temporales, dificultades que comparten con esas otras noticas sueltas sobre clérigos regulares poco castos. No es lo mismo estudiar a los dominicos en pleno auge en el siglo XIII (Reglero de la Fuente, 2021, p. 208) que a los cluniacenses en un momento de crisis institucional como el que va desde finales del XIII hasta finales del XIV (Pérez Celada,

[3] Ver un rápido estado de la cuestión sobre este tema para la Alta y Plena Edad Media en Reglero (2022, pp. 28-29).

1998, pp. 301-303), o a los benedictinos, también en crisis, tanto en sus primeros momentos de reforma en la segunda mitad del XIV como ya imbuidos en el movimiento de la Observancia, impulsada por los Reyes Católicos (Diago Hernando, 2014, pp. 359-361). A esto hay que añadir las propias dificultades metodológicas de cada documento, y que comprometen su fiabilidad. Por ejemplo, lo que ocurrió entre los dominicos y las monjas de las Dueñas de Zamora es relatado por solo una parte de la comunidad femenina, pues la otra, las supuestas amantes de los frailes, huyeron del convento antes del interrogatorio del obispo, y esto pone en duda la veracidad de los testimonios (Linehan, 2000, pp. 80-81).

Por su parte, la información que nos ofrecen las Actas de las visitas y de los Capítulos cluniacenses es rica, pero es imposible detectar en ella prejuicios hacia los acusados o diferentes versiones sobre lo ocurrido, ya que su información es muy escueta, y no va mucho más allá de informar del año, el lugar y la falta cometida. No obstante, debido a que son visitas y capítulos, podemos dar por hecho que hubo una investigación previa y un «juicio» justo, inteligente y desinteresado y, por tanto, dar por cierto lo que condenan. Lo mismo podemos decir de las reformas impuestas por el obispo Gutierre de Toledo en el XIV y por el general de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid en el XVI, Diego de Sahagún, pues sus propuestas fueron realizadas tras la visita a los monasterios. A su vez, la documentación que se conserva de la reforma de los abades benedictinos, reformados o no, de San Mamed de Seavia, de San Juan de Corias, de San Julián de Samos y de San Vicente del Pino en Monforte (estos dos últimos bajo la misma persona) contiene o está generada gracias a las respuestas a las preguntas que dieron diferentes testigos sobre el comportamiento de estos clérigos, una documentación rica pero en la cual se pudieron haber deslizado rumores y animadversiones hacia los investigados. Aun así, todos los interrogados parecen sinceros en sus declaraciones al coincidir sus testimonios, aunque esto no se pueda asegurar completamente.

Vistos estos problemas con las fuentes, se puede afirmar que la poca atención dada hasta ahora a las faltas contra la castidad del clero regular masculino no es fruto del desinterés, sino más bien de la ausencia de una cantidad de fuentes suficiente para hacer un trabajo solvente. Así pues, hay que elegir entre uno centrado en una sola orden u otro dedicado a un periodo de tiempo relativamente corto como la crisis de Cluny del siglo XIV o la llegada de la Observancia a los monasterios benedictinos en el XV y el XVI. Hay una tercera posibilidad, un trabajo equilibrado, en tanto en cuanto cada uno de los temas a tratar cubra toda la cronología propuesta, aunque sea combinando diferentes tiempos y órdenes. Las fuentes consultadas por quien firma este estudio solo posibilitan hacer uno donde las órdenes y los momentos de esplendor y de crisis se mezclan, y donde muchos de sus epígrafes no tienen un equilibrio temporal, ni consigo mismos ni con los demás. Esto lleva a reflexionar si, con estas dificultades, es necesario, aquí y ahora, un trabajo sobre la sexualidad del clero regular masculino pese a esos problemas de representatividad. Entiendo que sí, es necesario, y por tres motivos. Primero, porque su incasto comportamiento afectaba al buen nombre de todo el clero (Arranz Guzmán, 2014, pp. 106-107). Segundo, porque como representantes de la Iglesia debían dar buen ejemplo a los legos de su entorno, y si ellos no cumplían con las normas eclesiásticas los laicos se

veían animados a saltárselas también (Aznar Gil 1998, pp. 516-518; Ortega Baún, 2018, p. 13). Tercero, por la abismal diferencia que había a la hora de castigar la faltas contra la castidad entre el clero regular masculino y el femenino, siendo la Iglesia mucho más dura con ellas, una brecha de género bastante interesante de explorar.

Así pues, y pese a las dificultades con la representatividad de las fuentes, en las siguientes páginas se examinarán algunos aspectos de la sexualidad del clero regular. En primer lugar, las normas para eliminar o evitar el peligroso trato de estos hombres con cualquier mujer. En segundo, la transgresión de esas normas, descubriendo quiénes eran ellos en sus cenobios, con qué mujeres caían en la tentación y qué relación tenían con ellas. En tercer lugar, la existencia de clérigos regulares homosexuales. En cuarto lugar, el por qué los transgresores eran castigados y cómo. Para finalizar, los motivos por los que el clero regular masculino era menos castigado que el femenino ante las mismas o peores faltas contra la castidad.

1. LOS PELIGROS DEL CONTACTO ENTRE GÉNEROS: EL CAMINO DEL DESEO

El monacato fue el principal valedor de la castidad en la Iglesia medieval. Se esperaba de ellos que guardaran abstinencia sexual, pero también que renunciaran a la comida, las ropas bellas, las comodidades y las relaciones sociales por el bien de su alma (Karras, 2005, p. 37). Por esto mismo, uno de sus pilares fue apartarse de las tentaciones del mundo. Quienes deseaban entregarse a Dios a través de la contemplación y de la oración debían confinarse en monasterios cerrados al exterior (Brundage y Makowski, 1994, pp. 144-145). Pero el hecho de que debían vivir retirados del mundo para dedicar su vida a Dios tenía un efecto secundario: que si un clérigo regular era heterosexual, si no salía del cenobio, guardaba forzosamente castidad. El sexo entre personas es casi imposible si previamente no han tomado contacto entre ellas. No se puede desear sexualmente lo que no se conoce. Por eso, tanto las reglas monásticas como las normas impuestas por obispos y superiores de las órdenes tras una visita tenían entre sus objetivos el reducir los contactos de los religiosos con el género femenino a la mínima expresión para que su castidad no fuera desafiada de ninguna manera.

Pese a la obligación de respetar la clausura, en ocasiones los monjes se veían en la necesidad de salir para atender asuntos de la comunidad o personales, lo cual era el primer paso de un camino que los llevaba a ser sexualmente activos, algo de lo que solían advertirles sus superiores. En la segunda mitad del siglo XIV el obispo de Oviedo, Gutierre de Toledo, tuvo que recordar a los integrantes de San Juan de Corias y San Salvador de Cornellana[4] que su Regla, la benedictina, prohibía a cualquiera de ellos, incluidos el abad y el prior, salir del coto del monasterio solos y sin

[4] Al parecer esta abadía perteneció a la orden cluniacense hasta 1291 (Pérez Celada, 1998, p. 297, n. 23).

permiso. Ante la imposibilidad de acompañarse de otro monje se les permitía salir con un clérigo secular o, en último caso, con un laico (Fernández Conde, 1978, pp. 398 y 414). Pero la realidad de las salidas de los monjes que se encontró el obispo distaba mucho del ideal. En el monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo vio que los hermanos salían para asistir a bautizos, lo cual le pareció muy alarmante: dijo que al acceder a ser padrinos se convertían en vagabundos y el mero contacto con las madrinas de bautismo podía ser peligroso (Fernández Conde, 1978, p. 387). Siglo y medio después, en 1522, eran los monjes benedictinos de San Millán de la Cogolla los que iban a celebraciones al pueblo de San Miguel del Pedroso, pero a bodas y convites, para escándalo del general de la Congregación de San Benito de Valladolid. Estos regocijos no solo no eran para un benedictino, sino que eran peligros por el contacto entre géneros que surgía en ellos, pues hasta el simple hecho de que las mujeres sirviesen la comida a estos hombres en estas celebraciones podía acabar en la aparición del deseo sexual en el clérigo o, incluso, en un encuentro sexual (Zaragoza Pascual, 1983, p. 371).

Había monjes que, al haberse ordenado sacerdotes, podían ejercer determinadas funciones sacramentales tanto dentro como fuera del monasterio (Cantera Montenegro, 2013, p. 248). Esto ocurría en el de Nuestra Señora de Sopetrán, donde algunos monjes administraban los sacramentos del bautismo y de la confesión a dos parroquias cercanas. Pero como esto conllevaba el contacto con el género femenino, en 1522 el abad del monasterio de San Benito de Valladolid prohibió que realizaran estas tareas, obligando a que las parroquias afectadas buscasen un capellán. Es más que probable que el visitador pensase que los monjes estarían mejor protegidos si no administraban ningún sacramento, pero hacerlo suponía un peligro para las almas de los legos. Por eso, si faltaba el capellán, los monjes podían ir a reemplazarlo (Zaragoza Pascual, 1983, p. 366). Mientras, los monjes de Nájera podían entrar en las casas de los legos, pero solo para confesar a los enfermos (Reglero de la Fuente, 2023, p. 44). Así pues, el visitador debía confiar en que estos no mirasen en exceso a las madrinas de bautismo o, peor aún, que no aprovechasen la intimidad de la confesión para excitarse o incluso seducir, proponer y hasta mantener relaciones sexuales con las penitentes o sus familiares. Y es que no hay que olvidar que la historia de la solicitación, pese a eclosionar con la reforma de Trento, debió empezar en el mismo momento en el que se impuso la confesión anual a todos los cristianos en 1215 (Sarrión Mora, 1994, p. 363).

A veces los monjes no tenían que salir del monasterio para atender sus asuntos o los del cenobio, pues quienes tenían que hablar con ellos se presentaban a sus puertas. Las normas impuestas en la visita de 1522 del abad del monasterio vallisoletano de San Benito a los de Sopetrán, San Millán de la Cogolla y Santo Domingo de Silos dejan claro que era peligroso que quien viniese a resolver estos asuntos fuese una mujer. Por eso obligó a que, bajo ningún concepto, la conversación fuese cara a cara, por ejemplo, en la puerta del monasterio o a través de las rejas que en la iglesia separan el coro del resto del templo. Si tenían que hablar debían hacerlo con permiso del abad y en lugares donde o bien la comunicación visual era inexistente, como en el torno, o bien estaba entorpecida, como en los confesionarios (Zaragoza Pascual, 1983, pp. 366, 368, 370).

Pese a la prohibición, había mujeres que entraban y salían regularmente de los monasterios masculinos. En 1374, los visitadores franciscanos que inspeccionaron la provincia de Santiago se encontraron con que no era raro que se permitiese acceder a la clausura a mujeres para que se hicieran cargo de la cocina (Reglero de la Fuente, 2021, p. 336). Lo mismo parece que ocurría en 1519 en Santa María de Piasca, ya que el visitador obligó a los monjes a tener un cocinero (Solórzano Telechea, 2010, p. 245). No mucho antes, a finales del xv, tres testigos afirmaban que la abadía benedictina de San Vicente tenía una mujer contratada, de nombre Leonor, que accedía al interior para hacer no se sabe bien qué (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 444, 450, 453). En un mundo donde los roles de género estaban tan marcados, es difícil pensar que frailes y monjes se encargasen siempre de determinadas actividades calificadas de femeninas. A no ser que tuviesen sirvientes del género masculino que se dedicasen a las labores asociadas a las mujeres, tendrían que contratar a féminas para estas tareas. Caso excepcional es el de la duquesa de Nájera con sus hijas y nueras, pues tenían permiso para entrar en el monasterio cluniacense masculino de la villa najerillense por ser quienes eran (Reglero de la Fuente, 2023, p. 44). Mención aparte merece la visita que realizó la abadesa de Lobios al monasterio de San Vicente del Pino en Monforte. Se desconoce el objetivo de tal encuentro, pero comió, cenó y pernoctó dentro del cenobio, aunque esto último lo hizo en una habitación aparte, tal y como relata el testigo ocular fray Gonzalo de Pombeiro (Zaragoza Pascual 2000, pp. 442, 450).

En cualquier monasterio o convento masculino había una norma básica: que en ese espacio no debían vivir mujeres. El obispo Pedro de Cuéllar menciona esta norma, por la cual donde habiten monjes o frailes no han de residir mujeres, una alusión que permite pensar que, pese a estar prohibido, esto ocurría (Martín y Linage Conde, 1987, p. 238). ¿Y quiénes eran ellas y por qué estaban en un monasterio? No parece raro que los clérigos seculares viviesen con mujeres que eran de su familia (Pérez, 2002, pp. 337-338), porque a veces eran el único familiar, o el más cercano, de una mujer que se había quedado sola. Ellas eran sus madres, abuelas, tías, hermanas o sobrinas, las cuales ya no podían valerse por sí mismas, y no les quedaba más remedio que acudir a estos hombres para sobrevivir. Esto mismo se puede suponer que le podía suceder a un clérigo regular. Si bien es cierto que muchos cenobios sostenían a familiares y racioneros fuera de sus muros, la denuncia del obispo Pedro de Cuéllar es clara: esas mujeres están dentro de los monasterios y conventos. Además, el prelado especifica que no se pueden hacer excepciones ni siquiera por la extrema juventud o vejez de ellas (Martín y Linage Conde, 1987, p. 238). Dentro de un cenobio, incluso la fémina más insospechada puede representar una tentación para un hermano con dificultades con el voto de castidad. Indistintamente del peligro que suponía una mujer dentro de esos muros, tal vez la denuncia del obispo no se dirigiese a esos casos donde la piedad y la solidaridad familiar se imponían sobre las normas. Como se verá, hay muchos testimonios de monjes que vivían con sus parejas dentro de los monasterios.

Hasta el momento se ha hablado sobre todo de monjes. Pero el siglo xiii asistió al nacimiento de las órdenes mendicantes, las cuales tenían una forma muy diferente de vida. También hacían voto de castidad, pero su nueva forma de espi-

ritualidad no los recluía en sus cenobios. Los frailes dominicos o franciscanos, por ejemplo, debían estar entre los laicos para cumplir con sus tareas de predicación, evangelización o ayuda al necesitado. Este estilo de vida imposibilitaba que viviesen en un mundo segregado por géneros, al contrario que los monjes tras los muros de sus monasterios. Obligatoriamente trataban con mujeres, pese a que el contacto entre géneros es el primer paso para que una relación sexual heterosexual pueda cumplirse. Es por ello por lo que los consejos y normas para no romper el voto de castidad no podían ser iguales para ambos tipos de órdenes. Efectivamente, a los frailes se les instaba a no mantener contactos de proximidad e intimidad con las mujeres. Por ejemplo, se les pedía que no creasen lazos de amistad. Pedro de Cuéllar así lo afirma (Martín y Linage Conde, 1987, p. 251). Dos siglos después Alonso de Covarrubias lo repite. Es más, este último hace hincapié en que es mucho peor la amistad de un clérigo regular con una monja que con una lega[5]. Además, no hay que olvidar que era difícil hablar con cierta intimidad con una mujer que ha profesado en una orden monástica, pues las normas para hacerlo eran muy estrictas (Ortega Baún, 2019, p. 284). Pero al igual que los laicos, también ellos se saltaban estas reglas, tal y como afirmaba Pedro de Cuéllar (Martín y Linage Conde, 1987, p. 251)[6]. Lo hicieron los dominicos que supuestamente accedieron al monasterio de las Dueñas de Zamora, cruzando sin ninguna necesidad las puertas de la clausura, tal y como contaron Xemena Pérez, María Martínez y Sol Martínez (Linehan, 2000, pp. 185-187). De manera parecida obraron los frailes a los que las Cortes de Madrid de 1563 denunciaron por vivir en, o visitar en exceso, los monasterios femeninos (Sánchez Ortega, 1992, p. 39, n. 21). Esta petición de Cortes también menciona que los hermanos se encargaban de administrar lo que parecen penitencias corporales a las monjas, lo cual no estaba libre de una sustancial carga erótica a la par del tan peligroso contacto entre géneros (Sánchez Ortega, 1992, p. 39).

La voluntad de eliminar por completo cualquier contacto entre clérigos regulares y mujeres llegó a crear situaciones que pueden parecer rocambolescas, pero que tienen su lógica, pues su objetivo era el evitar la aparición del deseo sexual. En 1522, durante la visita del abad de San Benito de Valladolid a San Millán de la Cogolla, este descubrió horrorizado que los días de procesión los monjes abandonaban el coro para internarse en la nave de la iglesia, mezclándose así con las mujeres que estaban allí, siendo este un contacto entre géneros que podía derivar en algo más (Zaragoza Pascual, 1983, p. 370). Pero más extremo es el caso de los monjes jerónimos de El Parral de Segovia, quienes en 1503 consiguieron que se prohibiera a las mujeres lavar en las orillas del Eresma próximas al monasterio. Su sola visión desde las ventanas de su cenobio podía suponer una tentación para algunos y, en vez de tapiar los vanos, decidieron cargar con su problema a las lavanderas. No obstante, es posible que no solo la contemplación de estas mujeres provocase problemas en su castidad. Desde sus ventanas los monjes podían tanto escuchar sus conversaciones como observar-

[5] *Memorial de pecados...*, 50r.
[6] Ver también Ortega Baún, 2019, p. 284.

las en un espacio femenino, es decir, hablando y actuando con una libertad que las mujeres no tenían cuando había hombres presentes (Asenjo González, 1984, p. 123, n. 45). Por lo tanto, eran situaciones a las que era mejor que los jerónimos no se expusieran, pues podían hacer que en ellos naciera el deseo sexual.

El contacto entre géneros puede traer la aparición del deseo sexual o su aumento si este ya existía, de ahí todas esas restricciones para evitarlo. Ver, oír, hablar con o escuchar a una mujer eran por lo tanto un problema. Añadían más madera a un fuego difícil de apagar. Había monjes y frailes que luchaban a diario por sobreponerse a la llamada de la sexualidad. Al respecto, Martín Pérez cuenta la historia de un monje joven que se siente apesadumbrado por su escaso éxito para eliminar las tentaciones sexuales, y para consolarle uno más anciano le confiesa que él tiene que lidiar con muchas más (Pérez, 2002, p. 368). La biología juega en contra de los seres humanos, pues estos suelen sentir deseos sexuales, algo a lo cual algunos quisieron poner un remedio definitivo. Gundisalvo, un franciscano cordobés, decidió cortarse los genitales a mediados del siglo xv para dejar de sentir impulsos sexuales (Tamburini, 1995, p. 123). Tal vez, como Abelardo, encontró la forma de dejar atrás los deseos de la carne (Ferroul, 1997, p. 134), aunque lo más seguro es que su tardía castración no tuviera el efecto deseado (Karras, 2005, p. 39). Lo que es seguro es que tal acto le llevó a pedir perdón al Papado, pues el castrarse para evitar la lujuria estaba prohibido desde los tiempos de Orígenes, el primer cristiano que se sabe se automutiló con este objetivo (Brundage, 2000, p. 103). Pero lo normal es encontrar en la documentación a monjes y frailes menos fuertes, que se daban por vencidos o nunca intentaban ser castos excusándose en que Dios los hizo así, en que el demonio fue muy persuasivo, que sus esfuerzos no fueron suficientes o que Dios no quiso ayudarlos a apagar su deseo sexual[7].

2. PROTAGONISTAS DE LA SEXUALIDAD MONÁSTICA MASCULINA

En las próximas páginas se va a conocer a un buen número de clérigos regulares que, espoleados por el deseo, acabaron por romper su voto de castidad. Pero más allá de saber de su existencia, lo verdaderamente interesante es descubrir quiénes eran, quiénes sus amantes y qué clase de uniones establecían. Es decir, conocer la dimensión social de su sexualidad.

[7] *Aviso de confesión para religiosos*, 7r.

2.1. Los protagonistas

Dentro de un cenobio había una diferenciación muy clara: o se pertenecía a los órganos de gobierno de la institución o no, o se tenía poder y acceso al dinero o no, o se era de los que castigan o de los castigados. Durante la segunda mitad del siglo xiii y todo el xiv, los visitadores que desde Cluny se desplazaban a Castilla para controlar los monasterios de la orden encontraron que el número de priores que no respetaban el voto de castidad era bastante alto, pese a que en proporción su número era menor que el de monjes rasos: 24 frente a 16 respectivamente[8].

Esto se puede explicar por varios motivos. El primero, que el tamaño de las comunidades cluniacenses en Castilla era muy pequeño, tanto que no era raro que lo formasen tres, dos o incluso una persona (Reglero de la Fuente, 2023, p. 31). El segundo motivo, porque los abades y priores tenían que atender muchos negocios de los monasterios, lo que les permitía conocer a un buen número de mujeres. Si «olvidaban» salir acompañados o lo hacían con monjes tan interesados como ellos en el género femenino, el tener sexo se volvía más sencillo. El tercero, que ellos y los hermanos que por su cargo manejaban dinero tenían más posibilidades de caer en la tentación (Pérez Celada, 1998, p. 301, n. 41). Por ejemplo, podían con más facilidad contratar prostitutas, hacer regalos a mujeres poco convencidas o mantener concubinas. El cuarto motivo, que eran ellos los que imponían la disciplina en los prioratos castigando a quienes habían incumplido la Regla (Cantera Montenegro, 2013, p. 227). Así que si eran ellos mismos los que se saltaban las normas, no había nadie de dentro que los corrigiese. Puesto que ellos eran la ley, eran inmunes a ella hasta la llegada de los visitadores, si es que llegaban. Ahí está el caso del prior cluniacense de Carrión en 1387, que metía mujeres en el monasterio sin esconderse (Pérez Celada, 1987, p. 215).

El que los priores fuesen mayoría en el grupo de incastos puede deberse a otros factores. Los movimientos de abades y priores no pasaban desapercibidos ni dentro del monasterio ni fuera, al ser personas conocidas; y no hay que olvidar que la gente en la Edad Media también chismorreaba, así que todo lo que hacían fuera del cenobio acababa conociéndose fuera y dentro. La vida sexual de un monje raso y, por tanto, más anónimo no circulaba tanto de boca en boca como la de alguien bien conocido y que debía ser un buen ejemplo. También hay que tener en cuenta que, en ocasiones, aunque los superiores de un monasterio eran acusados de faltar al voto de castidad, los visitadores no encontraban suficientes pruebas para castigar-

[8] Robert, 1892. Número de monjes denunciados, al menos 16: Pombeiro 1259 (número indeterminado, «muchos»), Pombeiro 1269 (dos monjes), Budiño 1291 (dos), Jubia 1291 (siete), Jubia 1312 (dos), Salamanca 1349 (uno), Carrión 1387 (uno), Dueñas 1349 (número indeterminado), Samboal 1349 (uno). Número de priores y subpriores denunciados, 24: Ciudad Rodrigo 1259, Jubia 1259, Budiño 1261, Pombeiro 1285, Monforte 1285, Nájera 1291, Valverde 1292-1293, Dueñas 1300, Jubia 1314, Dueñas 1349, Samboal 1349, Samboal 1387, Dueñas 1387 (dos), Carrión 1387, Dueñas 1392, Samboal 1392, Zamora 1392, Valverde 1392, Pombeiro 1392, Entrepeñas 1392, Valverde 1396, Tábara 1396, Samboal 1396.

los, tal y como ocurrió en el monasterio cluniacense de Nájera en 1291. Denunciar a un prior de incontinencia era una forma de eliminar a un rival en la lucha por el poder dentro de la comunidad, sobre todo entre los cluniacenses, donde los superiores solo podían ser trasladados por graves faltas o porque era beneficioso llevarlos a otro monasterio (Reglero de la Fuente, 2014, pp. 208-210).

El hecho de que el superior de un convento o monasterio transgrediera las normas podía ser la diferencia entre un cenobio que no destacaba entre los de su entorno y otro con graves problemas. Y es que, cuando estos hombres eran un mal ejemplo para sus subalternos, era fácil que estos imitasen sus malos comportamientos y que, además, no fuesen castigados por ello. Por eso no es raro que en 1349, en San Isidro de Dueñas, un monje cluniacense viviese en el monasterio con su concubina e hijos, pues lo mismo hacía su prior (Robert, 1892, pp. 398-400). A finales de ese siglo en los cenobios benedictinos asturianos de San Juan de Corias y San Salvador de Cornellana pasaba lo mismo. El obispo Gutierre de Toledo encontró que tanto los abades como muchos monjes, tenían mancebas e hijos (Fernández Conde, 1978, pp. 391, 408).

Estos casos palidecen ante lo que ocurría en San Vicente del Pino en 1498. Su abad, de nombre Fernando Castelo, mantuvo relaciones sexuales con cuatro mujeres que le dieron tres hijos varones y una niña, siendo una de ellas Mayor, viuda de un zapatero. También con la viuda Aldara de Villamartín, con la abadesa de Lobios, con la mujer del mayordomo del monasterio, con Leonor, que trabajaba en el lugar y que tal vez era su sobrina, con la mujer del granjero de Doade y hasta con la manceba del prior de San Pedro de Valverde, a la que parece que violó por las circunstancias que se relatan (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 429, 441-442, 444, 446-448, 450, 453). Si el abad tenía una vida sexual más que activa, sus subalternos no eran menos porque consentía que sus monjes hiciesen la misma vida que él (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 430). Fray Vicente y fray Álvaro tenían mancebas, el primero al menos dos. Fray Luis tenía una aventura con una casada y otro miembro de esa reducida comunidad era muy lujurioso (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 442, 444-445, 447, 451, 454). Hay que tener en cuenta que los rumores se pudieron cebar con el abad y aumentar el número de amantes conocidas (que no reales, un número que solo él podía saber), ya que era famoso por su lujuria. De ahí que no quede claro si era él o su compañero fray Juan el amante de la abadesa de Lobios[9] (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 429, 450, 453) o de quién era manceba Aldara, si del abad, si de fray Vicente, o si ella era manceba del primero pero el segundo la violó (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 444-445).

La ubicación geográfica de estos hombres también ofrece datos reveladores. Entre los prioratos cluniacenses y hasta 1270, los monjes que se encontraban más lejos de Cluny y de la sede de la camarería hispana, que primero estuvo en Carrión y en el XIV pasó a Nájera, eran los que más faltas contra la castidad acumulaban

[9] Curiosamente, la testigo que habló en el proceso de reforma contra la abadesa de Lobios no sabía nada de los supuestos amoríos que tenía esta en Monforte de Lemos, pero sí de otros (Zaragoza Pascual, 1996, p. 375), siendo la misma mujer, Constanza Vázquez (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 450).

(Reglero de la Fuente, 2008, pp. 542-543; Reglero de la Fuente, 2023, p. 32). Esto quiere decir que, cuanto más alejados se encontraban del núcleo de poder y de castigo, menos caso hacían a las normas. No es por lo tanto raro que sea de 1289 y de un lugar tan periférico como Galicia de donde provenga el primer testimonio de clérigos regulares viviendo junto a sus parejas e hijos dentro de los cenobios (García y García, 1981, p. 294).

2.2. Las protagonistas

Ya se ha visto quiénes eran esos monjes y frailes que, espoleados por el deseo, incumplían el voto de castidad. Ahora es momento de ver quiénes eran las mujeres con las que lo rompían. Los datos que se tienen sobre ellas se centran en dos aspectos: cuál era su relación con el cenobio y cuál era su situación marital.

Tanto la proximidad geográfica a un cenobio como el contacto directo con él aumentaban las posibilidades de tener sexo con una persona de religión. Por eso las mujeres con las cuales parece que era más fácil que un fraile o un monje tuvieran sexo eran las que trabajaban dentro de los muros de los cenobios. Lo que se ve se puede desear, y se ve antes lo que está más a nuestro alcance. Aparte de porque no había que salir para encontrarse con ellas ni meterlas con discreción, eran unas candidatas muy atractivas porque no era necesario pensar muchas excusas para entablar una conversación sin levantar sospechas y, si estaban dispuestas, era fácil encontrar un lugar discreto para consumar el deseo de ambos. En 1314, en Villafranca del Bierzo, se decía que la paternidad de los dos hijos que había tenido una mujer que trabajaba en Santa María de Cluniaco había que buscarla entre los monjes cluniacenses de ese mismo lugar (Robert, 1892, p. 369). A finales del xv es del abad de San Vicente del Pino del que se dice que había tenido sexo con una joven que servía en el monasterio (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 444, 450, 453).

Otras candidatas bastante idóneas eran las mujeres de los hombres que trabajaban para los monjes. Tanto las visitas de ellas al monasterio como las de ellos a sus casas se podían justificar con facilidad. Puesto que los maridos engañados trabajaban para estas comunidades, es posible que no dijeran nada para no perder su medio de vida. Volviendo a San Vicente del Pino, en Monforte, los testigos no solo relacionaban al abad con la mujer de su mayordomo, sino también con la del granjero de su finca de Doade (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 429, 446-447, 453).

El simple hecho de mantener relaciones sexuales con una fémina podía abrir las puertas para conocer a otras de su entorno: una amiga, una compañera de trabajo, una familiar. Según el fiscal y el testigo Alfonso Yáñez, el abad reformado a la Observancia de San Mamed de Sevi, tuvo sexo con una mujer y luego con la hermana de esta, con una madre y una hija, siendo posiblemente esta última la mujer de uno de sus sobrinos (Zaragoza Pascual, 1997, pp. 190, 205).

Otra forma indirecta de conocer mujeres era frecuentando las casas de los habitantes de las proximidades. Según dos testigos, tanto el abad como dos de los integrantes de la comunidad de San Vicente del Pino tenían tal fama de mujeriegos en Monforte y sus alrededores, que nadie quería recibirlos ni acogerlos (Zaragoza

Pascual, 2000, pp. 447, 454). Razón no les faltaba, pues incluso a un compañero benedictino suyo como era fray Juan, prior de Valverde, el abad de San Vicente le «robó» la amante. Lo cuentan el afectado y al menos dos testigos, por lo cual las versiones varían. En la de fray Juan, el prior invitó al abad a dormir en su casa y este, en mitad de la noche, se levantó, cogió una espada y salió de la casa rumbo a la de la manceba del prior, donde acabó teniendo sexo con ella. Como parece que esto fue una violación, ella se puso a gritar y unos criados del prior sacaron al abad de la cama de la mujer y lo dejaron desnudo en la calle. Pero en la versión de Diego de Guayans y de Alonso Pérez, lo relatado sucede en el priorato de Valverde, por lo cual monje y manceba vivían juntos (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 428-429, 448, 453).

Pese a dedicarse a Dios, estos hombres seguían teniendo familia. Las visitas de familiares o a familiares debían resultar normales. A veces la relación era tan estrecha que las bodas de las sobrinas se celebraban en los cenobios, como fue el caso de la de la sobrina de fray Luis de San Vicente del Pino, el cual dispuso tan a su antojo del edificio que se bailó en todas sus estancias (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 445, 455). Cierto es que una amante podía hacerse pasar por una sobrina muy cariñosa. Pero el incesto también era una realidad. No se saben los detalles, pero en 1259 un cluniacense de San Vicente de Pombeiro, Pedro Ibáñez, fue acusado de incesto (Robert, 1892, p. 335). El abad de San Mamed tuvo un hijo con su sobrina política, la mujer del hijo de su hermana (Zaragoza Pascual, 1997, pp. 190, 205). A veces esas familiares trabajaran en el monasterio. Por ejemplo, en Monforte un testigo afirmó que la criada que entraba al monasterio benedictino y con la que el abad había tenido un hijo era realmente su sobrina (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 444).

Como cualquier otro hombre, un monje o un fraile podía recurrir a una prostituta, sobre todo si tenía dinero. Aunque todos los integrantes de las órdenes monásticas hacían voto de pobreza, la institución no tenía por qué ser pobre y alguien debía administrar sus bienes. En 1349 el camarero del monasterio cluniacense de San Vicente de Salamanca fue acusado de frecuentar a mujeres sospechosas y de jugar a los dados (Robert, 1892, p. 399). Pese a que el texto no indica que ellas fueran prostitutas, no era raro que estas mujeres acudieran a los lugares donde se servía alcohol y/o donde se jugaba a juegos de azar[10]. Si este camarero jugaba de forma regular a los dados fuera del monasterio, es más que seguro que también tuviera dinero para tener sexo con una prostituta. Una opción más discreta para mantener relaciones sexuales pagando era recurrir a los servicios de una alcahueta para que arreglase estos encuentros, o que una persona de confianza lo hiciera (Ortega Baún, 2020, pp. 77-78). El caso de María de Zayas y María Velázquez, aunque tardío (1591), seguramente no fue raro en siglos anteriores; no hay que olvidar a Trotaconventos, la alcahueta del *Libro de Buen Amor* y su evocador nombre. Ambas fueron acusadas ante el obispo

[10] Uno de los mejores ejemplos de esto es uno visual, y se encuentra acompañando a la cantiga 140 del Códice Rico del Escorial. En él se puede ver la representación de lo que parece una taberna por la noche, donde los dados y el alcohol abundan y donde las únicas mujeres presentes parecen prostitutas, dada la actitud que una de ellas tiene hacia un hombre, así porque se ve acompañada por un diablo: *Cantigas de Santa María. Códice Rico del Escorial*, 196r.

de Coria de proporcionar parejas sexuales a sus hermanos frailes cuando iban a visitarlas (Rodríguez Sánchez, 1998, p. 83). Es imposible saber con cuánta frecuencia el clero regular recurría a la prostitución, aunque en las ciudades francesas de Toulouse y Cahors parece que era habitual (Roby, 2021, p. 284).

Trabajadoras del cenobio, mujeres de los alrededores, familiares... pero todas con su propia historia personal. Entre las varias amantes del abad de San Vicente del Pino, están representados todos los estadios de la vida marital. Hay solteras anónimas (Zaragoza Pascual, 2020, p. 428), casadas como la mujer del granjero de Doade o la del mayordomo (Zaragoza Pascual, 2020, pp. 429, 446-447, 453), viudas como Aldara o la hija de Juan Lorenzo (Zaragoza Pascual, 2020, pp. 428, 444, 446-447) y mujeres con las que empezó cuando ellas eran casadas y ahora han enviudado como Mayor (Zaragoza Pascual, 2020, pp. 446-447). No obstante, hay testigos que no se aclaran con el estado de alguna de ellas, como el de la hija de Juan Lorenzo, casada o viuda (Zaragoza Pascual, 2020, pp. 444, 453). El de Jubia también alterna entre casadas y solteras (Zaragoza Pascual, 1999, p. 93). Mientras, Alonso Yáñez cuenta que el sobrino del abad de San Mamed se encontró a su tío «entre las piernas de su mujer» (Zaragoza Pascual, 1997, p. 205).

Solteras, casadas, viudas... y también monjas. Como clérigos que eran, no era extraño que monjes y frailes tuviesen cierta relación con mujeres que también pertenecían al clero. Pero tanto Pedro de Cuéllar en las primeras décadas del XIV (Martín y Linage Conde, 1987, p. 251) como doscientos años después el confesor Pedro de Covarrubias mencionan lo poco recomendable que es que los religiosos se relacionen con monjas[11]. Nunca se sabrá qué excusa utilizaban los frailes dominicos de Zamora para entrar frecuentemente al interior del monasterio de Santa María de las Dueñas, pero cualquiera hubiera resultado sospechosa al cruzar el umbral de la clausura. Si sus contactos se hubieran limitado a confesarlas, por ejemplo, las suspicacias hubieran sido menores, pero no nulas. Como ya se dijo, la simple administración de este sacramento permitía conocer a muchas mujeres de manera íntima, ocasión que algunos aprovechaban. Así parece que hizo el abad de San Mamed de Seavia en 1498, pues fue acusado por el fiscal de haber tenido sexo con una mujer tras confesarla (Zaragoza Pascual, 1997, p. 190). Lo que no cuentan los testigos es cómo el abad de San Vicente del Pino, o su compañero fray Juan, acabó siendo amante de una abadesa, la de Lobios (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 429, 450, 453).

2.3. Tipos de relaciones

Pese a vivir en comunidad, estar sujetos a reglas monásticas y haber prometido pobreza y castidad, la vida sexual de monjes y frailes podía ser bastante ajetreada. Los había que practicaban sexo de manera esporádica, mientras que otros saltaban de una pareja sexual a otra o tenían varias a la vez. Los había que tenían una pareja

[11] *Memorial de pecados*, 50r.

estable con la que no convivían y otros vivían con ellas dentro de los propios cenobios. Algunos eran hombres de una sola mujer con la que permanecían años, mientras que otros mantenían más de una, o estas parejas estables les duraban poco tiempo. Incluso algunos recurrían a la violación para calmar sus deseos sexuales. Fuese como fuese, la vida sexual de monjes y frailes no tenía mucho que envidiar a la de los laicos.

Los clérigos regulares que solo mantenían relaciones sexuales de manera esporádica son los que menos han transcendido en las fuentes. Tal vez porque su pecado fue menos visible, por tanto menos conocido en el cenobio y los alrededores; lo que no se sabe no se puede transmitir a otros y tampoco denunciar. O tal vez porque, vistas las enormes faltas contra la castidad de algunos, las pequeñas transgresiones eran pasadas por alto. Pero sí se conoce algún caso de estos «pecadillos». Gonzalo de Pombeiro confesó a los visitadores que, una noche de finales del XV, salió del monasterio y se fue a la villa, donde tuvo sexo con Inés Salgada, acto que no engendró ningún hijo ni volvió a repetirse (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 442). No sabemos qué empujó al hermano Álvaro a confesar su aventura sexual, pero hay que tener en cuenta que su nombre no aparece mencionado por el resto de los testigos, los cuales conocían muy bien la vida de sus compañeros de monasterio.

La pequeña experiencia sexual de Gonzalo de Pombeiro, si fue como la contó, tal vez esté más cerca de la normalidad que la de otras personas. Como se ha dicho, los pequeños «deslices» o se conocían poco o se denunciaban poco. Y es que no es raro que en la documentación aparezcan los testimonios de monjes y frailes promiscuos, que saltan de una pareja sexual a otra o que tienen varias a la vez, más o menos pasajeras. En el monasterio zamorano de Las Dueñas, el dominico Juan de Aviancos tuvo sexo con María Domínguez de Toro, con Inés Domínguez y no se sabe si también lo tuvo con dos monjas anónimas ante las cuales se desnudó (Linehan, 2000, pp. 186-187). Más o menos un siglo después, en 1392, fue el prior cluniacense de San Vicente de Pombeiro el que no estaba contento con tener solo una pareja sexual (Robert, 1892, p. 413). Cien años más tarde son los benedictinos de Galicia los que demuestran su promiscuidad a través de diferentes relaciones pasajeras. En base a diferentes testigos entre los que se encontraba Alfonso Yáñez, el fiscal acusó al abad de San Mamed de haber tenido sexo con una madre y una hija, con una mujer tras confesarla y con la esposa de su sobrino (Zaragoza Pascual, 2006, pp. 190, 205). Del de Jubia se rumoreaba que, aparte de con sus seis concubinas, tuvo sexo esporádico con un número indeterminado de casadas y solteras, incluso con una esclava (Zaragoza Pascual, 1999, p. 93). No hay que olvidar el caso ya comentado de Fernando Castelo, abad de San Julián de Samos y de San Vicente del Pino, que de sus al menos nueve parejas sexuales conocidas es imposible distinguir qué relaciones fueron esporádicas y cuáles permanecieron en el tiempo.

Xemena Pérez, una de las monjas del monasterio zamorano de Las Dueñas y testigo de lo que supuestamente ocurrió con los dominicos en la segunda mitad del XIII, mencionó que algunos frailes formaron parejas sexuales estables con algunas de las integrantes de aquel monasterio (Linehan, 2000, pp. 186-187). Ya no se trata de una relación esporádica, un error, sino de algo premeditado y que se mantiene a lo largo del tiempo. Estables, pero no convivientes. Hay que tener en cuenta que el clero regular estaba sujeto a unas reglas monásticas que lo obligaba a vivir en

comunidad, lo cual prohibía que estos hombres conviviesen en la misma casa con su pareja. En esta situación parece que se encontraba el monje que se ahoga en un río de camino a la casa de su amada y cuya alma es salvada por la Virgen en los *Milagros* de Berceo y en las *Cantigas de Santa María* (Berceo, 1992, estrofa 81; Alfonso X, Cantigas, cantiga 11). Pero en ninguna ocasión se informa de dónde reside ella fuera del monasterio. Tal vez lo hacía con sus padres, como Teresa Alemán en el año 1501, pues según algunos testigos su segundo hijo era fruto de su relación con un franciscano[12].

Entre las parejas de legos que no convivían, parece que era normal que ellos ayudaran a ellas con el pago de la vivienda, los alimentos y el vestido, como aparece en *La Celestina* (Rojas, 2002, pp. 289-290). Por esas fechas y según un testigo tal vez no muy bien enterado, el prior benedictino de Santa Conba de Bande consiguió que su hermano alojase a su manceba en su casa (Zaragoza Pascual, 1998, p. 831). En Monforte, según un testigo, el hermano Vicente instaló en casa de un conocido a su manceba, Aldara, probablemente pagando por ello (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 445). El voto de pobreza dificultaba a estos hombres el tener bienes, los cuales eran necesarios si querían mantener a una concubina. Pero los monasterios tenían propiedades. Por eso otro monje de Monforte, Álvaro, ubicó a su pareja portuguesa en el coto de Sober, que era propiedad del monasterio, motivo que lo enfrentó con su abad (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 442). Este caso es un claro ejemplo de compromiso, pues se conocieron en Lisboa cuando él visitó esa ciudad. El esfuerzo económico, los problemas materiales y morales a los que tuvo que enfrentarse Álvaro y la inseguridad que tuvo que vivir ella al estar lejos de sus amigos y familiares hacen pensar que si hubieran podido casarse lo hubieran hecho.

Entre las parejas estables, todo resultaba más fácil en lo económico y en lo personal si convivían. En el caso de que ellos fuesen monjes o frailes, el lugar más sencillo y hasta más discreto para vivir juntos era el cenobio al que ellos pertenecían. Estaba prohibido, pero prohibir no es impedir. Así lo demuestra el Sínodo de Santiago de 1289, que impuso la excomunión automática y graves penas de cárcel a los religiosos que vivían con sus parejas femeninas dentro de los monasterios, señal de que era verdad que estaba ocurriendo (García y García, 1981, p. 294). Efectivamente, en 1313 el visitador de Cluny recabó testimonios de que el prior de San Martín de Jubia vivía dentro del monasterio con su concubina y con los hijos que tenían en común (Reglero de la Fuente, 2014, p. 209, n. 143). Es posible que no fuesen la única pareja en el lugar, pues en el Capítulo General del año anterior se comentó que allí había monjes que «tenían mujeres como si fuesen laicos» (Robert, 1892, p. 367). Esto coincide con un arco temporal, tras 1270 y al menos hasta 1379, en el que las fuentes cluniacenses dan testimonio de la secularización de muchos monjes, abandonando la vida monástica pero dentro del propio monasterio, acabando por adquirir vicios del clero secular como el vivir con sus concubinas y prole bajo un mismo techo (Reglero de la Fuente, 2014, pp. 207-209). De los pocos integrantes

[12] ARCHV, RR.EE., 161, 11, 1501, 4r, 08-1501.

del monasterio cluniacense de San Isidro de Dueñas en el año 1349, uno de ellos era padre de una prole numerosa y otro era concubinario (Robert, 1892, pp. 398-399).

A finales de ese siglo XIV el problema persistía al menos en los monasterios de Castilla, especialmente en las comunidades de un solo integrante, donde este podía hacer y deshacer a placer. En Santa María de Monfero el prior vivía tranquilamente con su concubina y sus hijos hasta que llegaron los visitadores (Robert, 1892, p. 418). Lo mismo ocurría en el monasterio de San Miguel de Tábara, en Zamora, poblado por el prior y su familia (Robert, 1892, p. 418). Un siglo después el panorama era el mismo en los monasterios gallegos benedictinos, pero estas no eran comunidades unipersonales. El abad de San Mamed de Seavia no tenía compañía masculina, pero los testimonios que llegaron al fiscal decían que aliviaba su soledad a base de diferentes concubinas (Zaragoza Pascual, 2006, pp. 190, 202-203). El de San Vicente del Pino permitía que sus monjes tuviesen concubinas tanto fuera como, tal vez, dentro del monasterio, mientras que él sí tuvo a su lado al menos a una de sus compañeras mientras estuvo embarazada (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 442, 444-445, 450-451). El prior de San Pedro de Valverde vivía con su concubina cuando Fernando Castelo intentó violarla, aunque quiso ocultarlo en el interrogatorio (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 428-429, 448). Por su parte, el de Santa Conba de Bande parece que también vivía con su pareja, pues los testigos no se aclaraban (Zaragoza Pascual, 1998, pp. 830-831).

El que un clérigo regular viviese en un cenobio con una concubina era una forma muy evidente de romper con el voto de castidad. Pero también era una cuestión de género, pues es un comportamiento que no se encuentra entre las monjas castellanas medievales (Ortega Baún, 2019, pp. 287-288). Ni siquiera entre aquellas que vivían solas. Por ejemplo, aunque la priora benedictina de Pesqueiras, Inés de Guitián, tenía dos hijos del capellán Juan Rodríguez, otro de Pero Gato y un cuarto en camino, ni el cuestionario ni los testigos mencionan que hiciesen vida en común en el monasterio con alguno de sus amantes pese a tener la oportunidad al vivir sola (Zaragoza Pascual, 1996, pp. 366-367, 369-372). La misma ocasión tenía la abadesa de Lobios, Inés de Sanabria, en soledad desde que llegó al monasterio, pues, además de decirlo un testigo, no hay ninguna monja entre estos (Zaragoza Pascual, 2002, pp. 103-106). Negar que esto no ocurría en otros monasterios es imposible, puesto que no se puede saber qué había en la documentación que se ha perdido. Pero parece que el que una monja conviviese con un hombre en un monasterio era algo más bien extraordinario. Tal vez esto no ocurría por miedo a los castigos que la Orden y la sociedad les imponían, mucho más duros que si fuesen hombres, como se verá.

Si así lo deseaban, el hecho de no poder acceder al matrimonio permitía a los clérigos regulares el vivir en una poligamia consecutiva. Esto consiste en cambiar de pareja estable con bastante frecuencia, tal y como hacía el abad de San Mamed a finales del XV. Según la pregunta cuatro del interrogatorio que se realizó a los testigos, vivía en concubinato dentro del monasterio, pero cambiaba con asiduidad de pareja, más o menos cada año, según Alonso Yáñez (Zaragoza Pascual, 2006, pp. 202, 204). La vida de su coetáneo y compañero de orden, el prior de Jubia, era parecida. Los testigos calculan que Antonio López tuvo entre 12 y 16 hijos de seis parejas diferentes, lo cual denota cierta estabilidad con buena parte de ellas al tener de media dos

hijos con cada una de esa parejas (Zaragoza Pascual, 1999, pp. 90-93). Pero si estos religiosos tuvieron muchas parejas o concubinas de forma consecutiva o incluso a la vez, fue gracias a que disponían de los recursos de los monasterios. Así se podían permitir mantener a muchas mujeres e hijos, incluso casarlas cuando querían dar la relación por finalizada. El que parece que sí fue un concubinario bígamo fue Vicente de Monforte, benedictino del monasterio de esa misma localidad. De él siempre se decía que tuvo mancebas, en plural, aunque parece que todas vivieron fuera del monasterio al comentarse que salía a visitarlas. Se llamaban Cecilia y María, a las que supuestamente habría que añadir a Aldara, y esta situación era conocida en todo el pueblo (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 442, 444-445, 447, 451, 454).

El hecho de que algunos de estos clérigos sean polígamos consecutivos deja claro que las relaciones de concubinato que mantenían tenían un final, aparentemente. A veces parece que este no era un drama para ellas, sino que era beneficioso. Cuenta el testigo Pedro Pita que el prior de Jubia obligó a un hombre del lugar a casarse con una de sus concubinas. Por lo que se puede entender de las respuestas de este testigo a varias preguntas, el prior solía gastar los bienes del monasterio tanto en casar a sus vástagos como a sus exparejas (o, tal vez, todavía parejas). Esto indica que este era su *modus operandi* para deshacerse de ellas con el menor número de problemas al pasar a mantenerlas otro hombre, o bien para darles un futuro más respetable (Zaragoza Pascual, 1999, pp. 90-93). La misma estrategia seguía el abad de San Mamed para poder cambiar de pareja con asiduidad, pues, según Alonso Yáñez escuchó decir al abad que, al casarlas, se «infeudava» de ellas. Esto quiere decir que las enfeudaba, del verbo *enfeudar*, que daba a estas mujeres a otra persona como si se tratara de un feudo (Zaragoza Pascual, 2006, p. 204). El prior Juan de Valverde, por ejemplo, vivía en el priorato con una concubina y con dos hijos de una relación anterior con Catalina, que en ese año de 1498 estaba casada (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 448). Lo que no sabemos es si estas relaciones acababan y por eso ellas se casaban, o continuaban en el tiempo, siendo el matrimonio una pantomima orquestada por el clérigo y en connivencia, más o menos aceptada, con el marido. De ahí tal vez esa referencia a que el prior de Jubia había obligado a un hombre, tal vez un trabajador del monasterio, a casarse con una de sus antiguas parejas (Zaragoza Pascual, 1999, pp. 90-93), una práctica que décadas después no era desconocida en otras regiones (García y García, 1990, p. 224).

La violación no es un tipo de relación, pero sí es una forma de acceder al cuerpo de una mujer que el clero regular practicaba. Ya se ha mencionado que el abad de San Vicente del Pino intentó violar o violó a la concubina del prior de Valverde. Pero entre los habitantes de ese monasterio no era la primera vez que esto ocurría. Un testigo escuchó a Aldara, no se sabe si manceba del abad o de fray Vicente, decir que este último la persiguió y la violó cuando ella se negó a mantener relaciones sexuales. Otro cuenta que el mismo fray Vicente acudió un día armado a la casa de un clérigo enemigo, donde violó a su criada y la secuestró (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 445, 447).

2.4. Sexo homosexual entre clérigos regulares

Al igual que ocurría en los monasterios femeninos, el sexo homosexual era una «expectativa natural» en los masculinos (Payer, 1984, pp. 40 y ss.). Era fácil que dos hombres tuvieran sexo. Ya las primeras normas monásticas y otros textos cristianos de los siglos III y IV presentaban esta preocupación (Espejo, 1991). Por ejemplo, entre los Padres del desierto es recurrente la idea de que la proximidad entre personas del mismo género provocaba atracción física (Burgwinkle, 2004, pp. 33-34). Además, en los cenobios podía haber niños. Por ejemplo, los había en el de Santa María de Nájera y en el de San Zoilo (Cantera Montenegro, 2013, pp. 246-247). A los más pequeños era más sencillo silenciarlos por su edad: como hasta no hace mucho, o nadie los creía si lograban expresar lo que estaba pasando, o no sabían qué les estaban haciendo. En cambio, los adolescentes, en plena efervescencia sexual, podían ser convencidos de diferentes maneras para un contacto íntimo. Así, la Regla de San Fructuoso de Braga, redactada en el siglo VII, condena con la pérdida de la tonsura, la humillación pública y la cárcel al hermano que bese o sea encontrado en un acto sexual con un niño o un joven (Testón Turiel, 2015, p. 339). La existencia de estas relaciones sexuales preocupaba, aunque no eran las únicas (Burgwinkle, 2004, p. 33).

La preocupación por el sexo homosexual siguió latente durante el resto de la Edad Media. Por eso se van a repetir normas antiguas, como cuando el obispo Gutierre de Toledo recuerda a los monjes benedictinos de San Juan de Corias y de San Salvador de Cornellana que deben dormir todos en el mismo dormitorio bajo la vigilancia de su superior, con una vela encendida y vestidos (Fernández Conde, 1978, pp. 393, 410). No hay que olvidar que los dormitorios, y en especial las camas, eran en la Edad Media espacios que evocaban la unión sexual, también para los que guardaban castidad (Mohedano Hernández, 1951, p. 125). Con estas medidas se intentaba evitar que una pareja de hermanos tuviera sexo ni en esa sala ni en ningún otro lugar del cenobio, pues tenían que burlar la vigilancia de todos sus compañeros.

Pero pese a las posibilidades que daba el vivir en una comunidad habitada por personas del mismo género, las muestras de preocupación por el sexo homosexual en los conventos castellanos no parecen ser muchas. Los confesores apenas las mencionan, incluidos aquellos que son religiosos y que escriben manuales para confesar a sus hermanos. Solo Martín Pérez lo hace, pero no debemos olvidar que su manual es muy extenso y completo. Además, su referencia al sexo homosexual entre monjes y frailes hace desestimar que fuese una actividad que él creyese que ocurría con frecuencia. Más que preocupación, lo que hay es un ánimo completista, pues lo que hace es resumir algunos viejos penitenciales que tiene en su poder y que hablan del tema (Pérez, 2002, p. 604). Los casos de concubinato heterosexual eran mucho más conocidos, y tal vez por ello acaparaban toda la atención y volvían invisibles otras actividades sexuales como las homosexuales. Por ejemplo, los monjes benedictinos de San Juan de Corias y San Salvador de Cornellana no destacaban en la segunda mitad del XIV por su sodomía latente, sino por vivir en concubinato con mujeres.

Aun así, hay que suponer que correrían rumores sobre monjes sodomitas en tal o cual comunidad, como ocurría en el resto de Europa. Tras escribir el *Liber*

Gomorrhianus donde denunciaba que la sodomía se había extendido entre todo el clero, Pedro Damián se dedicó en su *De laude flagellorum* a afirmar que esta estaba institucionalizada en los monasterios y que las recomendaciones de los penitenciales eran inconsistentes porque quienes los escribían eran también sodomitas (Burgwinkle, 2004, pp. 53 y 55). A finales del XIII en Toulouse se extendió el rumor más o menos verídico de que los frailes menores se entregaban a la sodomía (Le Roy Ladurie, 1981, p. 208).

Probablemente los rumores aumentaban si las comunidades no sufrían ningún escándalo sexual de índole heterosexual. Pero el caso de Diego de Valladolid, del monasterio de San Salvador de Oña, no fue un rumor infundado. En 1501 pidió la absolución al papa por oficiar estando en pecado mortal, abandonar el monasterio y por haber tenido sexo con legos, con curas y con otros religiosos (Tamburini, 1995, pp. 205-206). Un abanico tan variado como el de sus compañeros heterosexuales. Nunca sabremos las circunstancias bajo las cuales este monje se inició en el sexo homosexual. Tal vez, y como contaba en 1435 el guardián del convento de los frailes menores de Isle-sur-la-Sorgue, pudo ser iniciado en su niñez o preadolescencia por otro hermano más mayor (Chiffoleau, 1984, p. 192). Tampoco sabremos si fue él el que inició a otros entre los muros de San Salvador. Lo único sólido es que no era el único clérigo regular que tenía sexo con otros hombres, ni en Oña ni en el resto de Castilla, aunque solo sea su testimonio el que nos ha llegado.

3. CASTIGAR AL INCASTO: LA FAMA Y EL BUEN EJEMPLO

Que un monje o un fraile se saltase el voto de castidad que había prometido guardar era muy grave. Lo dice claramente el obispo Pedro Gómez Barroso en su confesional: son apóstatas por haber abandonado algo tan consustancial a las órdenes monásticas[13]. Por su parte, Martín Pérez opina que es más condenable que un monje tenga un hijo que el que lo tenga un presbítero (Pérez, 2002, pp. 249-250). Razón no le faltaba. Se transformaba en un mal ejemplo para sus compañeros de dentro del cenobio, un ejemplo pernicioso que no era raro que se reprodujera, especialmente si no se castigaba y/o los transgresores eran los propios superiores del lugar. Ya se ha hablado del prior y del monje, ambos concubinarios y con hijos, que vivían en 1349 en San Isidro de Dueñas (Robert, 1892, pp. 398-400). También de los abades y monjes asturianos que estaban en la misma situación a finales del XIV (Fernández Conde, 1978, pp. 391, 408). Un siglo después, pero en Galicia, era el abad de San Vicente del Pino el que consentía que sus monjes faltasen a la castidad del mismo modo que él (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 430). No se castigaba nada porque el abad hacía lo mismo, tal y como dijo Juan de Villachaa, uno de vecinos de este cenobio (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 447).

[13] Gómez Barroso, 68v.

Pero estos hombres no solo eran un mal ejemplo dentro de los cenobios, sino también fuera de ellos. La vida sexualmente activa de un monje o un fraile debía ejercer de mal ejemplo entre los laicos, tal y como hacía la de los clérigos seculares que vivían en concubinato (Aznar Gil, 1998, pp. 516-518; Ortega Baún, 2018, p. 13). Incluso debía ser un peor ejemplo, pues ellos prometían castidad. Así era difícil que los creyentes respetasen las prohibiciones sexuales de la Iglesia. Por este motivo también se intentaba que los escarmientos a estos hombres incastos no se conociesen en el exterior de los cenobios. Dar publicidad al castigo servía para que los legos que cometían pecados parecidos siguiesen actuando del mismo modo al saber que no eran los únicos. Pero también para que aquellos legos que no habían pecado, sabiendo el ejemplo pero no siendo espectadores del castigo, se viesen tentados a actuar del mismo modo[14].

Aun así, a veces el clero regular no ayudaba. Es sorprendente ver cómo los testigos laicos saben tanto de la vida sexual de algunos monjes y frailes. En Monforte dicen que todo el mundo sabe de las andanzas de los benedictinos, y no ya en la localidad, sino en toda la comarca, pero lo sorprendente es que cuentan que son los propios clérigos los que van hablando de su vida sexual, la propia y la de sus compañeros (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, pp. 446-447, 450, 454). Por eso no es raro que se conozcan perfectamente los nombres de estas mujeres, como los de las seis concubinas del prior de Jubia (a saber: María García, Teresa de Grana, Aldonza Díaz, María Amiga, María das Filgueiras y María Ferreira; Zaragoza Pascual, 1999, p. 93). Ni tampoco que, ante una de esas conversaciones donde los clérigos hablan directa o indirectamente de su vida sexual, Juan de Villachaa le respondiera a fray Álvaro que «vosotros tenéys las mancebas e nos las pagamos» (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 447). Este comentario tan cargado de crítica y de razón recuerda a otro pronunciado un siglo antes de boca de un predicador ante los habitantes de Alcalá de Guadaíra, a los que dijo claramente que sus limosnas iban a parar a los bolsillos de las concubinas de los curas (Ortega Baún, 2018, p. 28). El mal ejemplo era evidente, y se criticaba. Tampoco era raro que ante tanta publicidad, las justicias actuaran contra una de las muchas concubinas de los monjes monfortinos, arrestándola (Zaragoza Pascual, 2000, p. 451). Su existencia no era un secreto, y podía llegar un punto en que fuera difícil a las justicias civiles el explicar por qué no hacían nada[15]. Pero probablemente el peor ejemplo de todos lo daba el abad de San Mamed de Seavia, pues nunca hizo ningún caso a las quejas sobre su vida sexual que le hicieron los visitadores de su orden y, encima, se adhirió al movimiento de la Observancia (Zaragoza Pascual, 1997, pp. 185, 202).

Más allá del mal ejemplo, había otros motivos para censurar la falta de castidad de un clérigo regular. Exactamente, que su comportamiento lo difamaba a él y a todos sus compañeros de Orden entre las gentes del pueblo, tal y como ocu-

[14] *Aviso de confesión para religiosos*, 28v.

[15] Sobre la represión hacia estas mujeres ver Córdoba de la Llave, 1986, pp. 604-611; Sánchez Herrero, 2008, pp. 126-132; Arranz Guzmán, 2008, p. 232; Ortega Baún, 2018, pp. 29-33.

rría con los clérigos seculares (Arranz Guzmán, 2014, pp. 106-107). Así lo dijo el Capítulo General cluniacense de 1349 al descubrir que los priores de San Isidro de Dueñas, San Baudilio del Pinar en Samboal y algunos de sus compañeros eran concubinarios públicos y padres de familia (Robert, 1892, p. 400). Este pensamiento es compartido por el autor del *Aviso de confesión para religiosos*, ya que advierte de que hay pecados que se cometen secretamente por un solo individuo, como la herejía o la lujuria, pero que si salen a la luz pueden difamar a toda la comunidad[16]. Por esto mismo, por el miedo a que los legos pensasen que si en un convento había un monje lujurioso sus compañeros podían o debían serlo, este anónimo autor pide que los castigos sean discretos, que no se sepa fuera que un hermano ha sido castigado[17].

El clérigo regular que rompía su voto de castidad debía ser punido. Esto podía hacerse de diferentes formas, pero siempre en primer lugar por sus superiores, como abades o priores (Cantera Montenegro, 2013, p. 227). Si estos no hacían su trabajo, eran los siguientes en la jerarquía los que debían aplicar los castigos. En el caso de órdenes jerarquizadas, eran los superiores regionales quienes tenían la obligación de castigar, tal y como se ve en las visitas realizadas a los prioratos de la provincia hispana de Cluny (Robert, 1892). Entre los benedictinos, los encargados de corregir lo que abades y priores no habían sabido enderezar eran los obispos, por eso Gutierre de Toledo intervino en tantos monasterios benedictinos de su diócesis (Fernández Conde, 1978).

Había varias formas de punir al monje o fraile lujurioso. Parece que la penitencia era la más básica (Alfonso X, 1988, IV, VIII, II), un castigo que consistía en ayunos, oraciones e incluso encierros, correctivos que recibieron algunas monjas incastas (Ortega Baún, 2019, p. 289-290). A partir de aquí la dureza del castigo aumentaba. Cuando el *Aviso de confesión para religiosos* pide que no se puna públicamente, nos dice que algunas correcciones podían ser físicas o tener una parte visual como una condena oral ante el resto de la comunidad, la imposición de una señal o la privación del hábito[18]. Entre los cluniacenses, la incontinencia sexual de los hermanos sin cargo alguno era, como mínimo, castigada con el traslado a otro monasterio[19]. Si se trataba de priores al menos se les privaba de su puesto[20]. El problema es que no sabemos si estos castigos eran aplicados tanto al que había tenido una única

[16] *Aviso de confesión para religiosos*, 23v.

[17] *Aviso de confesión para religiosos*, 27v.

[18] *Aviso de confesión para religiosos*, 28v.

[19] Robert, 1892: año 1264, prior de Nájera difamado, destituido y trasladado, 337; año 1269, dos monjes de Pombeiro disfamados, castigados y trasladados, 339; año 1291, los monjes de San Salvador de Budiño no están muy disfamados pero son trasladados, 342; año 1291, siete monjes de Jubia están disfamados y son castigados y trasladados, 349; año 1387, en Carrión el enfermero es concubinario, 406-407; año 1392, en Dueñas el enfermero también es concubinario y se le castiga con el traslado, 409.

[20] Robert, 1892: año 1259, el prior de Jubia es despojado de su cargo, 336; año 1261, el prior de Budiño es despojado de su cargo por incontinente, 336; año 1264, el prior de Nájera es destituido y trasladado, 337; año 1285, el prior de Pombeiro es cesado por ser incontinente, al igual que el de Monfero, 344-345; año 1396, el prior de Valverde es depuesto por vivir con su concubina, 418.

aventura sexual como al que tenía la promiscuidad por hábito. Al menos parece que los peores eran corregidos con más fuerza, de ahí tal vez que en 1392 el prior de San Isidro de Dueñas fuese obligado a personarse en la abadía de Cluny para recibir su castigo, aunque hay que tener en cuenta que es posible que no todas sus faltas fuesen sexuales (Robert, 1892, p. 409).

Aquellos que tenían concubinas o que incluso convivían con ellas merecían mayores penas por la reiteración de su pecado. A las ya mencionadas, se añadían otras para que abandonasen este estilo de vida. Gutierre de Toledo amenazó con la excomunión y con la cárcel a los monjes benedictinos y a los abades de San Vicente, San Juan y San Salvador con la privación de su cargo y beneficio eclesiástico si no abandonaban a sus amantes (Fernández Conde, 1978, pp. 385, 391 y 408). El hecho de no castigarlos cuando habían perdido la castidad y hacerlo solo si persistían en su comportamiento es idéntico a como se trataba a los clérigos seculares, los cuales nunca habían prometido renunciar al sexo (Aznar Gil, 1998, pp. 509-512; Sánchez Herrero, 2008, pp. 127-132).

La estrategia contra los concubinarios cluniacenses adoptada por sus visitadores por esas mismas fechas, finales del XIV, se puede tildar de pobre. Al prior de Santa María de Valverde, hoy Santa María de Monfero, solo se le amenaza con privarle de su puesto si no abandona a su concubina, y al de San Román de Entrepeñas únicamente se le pide que se aparte de ella (Robert, 1892, pp. 413-414). Parece que no solo los religiosos se habían convertido en clérigos seculares, también sus castigos habían sufrido la misma transformación en la Orden de Cluny. Estas condenas no son nada duras si las comparamos con las que se aplicaban a los hermanos que servían en el hospital de Notre-Dame d'Ypres en el siglo XIV: exclusión durante un año si mantenían relaciones sexuales y para siempre si engendraban un hijo (Toussaert, 1963, p. 376).

Los concilios y sínodos también mencionan penas para los monjes y frailes incastos. A los castigos impuestos desde dentro de sus comunidades aparecía una nueva amenaza o, al menos, un nuevo recordatorio de que su comportamiento debía ser punido. Pero no el de todos. El Concilio de Valladolid de 1228 únicamente castigó a los clérigos regulares que además eran sacerdotes o poseían un beneficio eclesiástico y, dentro de estos, solo punió a los que eran concubinarios, suspendiéndolos o despojándoles del beneficio (Tejada y Ramiro, 1861, pp. 325-326). Es decir, solo castigaba a una minoría. Un siglo después y también en Valladolid, en el Concilio de 1322, se siguió corrigiendo a los mismos, aunque esta vez también se sancionó el que oficiasen los bautizos y bodas de sus hijos o utilizasen los bienes de la Iglesia para ayudarles cuando se casasen (Tejada y Ramiro, 1861, pp. 482-483). Hay que esperar hasta el Concilio de Palencia de 1388 para que, por fin, todo el clero regular sea castigado, exactamente en el momento de su muerte, negándoles el entierro cristiano (Tejada y Ramiro, 1861, pp. 612-615).

El hecho de que se imponga un castigo no significa que este funcione. Y es que no son pocos los ejemplos de clérigos regulares sancionados que no cambiaron su comportamiento. Algunos eludían los castigos huyendo a otro monasterio de la orden, como hacían muchos cluniacenses a mediados del XIII al abandonar sus monasterios de origen y presentarse ante el prior de San Vicente de Pombeiro, el

cual los aceptaba sin hacer ninguna pregunta. Con toda probabilidad, ese era uno de los mejores monasterios a los que podían ir, pues uno de sus habitantes, el incestuoso Pedro Ibáñez, es descrito como rebelde y desobediente a los mandatos de los visitadores (Robert, 1892, p. 335). El hecho de que fueran trasladados era un castigo habitual que recibían los monjes de Cluny por tener sexo, pero está claro que era una práctica de dudosa utilidad (Reglero de la Fuente, 2014, p. 209).

El pequeño tamaño de las comunidades castellanas impedía controlar a los infractores (Reglero de la Fuente, 2023, p. 31). El mejor ejemplo de esto es de 1387, cuando el enfermero de San Zoilo de Carrión fue trasladado por, entre otras cosas, ser concubinario (Robert, 1892, pp. 405-407). Muy probablemente acabó en el monasterio de Dueñas, ya que cinco años después aparece en este lugar un enfermero concubinario. Si ambos son la misma persona, Fernando González tuvo la suerte de ser enviado a un monasterio donde en 1392 solo vivían tres individuos y el prior tenía muchos hijos, un lugar perfecto para él (Robert, 1892, pp. 409-410). Pese a que los visitadores pidieron que este monje fuese trasladado, es posible que no se corrigiera o, peor aún, que extendiera nuevas malas costumbres (Reglero de la Fuente, 2014, p. 209). Por todo esto, es interesante preguntarse qué destino vivieron los tres monjes que el Capítulo cluniacense trasladó desde Auvernia a España por sus muchas faltas, incluidas la incontinencia (Reglero de la Fuente, 2023, p. 31).

Finalmente, los había que no atendían a castigos, como los benedictinos de San Juan de Corias en 1529, que siguieron la estela de sus antepasados de finales del XIV, a los que Gutierre de Toledo intentó reformar. A estos concubinarios recalcitrantes les dio lo mismo ser detenidos, marcados, tratados «peor que a rufianes» y obligados a ayudar a pagar las penas económicas que debían abonar sus compañeras. No cambiaron de vida (Zaragoza Pascual, 2006, p. 46).

4. LA CASTIDAD DEL CLERO REGULAR: UNA CUESTIÓN DE GÉNERO

La renuncia al sexo de los monjes y frailes del Medievo era algo matizable: se les exigía que fueran castos, pero el escándalo no era muy grande si no lo lograban. Porque eran hombres, personas del género masculino, no del femenino. En la Plena y Baja Edad Media se exigía a las monjas que fueran vírgenes porque era esa la virtud, la única virtud, que las definía como tales; la monja debía ser virgen porque era monja. Pero esto no ocurría con el clero regular masculino, pues a ellos lo que les caracterizaba era la humildad (Salih, 2001, p. 124; Karras, 2005, pp. 37, 41). Puesto que la castidad de estos hombres tenía un valor secundario, su virginidad valía menos aún. Incluso en las vidas de los santos hombres, su virginidad y su castidad no se enfatizan, porque ellos demostraban su cercanía a Dios de otras maneras (Salih, 2001, pp. 17-18).

El origen de este orden de valores masculino tan diferente al femenino se encuentra en la Alta Edad Media, cuando la virginidad sufrió un proceso de feminización. En la Antigüedad, el mantenerse virgen era algo tan bien considerado por el cristianismo que se tenía como una hazaña propia del género masculino. Por eso

a las mujeres vírgenes se las alababa poniéndolas a la altura de los hombres, pues por la voluntad que demostraban estaban actuando como tales. Pero en la Alta Edad Media el estatus virginal se denigró y dejó de ser una práctica de piedad masculina. Debido a esto el mantenimiento de la virginidad en los hombres desapareció como práctica religiosa (Salih, 2001, pp. 10-11). Menos entre los cluniacenses (Pacaut, 1985, p. 357). De ahí que en las hagiografías de santos de género masculino, rasgos como la virginidad o la castidad no se enfatizasen, apareciendo en un segundo plano. Ya no era necesario que se dijera que eran vírgenes porque ellos demostraban su cercanía a Dios a través de su humildad, fe inquebrantable, capacidad de hacer milagros o defendiendo los derechos de la Iglesia, quedando la virginidad como algo remarcable solo en las mujeres que aspiraban a la santidad (Salih, 2001, pp. 17-18; Karras, 2025, p. 41). Así pues, si los ejemplos en los que se debía mirar el clero regular no se resaltaba la castidad como un valor a seguir, está claro que su importancia se diluía. Había otras prácticas en las que centrar su vida de santidad y, sobre todo, mucho más masculinas.

Las dificultades biológicas para guardar castidad las presentaban tanto monjes y frailes como monjas, aunque de estas últimas no nos hayan llegado testimonios. Pero, a diferencia de ellos, a ellas la sociedad las había aleccionado a que las buenas mujeres, indistintamente de su piedad, guardaban su virginidad hasta el matrimonio, y a partir de ese momento solo tenían sexo con su marido (Ortega Baún, 2016: 77). Por esto mismo, cuando una mujer entraba en un monasterio independientemente del motivo por el que entrara, su vida sexual no cambiaba con respecto a la que había llevado hasta ese momento[21].

Pero no ocurría lo mismo con un hombre, pues su cambio de vida a nivel sexual sí debía ser completamente radical. Este era un gran motivo por el cual a monjes y frailes les costaba cumplir con el voto de castidad, porque fuera de la clausura, la sociedad les decía que la obligación cristiana de ser castos no era algo masculino. Si ser mujer significaba tener una vida sexual muy limitada, ser hombre era casi todo lo contrario (Ortega Baún, 2016, pp. 78-79). Había masculinidades laicas que se distinguían de otras por el acceso al matrimonio, por tener una sexualidad activa (Salih, 2001, pp. 17-18). Incluso la medicina justificaba que los hombres tuviesen más problemas para guardar castidad. Hubo médicos que afirmaron que como la naturaleza de los hombres era caliente y por tanto sexual, esto hacía que tuviesen que purgar sus humores mediante el sexo para mantenerse sanos (Murray, 2002, pp. 14-15). De este modo, la medicina hizo a la actividad sexual algo consustancial al género masculino, reafirmando así un discurso social que nada tenía que ver con la religión y haciendo que los médicos fuesen parte de él.

Si además de a la castidad a un hombre se le obligaba a la pobreza y a la obediencia, la vida del clérigo regular dinamitaba varios pilares de la masculinidad (Karras, 2003, pp. 160-162). Esta vida no era difícil para los oblatos que se habían

[21] Para saber más sobre los motivos que llevaban a una mujer a profesar en un monasterio ver Prieto Sayagués, 2021.

criado dentro de los monasterios y, por tanto, dentro de un grupo social con un modelo de masculinidad monacal. Era especialmente dificultosa para los hombres que, de adultos, ingresaban en una orden monástica y, por tanto, habían vivido su infancia y adolescencia en el mundo seglar. En este habían aprendido que ser un hombre consistía en generar riquezas, ejercer la violencia, tener personas que te obedecían y mujeres con las que tener sexo (Swanson, 1999, p. 176). Guardar castidad era biológicamente difícil para estos hombres, como para las mujeres, pero sus dificultades eran mejor comprendidas fuera del cenobio. Iglesia y sociedad no exigían a monjes y frailes que guardasen castidad absoluta a lo largo de toda su vida como a las monjas, pese a que todos pertenecían al clero.

Para la sociedad, la vida sexualmente activa de frailes y monjes no importaba tanto como la de las monjas. Esta diferencia también se encuentra entre las jerarquías eclesiásticas, las que han de castigar al clero regular que no guarda castidad. Ambos géneros pronunciaban los mismos votos y, aun así, la vida sexual de ellos aparece en las fuentes menos mencionada y por tanto menos controlada.

Este doble rasero puede comprobarse en las acciones que emprendió Gutierre de Toledo contra los monasterios de su diócesis, la de Oviedo, donde había descubierto graves ofensas contra el voto de castidad, pues fue muy diferente su modo de actuar cuando los implicados fueron clérigos del género masculino o del femenino. En el monasterio de hombres de San Vicente de Oviedo, como en el también ovetense de San Pelayo, pero de mujeres, encontró la misma irregularidad: sus integrantes salían para asistir a bautizos. En las constituciones de ambos monasterios Gutierre de Toledo condenó estas acciones, pero los castigos que impuso no fueron los mismos. Los de San Vicente se llevaron poco más que una reprimenda por sus salidas, y las monjas de San Pelayo, nuevas normas para apuntalar su encierro (Fernández Conde, 1978, pp. 387, 419). Exactamente las de la decretal *Periculoso*, sobre las que se volverá inmediatamente. El obispo también actuó en los monasterios femeninos de Santa María de Villamayor y de San Martín de Soto de Dueñas y en el masculino de San Juan de Corias. Pese a cometer similares faltas, los monasterios femeninos fueron cerrados y sus monjas enviadas a otros para que se reformaran, pero los dos masculinos de San Juan y San Vicente siguieron en activo y sus monjes no fueron trasladados. Las hermanas de Santa María y de San Martín, con sus hijos y sus amantes, no eran peores que los habitantes de San Vicente, donde era público que algunos monjes tenían concubinas e hijos, o los de San Juan, donde estos eran mayoría e incluían al abad. Pero aun así ellos no fueron castigados, sino que se les concedió un periodo de gracia en el cual debían abandonar a sus concubinas, cosa que si finalmente no hacían, entonces sí, eran punidos. Nadie los castigó por sus pecados pasados, como si la ruptura del voto de castidad solo contase a partir de la visita del obispo. Al contrario que en el caso de las monjas (Fernández Conde, 1978, pp. 462-463, 385, 408).

En conclusión, o las faltas contra los votos de pobreza y obediencia de las monjas asturianas fueron mucho más graves que las de sus homólogos masculinos, o la única explicación a esta diferencia de castigos radica exclusivamente en el género de los pecadores. Se puede pensar que este trato diferente entre géneros es

una excepción, algo que solo hizo el obispo Gutierre de Toledo. Pero, al contrario, era una práctica institucionalizada.

En el año 1298 Bonifacio VIII publicó la decretal *Periculoso.* En ella exigía a todas monjas que no dejasen acceder a nadie del exterior a sus comunidades y que permaneciesen estrictamente encerradas dentro, salvo en caso de enfermedad contagiosa. Esta norma era innecesaria, pues, con las reglas monásticas, la clausura de las monjas ya estaba asegurada. Aun así, para reforzarla, el papa se excusó en que existían ciertos monasterios en donde las monjas salían con total libertad y se iban a casas de seglares o, peor incluso, que dejaban entrar a personas sospechosas dentro de los cenobios (Brundage y Makowski, 1994, p. 145). Al romper de esta manera con su aislamiento, estas mujeres iniciaban un camino que las llevaba a quebrar sus votos de castidad (Linehan, 2000, p. 142, n. 31; Brundage y Makowski, 1994, p. 154).

Esta justificación no era inventada, esas monjas incastas existían y, tal vez, el monasterio que impulsó la aparición de la *Periculoso* fue el de las Dueñas de Zamora (Linehan, 2000, p. 142). Pero en los monasterios y conventos masculinos pasaba lo mismo o peor y nunca nadie decidió pedir o escribir una decretal como la *Periculoso*, que apuntalase las reglas monásticas masculinas en materia de visitas, salidas y contactos con mujeres en general. Así que cuando Bonifacio VIII creó la *Periculoso*, impuso esta norma a todas las monjas católicas, mientras que esas mismas prohibiciones o similares que tenían el objetivo de dificultar el contacto con el otro género fueron también impuestas en los monasterios masculinos, pero por voluntad de sus obispos o superiores tras una visita a esos lugares, visita que pudo ocurrir en los siglos XIV, XV o XVI, o no ocurrir. La diferencia entre géneros es clara al no realizarse ni desde el Papado ni para todos los monasterios desde el siglo XIII como en el caso femenino.

Nunca nadie criticó el estricto encierro que exigía la *Periculoso* porque la decretal ahonda tácitamente en la creencia de que la abstinencia sexual y la virginidad eran valores centrales para una monja, que su importancia era mayor que otras virtudes cristianas y que su protección debía ser absoluta; como si la vida en religión de una mujer se limitase a conservar su castidad (Brundage y Makowski, 1994, pp. 152-153). Por tanto, los actos de los monjes y frailes que no respetaban el voto de castidad eran más tolerados que los de las mujeres consagradas a Dios. Un último ejemplo de ello es la diferencia con la que se trató a los benedictinos y benedictinas de Galicia a finales del XV. Todos los monasterios femeninos fueron clausurados y sus habitantes trasladadas a San Paio de Antealtares, pero no por el mal comportamiento de monjas, abadesas y prioras, sino porque ya estaba decidido antes de conocer la situación de cada cenobio (García-Fernández, pp. 125-127). A las monjas se las agrupó y se las encerró lejos de sus hogares, reforzando su vida en clausura, mientras que muchos monasterios masculinos permanecieron pese al comportamiento de sus integrantes, eso sí, ahora sujetos a la Observancia (García-Fernández, pp. 133-135).

5. CONCLUSIONES

A lo largo de estas páginas se ha intentado completar el vacío de conocimientos sobre la vida sexual del clero regular masculino en Castilla, entre el siglo XIII e inicios del XVI. El análisis de las normas que evitaban el trato de estos hombres con cualquier mujer deja claro que el problema residía en el nacimiento del deseo sexual. El estudio de las transgresiones de estos hombres nos ha dado un amplio abanico de datos sociales sobre ellos, sus parejas y las relaciones que entablaban, principalmente heterosexuales, pero también homosexuales. Se ha descubierto que más interesante que el hecho de que estos hombres fuesen castigados era el que recibieran ese castigo por las repercusiones sociales de sus transgresiones, convirtiéndose en un mal ejemplo tanto para sus compañeros como para los legos, además de dar mala fama al clero regular en general. Pero, sobre todo, es muy significativo que estos castigos eran menores si se comparaban con los que recibían las monjas en la misma situación, siendo la aplicación de la perspectiva de género en este tema muy reveladora.

Ha quedado demostrado que, pese a las limitaciones, se puede hacer un trabajo sobre la vida sexual del clero regular sin caer en lo anecdótico. No obstante, el vacío historiográfico en torno al tema tratado no ha terminado de ser llenado. Estamos ante una línea de trabajo sobre la cual esta es una primera aportación. Más allá de las limitaciones impuestas por las fuentes, parece claro que hay un fructífero margen para cubrir huecos espaciales y temporales, pero, sobre todo, para la incorporación de nuevos enfoques en torno a los comportamientos sexuales del clero regular y su disciplinamiento en la Castilla de la Baja Edad Media.

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PERCEPCIÓN VISUAL, INFERENCIA Y SUEÑOS EN FRANCÉS ANTIGUO: *IL M'EST AVIS QUE*, *AVIS LI FU QUE*

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Resumen

El presente estudio se sitúa en el marco de la lingüística francesa medieval y de la pragmática histórica. Se propone dar una descripción semántica del marcador evidencial *il m'est avis que*, *avis li fu que* en francés antiguo. Debido a su valor etimológico, *avis li fu que* está relacionado con la percepción visual y es un introductor de sueños en los textos franceses medievales. La locución verbal *estre avis* se clasifica habitualmente con los verbos de opinión. *Il m'est avis que* puede significar «veo, por lo que veo, me parece, me da la impresión, estoy convencido», etc. El valor semántico varía en función del contexto. En los textos literarios franceses medievales, los sueños están introducidos por la fórmula ritual *il li fu avis que*, que presenta el sueño como una fuente de información fiable, real y verdadera. Los textos franceses medievales tratan el sueño como una realidad directamente observada. El sueño es exterior al durmiente, tiene un origen sobrenatural y un significado transcendente. Los sucesos del sueño corresponden a la realidad. No son una pura ficción o una imaginación del que sueña.

Palabras clave: pragmática histórica, evidencialidad, francés antiguo, sueños, percepción visual, inferencia.

VISUAL PERCEPTION, INFERENCE AND DREAMS IN OLD FRENCH: *IL M'EST AVIS QUE, AVIS LI FU QUE*

Abstract

The present study is set within the framework of medieval French linguistics and historical pragmatics. It gives a semantic description of the evidential marker *il m'est avis que*, *avis li fu que* in Old French. Due to its etymological value, *avis li fu que* is related to visual perception and is an introducer of dreams in medieval French texts. The verbal locution *estre avis* is usually classified with the verbs of opinion. *Il m'est avis que* can mean 'I see, as far as I see, it seems to me, I have the impression, I am convinced', etc. The semantic value varies according to the context. In medieval French literary texts, dreams are introduced by the ritual formula *il li fu avis que*, which presents the dream as a reliable, real and true source of information. Medieval French texts treat the dream as a directly observed reality. The dream is external to the sleeper, has a supernatural origin and a transcendent meaning. The events of the dream correspond to reality. They are not pure fiction and are not imagined by the dreamer.

Keywords: historical pragmatics, evidentiality, Old French, dreams, visual perception, inference.

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0. INTRODUCCIÓN

El presente estudio se sitúa en el marco de la lingüística francesa medieval y más concretamente de la pragmática histórica y del estudio en diacronía de los marcadores del discurso. Para ilustrar el papel de las imágenes y su relación con el sueño medieval, abordamos aquí la introducción de los sueños en los textos franceses medievales. Daremos en primer lugar una descripción semántica del marcador evidencial *il m'est avis que*, *avis li fu que* en francés medieval. *Avis li fu que* está relacionado con la percepción visual y es habitual como introductor de sueños. Hablaremos posteriormente de *songer que* en esta misma función.

Los estudios sobre evidencialidad se han desarrollado sobre todo en la tradición lingüística angloamericana. La evidencialidad es un término que viene del inglés *evidence*, que designa una prueba, por ejemplo, en un juicio. Los marcadores evidenciales son expresiones que indican los distintos tipos de fuentes de información. Es decir, indican cómo ha adquirido el locutor la información que comunica en el enunciado, cómo sabe lo que dice. En una lengua como el francés, o el español, los marcadores evidenciales son sobre todo de tipo léxico, por ejemplo, *à ce que je vois* «por lo que veo», *il paraît que* «parece ser que», *apparemment* «por lo visto». Aunque el francés presenta igualmente marcadores evidenciales gramaticales como el condicional de información referida (ver Dendale & Van Bogaert, 2007 y Dendale, 2022).

Un enunciado no indica necesariamente cómo el locutor ha obtenido la información. Así, *Jean est malade* «Jean está enfermo» no está marcado desde el punto de vista inferencial. Los trabajos sobre evidencialidad distinguen tres grandes tipos de fuentes de información (Dendale & Tasmowski, 2001):

1. La información puede haber sido obtenida por percepción (sensorial) directa. Esta puede ser visual o no visual (auditiva, olfativa, táctil...). En *Jean est malade, à ce que je vois* «Jean está enfermo, por lo que veo», *à ce que je vois* es un marcador evidencial de percepción visual directa.
2. La información puede haber sido obtenida por inferencia. Es el caso de *devoir* «deber» epistémico, de *apparemment*, *certainement*, *sûrement*, etc.

a) *On frappe à la porte, ce doit être le facteur.* «Llaman a la puerta, debe de ser el cartero»

Devoir epistémico es un marcador evidencial de inferencia. Indica que el enunciado es una conclusión a la que ha llegado el locutor a partir de indicios, por medio de una inferencia o un razonamiento. En francés contemporáneo, *apparemment* es igualmente un marcador inferencial:

b) *Apparemment*, Jean est malade. «Por lo visto, Jean está enfermo»

Apparemment indica que el locutor no ha visto a Jean, no es una percepción directa, y tampoco es una información que alguien le haya transmitido. El locutor ha adquirido la información por inferencia, es una conclusión a la que ha llegado, quizás porque hace tiempo que Jean no va a trabajar, o lo ha visto tomando medicamentos.

3. Información referida. En este caso, la información puede haber sido obtenida de alguien, o puede proceder de rumores.

c) *Il paraît que Jean est malade*. «Parece ser que Jean está enfermo»

El locutor sabe que Jean está enfermo porque se lo han dicho. En francés, el condicional de información referida tiene este mismo valor:

d) *Il y a eu un incendie, il y aurait deux morts*. «Ha habido un incendio, parece ser que hay dos muertos»

Dentro del espacio epistémico, hay que distinguir la evidencialidad de la modalidad. Si la evidencialidad concierne la fuente de la información, la modalidad está en relación con la fiabilidad de la información, es decir, con el grado de certeza de la aserción (Dendale & Tasmowski, 2001, p. 341). Un mismo marcador evidencial puede incluir en su semantismo rasgos modales y evidenciales.

En el apartado 2 veremos el funcionamiento semántico de *il m'est avis que*, *avis li fu que* en francés medieval, y más específicamente en francés antiguo (842-1330). En el apartado 3 abordaremos la relación entre *avis li fu que* y los sueños en los textos literarios franceses medievales. Veremos finalmente en 4 *songer que* como introductor de sueños.

Nuestro corpus procede de la *Base de Français Médiéval* (BFM) y del sitio web https://reves.ca, que presenta una recopilación de sueños en textos franceses de distintas épocas.

1. EL MARCADOR EVIDENCIAL DEL FRANCÉS MEDIEVAL *IL M'EST AVIS QUE*, *AVIS LI FU QUE*

La locución verbal *estre avis* se clasifica habitualmente con los verbos de opinión. Puede introducir una oración subordinada completiva en *il li fu avis que p* y funciona también como un parentético: *ce m'est avis*, *si me fu avis*. Ambos empleos tienen el mismo valor semántico. *Il m'est avis que* puede significar «veo, por lo que veo, me parece, me da la impresión, estoy convencido», etc. El valor semántico varía en función del contexto. La construcción *il m'est avis que* es sintácticamente libre: el sujeto puede ser *il* impersonal o *ce*, el verbo se conjuga y puede estar en distintos tiempos del indicativo, así como en presente e imperfecto de subjuntivo.

Veremos a continuación los valores evidenciales de *il m'est avis que*, *il li fu avis que*, relacionados con la fuente de la información: cómo sabe el locutor lo que dice. Y veremos a su vez los valores modales, relacionados con la fiabilidad de la información y el grado de certeza del locutor.

1.1. Experiencia directa y percepción visual

Etimológicamente, *ce m'est avis* está relacionado con la percepción visual (Rodríguez Somolinos, 2014). El sustantivo *avis* viene del latín *visum*, que en su origen es el participio masculino del verbo *videre* «ver». *Ce m'est avis* es el latín *mihi visum est*.

Ce m'est avis se combina a menudo con verbos de percepción (*veoir*, *esgarder*, «ver, mirar»), que son marcadores evidenciales en la categoría de la percepción visual:

(1) – Dex, q'est ce? *Je voi Meraugis*!
C'est il, c'est mon, *ce m'est avis.*
(Raoul de Houdenc, *Méraugis de Portlesguez*, v. 4935; antes de 1215)
(Dios, ¿qué sucede? Veo a Méraugis. Es él, desde luego que es él, *por lo que veo*).

C'est mon marca el refuerzo de la aserción, es una confirmación fuertemente asertada. *Mon* es el adverbio latino *munde*. En (1), el grado de certeza del locutor es muy alto.

(2) *Et li autre dïent aprés:*
«Sire Keus, estes vos bleciez?
- Il m'est avis que vos sainniez»,
Ce li dist messire Gauvains.
(*Première Cont. de Perceval*, vol. III, v. 5740 p. 375; 1205-1210)
(Y los otros dicen después: – Señor Keu, ¿estáis herido? – Sangráis, *por lo que veo*).

En *ce m'est avis que p*, *ce m'est avis* es un marcador evidencial de percepción visual. El locutor es testigo directo y asume la responsabilidad de la aserción de *p*. En su valor modal, *ce m'est avis que* es compatible con marcadores de refuerzo de la aserción como *certes*, *sanz faille*, *c'est mon*, «desde luego, sin duda alguna». El marcador supone una experiencia directa del locutor, que garantiza la verdad de lo que dice.

Il m'est avis que puede remitir a una situación contrafactual, es decir, a una visión, a un sueño, a una percepción directa o que esté presente en la memoria o en la imaginación del locutor:

(3) – En non Dieu, fait li rois March, de tout çou me souvient il mout bien, car je le vi et bien l'ai encore en ramenbrance: *il m'est avis tot visaument que je le voie orendroit.*
(*Tristan en prose*, t. I, p. 195; después de 1240)
(– Por Dios, dice el rey Marc, de todo ello me acuerdo muy bien, pues lo vi, y lo recuerdo todavía perfectamente: *me da la impresión* de estarlo viendo con total claridad ahora mismo).

Se trata aquí de una percepción visual basada en la memoria, triplemente marcada por *il m'est avis que*, por la locución adverbial *tot visaument* «con total claridad» y por el verbo *veoir* «ver». *Il m'est avis que* va seguido aquí de un presente de subjuntivo *que je le voie*: «me da la impresión de estarlo viendo», pero no lo estoy

viendo. En estos empleos contrafactuales, *il m'est avis que* se construye habitualmente con el subjuntivo.

En francés antiguo, el subjuntivo alterna con el indicativo en las subordinadas que dependen de un verbo de opinión como *croire* «creer», *cuidier* «pensar, creer», *penser* «pensar», *estre avis*, etc. El indicativo se sitúa del lado de la realidad, de la certeza, de la verdad de un estado de cosas para el locutor. El subjuntivo, por su parte, remite a la hipótesis, la virtualidad. Marca también un estado de cosas considerado como falso o incierto por el locutor. *Estre avis* presenta pues esta alternancia entre el indicativo y el subjuntivo. El modo de la subordinada depende del grado de certeza de la creencia y de si es considerada o no como verdadera. Una creencia cierta excluye toda hipótesis y exige el indicativo. Por el contrario, el subjuntivo en una completiva introducida por *il m'est avis que* marca algo ilusorio, irreal, una aparición, una visión.

En (4), Perceval le dispara a una oca y esta deja tres gotas de sangre en la nieve. Esto le recuerda a Perceval el color del rostro de su amada:

(4) que devant moi an ice leu
avoit .III. gotes de frés sanc
qui anluminoient le blanc.
An l'esgarder m'estoit avis
que la fresche color del vis
m'amie la bele *i veïsse*,
ja mes ialz partir n'an queïsse.
(Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Conte du Graal (Perceval)*, T. V p. 139, v. 4429; 1181)
(Pues delante de mí en ese lugar había tres gotas de sangre fresca que iluminaban el blanco. Al mirarlas, *creía ver* el fresco color del rostro de mi hermosa amiga, no podía mirar a otra parte).

A Perceval le parece ver el rostro de su amada en la nieve, pero en realidad no lo está viendo, lo que justifica el imperfecto de subjuntivo *veïsse*.

En (5), la dama se despide de Guinglain y se retira a su habitación para pasar la noche. Previamente le ha prohibido a Guinglain que entre en su habitación. Guinglain no puede dormir, da vueltas en la cama, duda si debe entrar en la habitación o no. Al final se levanta e intenta entrar. No se trata de un sueño, está despierto:

(5) Quant il quide en la canbre entrer,
A l'uis ne pooit asener;
Sor une plance est vis qu'il soit;
Une grant iaugue sos avoit,
Rade et bruiant plus que tenpeste. (...)
Aval a l'iaue regardee
Qui si fait la plance croler
Qu'il ne se puet sor piés ester;
Ço li est vis qu'il quaie jus.
(Renaud de Beaujeu, *Le bel inconnu*, v. 4553 y 4565; antes de 1214)
(Cuando va a entrar en la habitación, no puede llegar a la puerta; *le parece que esté sobre una plancha (/se ve a sí mismo sobre una plancha*) debajo de la cual había un

gran río, rápido y ruidoso como el trueno. (...) Mira el agua debajo de él, que hace temblar tanto la plancha que no puede mantenerse en pie; *le da la impresión* de estar cayendo hacia abajo (*/se ve cayendo hacia abajo*).

Se trata de una alucinación de tipo mágico, no de un sueño. Guinglain ve directamente un estado de cosas que no es real. *Est vis que* y *ço li est vis que* se construyen con un subjuntivo: «le parece que esté sobre una plancha», pero no lo está. «Le da la impresión de estar cayendo», pero no está cayendo. *Ço li est vis que* introduce una dimensión ficticia, marcada por el subjuntivo, que aparece a la vista del locutor como si fuera real. Podría darse aquí una paráfrasis «es como si estuviera encima de una plancha» o «es como si estuviera cayendo».

La diferencia entre una visión estando despierto y un sueño es a veces muy tenue. En (6), el rey tiene un sueño estando despierto. La dama le pide que se lo cuente:

(6) Dirai vous don g'iere pansis.
Veritez iert que je pansoie,
Si m'iert avis que je chasoie
Le plus grant cerf que eins veïsse;
Dusqu'a ne waires le presisse,
Que li chien si pres li venoient
C'avis m'estoit qu'il le tenoient,
Et se je dormisse ou sonjasse,
Ja plus a certes nou cuidasse.
(Chrétien de Troyes, *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, p. 168, v. 2584 y 2588; siglo XII)
(Os diré por qué estaba pensativo. Es bien cierto que estaba abstraído. *Soñaba y me veía* cazando el ciervo más grande que hubiera visto nunca; estaba a punto de alcanzarlo, pues los perros lo seguían de tan cerca que creía ver que lo tenían, y si hubiera estado durmiendo o soñando, no lo hubiera creído más firmemente).

Se trata de una visión muy parecida a un sueño. El rey se declara totalmente convencido de la verdad de la visión. Es como si hubiera sido un sueño, que para él es algo real. En la Edad Media, los sueños se consideran una fuente de información verdadera y fiable. Los sueños son reales, como puede verse en «si hubiera estado durmiendo o soñando, no lo hubiera creído más firmemente». La realidad de la visión está marcada también por el empleo del indicativo *Si m'iert avis que je chasoie* «soñaba que cazaba», imperfecto de indicativo, *C'avis m'estoit qu'il le tenoient* «creía ver que lo tenían».

Lo que se ve en sueños es del orden del conocimiento, del saber. Cuando se trata de un sueño, *estre avis* va seguido generalmente por un tiempo del indicativo, y no ya por un subjuntivo. En *Eracle*, una mujer le ruega a Dios que le envíe un hijo, ya que lleva dos años de matrimonio sin haber tenido descendencia. Dios la oye y le envía un ángel en sueños:

(7) car *a la dame fu avis*
par une nuit *en son dormant*
c'uns angles vint en son devant

et se li dist: «Esvelle toi!».
(Gautier d'Arras, *Eracle*, p. 5, v. 142; 1176-1184)
(... pues una noche la dama soñó mientras dormía que venía un ángel y le dijo: «¡Despierta!»).

El sueño está introducido aquí por *a la dame fu avis que*, que es la fórmula ritual, en pretérito indefinido («la dama soñó, vio en sueños»). *Uns angles vint*, literalmente «vino un ángel». *Fu avis que* va seguido de un pretérito indefinido de indicativo. Es un sueño, lo envía Dios, y por lo tanto es real y verdadero, lo que explica el empleo del indicativo.

En un sueño, el durmiente percibe directamente un estado de cosas que se presenta como real, verdadero. *Avis li fu que* seguido de indicativo sienta la conformidad entre el sueño y la realidad. Marca también la certeza del durmiente en cuanto a la veracidad del sueño.

El hecho de considerar una percepción, un estado de cosas, como una fuente fiable es algo cultural. La Edad Media considera los indicios perceptivos visuales como una garantía de verdad, como una fuente de información fiable, e incluso lo que se ha visto constituye una prueba admisible en justicia. En un juicio, los hechos pueden probarse *par veue* «por la vista», cuando son directamente visibles o evidentes, o bien *par l'aparence du fet/des choses* «por la evidencia visible, indiscutible de las cosas» (véase Ph. de Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, fechado hacia 1283). Lo que es directamente visible, manifiesto, evidente, es un indicio, un signo, que funciona como prueba de la verdad o de la realidad de las cosas. Del mismo modo, en la Edad Media los sueños son reales y verdaderos y son una fuente fiable de información. A partir del siglo XVII cambia la mentalidad y se considera que las apariencias pueden ser engañosas (Rodríguez Somolinos, 2010).

1.2. Empleos inferenciales de *il m'est avis que p*

Il m'est avis que p presenta también empleos inferenciales. Marcan una opinión basada en un juicio personal a partir de la experiencia del locutor.

(8) Fet l'autre: « *Il m'est bien avis*
que c'est il, vez la sa baniere!».
(Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, v. 2887; 1210 o 1228)
(Contesta el otro: Es él, sí, *estoy convencido*, mirad su estandarte).

El locutor emite un juicio personal basado en una inferencia a partir de un indicio visual. Ve el estandarte, y a partir de ahí deduce la identidad del personaje.

Hasta ahora hemos visto la relación de *il m'est avis que p* con la percepción visual. Pero el locutor puede recurrir a operaciones de otro tipo para crear la información. Puede apoyarse en datos empíricos, en estados de cosas, en acontecimientos presentes o futuros, incluso en palabras ajenas. Todo ello son indicios a partir de los cuales concluye y en los que basa su juicio personal. El movimiento inferencial puede estar explicitado:

(9) Et vos veez, fet il, que la nuiz nos a sorpris en tel leu dont nos ne porrions ja mes issir se aventure ne nos en gitoit fors. *Et por ce m'est il avis que* mielz nos vendroit retorner au chemin. Car se nos començons ci a desvoier, je ne cuit mie que nos reveignons au droit chemin mes en piece.
(*Queste del Saint Graal*, p. 57; hacia 1220)
(Y veis, dice, que la noche nos ha sorprendido en un lugar del que no podríamos salir de no ser por azar. *Por ello pienso que* más nos valdría volver al camino. Pues si nos empezamos a desviar, no creo que volvamos al camino en un largo rato).

Il m'est avis que remite a una opinión del locutor. Indica que la información ha sido creada por el locutor por inferencia.

Il m'est avis que marca un juicio personal basado en la experiencia directa del locutor. El movimiento inferencial puede no estar explicitado. El rey Adrasto vuelve derrotado de la expedición contra Tebas. Explica aquí el desastre:

(10) Pollinicés fu uns des contes;
pour s'amour ai eü granz hontes
et perte grant de mes amis
que cil de Thebes ont ocis,
ne de trestouz eulz, *ce m'est vis*,
n'en y a remés que trois vis:
j'en sui uns, las! maleürez!
(*Le Roman de Thèbes*, v. 10331; hacia 1150)
(Polinices fue uno de los condes; por amor a él he padecido gran deshonra y he perdido a muchos de mis amigos, que los de Tebas han matado, y de todos ellos, pienso, solo han quedado tres vivos: yo soy uno de ellos, ¡Ay, desgraciado!)

La evaluación toma a veces la forma de comparativos o de superlativos hiperbólicos, que son característicos del francés antiguo. El rey pide noticias de una dama a su mensajero:

(11) Conment, fet il, si est si bele?
- Voire, fet il, *ce n'est pas doute*,
non d'une chose, mes de toute,
de braz, de cors, de chief, de vis.
Aussi passe, *ce m'est avis*,
de beauté bele Lïenors totes les autres,
com li ors toz les autres metails dou monde.
(Jean Renart, *Guillaume de Dole*, v. 1417; 1210 o 1228)
(¿Cómo, dice, es realmente tan hermosa? – Sí que lo es, responde, *no cabe duda*, y no de una sola cosa, sino de todo, de brazos, de cuerpo, de cabeza, de rostro. La hermosa Leonor sobrepasa en belleza a todas las demás, *lo creo firmemente*, del mismo modo que el oro sobrepasa a todos los otros metales del mundo).

Ce m'est avis recae aquí sobre un juicio de valor, sobre una evaluación. Marca la certeza total del locutor, del mismo modo que *ce n'est pas doute* «no hay duda alguna». Podría traducirse por «estoy convencido, puedo asegurarlo».

Ce m'est avis puede corresponder a una suposición, a una conjetura. Tristan e Isolda han sido descubiertos por el rey Marco mientras dormían en el bosque del Morois. Habían tenido la precaución de poner la espada de Tristan entre ellos. El rey Marco coge la espada y deja la suya en su lugar:

(12) Il li respont: «Dame, c'est voirs.
Or nos covient gerpir Morrois,
Qar mot li par somes mesfait.
M'espee a, la soue me lait:
Bien nos peüst avoir ocis».
«Sire, voire, *ce m'est avis*».
(Béroul, *Tristan*, v. 2094; 1165-1200)
(Tristán contesta a Isolda: «Señora, es cierto. Debemos irnos del bosque del Morois, pues el rey Marco tiene buenas razones de querer perjudicarnos. Tiene mi espada, me ha dejado la suya: hubiera podido matarnos». – «Tenéis razón, señor, yo también *lo creo*»).

Ce m'est avis recae aquí en una hipótesis «El rey Marco hubiera podido matarnos si hubiera querido». Isolda concluye a partir de indicios que proceden de su experiencia personal.

Para resumir, *il m'est avis que p*, *il li fu avis que p* son modalidades epistémicas y pertenecen a los verbos de opinión. Están relacionadas por una parte con la creencia (*je crois, je pense*, «creo, pienso»), y por otra parte con el saber (*je sais, je me rends compte, je vois, je suis sûr*, «sé, me doy cuenta, veo, estoy seguro»). Esto explica su polisemia. Estas expresiones tienen un valor semántico que no es estable y pueden interpretarse según el contexto como «por lo que veo, me parece que, creo que, tengo buenas razones de pensar que, sé que, estoy convencido de que, etc.».

2. *AVIS LI FU QUE* Y EL SUEÑO MEDIEVAL

La *Queste del Saint Graal* es una novela artúrica en prosa que forma parte del ciclo del *Lancelot-Graal*. Está fechada hacia 1225-1230. En (13), Gauvain y Hestor cabalgan juntos. Entran en un bosque donde no ven a nadie, encuentran una pequeña capilla y duermen en ella. Cada uno de ellos tiene un sueño:

(13) *Quant il se furent endormi si avint a chascun une avision merveilleuse* qui ne fet mie a oublier, ainz la doit l'en bien amentevoir en conte, *car assez i a grant senefiance, ce que mes sires Gauvains vit en son dormant, si li fu avis q'il estoit en .i. pré plein d'erbe vert*, et de flors i ot a plenté. En cel pré avoit .i. rastelier ou il menjoient .c. et .l. toriaus, li torel estoient orgueillex et tuit vairié ne mes .iii. De ces .iii. n'estoit li uns ne bien tachiez ne bien sanz tache, et li autre estoient si blanc et si bel com il pooient plus estre.
(*Queste del Saint Graal*, § 187; hacia 1225-1230)
(Cuando se hubieron dormido, le llegó a cada uno una visión maravillosa que no debe olvidarse, al contrario, hay que recordarla en el cuento, pues tiene un gran significado lo que messire Gauvain vio mientras dormía. Vi0 que estaba en un prado lleno de hierba verde, y había muchas flores. En este prado había un comedero donde comían ciento un toros. Los toros eran orgullosos y todos eran moteados salvo tres. Uno de estos tres tenía alguna mancha, y los otros dos eran extremadamente blancos y hermosos, etc.).

Gauvain y Hestor buscan un ermitaño, un hombre santo, que les explique la *senefiance*, el significado transcendente, de sus sueños respectivos. El ermitaño explica que el comedero es la mesa redonda. Los toros moteados son los caballeros de la corte del rey Arturo, que han caído en la lujuria y el orgullo. Los dos toros blancos son Galaad y Lancelot, que son puros. El toro con alguna mancha es Boorz, que había pecado, pero ya se ha enmendado, etc. Se trata de un sueño de simbolismo animal.

La *Queste del Saint Graal* tiene nueve sueños, todos ellos introducidos por *avis li fu que*, *si li fu avis que*. Marchello-Nizia (1985) señala que desde principios del siglo XIII y hasta el siglo XVI al menos, todos los sueños son introducidos por esta fórmula ritual. Esta misma fórmula era ya muy frecuente en los cantares de gesta (Braet 1975), aunque aquí alterna con otras formulaciones. *Avis li fu que* es un marcador evidencial de sueños.

Hoy en día, a partir de Freud, los sueños son imágenes que resultan de la actividad psíquica del durmiente y abren una ventana al inconsciente. En la cultura de la cristiandad medieval, la fuente del sueño es exterior al que duerme. En (13) *si avint a chascun une avision merveilleuse*, «le llegó a cada uno una visión sobrenatural (*merveilleuse*)», el verbo impersonal *avenir* significa literalmente «le sucedió». El durmiente tiene un papel pasivo, simplemente es el receptor de imágenes sobrenaturales que le llegan de fuera. El que sueña es en sí el lugar donde tiene lugar el sueño. El sueño se concibe como una sucesión de imágenes que se aparecen desde fuera a la mente (Schmitt, 2003/4, p. 556). Además, el sueño no solo concierne al durmiente, sino que afecta a la sociedad en su conjunto. Da indicaciones sobre el destino colectivo y no solo individual (Schmitt, 2003/4, p. 553).

El sueño va más allá de la percepción sensible del mundo real y da acceso sin mediación alguna a las realidades invisibles del cielo. Mediante el sueño, el durmiente entra en relación con los poderes del más allá, que en la tradición cristiana pueden ser positivos o negativos. De ahí que haya que distinguir sueños «verdaderos» –de origen divino– y sueños «falsos» –de origen diabólico– y la desconfianza que pueden provocar los sueños. Aunque la concepción de los sueños como verdaderos o falsos varía mucho en función del género de los textos y de su fecha. En los cantares de gesta y en los textos hagiográficos (siglos XI y XII) los sueños siempre son verdaderos, aunque su significado no siempre esté claro y necesiten una interpretación. Pero la veracidad de los sueños queda fuera de toda duda (Marchello-Nizia, 1985).

Veamos ahora la representación de los sueños en la iconografía medieval. La imagen del sueño consiste en la yuxtaposición del durmiente y del objeto del sueño. El durmiente está recostado, con los ojos generalmente cerrados, con la cabeza apoyada en la mano o en el codo. El durmiente tiene *la main à la maisselle*, según la expresión que usan los textos. La *maisselle* es la mejilla, del latín *maxilla*. Es decir, que tiene la mano en la mejilla, es el gesto del que sueña en la iconografía (Le Goff, 1999, p. 963). Generalmente, no hay separación alguna entre el durmiente y lo que está soñando (Schmitt, 2003/4, p. 556).

El Árbol de Jesé (imagen 1) es una representación de la genealogía humana y divina de Cristo basada en una profecía del profeta Isaías. Jesé es el padre del rey David. El árbol de Jesé es un motivo frecuente, sobre todo entre los siglos XII y XV. La imagen representa a Jesé dormido, con la mano en la mejilla, que parece con-



Imagen 1. Vidriera del árbol de Jesé, principios del siglo xvi, iglesia Sainte-Madeleine, Troyes, Champagne.

templar en sueños la raíz o el tronco que sale de su propio cuerpo y que sube hasta la cima en la que aparecen la Virgen y el niño. No hay separación alguna entre la imagen del sueño, lo que Jesé ve en el sueño, y la imagen del propio durmiente. No hay frontera entre la realidad y el sueño. O, dicho de otro modo, el sueño es una realidad y de ahí su importancia en el universo mental de los hombres de la Edad Media. El sueño es una manifestación de lo sobrenatural, es un mensaje, una advertencia más o menos clara (Lecouteux, 1997, p. 12).



Imagen 2. Le *Roman de la Rose*, finales del XIII, BNF, Manuscrits, français 378, f. 13.

El *Roman de la Rose* es todo ello el relato de un sueño. Esta miniatura, que introduce los manuscritos más antiguos, está inspirada del árbol de Jesé. El amante está durmiendo con la mano en la mejilla y está soñando con cómo alcanzar la rosa. Un rosal parece nacer de su cama y a los pies de la cama está Peligro, que hace guardia con la *massue* (el garrote) en la mano. Aparecen aquí yuxtapuestas la imagen del durmiente y la imagen soñada del rosal (imagen 2).

Los textos medievales sí establecen una distinción, sin embargo, entre el sueño y el relato. La fórmula *il li fu avis que* viene a interrumpir el relato mediante la introducción de un sueño. Lo que se relata en el sueño no se integra en la sucesión de acontecimientos del relato. El sueño suspende el relato y está constituido por una serie de momentos presentes a los que asiste el durmiente. El estatus especial del sueño dentro del relato está marcado formalmente, primero por la fórmula ritual *il li fu avis que*, luego por los tiempos verbales. La mayor parte de los sueños se relatan en imperfecto de indicativo, aunque no todos. El indicativo marca que lo que se ve en sueños no es ilusorio. Los sucesos que se viven en sueños tienen la misma realidad que lo que acontece en el relato cuando el personaje está despierto (Moignet, 1978, p. 116). El imperfecto de indicativo sitúa la materia de los sueños en el ámbito de la realidad. El imperfecto, a su vez, instaura una ruptura entre lo soñado y el relato. Los tiempos de base del relato en francés antiguo son el pretérito indefinido, el presente histórico o el pretérito perfecto. El pretérito indefinido proporciona el marco en el que se inscribe el relato del sueño. El sueño, al relatarse en imperfecto, se sitúa en un plano narrativo distinto, el del personaje dormido que asiste desde su presente al desarrollo del sueño. El imperfecto se mantiene para relatar el sueño a veces en secuencias muy largas donde no hay dependencia sintáctica explícita. Sin embargo, hay que considerar que toda la secuencia onírica depende de la fórmula introductora, ya sea *il li fus avis que* o *il sonja que*, aunque no haya subordinación explícita. El empleo del imperfecto en el relato de los sueños no se explica por razones gramaticales. En los sueños, el imperfecto ocupa a veces el lugar que

tendría en el relato un tiempo perfectivo como el pretérito indefinido (*passé simple*). Se aplica así a procesos únicos y conclusivos que normalmente en el relato van en *passé simple* (Goullut, 2007, pp. 48-51). El empleo del imperfecto en los sueños se debe a razones aspectuales. El imperfecto presenta el proceso a medida que se desarrolla. El sueño relatado en imperfecto presenta una sucesión de acontecimientos, de imágenes, que se muestran a los ojos del durmiente.

3. *SONGER QUE* INTRODUCTOR DE SUEÑOS

En los textos anteriores al siglo XIII, *avis li fu que* no es el único marcador evidencial de sueños. La *Chanson de Roland* tiene cinco sueños. En todos ellos el durmiente es Carlomagno. En el primero, el emperador sueña que Ganelón va a traicionarlo:

(14) *Carles se dort*, li empereres riches.
Sunjat qu'il eret al greignurs porz de Sizer;
Entre ses poinz teneit sa hanste fraisnine;
Guenes li quens l'ad sur lui saisie;
Par tel aïr l'at estrussee e brandie
Qu'envers le cel en volent les escicles.
(*Chanson de Roland*, v. 718-722; 1080)
(Carlos se duerme, el poderoso emperador *soñó que* estaba en los más altos puertos de Cize: en las manos tenía su lanza de fresno; el conde Ganelón se la ha arrebatado de tal modo que las astillas vuelan hacia el cielo).

En todos los sueños del *Roland* se especifica siempre que Carlomagno está durmiendo (*Carles se dort* v. 718). El marcador que introduce el sueño es aquí *il sunjat que*, «soñó que». *Songer que* es frecuente como introductor de sueños hasta el siglo XIII.

Acto seguido, Carlomagno refiere este sueño al duque Naimes y lo explica:

(15) Si grant doel ai ne puis muer nel pleigne
Par Guenelun serat destruite France.
Enoit m'avint un'avisiun d'angele,
Que entre mes puinz me depeçout ma hanste.
(*Chanson de Roland*, v. 834-836; 1080)
(Siento tanto dolor que no puedo sino llorar. Por Ganelón será destruida Francia. Anoche tuve un sueño enviado por un ángel, soñé que Ganelón me destrozaba la lanza entre las manos).

La visión procedente de un ángel le sucede, le llega sin que él tenga parte en ello: *Enoit m'avint un'avisiun d'angele*,/ *Que* ... «me llegó un sueño / soñé que». El verbo *songer* está aquí implícito. El sueño es algo que le llega de fuera, no procede de Carlomagno mismo.

El cuarto sueño está introducido de manera muy similar:

(16) Aprés icele *li vien un'altre avisiun,*
Qu'il ert en France, ad Ais, a un perrun,
En dous chaeines si teneit un brohun (...).
La vit li reis si merveillus estur;
Mais ço ne set liquels veint ne quels nun.
Li angles Deu ço ad mustret al barun.
(*Chanson de Roland*, v. 2555-2568; 1080)
(Después de este sueño le llega otro, sueña que estaba en Francia, en Aquisgrán, delante de una escalinata, llevaba un oso con dos cadenas. (...) Allí vió el rey un combate maravilloso [entre un buitre y un oso]; pero no sabe cuál de ellos gana y cuál no. He aquí lo que el ángel de Dios ha mostrado al barón).

Carlomagno presencia un combate entre un buitre y un oso. El sueño es presentado como una serie de escenas o de imágenes que el ángel muestra a Carlomagno: *Li angles Deu ço ad mustret al barun*, «esto es lo que el ángel de Dios ha mostrado al barón». En todos los casos, el sueño es algo exterior al durmiente, que se le aparece o le llega sin que él intervenga como agente.

La *Chanson de Roland* abarca todas las formas del sueño épico, con dos características principales: 1. El sueño sucede solo a personajes escogidos, sobre todo reyes, o a Carlomagno mismo. 2. Son preponderantes los sueños con simbolismo animal (Corbellari, 2007, p. 61).

4. CONCLUSIÓN

Debido a su valor etimológico, *il m'est avis que p*, *il li fu avis que p* tienen predilección por la percepción visual directa. La información ha podido ser vista directamente o inferida a partir de una percepción visual. En su empleo inferencial, marcan también una opinión personal basada en indicios a partir de los cuales el locutor saca una conclusión. En los textos literarios franceses medievales, el sueño es exterior al durmiente, tiene un origen sobrenatural y un significado transcendente. Se trata de secuencias marcadas por *il li fu avis que*, por el modo indicativo y muy generalmente por el imperfecto. El empleo del indicativo indica que los sucesos del sueño corresponden a la realidad. No son una pura ficción o una imaginación del que sueña.

Aikhenvald (2004, p. 59) señala que muchas lenguas marcan el sueño como fuente de información. Es el caso del Kwakiutl, lengua de la Columbia Británica, que tiene un sufijo evidencial «visto en un sueño». Del mismo modo hay que considerar a *Il li fu avis que* como un marcador evidencial de sueños, dentro de la percepción visual directa.

En francés medieval, los sueños están introducidos por la fórmula ritual *il li fu avis que*, que presenta el sueño como una fuente de información fiable, real y verdadera. Los textos franceses medievales tratan el sueño como una realidad directamente observada.

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Lejos queda la visión del Renacimiento y el humanismo del siglo xvi como fenómenos netamente italianos que permearon con mayor o menor fortuna en el resto de los territorios europeos. Sin embargo, la diferenciada realidad ibérica debe seguir siendo matizada y revisada en su particular contexto, como sugiere la colección de estudios del volumen colaborativo editado por A. Rodríguez Laiz e I. Delgado Jara. A través de esta amplia selección de trabajos, principalmente pertenecientes al ámbito de la filología, pero también contando con las aportaciones desde la historia del arte, se ofrece un panorama múltiple y complejo del humanismo en la península Ibérica. Textos, hitos históricos, espacios y obras de arte componen una urdida trama cultural en la que destaca la heterogeneidad y, muy especialmente, la pervivencia de la tradición medieval y el impacto de la reforma protestante.

El conjunto de capítulos se dispone en tres bloques diferenciados, si bien dentro de cada uno se articulan a la vez subgrupos temáticos. El primer apartado, «Humanismo en la Península Ibérica: siglos xv-xviii», aborda varios autores y textos desde el análisis filológico. La segunda parte ,«Tradición clásica y humanismo en Erasmo: textos, traducciones e influencias», se centra en la figura de Erasmo de Rotterdam y su recepción en los reinos peninsulares. Por último, un tercer bloque, «El entorno artístico y cultural en Hispania en los siglos xv y xvi», centrado en el ámbito salmantino, revisa complejos arquitectónicos e imágenes característicos del humanismo, tratando de comprenderlos dentro de su contexto cultural. En definitiva, los autores, en su mayoría, plantean propuestas metodológicas novedosas para la realidad peninsular o revisiones historiográficas al manido concepto de humanismo, que, como destaca J. Jiménez, se ha usado como «certificado de calidad» en muchas investigaciones (p. 473).

Encabezando el primer bloque, J.M. Valero Moreno ya sugiere la continuidad de la Edad Media y el humanismo hispano y por ello invita a emplear el sintagma «humanismo escolástico», más preciso. Y es que, como muestran las obras de Alonso de Cartagena o Antonio de Nebrija, entre otros, su afán humanista se enfoca hacia la conjugación de lo filológico con lo teológico. La aproximación a las fuentes clásicas, y en concreto al griego, para depurar los textos bíblicos tiene como fin último servir a la correcta predicación para mayor beneficio de la Reforma, según la escuela de la Universidad de Alcalá, ya fundada por el cardenal Cisneros.

Del mismo modo, como aborda la contribución de J.M. Nieto Ibáñez acerca de Lorenzo de Zamora, se acude a la tradición clásica en busca de alegorías, como el caso de los árboles del olivo, o la palma, que persiguen devolver el sentido de las Escrituras a la gente sencilla y persuadir al fiel auditorio (p. 91). Equiparar a los fieles con el árbol de la palma, seco en su parte inferior, pegada a la tierra, y abierto con sus dulces frutos y amplias ramas hacia el cielo, genera imágenes sugerentes

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de gran utilidad para la predicación, en este caso destinadas a los discursos preparatorios de la Cuaresma. Lo mismo sucede con san Juan de Ávila, tratado por A. Ruiz Pérez, que muestra un interés instrumental hacia la lengua griega, incidiendo en un conocimiento más contextual y contenidista dirigido a depurar textos para formar clérigos capaces de explicar el dogma cristiano. Frente a un interés por el conocimiento *per se* o en aras del envanecimiento propio, el valor de los sabios se fundamenta, según el santo abulense, en la humildad y el esfuerzo.

Dentro del primer bloque, varios estudios ponen el foco en el ámbito de la ciencia y en los textos producidos por algunos hombres de medicina, como Francisco Vallés, médico de Felipe II, o Luis Lobera, vinculado a la corriente del «galenismo humanista». El estudio de M. A. Sánchez Manzano sobre la obra de Vallés *De sacra philosophia,* concebida con el esquema del *hexaemeron*, revela la elocuencia de los expurgos de los que fueron presa diferentes ediciones. La censura, corrección y fragmentación es una constante reveladora de la problemática teológica que afecta al contexto peninsular del 1500. Ciertos temas, como sucede en el caso de la obra de Vallés con la adivinación o los sueños, son proclives a plantear problemas para la ortodoxia y por ello fueron frecuentemente expurgados. Así los antiguos clásicos debían ceder siempre ante la autoridad de la Biblia.

Lo mismo sucede en otros textos literarios, caso de las traducciones de novelas griegas en el Siglo de Oro. Los traductores, además de transformar la trama suprimiendo o ampliando ciertos contenidos, presentan un marcado sesgo a la hora de transmitir pasajes sextuales y mágicos, como demuestra P. Torres París para las traducciones de Leucipa y Cariclea. Las versiones traducidas al castellano de Luciano de Samóstata permiten a C. Monzó Gallo destacar ciertos personajes y temas predilectos que indican igualmente un interés por aquellos contenidos moralizantes. En el ámbito de la poesía, el padre jesuita Juan de Mariana presenta una visión peyorativa del arte poético en línea con el pensamiento platónico y es indicador de que, pese a la impronta estilística y formal de la lengua y el metro clásicos, el rol del poeta se aproxima en su caso más al del *compilator* medieval que al del individuo que habla desde su subjetividad. Se percibe, por tanto, una transmisión de los clásicos sesgada e impregnada de religiosidad, lo que proporciona un matiz de puritanismo al humanismo hispano. La nota exótica la pone la traducción de los *Anales de Egipto* de Salih Gelil por parte de Vicente Bratutti, que permite entrever el interés por lo oriental, y se ofrece como una suerte de libro de viajes, aunque las fuentes de las que bebe el texto turco son inciertas, como señala R. López.

Merece especial mención el estudio de M.A. Coronel Ramos por la interesante propuesta que sugiere para el texto catequético *Diálogo de doctrina christiana* (1529). La atribución de autorías varía de unos autores a otros y, pese a su convicción de atribuirlo a Luis Vives, el autor interroga al texto y advierte del problema historiográfico que supone proyectar en las obras la personalidad de sus supuestos autores, sacrificando así parte del contenido y sus mensajes en aras de amoldarlos a ideas preconcebidas. Se reclama así la vocación convergente y ecléctica del D.D.C., que toma préstamos de heterogéneas corrientes reformadoras, y no tan solo erasmistas, como se había destacado. Un catecismo de mínimos que se hace eco de la «*authoctonous heterodoxy*» del atribulado contexto peninsular (p. 157).

El segundo bloque, centrado en la figura de Erasmo de Rotterdam, plantea contribuciones igualmente misceláneas. Por una parte, se muestran varias aportaciones del proyecto Bibliotheca Erasmiana Hispánica: Erasmo en las bibliotecas españolas actuales e históricas. Ministerio de Educación (HUM2005-04123), que desde un estudio cuantitativo y sistemático pretenden comprender el impacto del corpus erasmiano dentro de las bibliotecas peninsulares. Los datos presentados para el caso andaluz, aun a pesar de lo fragmentario de los volúmenes conservados, dan cuenta del peso del humanista holandés, cuyo porcentaje en las colecciones librarias se asemeja al de los libros de horas o las crónicas medievales, según J. Solana Pujalte. Además, es igualmente relevante su acogida en varias capas de población, entre las que destaca el grupo de trabajadores manuales, indicador de la impronta erasmiana en la península.

Asimismo, en este bloque se recogen contribuciones enfocadas en los contenidos de la obra de

Erasmo y sus relaciones con ciertas personalidades españolas. Indudablemente, su figura supuso un cambio a la hora de entender las Sagradas Escrituras volviendo a la fuente originaria, en busca de la *vera theologia.* No obstante, la deriva crítica hacia el orden la Iglesia y las órdenes mendicantes, como ilustra la famosa (y descontextualizada) sentencia de «*monachatus non est pietas*», condujo progresivamente un rechazo y condena del humanista holandés, especialmente a partir de 1520.

La correspondencia entre Erasmo y Juan de Maldonado muestra la progresiva distancia entre ambos, de la admiración inicial del castellano a la censura, según V. Pastor Julián, a causa del choque entre dos humanismos contrapuestos: el literario representado por Maldonado y el filológico. No fue tan afable la relación con el franciscano Juan de Carvajal, enemigo acérrimo del holandés, como muestra en su libelo *Dulcoratio amarulentiarum Erasmicae responsionis* (1530), donde le reprocha su odio encarnizado a los frailes y sus inclinaciones heréticas. Aunque, como responde el propio Erasmo, el rechazo de Carvajal se basa en una lectura parcial y descontextualizada de sus obras. La impronta erasmista se deja sentir también en la obra de Alonso de Cartagena, que defiende la lectura de la obra de Erasmo con la debida precaución, especialmente entre colectivos débiles y proclives a la desinformación, como las mujeres. Aun así, se censura la actitud desmesurada del holandés y se afirma a la Iglesia como máxima autoridad en lo que concierna a las Santas Escrituras.

Finalmente, además de las traducciones del célebre *Enchiridion*, la recepción de obras erasmistas menores como la *Querela pacis*, que exhorta al pacifismo de la cristiandad, se tratan de entender dentro del contexto específico de la guerra de las comunidades, como aborda A. Matilla Santos. De manera sintética, del respeto y apreciación por Erasmo, se pasa a una progresiva censura de ciertas ideas, llegando hasta un absoluto rechazo por parte de ciertos sectores que detrás de la figura del holandés atisbaban el peligro luterano penetrando en amplias capas de la población.

Además de la tradición textual, la arquitectura y las artes son relevantes fuentes que exhiben de manera visual los discursos del poder religioso y profano. En el tercer bloque se reúnen varios estudios a propósito de diversos edificios y piezas del entorno salmantino del 1500: la Portada Rica de la Universidad, el convento de San Esteban, la Capilla Dorada de la catedral y el patrimonio librario del arzobispo don Diego de Anaya. Finalmente, un capítulo dedicado a la recepción en la literatura moderna de la diosa Hécate cierra el volumen. Las contribuciones dedicadas a la urbe salmantina comparten el interés por interrogar y manifestar una postura crítica con respecto a la tradición historiográfica.

L. Lahoz insiste en la continuidad de los usos y funciones de la imagen medieval a través del tapiz petrificado de la fachada universitaria, que dialoga con el espacio urbano del mismo modo que los tapices o reposteros colocados en grandes festividades o recepciones, costumbre que continúa en el contexto del siglo XVI. El edificio de la universidad salmantina es un hito urbano, pero también en este periodo se renuevan otros espacios como el convento de San Esteban de la Orden de Predicadores, que, como analiza J. P. Rojas, a través de su topografía y de las subsecuentes reformas realizadas se erige como conjunto ideológico de tinte reformista, obedeciendo las intenciones de sus comitentes.

La comprensión de la obra en su conjunto permite matizar las lecturas de ciertos motivos iconográficos procedentes de la tradición clásica que, enarbolados como adalides del advenimiento del Renacimiento en territorio peninsular, resultan proceder de tradiciones medievales. Este es el caso de las sibilas de la Capilla Dorada de la catedral salmantina, que, como propone M. Casas, se disponen como galería de ejemplos propia de la Edad Media y con tintes escatológicos que encajan con el programa iconográfico de un espacio funerario. Los conceptos extemporáneos y, una vez más, el uso de etiquetas exitosas como la de humanismo no están exentos de peligros interpretativos, como advierte J. Jiménez. Así, para el conjunto de volúmenes que se han venido denominado biblioteca del arzobispo Anaya, el autor propone el concepto de «patrimonio librario» y matiza el epítome de bibliófilo, frecuentemente aplicado a la figura de don Diego de Anaya.

A través de un variado elenco de contribuciones que tratan diferentes personalidades, textos y contextos, se recoge una dinámica y multifacética realidad de la España del 1500. Las fuentes

primarias tanto textuales como visuales son interrogadas, así como la crítica, el relato historiográfico que las ha transmitido. La pluralidad y la relatividad de los discursos son una constante de nuestro tiempo, en el que se multiplican los estudios y la producción editorial, y dejan una consecuente impronta en la aproximación investigadora actual. Frente a compartimentos estancos y grandes etiquetas, a una historia de centro y periferias, en este volumen se despliega la riqueza de matices de una realidad compleja y específica: la del humanismo en la península Ibérica.

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Houghton, Robert (ed.), *Playing the Middle Ages: Pitfalls and Potential in Modern Games*, Bloomsbury Academic, 2023, 289 pp., ISBN: 978-1-3502-4288-3.

Durante décadas, el Medievo ha ejercido una gran fascinación en la cultura popular contemporánea. Esta fascinación ha hecho que la Edad Media se convierta en una de las etapas favoritas para los desarrolladores y creadores de videojuegos y juegos de mesa. Con su libro *Playing the Middle Ages: Pitfalls and Potential in Modern Games*, Robert Houghton, junto a otros investigadores, tratan algunos temas muy importantes, aportando unas perspectivas innovadoras.

Robert Houghton introduce el libro con su capítulo «The Middle Ages in modern games: An adolescent field» (pp. 1-28), dando al lector una síntesis de los trabajos realizados en los últimos años. Apunta al trabajo de Daniel T. Kline, *Digital Gaming Reimagines the Middle Ages*, como una obra clave en la investigación de un campo que, en su momento de publicación, estaba aún en una fase incipiente. Houghton señala un evidente crecimiento a lo largo de los años, pero sin llegar a alcanzar la madurez plena al haberse diversificado en ramas diferentes. Ylva Grufstedt, en "Unbending medievalisms – Finding counterfactual history in sandbox games set in the Middle Ages" (pp. 29-49), introduce al lector al *sandbox* y a la historia contrafactual. Grufstedt valora la importancia de la reinterpretación de la historia como forma de permitir a los jugadores experimentar con nuevos escenarios, aunque critica la ausencia de elementos reales. Así, con tres títulos diferentes, Grufstedt señala las formas de los desarrolladores de incluirla en sus juegos: unos prefieren ceñirse a la historia real, otros optan por incluir menos referencias y otros prefieren quedarse en un punto medio.

A continuación, Mariana López, en «Playing the sonic past: Reflections on sound in medieval-themed videogames» (pp. 52-74), da cuenta de la importancia que el sonido tiene en los videojuegos basados en el Medievo. López apunta a algunos rasgos del diseño sonoro, como la voz en *off* para reflejar la narrativa oral, los sonidos bélicos o los relacionados con la espiritualidad y la magia. Sin embargo, también muestra al lector que algunos videojuegos adolecen de una gran descontextualización de los personajes o de unas batallas casi silentes. Señala, además, la existencia de juegos solo en audio, que obligan a los desarrolladores a perfeccionar el sonido. Karen M. Cook, en «Medieval Sounds, Sounding Medieval» (pp. 75-88) comenta la necesidad de crear al jugador una «sensación medieval» a través de sonidos modernos que son considerados medievales, a pesar de alejarse de la realidad. Sin embargo, señala que la mayoría de los videojuegos han convertido al Medievo en una etapa cristiana, alejándose de otras religiones y realidades. El uso de voces mayoritariamente masculinas, la utilización de coros, la importancia de la religión y la magia llevan a Cook a concluir que los videojuegos interpretan una Europa «cristiana, misógina, violenta, supersticiosa, mágica e incluso diabólica».

Por su parte, Gordon Smith, en «All on board for the crusades» (pp. 89-102), da al lector una imagen de las Cruzadas en los juegos de mesa. Smith divide los juegos en seis categorías diferentes: los que utilizan la abstracción para representar las Cruzadas, los que las colocan como una opción alterna a la trama del juego, los que las incluyen en contextos históricos más amplios, los que llevan las Cruzadas al género del *wargame*, los que combinan elementos políticos y diplomáticos, y los que mezclan el *wargame* con la diplomacia, dando al jugador a elegir. Con ejemplos variados de cada categoría, el lector recibe una perspectiva completa y desarrollada.

Liam McLeod, en «Subverting the valiant crusader: The Sarafan in the *Legacy of Kain: Soul Reaver Series*» (pp. 103-129), asegura que el ideario de cruzado, de «hombre salvaje» en un mundo apocalíptico, ha motivado casos reales de terrorismo. A partir del ejemplo de *Legacy of Kain*, explica cómo se creó este estereotipo, pero también cómo la saga lo desmonta al presentar un final que lleva a la conclusión de que todos los implicados tienen una visión sesgada de la realidad. Concluye McLeod señalando la importancia de los videojuegos en desradicalizar a una sociedad cada vez más extremista. Por su parte, Adam Bierdstedt comenta

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en «Making friendships, breaking friendships: Exploring Viking-age social roles through player strategy in *A Feast for Odin*» (pp. 130-148), tras explicar las normas de este juego de mesa, cómo permite que existan dentro del juego las relaciones de amistad, fomentando estrategias basadas en la «economía de regalos» y reduciendo al mínimo la violencia dentro del juego. Aunque para Bierdstedt la importancia de las relaciones amistosas es un buen punto a favor, considera que no logra ejemplificar el aspecto bélico ni el religioso. Por ello, una parte del mundo vikingo aparece bien representada, pero otra queda sin desarrollar.

Robert Houghton incluye un segundo capítulo, «Abandoning Civilization: Medieval rulership in *Crusader Kings III, Reigns* and *Mount & Blade: Warband*» (pp. 149-166), en el que apunta a la poca importancia que la saga *Civilization* ha dado al Medievo, señalando otros juegos que parten de la misma premisa basados en la Edad Media. El poder en ellos es muy importante, pero cada uno tiene una forma distinta de representarlo: mientras *Crusader Kings III* da gran importancia a la diplomacia y al rol, *Reigns* opta por las decisiones binarias y por reducir la información, y *Mount & Blade: Warband* obliga al jugador a llevar su gobernanza en primera persona. Jonathan Bloch, en «Joan of Arc, the Meme of Orléans: the playful liberties taken with history by the *Age of Empires II* gaming community» (pp. 167-181) comenta cómo la figura de Juana de Arco, muy exaltada e hiperbolizada en el juego, era muy reconocida por sus jugadores, y en internet apareció un contenido variado alrededor de su figura, en especial, memes. Bloch señala, tras un exhaustivo análisis, que este contenido estaba mayormente relacionado con aspectos técnicos y vídeos en internet jugando al título, y no tanto con aspectos históricos.

Neil Nagwekar, en "On the postcolonial analysis of 'Indians' in *Age of Empires II*: a theory of 'ethnical programs' behind postcolonial criticisms of videogames" (pp. 183-194), continúa hablando de *Age of Empires II*, en especial de los indios. Considerada una de las campañas menos populares del juego, Nagwekar comenta que incluye muchas imprecisiones a nivel histórico, y que se utiliza la «lógica colonial», que muchas veces se traduce en la ausencia de expresividad por parte de los individuos postcoloniales y en los conflictos en las mecánicas de victoria. La colonización es también fundamental en el capítulo de Johansen Quijano, «Virtually (de)colonized: racial identity and colonialism in the Middle Ages and as depicted in *Kingdom Come: Deliverance, A Plague Tale: Innocence, The Elder Scrolls and Black Desert Online*» (pp. 195-209). Quijano señala, al igual que Cook, que se ha reducido la diversidad de la Edad Media a un imaginario popular muy acotado. Para el autor, algunos juegos representan una sociedad blanca completamente homogénea, mientras que otros se muestran más respetuosos con la diversidad, aunque queden aspectos por pulir.

Markus Eldegard Mindrebø, en «Representations of medieval gender archetypes in fantasy role-playing games» (pp. 211-225), comenta la diferencia entre hombres y mujeres y sus roles en los videojuegos. Mindrebø señala que las mujeres desarrollan dos papeles: o bien como amenaza para el hombre, o bien subordinada a él. El autor explora las diferencias entre las mujeres que aparecen en *The Witcher* y en *Skyrim*, mostrando al lector cómo las mujeres aparecen representadas dentro de un ambiente masculino al que han de estar necesariamente subordinadas.

En «Ashen, hollow, cursed: fragile knighthood in the *Dark Souls* series and its medieval antecedents» (pp. 227-243), Patrick Butler apunta, al igual que Liam McLeod, a una violencia justificada en un estereotipo medieval creado por el propio imaginario popular. Desde la saga *Dark Souls*, Butler explica cómo se desmonta el estereotipo del caballero invulnerable, a partir de los ejemplos de Siegmeyer de Catarina, Lucatiel de Mirrah y Yhorm el Gigante, a los que compara con personajes de obras medievales que siguen la misma narrativa.

Culmina la monografía Balir Apgar con «Matilda of Canossa and *Crusader Kings II*: (Papal) Warrior princess *Q*(pp. 245-264). Tras estudiar la vida de Matilda de Canossa, explica al lector cómo el jugador de *Crusader Kings II* tiene la posibilidad de escogerla como duquesa, pero que se encontrará con la dificultad de la variedad de criterios que ha de cumplir. De la misma forma, considera el título un juego históricamente inexacto, que permite que Matilda de Canossa sea un personaje jugable.

Con este último capítulo, se cierra una obra que no se limita a cumplir con las expectativas que plantea su autor, sino que las supera con solvencia. Plasma la diversidad de enfoques temáticos que Houghton comentaba en su primer capítulo, y se sitúa como una apuesta firme por llevar a la madurez algunas líneas de investigación que, o bien se hallan en fase incipiente, o bien han experimentado un crecimiento que este título aspira a consolidar. La pluralidad de autores y sus diferentes perspectivas dan al lector una visión panorámica de los logros y problemáticas que presentan los juegos y videojuegos inspirados en el Medievo. En definitiva, esta obra debe servir como un punto de inflexión en un campo muy amplio y diversificado, que aspira a consolidarse en los próximos años.

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Petrovskaia, Natalia I., *Transforming Europe in the Images of the World, 1110-1500. Fuzzy Geographies*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2025, Serie «Knowledge Communities», 208 pp.: Apéndices. ISBN 9789048563166.

Pocos tratados medievales de cosmografía tuvieron tanto impacto como el *Imago mundi* de Honorio Agustodunense. Esta obra, escrita en varias redacciones a lo largo de la primera mitad del siglo xii, fue copiada y recopiada, adaptada en enciclopedias y textos de historia, traducida a numerosas lenguas vernáculas y, en fin, difundida profusamente en Europa en una tradición que se muestra amplia y dinámica. El libro de Natalia Petrovskaia analiza precisamente esa rica tradición con la intención de observar cómo cambia el concepto de Europa a lo largo del tiempo, desde las primeras recepciones del *Imago mundi* hasta finales del siglo xv. Para ello se enfoca en el libro i, que contiene la descripción del cosmos y de la tierra habitada, y que es donde se encuentra el primer concepto de Europa, así como el de Asia, África y «las islas».

Las premisas que utiliza la investigadora son novedosas a la vez que osadas. Por una parte, recurre a la teoría de los conjuntos difusos (propia del área de las matemáticas), a lo que se refiere como *fuzzy sets* a lo largo del estudio. Esto le sirve para analizar el dinamismo que se observa en las adaptaciones de la obra de Honorio, lo que da origen a una Europa (así como a un mar Mediterráneo) cambiante, donde las regiones e islas que integran estos conjuntos varían según los autores y copistas, en un proceso consciente de construcción de la idea geográfica de Europa según el contexto y las audiencias. Esta categoría se aplica igualmente al corpus documental, definido por cuatro conjuntos «difusos» de obras, en la medida en que algunas de ellas no casan del todo con la división de géneros literarios elaborada por los filólogos e historiadores, a saber: adaptaciones latinas, adaptaciones vernáculas en contextos narrativos (por ejemplo, historias de Alejandro Magno), adaptaciones vernáculas en contextos enciclopédicos y traducciones vernáculas.

La segunda premisa que Petrovskaia sienta desde el comienzo es el tema del lenguaje usado por el autor del *Imago*, que califica como arcaizante. Este ángulo le permite explicar, en parte, la facilidad con que la obra fue adaptada en la posteridad, puesto que sus descripciones remitían a las categorías clásicas de la geografía romana, sin perjuicio de que haya un juego complejo en el uso de términos como *regio* y *provincia*. Igualmente en esta línea está el problema de los nombres de regiones, provincias y ciudades. Honorio sistemáticamente usa la nomenclatura clásica, lo que abre la puerta a las adaptaciones para tomar, dejar o actualizar ese lenguaje en función de los intereses redaccionales.

Luego de la introducción, donde se nos revela el marco teórico de la investigación, una primera parte presenta *in extenso* la obra *Imago mundi*, y a su autor, Honorio Agustodunense. Para ello resulta propicio el concepto de «enciclopedismo medieval», aunque con las reservas del caso en el empleo del término «enciclopedia». Se trata de textos donde prima la intención de sistematizar el conocimiento, por lo cual Petrovskaia prefiere usar el término más como una característica de algunas obras que como un género literario (p. 39). A continuación desarrolla la vida del autor (lo poco que se sabe de él) y la elaboración del *Imago mundi* que consta de cuatro redacciones: 1110, 1123, 1133 y 1139. La tradición manuscrita refleja la inmensa popularidad de que gozó la obra, puesto que sobreviven no menos de 100 copias. Posteriormente ofrece una descripción del contenido, que está dividido en tres libros. La investigación se centra en el primero, donde Honorio describe los tres continentes de la ecúmene, con la lógica del diagrama T-O. Aquí empieza a operar el marco teórico, puesto que, para la investigadora, las tres partes del mundo no están bien delimitadas, sino que componen *fuzzy sets* que dialogan entre sí. Lo mismo vale para la sección de las islas, que Honorio describe después de África, siguiendo la tradición isidoriana (*Etimologías*, xiv, 6), aunque Petrovskaia no hace mención alguna de ella. La metodología empleada por Honorio no se fija en bordes ni fronteras, sino en pequeñas unidades geográficas, de manera que las regiones también se constituyen en conjuntos (*sets*). El resultado es algo propio (y fundacional) del enciclopedismo del

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siglo XII: un texto con un relato clasificatorio y con la pretensión de dar una representación totalizante del mundo (idea tomada de Jason Baxter). Esto es lo que, a juicio de la autora, distingue la obra de Honorio de la de sus predecesores, como Isidoro de Sevilla y Beda. Esto y el hecho de que la descripción de Honorio sigue una dirección inversa a la de Isidoro: va de abajo hacia arriba, comenzando por la tierra, pasando por el agua, el aire y el fuego, hasta terminar en el Cielo de los Cielos.

El capítulo 2, todavía en la primera parte, se hace cargo de la tradición y la recepción del *Imago mundi* en los siglos posteriores. Esto incluye no solo la copia directa de la obra, sino también las traducciones a lenguas vernáculas y las adaptaciones de la obra en otros contextos literarios. Al primer grupo pertenecen obras como la *Semeiança del mundo* (castellano), *Delw y Byd* (galés), *Ymagine del mondo* (italiano) y otras traducciones atestiguadas en alemán y en nórdico antiguo. Al grupo de las adaptaciones, en cambio, pertenecen las obras de autores como Pierre de Beauvais (*Mappemonde*), Gossouin de Metz (*Image du monde*), William Caxton (*Mirrour of the World*), Brunetto Latini (*Livre dou tresor*), así como una adaptación en italiano y otra en hebreo. La influencia del *Imago* en estos autores muestra los procesos de reescritura y de transmisión del conocimiento asociados al enciclopedismo medieval. Luego se revisan las adaptaciones del texto honoreano en contextos no enciclopédicos, como en el *Atlas Catalán*, atribuido a Abraham Cresques, los *Alexanders geesten* de Jacobo de Marlant, el *Dittamondo* de Fazio degli Uberti, el *Laberinto de Fortuna* redactado por Juan de Mena y algunas sagas escritas en antiguo nórdico. Por último, se presenta un campo de análisis compuesto esta vez por adaptaciones latinas tales como las de Gervasio de Tilbury, Tomás de Cantimpré, Miguel Escoto, Godofredo de Viterbo, Vicente de Beauvais, Juan de Saint-Victor y el cardenal Pierre d'Ailly. Las copias y la recepción del *Imago mundi*, en definitiva, aparecen como creando una extensa y complicada red de textos interrelacionados, donde la materia prima fue usada y reutilizada por múltiples autores de manera independiente (p. 75).

La segunda parte del estudio acomete el análisis del concepto de Europa en el *Imago mundi* y su tradición. Tres son los factores que estructuran este análisis: tiempo, espacio y movimiento. El primero, objeto del capítulo 3, aborda el problema del lenguaje arcaizante usado por Honorio y la importancia de la «autoridad» textual para la descripción de los territorios que componen esa parte del mundo. La propuesta de Honorio de una conceptualización basada en las nociones geográficas clásicas, lejos de representar un conflicto para los lectores de la época, proveyó de «un amplio material para la reescritura y negociación» (p. 85). De hecho, parte de este lenguaje arcaico (las nomenclaturas clásicas) fue conservado en las reescrituras posteriores. Aquí Honorio se aleja de sus fuentes, principalmente Isidoro, Orosio y Beda, en el uso del término *provincia*. Según Petrovskaia, el uso de ese término por Honorio se corresponde *grosso modo* con la extensión del Imperio romano (p. 90). Suabia (*Suevia*), por ejemplo, también ubicada en Europa, es calificada de *regio*, no *provincia*. De esta manera, el mapa de Europa propuesto por Honorio parece derivar más de una historia político-cultural que de una noción geográfica (p. 93). Otros casos analizados en la investigación son las *paludes Meotides*, Hispania y Roma.

El capítulo 4 se ocupa del factor espacial. Aquí tiene especial relevancia un concepto asociado al anterior: la superposición espacial (*overlap*) o espacio de frontera, cuyo sentido espacial se corresponde con un área más que con una línea. Siguiendo, pues, este modelo histórico-geográfico, las tres partes del mundo se superponen en el área del Mediterráneo, lo que convierte a esta última área, a su vez, también en un conjunto difuso (*fuzzy set*). Siguiendo este razonamiento, la investigación analiza los términos empleados para designar el rol del Mediterráneo en la descripción del mundo, en particular el verbo latino *dirimere* (*Habitabilis zona quę a nobis incolitur, in tres partes Mediterraneo mari dirimitur*, lib. I, cap. 7), y el francés *deviser* usado por Gossouin de Metz y Brunetto Latini, que significa tanto dividir como describir, dando entonces el carácter de conjunto difuso a la región marítima. De tal manera se superponen los espacios que en la *Image du monde* de Gossouin de Metz, por ejemplo, encontramos que las regiones de Italia, el sur de Francia e Hispania pertenecen a África.

En el capítulo sobre el movimiento (5) la autora se ocupa de las reescrituras del *Imago*

mundi. En efecto, el contenido de la enciclopedia fue adaptado para contextos políticos y culturales diferentes, adoptando lenguajes también diferentes, lo que a la postre implicó transformaciones en el marco performativo. El proceso queda bien ejemplificado en el análisis de la *Semeiança del mundo*. Esta obra castellana del siglo XIII, además de enfatizar el lugar de la península ibérica en Europa, utiliza un lenguaje que nos lleva al registro oral (*oyestes*) y sitúa la descripción del mundo como un despliegue odepórico, término que Petrovskaia emplea para estas adaptaciones. Siguiendo con la misma técnica, la autora advierte la práctica de situar el propio país al final de la descripción del mundo. Esto podría deberse al interés por unir la geografía con el relato histórico que viene a continuación o bien a que el último lugar del mapa era considerado un lugar de honor, a modo de culminación de la *translatio imperii* y *studii*. Así, el orden de la descripción geográfica en cada adaptación no es inocuo, sino que forma parte integrante de la lectura performativa. La importancia del orden se ve en que el mismo Honorio modificó varias veces la secuencia descriptiva de las regiones de Italia. La investigadora analiza las modificaciones a partir de las diferentes redacciones identificadas por Valerie Flint y observa una vez más la condición de conjunto difuso de esta región europea, lo que se superpone a la técnica de descripción odepórica y explica, a fin de cuentas, por qué es tan difícil ver límites en el *Imago mundi* y sus adaptaciones (p. 150).

La conclusión del libro retoma los conceptos desarrollados a lo largo del estudio para apreciar, una vez más, la inmensa difusión que tuvo el *Imago mundi* de Honorio Agustodunense. Esta fue posible gracias a los dos componentes esenciales de la obra: el lenguaje arcaizante y el hecho de presentar los espacios como conjuntos difusos. A se vez, esos componentes son necesarios para entender la transmisión del texto en términos de la reorientación y el *reenfocamiento* de la obra según los contextos culturales (*retargeting and refocusing*). En definitiva, la obra de Natalia Petrovskaia nos ofrece una triple aportación. En primer lugar, es una muestra de la importancia que tuvo este autor del siglo XII en la Plena y Baja Edad Media, pero también más allá, puesto que su influencia no se acabó con la invención de la imprenta ni con la llegada de los europeos a América. En segundo lugar, el presente estudio plantea la reflexión sobre lo permanente y lo dinámico en el corpus de los conocimientos geográficos en aquella época. Y, por último, lo hace con un método de investigación renovado y fresco que invita a seguir profundizando en las categorías geográficas y la representación del espacio en la Edad Media.

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Vasallo Toranzo, Luis (coord.), *Entre el amor y el desamor: escenarios de ejemplaridad y transgresión en Valladolid (siglos xv al xvi)*. Valladolid, Ediciones Universidad de Valladolid, 2023, 240 pp., ISBN: 978-84-1320-274-7.

El libro *Entre el amor y el desamor: escenarios de ejemplaridad y transgresión en Valladolid (siglos xv al xvi)*, coordinado por Luis Vasallo Toranzo, ofrece un retrato sugerente a la par que poco usual de la sociedad vallisoletana de finales de la Edad Media y comienzos de la Edad Moderna, con una visión interdisciplinar desplegada desde ópticas en ocasiones poco transitadas por la historiografía. A partir de la vida de Aldonza de Zúñiga, una noble cuya historia quedó documentada en un proceso judicial excepcional por su contenido, la obra explora cómo el amor, el honor, la fama, las jerarquías sociales y, sobre todo, las relaciones de género condicionaban el día a día de la época. El enfoque interdisciplinar señalado se sustenta a partir de contribuciones desde el análisis histórico, el literario y el artístico, y pone de relieve desde múltiples perspectivas cómo los escenarios del amor y el desamor se convirtieron tanto en espacios de ejemplaridad como de transgresión en la Castilla del siglo xv.

El volumen se organiza en torno al estudio de la figura de la protagonista, Aldonza de Zúñiga, una noble vallisoletana cuya vida, reconstruida a partir de un pleito judicial celebrado en 1501, discurrió por unos cauces nada habituales en la época. La obra contiene cinco estudios relacionados con ella, y se completa con la publicación final de un extracto amplio del pleito. A su vez, se abre con una presentación a cargo del propio editor, Luis Vasallo, quien contextualiza el hallazgo documental que da origen al estudio. Se trata de un proceso judicial sobre la propiedad de unas aceñas en Cabañuelas, hoy un paraje natural protegido de Talavera de la Reina, que, lejos de limitarse a cuestiones patrimoniales, ofrece una fuente excepcional sobre la vida privada, las relaciones afectivas y la reputación social de Aldonza, al contener una serie de testificaciones acerca de su vida sexual que no suelen quedar reflejadas en las fuentes documentales, y menos en las de este tipo. Por ello la presentación destaca el carácter inusual del documento, basado tanto en la riqueza de los testimonios como en la aparente libertad con la que los testigos se expresan en él, probablemente debido al tiempo transcurrido desde los hechos y a que la mayor parte de los protagonistas han fallecido en el momento de celebrarse el juicio.

El primer capítulo, de Ana E. Ortega Baún y Luis Vasallo, reconstruye la biografía de Aldonza de Zúñiga. A través del pleito, se analizan sus vínculos familiares, su posición social y, centralmente, sus múltiples relaciones amorosas con nobles y criados. El capítulo examina la trascendencia de estas relaciones, especialmente las extramatrimoniales con sirvientes, en su fama pública. Para ello se analiza el término de «mujer enamorada», mostrando que no equivalía necesariamente a prostitución, pero sí conllevaba una fuerte carga de descredito, afectando no solo a su honor personal, sino al de todo su linaje. El texto también detalla la estrategia judicial de su hijo, Alonso de Zúñiga, para reclamar su herencia, basada en despertar la duda sobre su paternidad para intentar vincularla a un noble entre los amantes de su madre, y de ese modo poder mantener sus derechos como heredero. Este capítulo sienta las bases del libro, utilizando la fuente para un análisis más amplio de las dinámicas sociales y los mecanismos de control y transgresión.

El segundo capítulo, a cargo de Vicenç Beltrán, aborda el mismo pleito desde una perspectiva literario-cultural. Beltrán profundiza en el concepto de «mujer enamorada», relacionándolo con lo que se ha denominado «prostitución privada», entendida como el conjunto de relaciones discretas con hombres poderosos a cambio de regalos y protección, socialmente toleradas si se guardaban las apariencias. El autor conecta estas prácticas reales con su reflejo en la literatura de la época, como en *La Celestina* o la poesía de cancionero. Otro eje central de su análisis es la figura del poeta Gómez de Llanos, quien compuso coplas satíricas sobre los amores de Aldonza, demostrando cómo los devaneos de la nobleza alimentaban la creación poética y cómo esta actuaba como un mecanismo de sanción social. Beltrán también subraya las

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diferencias de clase en la percepción del honor, ya que, mientras los criados condenaban abiertamente la conducta de Aldonza, los nobles tendían a justificarla, excepto cuando traspasaba los límites estamentales, como sucedió cuando mantuvo relaciones con sus criados.

En el tercer capítulo, María Ángeles Martín Romera desplaza el foco hacia las redes de solidaridad femenina en la Castilla bajomedieval. A través de dos casos paradigmáticos, la autora muestra cómo estas redes funcionaban como mecanismos de apoyo, resistencia y negociación para las mujeres nobles. El primer caso, el de Mencía de la Vega, señora de Tordehúmos, víctima de una violencia extrema por parte de su esposo, el infante don Fernando de Granada, ejemplifica una red horizontal de sororidad, en la que criadas, familiares y mujeres de su entorno le ofrecieron protección física y testimonial. El segundo caso, el de Isabel Castaño, condesa de Ribadeo, ilustra por su parte una red vertical, en la que intervino la propia reina Isabel con su autoridad para mediar en su conflicto conyugal. Ambos ejemplos demuestran la agencia femenina y cómo los espacios domésticos eran también escenarios de visibilidad social y articulación de alianzas, si bien subraya la fragilidad de estos apoyos, a menudo dependientes de figuras de poder.

Luis Vasallo, en el cuarto capítulo, analiza el proceso de conformación de la plaza de San Pablo de Valladolid, el escenario urbano que fue testigo de estas historias. Explica cómo este espacio antes del siglo xv era un área abierta conocida como La Cascajera, sin un orden definido, que transformó en el corazón político y social de la ciudad tras la construcción de un palacio real para Juan II. Este palacio atrajo a la nobleza, que edificó sus residencias alrededor. El capítulo rastrea la experiencia de la familia de Aldonza en ese entorno urbano. Su madre, Constanza Barba, alquiló una de las viviendas resultantes de la división del antiguo palacio y luego se instalaron en la casa de los condes de Santa Marta. Estos espacios fueron, con el tiempo, escenarios clave de sociabilidad y proyección pública para Aldonza, condicionando su itinerario vital y afectivo.

Cierra el apartado de análisis la quinta y última contribución monográfica, a cargo de Sergio Ramiro Ramírez, quien avanza unas décadas en el tiempo para estudiar la figura de Leonor de Castro, condesa viuda de Ribadavia. En ella se describe su lucha por preservar el patrimonio familiar frente a los intentos de desalojo de su nuera, que revela una sorprendente capacidad de agencia. A través de sus cartas se reconstruye su habilidad técnica para gestionar el mantenimiento del palacio condal en Valladolid, recibido como dote, en un contexto de escasez, mostrando un conocimiento poco común en una mujer de su época. Además de esta defensa material, Leonor cuidó la proyección simbólica de su autoridad como cabeza de linaje mediante actos piadosos y donaciones igualmente destacados.

El libro se completa con un extenso anexo documental, de más de 60 páginas, preparado también por Luis Vasallo, que contiene la transcripción parcial del pleito de las aceñas de Cabañuelas. Esta fuente, esencial para los estudios previos, permite al lector acceder directamente a los testimonios que detallan la vida íntima, los conflictos familiares y los códigos de honor de la época, evidenciando el potencial de la documentación judicial para iluminar aspectos que van mucho más allá de la mera disputa legal. En los interrogatorios de testigos, que, entre unos momentos procesales y otros superan el medio centenar de testimonios, se despliegan detalles íntimos sobre la reputación de Aldonza, sus relaciones con nobles y criados, y las dudas sobre la legitimidad de su hijo Alonso, cuestiones que eran decisivas para determinar su derecho a heredar. Estas declaraciones, recogidas por criados, vecinos y miembros del círculo familiar, son las que permiten reconstruir aspectos de la vida privada, los códigos de honor y los prejuicios de la época analizados en varios de los capítulos del libro, y ponen de manifiesto las enormes posibilidades que la documentación judicial tiene a la hora de abordar aspectos muy variados, y no siempre coincidentes con el hilo principal que motivó el pleito.

En definitiva, como valoración final conviene destacar que el libro constituye una aportación de gran relevancia, sustentada en una estructura coherente que combina la explotación de una fuente primaria de excepcional riqueza con la calidad y diversidad disciplinar de los estudios que la acompañan. Esta convergencia metodológica, que reúne a especialistas en historia, literatura y

arte, permite trascender el estudio de caso para situar la trayectoria de Aldonza de Zúñiga en un marco más amplio de prácticas sociales y representaciones culturales. Al abordar en profundidad cuestiones clave como la sexualidad femenina, la construcción del honor, la gestión patrimonial y las redes de solidaridad, el volumen ofrece interesantes claves interpretativas sobre las formas de agencia femenina y las tensiones entre norma y transgresión en la Castilla bajomedieval.

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Ibarra Figueroa, Williams *et al.* (comp.), *800 años de Tomás de Aquino y conferencias del CESCLAM*. Medellín, CESCLAM-GSP y Epimeleia Editores, 2025, 265 pp., ISBN: 978-628-01-9021-1.

Tomás de Aquino representa uno de los pilares de la tradición filosófico-teológica de Occidente. Su obra, marcada por la síntesis entre filosofía griega, pensar árabe y la revelación cristiana, no solo influyó en la escolástica medieval, sino que también llegó a nuestros días como un referente de diálogo interdisciplinar, de reflexión ética y comprensión integral del hombre. Bajo esta perspectiva de legitimación histórica del pensamiento tomista, el Centro de Estudios Clásicos y Medievales Gonzalo Soto Posada (CESCLAM-GSP) se esfuerza en divulgar el conocimiento sobre las cuestiones metafísicas, antropológicas, éticas y teológicas que emergieron de la vasta obra del Aquinate, promoviendo el estudio riguroso de las fuentes en relación con nuevas formas de interpretación. Esta empresa de los miembros adherentes, plenos y colaboradores de dicha red académica, no es más que un compromiso con la difusión del pensamiento crítico capaz de mantener el diálogo de la tradición filosófico-teológica con la cultura contemporánea en tanto fuente de renovación intelectual.

Particularmente, la más reciente publicación del CESCLAM-GSP, intitulada *800 años de Tomás de Aquino y conferencias del CESCLAM*, celebra el legado del «Doctor Angélico» y reafirma la misión de promover espacios de encuentro en que la filosofía y cultura dialogan para una comprensión integral del mundo. En cuanto al libro, se compone de dos secciones: los estudios dedicados a los aspectos éticos, históricos, metafísicos, deontológicos, teológicos y místicos del pensar tomista, y las conferencias presentadas por los distintos colaboradores en algunos encuentros ofertados por dicha comunidad académica. La primera sección inicia con una reflexión sobre la amistad como base ética para la vida social según santo Tomás de Aquino, reflexión que para la autora del ensayo, Terezinha Oliveira, trasciende lo personal a manera de principio político que rige el orden social en el contexto del renacimiento urbano del siglo xiii. Seguidamente, John Jaime Estrada reconstruye la figura de Tomás de Aquino enfrentado no solo a conflictos familiares, sino también eclesiásticos y académicos.

Su vida, como refiere el profesor Estrada, estuvo rodeada de leyendas. Incluso, ulterior a su fallecimiento, las reliquias del Doctor Angélico fueron objeto de controversia respecto de su posesión por la comunidad dominicana. Lo cierto es que, como concluye el autor, fue un hombre formado en medio de adversidades cuya grandeza intelectual es preservada por el rigor de su pensamiento, presente en sus obras hasta hoy conservadas. El siguiente ensayo, de autoría conjunta por Nelson Reinoso, José de Jesús Herrera y Juan David Parra, presenta el pensamiento de Tomás de Aquino en relación con una filosofía liminal en tanto la experiencia de lo sagrado se sitúa en el umbral entre lo visible y lo inefable. En este sentido, la *analogia entis* de la que habla el Aquinate y su relación con el acontecer simbólico del filósofo español Eugenio Trías se ofrece como una reinterpretación del tomismo en relación con el encuentro de lo humano y lo divino. Ahora bien, retomando la perspectiva ética de santo Tomás, Néstor William Botero analiza sus implicaciones jurídicas en el contexto actual.

Bajo los principios de la justicia, el derecho y la ley cuyo fin común es el bien, Botero destaca que estos conceptos se integran en una visión ética de orden colectivo que constituye la medida racional de la que es capaz el ser humano. Después, en «Desvelando los misterios: la doctrina sagrada como ciencia en Santo Tomás de Aquino», Edwin Rodríguez enfatiza en que a pesar de que la teología no se funda en principios evidentes a la razón natural, lo hace a través de la revelación divina en tanto busca explicar lo trascendente. Dicha trascendencia expresada en la doctrina sagrada, como colige Rodríguez, posee un carácter científico según el uso de la razón que supone la búsqueda de la verdad del mundo, de modo que esta es una vía de comprensión integral del ser que vincula realidad humana y lo que excede a esta. Por su parte, Campo Elías Flórez en su ensayo «La eternidad en la *Suma Teológica* de Tomás de Aquino», pre-

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senta que dicho término expresa la plenitud del ser divino, una atribución de la esencia de Dios, que le hace superior al tiempo y fuente de la estabilidad del cosmos.

Para finalizar esta sección sobre ensayos dedicados a la vida y pensamiento del Doctor Angélico, Julio César Barrera y Luis Fernando Benítez realizan un estudio comparado sobre la belleza entre las escuelas tomista y franciscana. Si para Tomás de Aquino *pulchrum* define la proporción, integridad y claridad de las cosas que constituyen una vía de conocimiento de lo divino, para san Buenaventura y Duns Scoto lo bello es un trascendental del ser ligado a la recta razón que rige todo como una presencia de Dios. Dicho así, para los franciscanos la belleza es categoría ontológico-teológica que describe particularmente la esencia divina, más allá de lo estético cósmico tal como lo concibe santo Tomás de Aquino. La segunda sección, titulada «Conferencias», consta de nueve comunicaciones desarrolladas a lo largo de los años 2022 y 2023 en las cuales diversos autores abordan distintas cuestiones sobre los múltiples temas que fueron clave del desarrollo intelectual del Medioevo. La sección comienza con la comunicación de Maravillas Aguiar, en la que expone el concepto de *Estado* en el islam.

Para esta autora española, la Constitución de Medina se comprende como la primera comunidad en que la religión y la política se vinculan para formar una unidad indisociable. Filósofos como Al-Farabi e Ibn Jaldun profundizaron en la idea del Estado político-religioso cuyo fin es el orden para alcanzar la felicidad. No obstante, con Ibn Arabi, pensador en el que se centra el escrito de la profesora Aguiar, es el equilibrio entre lo racional y lo místico presentes en el hombre lo que conduce la vida moral y social de tal manera que razón y fe,se conjugan en una misma experiencia de conocimiento y acción capaces de sostener la comunidad. Por su parte, el profesor José Antonio González Marrero presenta uno de los avances científicos del siglo x de la era común: la vinculación de teoría y práctica náutica, con la que se facilitó aún más el desarrollo de las ya existentes cartografía y exploraciones de territorios. Será, entonces, el monje Gerberto de Aurillac quien, con la asimilación del saber árabe y su *Liber de utilitatibus astrolabii*, sistematiza el uso del astrolabio, incluso, para calcular la posición de astros.

En la comunicación titulada «San Agustín y la descripción proto-fenomenológica del tiempo», Sebastián Osorio subraya que el carácter inmanente del tiempo por el cual el alma humana experimenta según san Agustín de Hipona, anticipa rasgos de una fenomenología primitiva. En efecto, el tiempo depende de la vivencia interna del ser humano, pues es él quien percibe el presente, anticipa el futuro y recuerda el pasado. Seguidamente, Horacio Botalla analiza el fenómeno profético en las figuras de un zapatero de Parma, Benvenuto Asdente, y un tejedor anónimo de Fontevivo. Ambos artesanos fueron reconocidos como portavoces de inspiración divina, según Salimbene de Parma en *Chronica*, inspiración profética que mezcla elementos de la tradición joaquinista, las Sagradas Escrituras y la oralidad popular de la Italia del siglo xiii. Silvia Magnavacca, en «San Jerónimo, navegante entre textos», presenta una reflexión sobre la profundidad hermenéutica de la figura de Jerónimo de Estridón en contraste con Agustín de Hipona, siendo este último un simple analista de eventos.

Para la autora argentina, la labor eminentemente traductora de Jerónimo difiere de la lectura política de los eventos/hechos sociales que imprime el Hiponense. Pero, más allá del medievo, Pablo Andrés Villegas ofrece una concepción de Dios según la tradición patrística que ha sido heredada por un autor contemporáneo como Nicolás Gómez Dávila. Para Gómez Dávila, Dios no es idea abstracta, sino presencia personal y real, presencia que se asume desde la contemplación depurante de las ideas de la técnica y progreso modernos que hacen perder al ser humano en su deseo de colmar vacíos existenciales. En esa misma línea teológica, Joel Isaac Román, en su texto «Epicuro y San Pablo: la herencia de la ὠφέλεια en la *Epístola a los Filipenses*», refiere el debate entre las ideas del *eros* y el *agapé* presente en los orígenes del cristianismo mostrando cómo ambos pueden reconciliarse. Si el deseo hacia lo divino destaca al *eros* y el deseo de la divinidad al hombre corresponde al *agapé*, ambos tienen en común la corresponsabilidad que redunda en la fraternidad predicada a los cristianos de Filipo.

Sin embargo, para Román, dicha fraternidad/agapé comunitario predicado por Pablo tiene un antecedente filosófico en la forma de vida de las comunidades epicúreas, a través de la práctica del principio griego de la ὠφέλεια, que consistía en la cooperación y mutuo auxilio más allá del intercambio de bienes materiales. Finalmente, el texto del director académico del CESCLAM-GSP, Williams Ibarra Figueroa, que expone el sentido espiritual y humanista de la educación como proceso integral, y el de Estefanía Sottocorno, que presenta la recepción y traducción al armenio de la obra de Filón de Alejandría durante la sexta y séptima centuria, concluyen con la sección correspondiente a las conferencias emitidas durante los años 2002 y 2023. Para Ibarra Figueroa es necesario seguir pensando la educación, pues la crisis educativa de nuestro tiempo, demanda recuperar una pedagogía del amor que apueste por el cultivo de la interioridad según lo heredado por la tradición cristiana; además, como indica Sottocorno, existen espacios de mediación cultural que posibilitan diálogos entre distintas épocas.

Lo cierto es que, al margen de su contexto escolástico y considerando todo lo referido sobre esta reciente publicación del CESCLAM-GSP, las intuiciones tomistas en los diversos ámbitos del saber son un recurso fecundo para enfrentar los problemas actuales. Así pues, la capacidad de integrar razón y fe, la comprensión de la persona con sus particularidades y su rol comunitario, además de la relación de naturaleza contingente y gracia trascendente, entre otras cuestiones, constituyen un sistema integral de perspectivas capaz de adaptarse a nuevas realidades. Además, la realización de conferencias que se han referido en esta reseña, reviste una importancia esencial para la comunidad académica del CESCLAM en tanto representa un medio significativo para la promoción de los estudios clásicos y medievales en Colombia, y en el mundo; afín esto al legado de una búsqueda racional de la verdad al servicio del bien común y el acercamiento de la reflexión filosófico-teológica a los desafíos de la actualidad, tal como Tomás de Aquino lo hizo en su momento.

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