

ALFONSO EL SABIO'S AMBITIONS AND SUCCESSION
IN THE CASTILIAN CHRONICLES

by

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Abstract

The second half of the thirteenth century is a rather obscure period in Spanish history. Only one fairly detailed Christian chronicle exists for the reign of each of the three kings that ruled during that time. Since these works were not composed until the middle of the following century, especially the earliest years which the author describes, the 1250's and 1260's, are full of anachronisms. The few other accounts that treat of the period are quite brief and of not much help.

Alfonso el Sabio had until 1275 most extensive foreign interests, and his plans have left many traces in the archives of other countries, especially of some of the city-states of Northern Italy. From these foreign accounts many obscure points in Alfonso's reign can be clarified, since it is precisely on the international plane where the Castilian chronicle of his reign fails. Taking Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta's work on the itinerary of Alfonso el Sabio as point of departure, the present essay tries to point out some of the shortcomings of Castilian fourteenth-century historiography.

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I. Introduction

The end of the Roman Empire meant at first also a standstill for the writing of history in Northern and Western Europe. Whatever was composed in the following centuries down to about 1200 was of rather inferior quality. The Church was practically the only institution that upheld learning, and thus the writers were almost exclusively ecclesiastics. Although the Crown would usually make it possible for one of the bishops to keep himself well informed about secular affairs, no great works have come down to present times. These authors lacked the insight of a Caesar or a Tacitus, let alone the powerful presentation of a Thukydides. Instead, biblical or supernatural tales were interspersed with historical accounts, or the interest shifted to wondrous stories of the lives of Saints.

From Central Europe many works are extant; from Spain, there are very few. For the Visigothic period Valdeavellano gives the names of a dozen more or less original writers of historical works, among them Hidacio (about 388-470), Juan de Biclario (about 520-621) and San Isidoro of Seville (560-636).¹ With the year 711 this originality stopped and in the following centuries the most common form of historiography consisted of a few lines for each year in the annals of some monasteries. The number of these accounts increased with the advance of the Reconquest and they were always anonymous. There were also composed a few more extensive works, the most

1. Luis G. de Valdeavellano, Historia de España (Madrid, 1952), pp. 42-43.

important of which are the Crónica mozárabe de 754, the Crónica albeldense (883), the Crónica silense (1115?), the Chronica Adephonsi imperatoris (1147), the Crónica najerense (1160?), the Liber regum (1200?) and the Chronicon mundi (1236) of Lucas, bishop of Tuy. These relate their contemporary history with greater detail, although still in an annalistic form. In addition, the Albeldense and the Najerense, the Liber regum and the Tudense show their own age against its background of previous history. They go back to the beginning of the world, copying or paraphrasing the accounts of the Visigothic authors, mostly of Isidore of Seville.

At the same time in the South, at the Muslim courts, cultural life and thus also historiography were taking a different route. The rulers were highly interested in matters of the mind, wrote philosophy and history and surrounded themselves with the greatest intellects of their day. This universal attitude probably impressed the austere and soldierlike ambulatory Christian court and may have induced Alfonso III, Vermudo II and Alfonso VII to employ an official court historiographer.

The great stimulus provided by Frederick II's court in the first half of the thirteenth century probably helped to start a new phase of Spanish historiography. But above all, this was due to the court chronicler of Ferdinand III, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo (1180?-1247), between St. Isidore and Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407) the only Castilian who was capable of historical criticism. His Rerum in Hispania gestarum chronicon, or Historia gothica, which ends in 1237,

and his other works are most valuable because he compared the Christian documents and annals with the Arabic chronicles and was very careful about the conclusions he reached. The standard he set was kept up or even raised by the Catalan chronicles of Jaime I and Pedro Desclot, both in the second half of the thirteenth century, and of Ramón Muntaner (1327). None of these four works made an attempt at universal history. Ramón Muntaner was the least objective of the group because as a courtier he felt obliged to pass over the events unfavourable to his master. All four, and especially Pedro Desclot, have a powerful way of presenting their argument and enliven their story with much vivid description.

In Castile, from 1237 to about 1340, matters did not take such a lucky path, although the next king, Alfonso X, was a great patron of the arts. He gathered at his court an international crop of scholars - Christians, Moors and Jews - and instigated and supervised all their intellectual activity. In contrast to Frederick II he did not write for the learned but for the people, and thus all works edited at his court were written in Romance. This was not entirely new, because from the tenth century on more and more documents had been issued in the vernacular, the Liber regum, finished about 1200, was written in Navarrese and the Anónimo de Sahagún (1255) in Castilian, and drama and poetry had been composed in Romance for over a hundred years. Alfonso's interest in the Castilian language may have been in keeping with the Renaissance and its stress of individualism: other countries were developing their

national feeling and their own language; if Spain was to be a counterweight - and Alfonso's Imperial aspirations showed the seriousness of his intentions - the Five Kingdoms must recognize their common history and become accustomed to a common language.

As far as historiography was concerned, an unfortunate part was the lack of criticism with which the General estoria and the Estoria de España were compiled. This lack becomes especially apparent in those portions of the latter work where the collaborators followed the Toledano. For instance, where the archbishop's better judgment had caused him to suppress unlikely incidents which the epic poems supplied in large number, the Crónica general, in the same place, interrupted the translation to insert these poems in a full length transcription. This gives the work at least a high literary value since except for the Poema del Cid all the Spanish epics are lost. Also some missing Arabic accounts can be reconstructed from it. Because its most important sources are extant up to 1237, it has the value of a primary historical source only from that date until 1252 where it ends.

Another unfortunate factor about Alfonso X's historiographic efforts is that he forgot the practical side over all his intellectual interests: there does not exist a good contemporary chronicle of his reign. Thus for Castile the efforts of the Toledano were almost lost until a hundred years later Alfonso XI ordered officially the resuming of historiography. Only one work of that period deserves to be mentioned; it is a continuation of the Toledano by Jofré de Loaysa who carried his Historia

de los reyes de Castilla from 1248 to 1305. It had originally been written in Romance but is extant only in a Latin translation.

From the 1320's on there started to develop another centre of historiographic activity in the West of the Peninsula. First there appeared the Crónica de don Dinis (1279-1325). Between 1340 and 1344 there was finished the Livro das linhagens which ends with the Battle of the Salado (Oct. 28, 1340). Its composition had been directed by Pedro, Count of Barcelos (1278?-1354) in the same way in which Alfonso X had supervised his collaborators. Under Pedro of Portugal's direction was probably also done the first rewriting of his great-grandfather's Primera crónica general, the Crónica geral de Espanha de 1344, completed on January 21 of that year. It has not yet been decided definitely whether the Crónica de veinte reyes and the Crónica de los reyes de Castilla which both end in 1252, were utilized by the compilers.

Meanwhile in Castile Alfonso XI (1312-1350) had come of age and for the first time since Sancho IV's death (April 25, 1295) the country was no longer being torn to pieces by the furious selfishness of the succeeding two kings' tutors or advisors. With the added stimulus of the great historiographic activity to the East and the West of Castile, an official court chronicler was employed, the Segunda crónica general was translated from the Portuguese and the recording of the events of the reigns of Alfonso X (1252-1284), Sancho IV (1284-1295) and Fernando IV (1295-1312) was ordered. These last three works are known under the name of the Tres corónicas. Outside of documents -

if he bothered to look for them - their author had only Loaysa's book which is rather brief, the Anales toledanos III and some minor chronicles to go by. So far it has not been possible to ascertain when exactly he wrote them. He says in his prologue that he was compiling them on Alfonso XI's command. He refers to the king as being also lord of Algeciras; if this has not been interpolated later, the work was written between March 27, 1344 and March 26, 1350, the date of Alfonso XI's death. It was probably written after 1317, because in the Crónica de Sancho IV, chapter 9, the author mentions Luis, the third son of Charles II of Sicily, and says "que después . . . fue calonisado por santo", an event which took place on November 7, 1317. In that year, however, Alfonso XI was only a child of seven and, being chased all over his kingdom by the rapacious tutors, was in no condition to issue commissions for the calm investigation of his great-grandfather's deeds. Thus it seems probable that a few more years elapsed before the project was started.

There is one thing about the Tres corónicas on which the authorities are unanimous: that they have been composed by one and the same man. On the question of his identity, however, there is some difference of opinion, but most scholars who have studied the subject have agreed on the chancellor Fernán Sánchez de Tóvar, ricohombre of Valladolid, who died about 1359, as probable author. There are several factors which support the view that the three reigns have been described by the same author. This opinion is stated in the prologue which serves as joint introduction for the whole work. The name indicates it, thus

this must have been the impression from the very beginning. The three have been copied together in most of the manuscripts,¹ and in some codices the enumeration of the chapters is carried all the way through. They are all written in the same annalistic form, and a special chronological system was employed to give the year of ascendance of each of the three rulers.² Throughout the work the diction is rather dry and the language repetitious and awkward, although the author presents the development of the action with a certain skill. He sticks strictly to the political events. There are no high flowing passages, and the only person to whom he shows definite affection is doña María la Grande. Another point in favour of this argument is the gradual decrease of the number of errors as the author approached his own time. Antonio Ballesteros has pointed out the serious anachronisms that appear in the Crónica de Alfonso X, especially in the 1250's and the 1260's.³ That sort of mistake does not occur in the two later chronicles. The first one of this series is the one with which this essay is concerned.

1. See appendix 1.

2. This chronology, the so-called Spanish Era, was first used by Hidacio; its basis is the year 38 B.C. The term has its origin in the Latin word "aera", here referring to the tribute that Augustus is said to have imposed in that year on the Empire. The hispanization of the term by the early Visigothic writers is due to their belief that the end of the hostilities in Spain against Rome, which was achieved in 28 B.C. already took place in 38. See Ramón Meréndez Pidal, ed., Historia de España (Madrid, 1940), III, XII-XIII.

3. Antonio Ballesteros, Sevilla en el siglo XIII (Madrid, 1913), pp. 282, 289, 298-300, and by the same author, El itinerario de Alfonso el Sabio, (Madrid, 1935).

II. Castilian Politics From 1252-1284.

Three main issues governed European politics either in turn or side by side in the latter half of the thirteenth century. One was the ever-present crusading spirit, especially noticeable in the actions of Gregory X and of St. Louis. The second was the struggle between Pope and Emperor to dominate Italy, a struggle which culminated on August 23, 1268 in the destruction of the House of Hohenstaufen. The third was the attempt to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches which developed into a contest between Charles of Anjou and Michael VIII Palaeologus and came to an end on March 30, 1282 with the complete victory of the latter. All other problems of those years were related to or at least in some way influenced by these three issues. Spain was drawn deeply into the events. Its King, Alfonso X, was a grandson of Philipp von Schwaben and was determined to make good his claim to the Imperial throne. The last King of the Romans, Wilhelm von Holland, had been slain on January 28, 1256, and the Electors, for whom the whole matter was primarily a question of handsome bribery, had not been able to agree on any German noble.¹ Two foreign princes therefore, attracted by the title, entered the bribing contest. On January 13, 1257 Richard of Cornwall received the support of three of the Electors, and on April 1

1. The position of Holy Roman Emperor had been transferred by Leo III on Christmas Day of the year 800 from the Byzantine Empire to Germany. Since then, in theory the Pope was obliged to confer the Imperial crown on whomsoever the German Electors would proclaim King of the Romans. In practice this was enforced as long as any one dynasty stayed "am Reich". A few times, however, when there was a change in the ruling houses and the new king's position in Germany was still weak, the Pope was able to interfere by refusing to crown him or even by instigating the election of a rival king.

the rest pronounced in favour of Alfonso X of Castile. They were both safe men on whom to confer the title since the Electors could be certain that neither would be able to interfere with their own powerful positions. In this they were not deceived: Alfonso, for his part, never even entered Germany. He did, however pursue his claim for some years, aided especially by the North Italian Ghibellines after the death of Conradin. Richard of Cornwall died on April 2, 1272, and this event started Alfonso off on a final attempt to persuade the Pope to crown him. But Gregory X, desirous of having his crusading ambitions realized bade the Electors to find a strong man to rule Germany, or he would find one for them. Thus on October 1, 1273 Rudolf von Habsburg was elected, and finally in September 1275 Gregory was able to persuade Alfonso to drop his claim.

In Spain the effect of Alfonso's "fecho del imperio" was to alienate the king from his subjects by turning Castile away from its traditional ambition, the Reconquest. But for this same reason the country became more of a focal point of European politics than it had ever been before: because Alfonso X needed support for his Imperial aspirations, he became entangled in the rest of the complicated international relations of his day. He did not realize that it was a hopeless undertaking to attempt to persuade the Papacy to entrust the high office to him: his position in Spain was not secure enough to inspire sufficient confidence for that. On the other hand, if he had been strongly enough supported in Spain, the Pope would have been too afraid of his power to enlarge it any more. As it was, Alfonso had been pursuing his claims to Swabia since 1254, and in 1256 he had concluded a treaty with Pisa for the conquest of Sicily

from Manfred von Hohenstaufen. What Alfonso saw was that if he were to succeed, he must be able to count on the benevolence of the Papacy, the friendship of the Eastern Emperor which would raise his own prestige (and for which he had been playing already in 1246 when Baldwin II visited Spain), and the support of the North Italian Ghibellines..

These latter consisted of a number of towns from the County of Savoy down to Tuscany under the leadership of the Marquis of Montferrat, the Count of Savoy, and of Pisa. For the sake of convenience, and out of opposition to Venice, which was traditionally Guelf, Genoa too was mainly Ghibelline during the years in question and thus played an important rôle in Alfonso's calculations. The three ports of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice had attained importance when the armies of the crusades had to be ferried across the Mediterranean to the Holy Land. In the long intervals between the crusades the ships were free, and it was then that a great impulse was given to the trade of these cities. Venice played a hand in the diversion of the forces which in 1203 had been supposed to go on the fourth crusade against the Infidel but which instead went and conquered Greek Catholic Constantinople. Thus until July 25, 1261 the Latin Empire was a Venetian trading monopoly, and Genoa had to expand its trade elsewhere. It turned to the south and west and established its predominance over the various Muslim powers of those areas.

Greek pressure on the Latin Empire moreover was very strong, and the Papacy did not furnish much help to the latter for two reasons: because no visible progress had been made towards the

reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches, and because it had not been possible to use Constantinople as a stepping-stone for a crusade. Desperately in need of cash, Baldwin II had found it necessary to mortgage his only son, Philip of Courtenay, in about 1248, to some Venetian merchants. Between June 1258 and May 1, 1261 Philip's mother, Marie of Brienne, toured the Western courts, hoping to find someone to redeem him. This was the opportunity Alfonso X, now already proclaimed King of the Romans, had been looking for: he was able to place in his debt an Empress who, being related to him by their grandparents, Alfonso IX of Leon and Berenguela of Castile, would leave no stone unturned to work in his favour. In order to exploit this opportunity to the fullest extent, he gave her the full amount required - probably fifteen thousand livres tournois - and told her to return to Alexander IV and to St. Louis the two thirds of that sum,¹ which they had already advanced. He also established cordial relations with some of the Emperor's friends: on September 21, 1258 he gave special privileges to Hugh IV, Duke of Burgundy, while on November 6 Guy de Dampierres, Count of Flanders, received ten thousand livres tournois and became his vassal. But those were not the only connections that Alfonso was preparing at that time. On March 31, 1258 his efforts for an alliance with a ruler in Northern Europe culminated in the marriage of Alfonso's

1. Robert Lee Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son", *"Speculum"* (Cambridge, 1954), XXIX, 52, gives the following figures: the average annual expenses of the French crown between 1255 and 1259 were 113.785 livres tournois, the average daily expense on a crusade was over 1.000 l.t., and St. Louis' ransom in Egypt was probably about 200.000 l.t.

brother Felipe to Christina of Norway. In the same year Alfonso established friendly relations with Padua and Siena, and concluded an alliance with Ezzelino di Romano. He also attracted to his side Johann, Duke of Lüneburg, and Albert, Duke of Braunschweig, and on October 23, 1258 he gave ten thousand l.t. to his cousin, Heinrich von Brabant, whom he had made his vicar in the Empire on October 15, 1257. Also Gaston, Count of Bearn, and Guy, Viscount of Limoges received special attentions. On March 14, 1259 Alfonso gave ten thousand l.t. to Frederick II, Duke of Lorraine. In September of the same year Jaime I of Aragon found it necessary to take steps against his son-in-law's attempts to combine all Spain under his rule. It must have seemed in those years to Alfonso that his investments would bring him a handsome gain, especially since Marie of Brienne had agreed to a marriage between her son, the future Emperor of Constantinople, and Alfonso's daughter Berenguela. The Castilian nobility, however, could not be made to see Alfonso's point of view at all, especially at a time when the Muslim wars were starting again. In July 1258 Abu Yusuf Ya'qub had succeeded to the Marinid throne in Morocco, and Alfonso's first encounter with him was unfortunate: his carefully planned attack on Salé brought him possession of that important port for exactly twelve days (September 10-21, 1260). Thus, in spite of his treaty with Pisa of 1256, Alfonso's schemes were not as securely based as it may have seemed to him.

Meanwhile, on June 2, 1259 Manfred von Hohenstaufen, King of Naples and Sicily, had married Helen, the eldest daughter of Michael II Angelus, Despot of Epirus, and a little later William

II Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, had married Anna, another daughter of the Despot. These alliances sealed the coalition of the three rulers against Michael VIII Palaeologus, Emperor of Nicaea. The latter, however, crushed the coalition completely in the Battle of Pelagonia, sometime in the second half of 1259. He was now free to devote all his efforts to the destruction of the Latin Empire, and thus of the trade of Venice. To this end he formed on March 13, 1261 an alliance with Genoa, the Convention of Nymphaeum, which was ratified in Genoa on July 10. On July 25, 1261, Michael's troops entered Constantinople. It was not only Alfonso's carefully arranged plans that were shattered by this event, which came as a surprise even to Michael.

The strongest power in the Western Mediterranean was still Manfred von Hohenstaufen. All Italy was under his control, and especially in Lombardy and Tuscany his power was securely founded. Urban IV was confined to Rome, but could not even be certain of the support of that city. It was only natural that Baldwin II and Guelf Venice should turn to him for help. On June 13, 1262 Manfred's daughter Constance married Pedro of Aragon, and thus that strong country became the fourth partner in the group. If Urban IV had not been so terrified by the name of Hohenstaufen, he would have insisted on a crusade for the recovery of Constantinople. As it was, he had to content himself for the time being with the excommunication of Michael's ally, Genoa. Michael, however, seeing the failure of his efforts to stop Manfred's preparations ~~for~~ was against him, and realizing the danger in which he stood, started in the summer of 1262 to stir up hopes in Urban IV for the reunion of the Churches. This was Michael's

last resort, and he promised only very little at a time. Urban, growing impatient, was again considering a crusade against him in May 1264. Michael immediately notified of this turn of affairs, through his excellent spy system, gave the Pope new hopes and also made mention of his intended aid in a crusade to the Holy Land. Urban IV was relieved. He had been horrified by the idea of a Hohenstaufen Constantinople, and had been much shaken by the discovery in 1264 of the plot of the Genoese podestà Guercio to betray Constantinople to Manfred, the friendly relations between Michael and Genoa having slackened considerably in the course of 1263. Now Urban IV eagerly declared a crusade against Manfred, and invited Charles of Anjou to take possession at once of the throne of Sicily.¹ On July 18, 1265 the conditions for a truce between Michael and Venice were worked out, but the pact was not ratified by the latter because the city now hoped that under Charles of Anjou it might regain its old predominance in Constantinople.

The Castilian king's actions were also influenced by the suspense in which Europe was held as the climax of the deadly feud between the House of Hohenstaufen and the Papacy drew near. In his position as King of the Romans, Alfonso was, of course, hostile to Manfred. He had, for instance, already on September 9, 1260 tried to persuade his father-in-law, Jaime I, King of Aragon, not to proceed with the proposed marriage of his heir Pedro to Manfred's daughter Constance. That hostility also Baldwin II was made to feel when he came to Castile in 1262-63

1. From 1254 to December 18, 1258 Alexander IV's candidate for the throne of Sicily had been Edmund of England.

to seek the help of his son's future father-in-law. In the first place, Alfonso had little use for Baldwin since Philip would in all probability never rule his Empire, and secondly he could not afford to keep up these relations now that Baldwin was such a good friend of the King of Sicily, for fear of offending the Pope. Thus Alfonso abandoned his marriage plans with the House of Courtenay. It was convenient for him that a Papal dispensation was needed in such cases, and Clement IV on March 31, 1266 refused this on grounds of consanguinity, the bride and bridegroom being second cousins. On the other hand, after Manfred's death on February 26, 1266 Baldwin and Marie realized that only Charles of Anjou, if anybody, would be strong enough to reconquer their lost Empire for them. Therefore they on their part abandoned the marriage plans and sought the friendship of the Pope, at whose residence the Treaties of Viterbo were concluded (May 24 and 27, 1267).¹ The second of these was a pact between Charles of Anjou, Baldwin II, William II and Clement IV, and had as its aim the conquest of the Byzantine Empire. It was to be sealed by the marriage of Philip of Courtenay and Beatrix of Anjou, which took place on October 15, 1273.

Thus Alfonso X was released from his obligations to the House of Courtenay. As it turned out, after Manfred's death

1. On May 17, 1267 Clement IV wrote to Michael insisting on his submission to the Latin Church. Ten days later he issued the plans for the conquest of his Empire. Deno John Geanakoplos, Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West (Cambridge, 1959), p. 200, comments upon the Pope's rôle as follows: "... it was Clement's policy to hasten subordination of the Greek Church by playing up the ambitions of Charles, and, at the same time, through union to bar Charles from Constantinople."

he did not find himself any more at ease with Charles of Anjou, although for a different reason. On January 31, 1246 Charles had married Beatrix, the youngest of the four daughters of Ramón Berenguer V, Count of Provence, and had acquired the county. The eldest of these four daughters was Margaret, the wife of St. Louis, and she - as well as the Duke of Burgundy - was furious at Charles' usurpation of that territory. Alfonso X who formed an alliance with the Imperial city of Marseilles in 1256 was also furious: but most furious of all were the Germans, for Lower Burgundy was an Imperial fief.

As things stood at the moment, Alfonso could no longer afford to pursue his private ambitions. Al-Andalus had risen in rebellion in the spring of 1264, and Alfonso had already embittered too many of his nobles with his expensive obsession. By the end of the summer about three hundred places had been overrun by the Muslims. These were driven back, however, and for the following year it was agreed that Alfonso should invade Granada, and Jaime Murcia. While Jaime fulfilled his part of the agreement and fought until the city of Murcia capitulated in February, Alfonso, partly because he was short of money, partly because of trouble among the Muslims, came off relatively lightly. By the Treaty of Alcalá in September 1267 Muhammad I resumed his vassalage and started paying again his two hundred and fifty thousand maravedies per annum of tribute, which made up probably half the revenues of Granada.

Thus after he had been forced to focus his attention on Spain for three years, Alfonso X thought himself free once more

to pursue his private ambition with all his might. The farther he stretched out his feelers, among the European rulers, the more he found signs of Charles of Anjou's influence and scheming. The places where this was most annoying and unbearable to Alfonso were Northern Italy and Lower Lorraine. In the course of Charles' preparations for an attack on Michael Palaeologus, this mutual aversion between Charles and Alfonso grew ever stronger.

Soon after his victory over Manfred, Charles had started getting ready for the contest with Michael. The first thing to do was obviously to secure a stepping-stone in Greece. There existed a possibility of doing this through Manfred's widow, who was now a prisoner of Charles. Helena, daughter of Michael II Angelos, Despot of Epirus, had brought Manfred as dowry the towns of Butrinto, Avlona and Suboto in Epirus, together with the island of Corfu. Her father was now in favour of an alliance against Michael Palaeologus, which was to be sealed by Helen's marriage to Enrique of Castile, a younger brother of Alfonso X. Enrique, at odds with his brother Alfonso over his inheritance, had gone to Ifriqiya and amassed a huge fortune under the Hafsid rulers as commander of the Christian militia. In February 1266 he had employed his wealth to help Charles of Anjou conquer Sicily, and by October the Angevin party was hoping that he would use it again to aid them in the recovery of Constantinople. But while the marriage arrangements were in progress, the governor of these territories was murdered, not long after his marriage to a sister-in-law of Michael Angelus: the Despot

evidently did not want to lose these territories. But the governor's son turned the territories over to Charles, who now had no need any more to entrust this key position to Enrique. Helena appears to have married another brother of Alfonso X, Fadrique, but if so, she was not very fortunate in the choice of this husband either: Fadrique was strangled on Alfonso X's orders in 1276. Enrique was naturally angry at the treatment he had received. Charles had not yet repaid the debts he had incurred in the conquest of Sicily. By now the rich and daring Castilian prince had come to be well known in Italy and was becoming very popular especially among the lower classes of Rome which they shared his hostility towards the Angevins. In June 1267 their spokesman Angelo Capuccio offered him the senatorship, to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility and clergy. On the arrival of Conradin von Hohenstaufen in Italy, Enrique soon joined forces with him. After the battle of Tagliacozzo Enrique was imprisoned by Charles in Canossa where he was kept until 1293; in July 1294 he went back to Spain.

The Italian adventure of Enrique of Castile did not in itself have any direct connection with his brother's political machinations. His imprisonment, however, did; it was another addition to the long list of grievances Alfonso X had against Charles of Anjou. When all his and Jaime of Aragon's efforts to liberate the unfortunate prince availed nothing, they provoked conspiracies against Charles among the North Italian Ghibellines. But Clement IV took care of his protégé and in 1268 bestowed on him for ten years the Imperial vicariate over

Tuscany. This was clearly beyond his powers since this territory belonged to the Empire, but Germany was at the time torn by civil strife. In any case, the measure served its purpose. But what really outmaneuvered Alfonso and Jaime was the treaty Charles' new ally Baldwin concluded with the King of Navarre, Count Theobald of Champagne, in March 1269. According to this agreement, Theobald would take an active part in the conquest of Michael's Empire and would be rewarded with one fourth of the territories conquered. Thus the French could record their first victory: they had driven a wedge in between the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. But during the course of that same year Louis IX had still another success: he managed to persuade Alfonso to promise to supply Baldwin with three hundred knights, two hundred men at arms and one hundred arbalestiers whose expenses Charles of Anjou would pay. Michael hastily got in touch with Jaime I lest he, too, should side with the Angevins, but he did not need to worry: the differences between Charles and Alfonso were too numerous, and St. Louis' efforts led to nothing.

In 1269 Charles of Anjou was clearly at the height of his power. He was preparing feverishly for his attack on Constantinople. There was no Pope to bridle his ambition. His fleet was reaching formidable proportions and he succeeded in getting another ally by a double marriage with Hungary (September 15, 1269).¹ But already in the late summer of that year the first successes of the opposition appeared. Frederick of Saxony

1. Charles the Lame married Maria, and Ladislas Isabella.

established contact with the Ghibellines of Lombardy with the result that the latter stopped paying homage to Charles. At the same time Alfonso X proposed a marriage between his daughter Beatriz and William VIII, Marquis of Montferrat, the most important Ghibelline leader of the North except for the Count of Savoy. The marriage took place in Spain in October 1271, and Alfonso X, as King of the Romans, conferred upon his son-in-law the Imperial vicariate, which Clement IV had bestowed upon Charles of Anjou in 1268. However, neither Alfonso nor his brother-in-law, Pedro of Aragon, the husband of Constance von Hohenstaufen, carried out their promise to back up the Marquis with two thousand knights. Thus he was not able to do Charles any immediate serious harm.

One success Charles had was that an illegitimate son of Jaime I, Ferrán Sancho, signed a pact with Baldwin II on April 4, 1270, by which he promised to fight with one hundred men for one year in the Greek Empire or in Sicily (!), beginning in August of that year. Another was that although he had lost his hold over Lombardy, by the end of 1270 Charles was firmly established in Piedmont and Tuscany, to whose cities, Florence, Lucca and Siena, he granted trading privileges in Sicily. But this caused Genoa, which felt itself defrauded, to revive its important and profitable alliance with Michael: this had been renewed in the summer of 1267 and was in fact to last till after 1453. But the event most favourable to Charles was the death of his brother, the King of France, on August 25, 1270, before Tunis. St. Louis had been, in the absence of a Pope, the only person able to restrain the attack on Constantinople. Now there was nothing to stop the invasion, and Michael was filled with despair, for his capital

was practically indefensible against an attack from the sea. His only ally, the Genoese, had hired out a considerable number of ships to Louis IX, and had lost many men by the diseases that had also caused the king's death. But again Charles' efforts were frustrated: on November 27, 1270 his fleet, returning from Tunis, was caught in a storm off Trapani. The losses it suffered were so severe that the invasion had to be postponed.

This was, after the loss of Lombardy, Charles' second defeat. Now Alfonso X prepared for another setback on the international plane. In his long battle for the Imperial throne he now had come to realize that Charles of Anjou, should his intended attack on Constantinople succeed, would be the most serious of all his opponents. He therefore established contact with a number of Charles' enemies and proposed a series of dynastic alliances, ready to stake his unmarried children to satisfy his ambitions. To secure the aid of North Italy, he had already arranged for the marriage between the Marquis of Montferrat and his daughter Beatriz. This alliance was made even more secure by a further marriage in 1281 between Alfonso's son Juan and the Marquis' daughter Isabel. Very likely Alfonso also had a hand in the marriage between his brother Manuel and Beatriz of Savoy, the daughter of the other great Ghibelline leader of the North: this took place in 1275. Alfonso also proposed a marriage between his daughter Berenguela - who had already been engaged to a son of Louis IX and to Philip of Courtenay - and Andronikos, the eldest son of Michael VIII Palaeologus. But Michael was trying to break up the friendship between Sicily and Hungary and married

his heir in November 1272 to Anna, the youngest daughter of Stephen V. Berenguela of Castile entered a nunnery to avoid further disappointments. Two further proposals of Alfonso were the marriage of a daughter of his to the son of the Duke of Bavaria, the guardian of Conradin, and the marriage of another of his daughters to the Great Khan, the enemy of the King of Hungary, so far still Charles' ally. These last two marriages were highly hypothetical - the daughters Alfonso had in mind were probably infants, born between 1265 and 1268 - and the negotiations did not bring the desired result. They did, however, cause a clearing of the situation: from 1272 onwards, the encirclement of Charles by his enemies was becoming clearly visible.

The North Italian Ghibellines had of course to bear the greatest strain. From the end of 1272 on there was open war also between Charles and the Genoese, who had until then hoped for a possible recovery of their Sicilian market. The war in the North forced Charles to keep a permanent army - an expense which he could ill afford, striving as he was to rebuild his fleet. But North Italy was important in still another respect: it was the place where Spain and Constantinople met, through their respective allies, Montferrat and Genoa, by a treaty concluded on October 10, 1273.

All this activity of his enemies would have been sufficient to keep Charles busy. But what tied his hands was that in 1271 a Pope had been elected who was employing his entire power to organize another crusade, and who realized that this could be done only with the help of the Greeks. Their Emperor was still

fearful of Charles' preparations, and thus on July 6, 1274 Gregory X's efforts led to the union of the Eastern and Western Churches at the Council of Lyons. This meant the end of Charles' plans until the death of Gregory, since he could not afford to break with the Pope as long as Northern Italy was outside his control. He did, nevertheless, score one diplomatic triumph: on March 10, 1274 his son Philip married Isabel, a daughter of William II Villehardouin, and the conditions of the marriage contract were that Achaia was to fall to Charles of Anjou if his son should die before him without issue. As it turned out, Philip died in 1277, and his father-in-law on May 1, 1278, and Charles took possession of Achaia. Apart from this success, Charles was at a disadvantage in Greece. Gregory X was trying to establish peaceful relations between Charles and his enemies as basis for his crusade, ~~just as he had pressed the election of a~~ German King, and actually persuaded both him and Michael to sign a one year's truce (May 1, 1275). Under its provisions, Charles was not allowed to take any action against Michael, while the latter felt at liberty to send troops against Charles' friends in Southern and Western Greece. Gregory tried to make up for Charles' disadvantage by excommunicating the Marquis of Montferrat and the cities of Genoa and Asti, which had in January 1275 sworn allegiance to Alfonso X together with Novara, Pavia, Mantua and Verona. Gregory did not, however, fulfill Charles' wish to be confirmed again as Imperial vicar since in the meantime Rudolf von Habsburg had been elected King of the Romans, and the Pope found this an excellent excuse for preventing

Charles from securing his hold over Northern Italy. By now this territory was visibly slipping from Charles' grasp. The Genoese fleet sacked Trapani and even appeared before Naples itself. By summer of 1276 Charles' troops held in all Piedmont only the towns of Cunico, Cherasco and Savigliano and a few villages.

Thus the machinations of Charles' enemies had been quite effective.¹ But help came indirectly to him: from the summer of 1275 on, the King of Castile was too busy with his own troubles, and after that date he was unable to try his hand any more at international politics. In Castile the discontent of the people had grown so far that a number of the nobility had taken vassalage with the Muslim king of Granada. Alfonso X underwent exactly the same experience as would befall Charles V when he sought to make Spain a focal point of European politics. Alfonso's subjects had no interest whatsoever in seeing their king crowned Holy Roman Emperor, and they resented deeply that so much money was leaving the country in pursuit of this obsession. They wanted a king who would lead them in their traditional war against the Muslims in their own country. But Alfonso scarcely concerned himself with this unless it became a matter of life or

1. Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 169-70, points out another reason - outside of the Pope's fear of what might happen if Charles became too strong - for Gregory X's attitude towards the King of Sicily: if Charles failed in Greece and found the going in North Italy too hard, he might be induced to direct his attention to the Holy Land. To make this more desirable for Charles, he persuaded Maria of Antioch to sell (!) to him her claim to the uncomfortable kingdom of Jerusalem. On March 18, 1277 she turned over to him her rights for one thousand pounds of gold and an annuity of four thousand livres tournois, and Charles at once took the title of King of Jerusalem.

death, and neither did he pay much attention to the private quarrels of his troublesome and ambitious nobility. Instead, he was interested in raising Spain's prestige by proving that its history could be traced straight down from ancient Rome, in much the same way in which Rome and Britain had tried, at different times, to trace their history back to Troy. It was his disregard for his subjects' feelings that ultimately cost Alfonso his throne.

The coming to a head of the trouble in Castile was precipitated by the differences among the Spanish Muslims. The grandfather of the then reigning king of Granada had married a member of another noble Muslim house, the banu Ishqiliwla, a branch of the Tujibids who had governed in the tenth century the region between Zaragoza and Pamplona in the service of the caliphs of Córdoba. In the years following this union, various members of the clan were granted the governorship of certain towns of Granada, first of Almuñécar, then of Guadix, Málaga and Comares. The proud family, however, although so closely tied to the royal house, was not content with this position and kept stirring up as much trouble as it possibly could. When Muhammad I died on January 20, 1273, his successor could only be proclaimed with the help of the discontented Castilian nobles who were living at the court of Granada. (February 25, 1273). Accordingly the banu Ishqiliwla became vassals of the Sultan of Morocco, Abu Yusuf Ya' qub who, however, at that time was not yet in any position to cross over to Spain. There followed a period of truce between the two rival families in Granada, until early in

1275 Jaime I, then in alliance with the sultan, attacked Ceuta, which so far had not submitted to the banu Marin. Jaime did not conquer the city but destroyed the Almohad navy, thus unintentionally opening the Straits to the Marinids. Aragon, being their ally, would be safe in the case of an invasion, but Castile would be the object of any attack, and for that reason Alfonso had already concluded a treaty with Abu Yusuf Ya'qub's worst enemy, Yagmurasin of Tlemsen. But in the spring of 1275 these two agreed to a truce, and in July and August the sultan crossed the Straits and met with his vassals, the Ishqiliwla governors of Guadix and Málaga. Abu Yusuf Ya'qub disregarded the Nasrids and marched straight against Castile whose king at that time had just left for France, where he was hoping to persuade Gregory X finally to crown him as Holy Roman Emperor - this being almost two years after the election of Rudolf von Habsburg as King of the Romans. Unfortunately for Castile, just at this critical moment the heir to the throne, Fernando de la Cerda, who had been in command of the army, fell ill and died. The Muslims achieved a victory, at Écija, and slew the archbishop of Toledo, prince Sancho of Aragon, with the result that Alfonso X, from far away Beaucaire, hastened home to conclude a two year truce with the sultan, who was left with Algeciras and Tarifa. This left the latter in command of a considerable portion of Spain's southern coast, and he could return to Morocco well satisfied with the outcome of his expedition. Alfonso X, on the other hand, received still another defeat: Gregory X finally managed in September to convince him of the futility of his aspirations to

to the Imperial throne.

At the frontier, the situation had been saved by Alfonso's younger son Sancho who at the news of his brother's death had hastened to the scene and had taken over the command of the frontier. Upon his return from France, Alfonso immediately had him recognized as heir to the throne despite the fact that he himself had laid down in his Siete partidas that the throne in such a case should belong to the eldest son of the crown prince. The inopportune death of Fernando de la Cerda was to bring Castile an immense legacy of trouble: for years the partisans of the young prince, Alfonso de la Cerda, continued intriguing, at home and abroad, to bring about his succession to his inheritance. For the time being he and his brother Fernando were still in the care of their mother, Blanche, a sister of Philip III of France, and of one of the greatest Spanish nobles, Juan Núñez de Lara, whom the dying prince had asked to defend the rights of his infant son. Another person who had a deep concern for the rights of the young prince was his grandmother, Alfonso X's wife, Violante of Aragon, and when Alfonso's attitude did not change, the three went to Aragon, in January 1277, taking the prince and his brother with them. This caused a certain tension among the Castilian nobility, which was particularly unfortunate since the power of the Marinids was becoming more and more threatening. In the fall of 1277 the truce between the two countries would expire, but already in June and July the sultan again crossed over to Spain. Muhammad II was still at odds with the banu Ishqiliwla, the sultan's vassals, but again Abu Yusuf

Ya'qub disregarded him, and launched three campaigns against the Christians. During the course of these operations Muhammad thought it better to come - at least nominally - to friendly terms with the sultan because he was still hoping to recover Málaga, Guadix and Comares from the banu Ishqiliwla. He was, however, unable to detach the troublesome rival family from the sultan, but at least these difficulties among themselves caused the Muslims to conclude another truce with Castile. Since his schemes had misfired, Muhammad II now had to try to find other allies, and his first choice was - logically - Abu Yusuf Ya'qub's worst enemy, Yagmurasin, Emir of Tlemsen. And he was also able to interest the ingenious merchants of Genoa enough in his cause to conclude a treaty with him (April 18, 1278). As it happened, both his new allies were friends of his old enemy, Alfonso X. This may not have been accidental: Muhammad II was hoping to establish better relations with Castile, once the down-to-earth¹ Sancho should take the place of his far-planning father.

So far, however, no approximation between the two countries was allowed to take place. It was still the old king, now nearing sixty, who determined the foreign policy, and he was doing his best to benefit from the quarrel between the King of Granada and the banu Ishqiliwla. During some time in 1277 the governor of Málaga even seems to have been his vassal. With his help

1. Professor Livermore in his History of the Kingdom of Granada, notes that although at this moment Muhammad II's "policy agreed with that of Castile to the extent of barring the Straits against new Marinid invasions, it quickly diverged: Alfonso's object was to conquer Algeciras and thereby lock the gate to Europe, Muhammad's was to recover Málaga".

and that of the Genoese, Alfonso blockaded Algeciras from July 1278 to July 21-22, 1279, trying to force the Marinids to give up their bridgehead in Spain, and thus to make more difficult further attempts at an invasion. The blockaders were forced to stay at sea almost continuously, and this is probably one of the reasons why in the final encounter the Marinid navy proved to be the stronger. Another reason may have been that the Castilian troops had not been paid for some time, due to a coup of Sancho. The ambitious prince did not wish his claim to rest solely on his father's good-will: it was convenient for him that his rival Alfonso de la Cerda had been taken to Aragon. Sancho got along very well with the King of Aragon, his uncle, Pedro III, and his only problem was to get his mother, Queen Violante, Pedro's sister, to return from Aragon. But her serious need for cash gave her son a basis for negotiations. To provide her with the required amount, Sancho put himself in possession of the revenues of Castile and Leon, with which his father had intended to pay his troops at Algeciras. Queen Violante returned to Castile, and Blanche and the two princes were shut up in the castle of Játiva for the rest of Pedro's reign. In this way also the fury of the King of France, who wanted to see his nephew on the throne of Castile, was frustrated.

These obvious liberties on Sancho's part do not seem to have strained to any considerable extent his relations with his father. Both went together to meet Pedro III at Campillo and again at Agreda and turned over to him several border towns as a reward for his helpfulness in the case of the infantes de

la Cerda. Sancho was the leader of Alfonso's campaigns against Muhammad II during the summers of 1280 and 1281, in which again the old king's policy was followed: the help of the banu Ishqiliwla of Guadix and Comares was employed, Málaga having been lost by them to their royal cousins during the siege of Algeciras. The campaigns went well, especially that of 1281, when Abu Yusuf Ya'qub was away besieging Yagmurasin in his capital; and accordingly Alfonso revived for one last time a shadow of his old dream. Philip of Courtenay was now titular Emperor of Constantinople, his father having died in the last days of 1273. When Charles of Anjou had seemed the man who could reconquer Constantinople from the Greeks, Philip had been married to one of his daughters. Now the reconquest was becoming more and more doubtful. Besides, Beatrix had died between November 16 and December 13, 1275, and thus Alfonso X again started negotiations for the marriage of Philip to one of his daughters, and in addition, for the marriage of his heir Sancho to a daughter of Charles of Anjou. Before these steps could lead to any result, however, civil war broke out in Spain and ended Alfonso's plans for good and all. In any case, his plans had not at all found favour with his brother-in-law, Pedro III of Aragon, Charles' bitterest enemy, who in a letter to Alfonso X of August 1, 1281 had given his consent to the marriage plan only with the greatest reluctance.

In the meantime, the King of Castile had slowly changed his mind about the hereditary rights of his grandson Alfonso de la Cerda. It may be that he had been urged in this direction by Philip III of France, whom he had met in December 1280 and with whom he had discussed this question. Whatever may have caused

him to do so, at the Cortes at Seville in November 1281 Alfonso proposed to give the young prince the territory of the old diocese of Jaén, just to the North of Granada, and call it the Kingdom of Jaén.¹ Sancho, who has not without reason come to be known by the name of "the Fierce", was infuriated and from that moment on took the reins into his own hand. He was young and resolute and promised great rewards to anybody who would follow him. He had proven his power of decision at the moment of his brother's sudden death, and his valour in the face of different enemies. It is not altogether surprising that he was soon the master of the situation. He made peace with Muhammad II, who had been hoping for this for a long time. His father, like Alfonso VI two centuries before, abandoned by most of the nobles, took refuge in Seville.

In April 1282 Sancho was declared regent for his father at the Cortes at Valladolid. In May Alfonso appealed to Abu Yusuf Ya'qub for help, and the sultan came immediately. The only way in which Alfonso was able to take part in the war was by mortgaging his crown to the sultan in return for the assistance of Moroccan troops against his son. The ensuing campaigns had as their aim the conquest of Córdoba, but when the defences of this town proved to be too strong, the Moroccan invaders overran the Castilian territories all along the northern limits of the Kingdom of Granada, thus causing Muhammad II, Sancho's ally, to appeal for help to the sultan's son, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf. The latter crossed over to

1. Prof. Livermore, op. cit., suggests: "This proposal indirectly resuscitated Alfonso's claim to the Imperial right of dividing the royal patrimony, a claim that had always been resisted by the old aristocracy of Castile".

Spain in May 1283 with another army, and a separate peace was made. Then the war against Sancho renewed, but again the two allies were unable to force any place of importance. This was the more surprising because Sancho had lost a great number of his supporters since it had become clear that the old king was not going to give in easily. His brother Jaime's signature reappeared on his father's documents from March 4, 1283 on, and his other brother Juan's after September 1. The rest of his relatives must have abandoned his cause about the same time. Thus Sancho was hard pressed, for in addition to the war in the South he must speedily reestablish his hold over Castile if he were to remain regent. During late summer and fall of 1282 he was besieging Badajoz which had gone over to his father in July. Finally in June 1283 he appealed to his uncle Pedro III for help, but even this step turned out to do his cause more harm than good. As far as military strength was concerned, the King of Aragon was a safe man to rely upon, but there was one drawback connected with an alliance with him. Because of Pedro's ties to the House of Hohenstaufen he had played a leading rôle in the downfall of the Angevins which had taken place with the Sicilian Vespers (March 30, 1282): he was therefore the bitterest enemy of France and of the Papacy. Consequently after his alliance with his uncle, Sancho could not hope any more for Martin IV's support, which he needed badly in his insecure position. He had married in July 1282 a second cousin of his father, María de Meneses. With Alfonso de la Cerda's claim to the throne still very much in the air, Papal dispensation for his marriage was imperative; but Martin IV flatly refused to give it. Without it, Sancho's heir would have a hard time in

obtaining recognition. But the Pope expressed his displeasure in a much more direct way yet: in August 1283 he excommunicated Sancho. It was very fortunate for the regent that the Marinids returned home to Morocco in October and November, leaving only a garrison to hold Algeciras.

On November 8, 1283 Alfonso X made his testament, cursing his son for his evil deeds: " ... whosoever disinherits his father and mother, should die on account of it". He disinherited Sancho, leaving Castile to his two grandsons de la Cerda. And "if the sons of don Fernando should die without children who might inherit, let the King of France take this country because he comes in a direct line from where We come, from the Emperor of Spain, and he is a great-grandson of King Alfonso of Castile, as well as We, since he is the grandson of his son"¹. But on January 21, 1284 Alfonso made a second testament in which he changed his tone considerably. It now appeared not at all improbably to him that Sancho would become king after his death, but he insisted that in this case the regions that had been loyal to him should never come under his son's rule. Shortly after this Sancho fell ill, and it was even reported to his father that he had died. At this moment the old king's real feelings about the loss of his strong heir showed themselves, and suddenly the future of Castile seemed very dark to him. In March Sancho recovered, and undoubtedly having heard about his father's mourning, started apparently out on his way to see him, when Alfonso himself fell ill. He died on April 4, 1284, and Sancho was immediately recognized as king.

1. On May 23, 1200 Alfonso VIII's daughter Blanca had married King Louis VIII of France.

III. The Chronicles' Bicture of Alfonso el Sabio's Reign

The Chronicle of Alfonso X, and incidentally Loaysa's book as well, mentions hardly any of the international complications which the king was involved in. It sticks to local events, but even these are on various occasions dated wrongly, and the facts are often incorrect. Frequently the names, especially if they are in Arabic, are mutilated and hardly recognizable. However, many documents are extant, and they, as well as the remarks found in foreign annals, help to clarify the picture which the Chronicle gives. But the main difficulty still remains: the story is told in a roundabout way, and the fault of the age is the lack of accuracy in expression.

c.1
1252 Not mentioned is the war with Portugal which had arisen over the tribute that Alfonso III had failed to pay for the territory Ferdinand III had conquered for him. The chronicle describes the coins in use in Castile, and says that Muhammad I was obliged to pay half his revenues in tribute, 250.000 maravedies per annum. This is not quite true, because the Nasrid did not resume his payments until the campaign of 1253.

c.2
1253 The chronicle talks about the campaign against Tejada, but fails to mention that Jerez, Arcos, Lebrija and Morón also capitulated: the conquest of these four towns is related under the year 1255. It says also that Alfonso feared that his wife would be unable to bear him children, and for that reason he opened negotiations with the King of Norway proposing to marry his daughter. This is incorrect, because in 1253 Violante gave birth to a daughter. Furthermore, the negotiations

between Hakon IV and Alfonso X were not opened until 1257.

c.3
1254

Under the year 1254, the chronicle tells of the arrival of the Norwegian princess in Spain, and says that Alfonso married her to his brother Felipe, since by now the Queen had borne her first daughter. Apparently at the time when the chronicle was compiled, not much was remembered in Castile of Alfonso's highflowing plans. The reason for his negotiations with the King of Norway was his desire to find a strong ally in Northern Europe who would be able to back him up in his struggle for the Imperial dignity. Alfonso's ambassadors arrived in Norway in the second half of February, 1257. The plan which Alfonso proposed was, "... ut rex Hacon fili^{am} suam domicellam Christinam, alicui ex fratribus suis nuptum dare"¹. The King of Norway gave his consent. Christina arrived in Burgos on December 24, 1257, and on March 31, 1258 she was married to Alfonso's brother Felipe, until 1257 archbishop of Seville.

The chronicle goes on to mention the names of Alfonso's children, and agrees with Loaysa's account about the number, which totals eleven, although it differs in one name. The chronicle mentions correctly Alfonso el Niño, while Loaysa has a Constanza for whose existence so far no proof has been established. Also, Loaysa places in the year 1254 what the chronicle relates under the year 1268, the year, so the author thinks, in which Fernando de la Cerda married Blanche of France. Loaysa mentions, with the obvious purpose of showing the fame of the King of Castile,

1. Ballesteros, Itinerario, p. 195.

that the King of Granada, Edward of England and Philip of Courtenay visited the court of Castile, and that they were knighted by Alfonso X, together with his two sons Fernando de la Cerda and Sancho el Bravo. The King of Granada and Edward of England were there, but Philip of Courtenay was still mortgaged in Venice, and the two infantes were in 1254 not even born. According to Loaysa, further vassals of Alfonso X were: Gaston VIII of Moncada, Viscount of Béarn, after 1253, Alphonse, Jean and Louis de Brienne after 1255, and Guillermo VII of Montferrat. He also relates that Rudolf von Habsburg was with the embassy that announced to the King of Castile his election as King of the Romans at Burgos on August 21, 1257, and that he was knighted by Alfonso X.

c.4
1255

As before mentioned, chapter four contains the conquest of Jerez, Arcos and Lebrija which had already taken place in the spring of 1253. It does not relate the revolt of the infante Enrique which must have occurred in 1255, because after January 20, 1256 the prince's signature does not appear any more on the royal documents.¹

c.5
1256

The chronicle speaks of a general rise in prices, and of Alfonso's unsuccessful attempt to provide a remedy.

c.6
1257

The Bayān and various documents also show that the conquest of Niebla, contained in chapter six, did not take place until the winter of 1261-62. Alfonso's election as King of the Romans is not mentioned by the chronicle.

1. Ballesteros, El itinerario, pp. 143-146.

c.7
1258

In Chapter seven the anachronisms are more numerous than in Chapter six. According to it, Sancho II Capelo of Portugal, deposed by his brother Afonso III in that year, asked Alfonso X for help, and that Afonso III, to prevent the Castilian's intervention, married the latter's natural daughter Beatriz. First of all, Sancho was deposed by a Papal decree in 1245 because of his trouble with the clergy, and died on January 3, 1248 in Toledo. The marriage between Afonso III and Beatriz took place between 1253 and June 3, 1254, the princess being ten to thirteen years old. Alfonso X gave his daughter as dowry - and in this the chronicle is correct - the part of the Algarve for which the King of Portugal was obliged to pay tribute. The chronicle tells also that Alfonso took the burgaleses out of circulation and substituted them with a different coinage.

c.8
1259

Under the year 1259 is related the rebellion of the infante Enrique. This had actually already taken place in the year 1255.

c.9
1260

The chronicle places in this year the publication of the Siete partidas and the beginning of the great literary activity at the court of Castile.

c.10
1261

The great Muslim revolt of 1264 is spread out in the chronicle over the years 1261-64. No hint is given as to the causes.

to

It is not very likely that Alfonso was planning an offensive

c.14
1264

against the Muslims. The King of Granada met with him every year, and was paying his tribute regularly. However, Muhammad might have been involved in some conspiracy, and this possibility is suggested by the fact that in 1259 Murcia had ceased to pay tribute to Castile, and that in 1263 it began to recognize the

the overlordship of Granada. Alfonso, although wrapped up in his dreams, probably suspected something and may have intended to look into the matter. Three letters of the spring of 1264 are extant and are concerned with his navy. Two were written in Genoa, on April 29 and on May 16, and they discuss a loan for the King of Castile for the purpose of building three galleys. The third was written by Alfonso himself, on May 16, in Seville, and from this it becomes clear that the town council of Oviedo had contributed 1.000 maravedies for the maintenance of the navy. There may have been other small contributions for the same purpose. Another detail the chronicle fails to report is that at the meeting place in Seville, where both appeared with about five hundred picked men, either Muhammad I was almost captured by Alfonso X, or vice versa. In any case, the annual negotiations did not take place that year, and the Muslims suddenly attacked with such force and speed, that the Christians were driven out of about three hundred places. However, most of these were soon recovered, and on September 22 Medina Sidonia was recaptured, While Jerez was taken on October 9. The chronicle states correctly (but in chapter 13, under the year 1263) that Muhammad I asked Abu Yusuf Ya'qub for help and rewarded the men the latter sent so lavishly that he caused unrest among his own people, and especially among the banu Ishqiliwla. These then, the chronicle goes on to say, sent to Alfonso to offer him their vassalage, and he at once had Nuño González de Lara with one thousand men march to their help. After this correct account the chronicle suddenly diverges from the truth and tells how Alfonso in alliance

with Muhammad I conquered Murcia: this was in reality done by Jaime I of Aragon to whom Alfonso had appealed for help.

c.16
1266

During 1266 Alfonso is stated to have stayed in Murcia and to have supervised its repopulation. The chronicle also reports that Alfonso made use of the differences between the royal family and the banu Ishqiliwla, using the latter to keep the Nasrid king in check. But some of the Castilian nobility under the leadership of the House of Lara, discontented with Alfonso's politics, joined forces with Muhammad I.

c.17
1267

Loaysa makes Edward of England visit Castile in 1254; the chronicle places his visit in 1267 and 1268. In the same year is placed Marie of Brienne's visit (which took place between June 1258 and May 1, 1261), and here it is not her son who is mortgaged to the Venetians, but her husband who is a prisoner of the sultan. Alfonso gave her the money, and the praise of his generosity and nobleness resounded so loudly throughout Christendom that it was the reason he was elected "Emperor" (he had been elected King of the Romans on April 1, 1257). The details are, here as elsewhere, somewhat inaccurate, but the way in which his election is commented upon deserves mention: "And although this gave the King don Alfonso a great reputation in other lands, this and other like things which this king did caused a great impoverishment in the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon".

c.18
1268

Under the year 1268 the chronicle relates the marriage of Fernando de la Cerda and Blanche of France (which took place on November 29, 1269). As in Loaysa's account under the year 1254,

a splendid congregation of the aristocracy of Europe is described, only here with many more nobles participating. The chronicle states here that the Marquis of Montferrat had already married Alfonso's daughter Beatriz (which he did in October 1271): that Alfonso was officially notified in Burgos of his election as King of the Romans (which had been done on August 21, 1257): that the nobles concluded a pact against the king and sealed it with the marriage of Lope Díaz de Haro and Juana of Castile (which took place in 1269): and that the discontented nobles were joined by the princes Fernando, Manuel, Fadrique and Felipe.

c.19
1269

Alfonso's troops sacked Cádiz and held it for four days. Then the king went to Seville where his rebellious relatives and grandees were staying. Dinis of Portugal, who was then not "twelve or thirteen" years old but eight, came there, was knighted, and asked to have the tribute cancelled that Portugal so far had had to pay to Castile. Alfonso was in favour of granting this request, and did so in spite of opposition. Thus he furnished the discontented nobles with another cause for grievance. Abu Yusuf Ya'qub received word about the hard feelings that existed on the side of the nobles. It does not seem as if Alfonso was even aware of their discontent.

c.20
1270

If Alfonso had not known about the hard feelings that his extravagancies were causing among his nobles, he soon learned about them. The chronicle relates that his stay in Murcia in 1270 afforded the grandees the opportunity to form an alliance against the king at Lerma and that they hesitated whether to send their allegiance to the King of Navarre or to the King of

Granada. The infante Felipe is now the only member of the royal family mentioned in connection with the rebels. Alfonso, finally realizing the imminence of the conspiracy, returned to

c.21
1271

Castile at the end of the year. There he met with the rebels and they swore to be his faithful servants, asserting that they had been misunderstood owing to the calumnies of evil tongues.

The King believed them, and they, thus reassured, immediately wrote again to the Kings of Morocco and Granada, and also to the King of Portugal, hoping that he would attack Castile. Alfonso,

c.22

the chronicle goes on, with his mind already set on the "ida al Imperio", was taken by surprise by the sudden invasion of a

small Moroccan force. He immediately sent for his grandees who declined to help him, and soon afterwards a messenger was intercepted with letters from Morocco to the infante Felipe, Nuño

González de Lara, Lope Díaz de Haro, JimenoRuíz de los Cameros,

c.23

Esteban Fernández and Gil Gómez de Roa. In this way Alfonso knew of their intrigues. Finally a meeting was arranged between

the king and the rebellious nobles: meanwhile Felipe had again gone to Navarre. The grievances named were these: some of the

new laws that Alfonso had promulgated were resented; no Castilian judges accompanied the court; the taxes that were due to the

infantes impoverished the country; the ten per cent sales tax was bitterly hated; the royal judges and the tax collectors

were doing much harm; the farming of taxes in Leon and in Galicia

c.24

had reduced the income of the nobility of these kingdoms. It seemed to Alfonso that he was satisfying his subjects with his answers and promises. In answer to their questions about his

- Imperial aspirations, he told them that they should support him in his efforts to raise Spain's and their own prestige, instead of troubling themselves about his occasional gifts of money. In order to gain time, the nobles asked the king to convoke Cortes and to repeat there his answers officially. This Alfonso agreed to do, but now the rebels came forth with new requests. Even if the greater part of the first complaints had been reasonable, the second set was obviously an excuse to delay the reconciliation. It was, the chronicle states, clear to everybody present that the king was right and that the law was on his side. Don Felipe and the other rebels realized this and left the Cortes and went to Campos. The clergy seem to have been the real causers of the failure; they were hoping that Alfonso would grant them anything they might demand. The king, however, did not do so. A committee of representatives of all classes was nominated, the queen among them, to decide on all complaints voiced.
- Meanwhile, messengers from the rebels had asked the king for a period of grace of forty-two days during which they might leave the country. This was granted by the king but not observed by the rebels, who devastated the regions through which they marched, in spite of the presence of a small royal escort.
- After the departure of the rebels, Alfonso kept on trying to remove the differences that had arisen. He sent letters to his brother Felipe and the other rebels, reminding each one individually of the benefits they had had from the royal house, and reproaching them for their ingratitude. But Felipe's answer

- c.38 showed that for the time being all was in vain. The rebels
1272 moved southward, raiding the countryside. Alfonso sent after them his two sons Fernando de la Cerda and Sancho el Bravo and several other persons of high rank, trying to stop them from
- c.39 joining the Muslims. He sent a letter granting them a great deal of what they had demanded, but they would not be stopped and presented a third list of grievances. They left Castile
- c.40 and went to Granada, taking with them all the loot. The king
to
- c.42 sought the advice of his wife, of Sancho of Aragon, archbishop of Toledo, and of his brothers Fadrique and Manuel, and granted all the additional demands, expressing the hope that they would
- c.43 support him in the "fecho del Imperio". Meanwhile, the rebels had formally paid allegiance to the King of Granada, who asked them to go and devastate Guadix, which belonged to Alfonso X's allies, the banu Ishqiliwla. The latter complained to Alfonso, who sent word to the rebels that he would do as much damage to their possessions as they did to those of his vassals. At the same time Muhammad I, old and sick, asked them to return to Granada. He died shortly after their arrival (in reality
- c.44 on January 20, 1273). The rebels then took a hand in the election of Muhammad II. After this they seem to have received the letters containing Alfonso's grant of their third list of grievances. Now they could hardly help giving their consent to their King's plea for reconciliation, although they still had no enthusiasm for the stipulation that they should accept the "ida".
- c.45 As soon as Alfonso thought that he could again count on

the support of all his nobility, he tried to reach an agreement with Muhammad II. This was rather difficult because the Maṣrid wanted to recover the land that the banu Ishqiliwla were holding, while Alfonso was interested in keeping them as strong as possible in order to have a lever with which to handle the King of Granada. This was another reason why it was so unbearable to Alfonso to think of his nobles as vassals of Muhammad II.

- c.46 Sometime during those months, the chronicle says, the rebels had already given Muhammad II assistance in subduing the banu Ishqiliwla of Málaga.
- c.47 By now all Alfonso's actions were directed towards one aim: the Imperial crown. He was determined to leave soon for Germany, and he needed vast sums of money. He called another meeting, at Almagro, to take a vote on the collection of more revenue,
- c.48 and on the levying of the sales tax. He found it intolerable that one of his brothers and several of his grandees had become vassals of the King of Granada, and was impatient to end this state of affairs. But for the time being all he could obtain from Muhammad was a promise of tribute. Since the King of
- c.49 Granada would not hear of releasing the emigrants from their oath of allegiance, Alfonso, assuming that they wanted to return to Castile, sent letters to them and proposed that he should drop the banu Ishqiliwla if they would return to Castile bringing enough money from Muhammad II to cover all the expenses.
- c.50
1273 Fernán Ruíz de Castro and a group of the lesser nobility returned to Castile, but the majority stayed in Granada, and Alfonso decided to appeal again to the King of Aragon, and to attack Granada.

- c.51 In the meantime Fernando de la Cerda had sent the Grand Master of Calatrava to try to come to terms with Muhammad II and the rebels. The latter, wishing to secure a truce, abandoned
- c.52 the banu Ishqiliwla and accepted the offer of terms. Alfonso was furious, and wrote Fernando a letter in which he explained to his son his own political motives and those of his adversaries, as he saw them, giving him at the same time advice on how to conduct further operations.
- c.53 The Marquis of Montferrat wrote to Alfonso saying that every day he delayed his voyage to Germany, his chances of being crowned Emperor were growing slighter. After receiving this message, Alfonso became extremely anxious to end the struggle with his nobles. He immediately sent his wife to Fernando de la Cerda, who had his headquarters in Córdoba, in the hope that the two of them might be able to clear up the annoying situation.
- c.54 The queen was fortunate enough to bring Nuño González de Lara around to her side. He assured her that he would follow Alfonso on his "ida", and gave her some hints about the following negotiations with Muhammad II. Also all the complaints of the nobles
- c.55 were again discussed. Alfonso rejoiced at the expectation of at last removing the remaining obstacles to the fulfillment of
- c.56 his life's dream. He postponed a proposed meeting with the King and Queen of England. He did, however, go to see Jaime of Aragon
- c.57 whose help he needed in order to keep the Muslims in check during his absence, because he had had word of a probable Marinid invasion. Then he went to Seville where he met his wife and Fernando
- c.58 de la Cerda, the King of Granada and the emigrant nobles. Muhammad
1274

II promised to be his vassal forever, and to pay 300.000 maravedies a year. He also handed over all that he had failed to pay during the previous two years, and in addition gave Alfonso an extra 250.000 maravedies for the "ida". He released the rebels from their oaths of allegiance, and they again became Alfonso's vassals. However, after all was settled, a trick was played on the King of Granada. Queen Violante, Fernando de la Cerda, Prince Felipe and Nuño González de Lara had a "private" talk with Muhammad, acting as if Alfonso did not know about this, and pressed him to give the banu Ishqiliwla a two years' truce. The Muslim King was very annoyed at this demand, but having already handed over the large amount of money that had been agreed upon, he was afraid that the Castilians would turn around and make war on him with his own money, and he finally consented to a one year's truce. Alfonso then selected five hundred men who were to accompany him, and arranged everything for the voyage. He advised Fernando de la Cerda again to follow his policy of using the banu Ishqiliwla to keep Muhammad II in check, and started out for Germany. The chronicle only recounts what occurred in Spain during the time of his absence, because "... what he did and what happened where he was going, the writer did not know nor did he put it here".

Fernando remained responsible for the government of Leon and Castile, and was not suspecting any trouble. But Muhammad II was already making good use of the fact that the King of Castile had left the Peninsula. He hoped to be able to subdue the banu Ishqiliwla by the time Alfonso got back, but the pact

which he had been forced to sign made this impossible. He therefore tried a different approach. He notified Abu Yusuf Ya'qub of all that had happened. Then he signed pacts of friendship with the banu Ishqiliwla who were relieved by this, since they had been afraid of an attack while Alfonso was not there to defend them. Finally he offered Algeciras and Tarifa to Abu Yusuf Ya'qub, inviting him to come and make war on the Christians. The sultan came immediately, being followed by 17,000 men. He planned to raid the Kingdom of Seville, starting at Écija, while Muḥammad was to attack the bishopric of Jaén. In May, at the first encounter, at Écija, the Marinids defeated a Christian force smaller than theirs. Among the dead on the Castilian side was the Adelantado Mayor de la Frontera, don Nuño González de Lara. The death of this experienced soldier was a hard blow. Soon afterwards the archbishop of Toledo, prince Sancho of Aragon, had an encounter with a much superior Granadine force. He was defeated and taken prisoner, but was slain when his captors began to quarrel among themselves about whether he was to be sent to Abu Yusuf Ya'qub or to Muḥammad II. Loaysa places this incident in the fall, giving the date of his death as October 21.

Meanwhile Fernando de la Cerda, who had been in Burgos at the moment of the invasion, had quickly started to organize the defense and was slowly moving southward, waiting for his men to catch up with him. He went as far as Villa Real; there he stopped and was getting his army ready when he fell seriously ill. He died in August. Before his death he had asked Juan

Núñez de Lara to act as tutor to his oldest son, Alfonso de la Cerda, and to ensure that he would become king after Alfonso X's death.

c.65 Sancho el Bravo had stayed in Burgos, waiting for some of his vassals to arrive. He had just started on his way south, when he learnt about his brother's death and hastened to Villa Real. He was close friends with Lope Díaz de Haro, whom he now asked to support him in his attempt to succeed to the throne. Then he took over the command, reinforcing all towns and getting the navy ready to stop Marinid traffic across the Straits. He prepared to fight should the Muslims again cross the Guadalquivir. The sultan saw that now all the Castilian troops had arrived at the scene and that the time for easy raids was over, and returned to Algeciras.

c.66 Alfonso X did not know that Sancho had managed to force the sultan to retreat. In any case, he was disheartened because he had found out "that he had been misled about the fecho del Imperio". He returned from Beaucaire, only stopping at the grave of his father-in-law, Jaime of Aragon, and renewing his good relations with the new king. When he arrived back in Castile he secured immediately a two years' truce from Abu Yusuf Ya'qub, who was quite satisfied at this result: his supplies had started to run short because of Sancho's blockade. In the meantime Lope Díaz de Haro had worked among the nobles to prepare the way for Sancho's succession, and finally had put the proposition to the king himself. Alfonso was at first doubtful, but he was proud of his son's conduct at the time of danger, and soon consented whole-

c.67
1276

c.68

heartedly. When the kingdoms had taken the oath of allegiance to Sancho, the queen and Fernando's widow, Blanche of France, took the two infantes de la Cerda and went to Aragon. After this the chronicle mentions that Alfonso had his brother Fadrique strangled and a noble, Simón Ruíz de los Cameros, burnt alive, "because he knew certain things about them": this is related in Loaysa's account and in the Anales toledanos III as having taken place in 1277.

c.69
1277

Alfonso X wanted to drive Abu Yusuf Ya'qub out of Algeciras and Tarifa and prepared for war. He gathered a large fleet, and in October he started to blockade Algeciras from the seaside (in reality the blockade lasted from July 1278 to July 21-22, 1279). At the beginning of April Alfonso began to besiege the city also from the landside, the army being under his son Pedro's command.

c.70
1278

c.71

Sancho in the meantime had secretly negotiated with his uncle, King Pedro of Aragon, for the safekeeping of the infantes de la Cerda. But his uncle wanted first to have his sister, the Queen of Castile, out of the way. Violante was willing to come back to Spain, too, but she owed money in Aragon "because she had stayed there for two years", and she also needed some cash for the trip. To provide this, Sancho got hold of his father's tax-collector for Castile and Leon and ordered him to hand over the revenue money that he had with him and that was meant as pay for the forces at Algeciras. Violante returned, the infantes were laid up in the castle of Játiva, and Blanche went to France. "And the queen and the infante don Sancho

travelled through the towns of Castile demanding justice".

- c.72 Because of his shortage of money Alfonso could neither pay nor feed nor clothe his men properly, and this had especially terrible results for the navy. After having spent a winter at sea, the sailors were suffering from disease and the ships were rotting to pieces. Abu Yusuf Ya'qub found out about the sorry state of the fleet, ordered his fourteen galleys to attack, and won a complete victory. Alfonso had to withdraw his troops. He realized that it would not be possible for him to expel the
- c.73 the Marinids from Spain, and therefore made a treaty with them
1279 and turned against the King of Granada. He assembled his troops in Córdoba, but the campaign was delayed by a quarrel which King Dinis of Portugal had with his mother, a natural daughter
- c.74 of Alfonso X. In June of 1280 Sancho was ready for the war,
1280 but Alfonso fell ill with a disease of the eyes and could not participate. Sancho took the command and after one defeat in the beginning of the campaign, was victorious. Alfonso now finally had found his tax-collector and ordered him to be killed before Sancho's eyes.

Meanwhile King Philip III of France had been complaining continuously about the treatment of Alfonso de la Cerda: he wanted to see his nephew on the throne of Castile. Alfonso thought he could persuade him and the King of England to accompany him on a crusade against Morocco, and wanted to do everything in his power to satisfy Philip. Alfonso met him in December in Bayonne: he did not tell Sancho that they would be discussing the claim of Alfonso de la Cerda. The chronicle inserts

here that Alfonso X had secretly sent letters to all parts of his kingdom, and that on a certain Saturday all synagogues were seized and that the king started a trial which cost the Jews 12.000 maravedies per day. Then the chronicle goes on to relate that Philip III sent Philip of Anjou to Alfonso to discuss Alfonso de la Cerda's claim (Philip of Anjou had died in 1277). In any case, Alfonso's idea was to give Alfonso de la Cerda the "Kingdom" of Jaén and make him a vassal of himself and of Sancho. Sancho was naturally very angry. It appears that Alfonso simply asserted that, as king, he could do whatever he wanted with his kingdom. After this the meaning of the text becomes obscure.

c.75
1281

In 1281 both the infantes Pedro and Juan married, and on this occasion Alfonso behaved very generously, which his relations and the nobility, as before, did not approve of at all. He then met with Pedro of Aragon and concluded pacts of friendship with him. In June his army was ready for another campaign against the King of Granada, but this time Sancho had only command of part of the troops, the king himself and the infantes Pedro, Juan and Alfonso el Niño leading the rest. The greatest successes, however, were won by Sancho's men, and it was due to these that Muhammad II asked for a truce, offering to pay annually one third of all his revenues. But Alfonso demanded in addition all the castles of the frontier, and this caused the breakdown of the negotiations. He then summoned Cortes at Seville and again demanded an increase of taxation, on the ground that he wanted to finish the war with Granada once and for all. Furthermore, he wanted to coin in the future two kinds

of money, one of silver and one of copper. The representatives consented to all this, "more out of fear than out of love". After Alfonso had arranged his financial affairs to his liking, he wanted also to carry out his intention to please the Pope and the King of France by making Alfonso de la Cerda King of Jaén. Sancho told him flatly that he would never consent to this, whereupon his father, in a sudden fit of temper, told him that if he did not agree to it he would disinherit him. This caused a complete breach between the two. The representatives were immediately on Sancho's side, because Alfonso had been pressing his subjects very hard with his ever growing need for money. Sancho told them to go and do everything Alfonso would tell them, while he would go to Córdoba and from there would let them know what to do. Then he asked his father's permission to go to that city, and also to send to the King of Granada and arrange for a truce on the basis of the payments the latter had offered. Alfonso gave him leave, and Sancho immediately started negotiations with Muhammad II. He was soon joined in Córdoba by his brothers Pedro and Juan.

c.76
1282

In 1282 Prince Juan was sent by Sancho to Leon to persuade all the towns of that kingdom to come over to Sancho's side. He was everywhere successful except in Zamora, where he used the trick that later was to give him the name Juan of Tarifa. The Lady of Zamora had a one week old child, and when she refused to carry out Juan's request to hand over the castle, he took the child and threatened to kill it. Needless to say, the castle was handed over, and soon most of Alfonso's possessions had sworn

allegiance to Sancho. For the following April he summoned Cortes at Valladolid. The Kings of Portugal and Aragon at once recognized him, and the Cortes at Valladolid gave him the right to call himself King. Sancho then married María, the daughter of the infante de Molina. His sister Violante he married to Lope Díaz de Haro. He was also godfather to Juan Manuel who was born at that time. Then Badajoz returned to Alfonso's side, his brothers Juan and Pedro, and also Lope Díaz de Haro turned against him, and Alfonso and Abu Yusuf Ya'qub proceeded to besiege Córdoba, where Sancho had left his wife. He hurried there in a forced march and had hardly entered the city when the besiegers arrived. After a futile siege of twenty-one days, they turned to sack the countryside. After this the sultan returned to Morocco and Alfonso withdrew to Seville. Sancho had a meeting with Muhammad II to whom he gave the castle of Arenas in order to retain his friendship.

c.77
1283

Alfonso had been thinking of making Prince Pedro King of Murcia, and only after Sancho had made him his chancellor and had given him Tordesillas as hereditary fief, did Pedro return to his side. But prince Juan and many nobles left Sancho. His luck was at its lowest ebb during summer and fall of 1283. Abu Yusuf Ya'qub returned to Spain, and this time he and Alfonso directed their attacks against Muhammad II. Sancho could not help him very much, because he himself had suffered a defeat just outside of Córdoba, at the hands of a Christian force. Now also Sancho's brother Jaime turned against him, and more nobles were leaving his side every day.

In the meantime Pedro of Aragon had become King of Sicily and was at war with France. His suggestion to decide everything by single combat between himself and Charles of Anjou produced no result, and thus his country was threatened with an invasion by France. He appealed to Sancho for help and was sent more than 2,000 men. Fortunately for Pedro, in Philip's army there were a number of Spanish nobles who refused to fight against Sancho in person, although they were willing to raid his lands. At about this time Prince Pedro died (October 19, 1283). By now Sancho's spirits had sunk so low that he could only be relieved at the disappearance of one of his enemies. Shortly afterwards (actually in August) Sancho was excommunicated by the French Pope Martin IV, and all his followers and his lands were placed under the interdict. Against this he reacted vigorously; he wrote to Rome, advocating the election of a new Pope. According to the chronicle, Sancho would have liked now to come to terms with the king, but this was altogether against the interests of the nobles on each side. Thus father and son tried to establish contact through intermediaries, Alfonso through his daughter Beatriz of Portugal, and Sancho through his wife María de Meneses who had just then given birth to their first daughter. But before these attempts could lead to anything, Sancho fell ill, and was by his own doctor reported dead to his father. In this moment the latter showed his real feelings about his son whom he called "the best man of his whole family". But Sancho recovered, and soon after Alfonso himself fell ill. Prince Juan asked to be made King of Seville and Badajoz, but Alfonso did not consent. He pardoned Sancho and all his followers for everything they had done to him, received the extreme unction and died

Appendix 1: Synoptic table of the contents of the manuscripts of the Tres corónicas¹

	Biblioteca Nacional					Biblioteca del Palacio de Oriente	Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia	Bibl. del Real Monasterio de El Escorial														
	642	829	1.657	1.775	5.775a	10.195	10.277	13.002	16	1703	2777	23-1-A-10	25-5-C-88	12-34-G-12	M-II-2	N-III-12	Y-I-5	Y-II-13	Y-II-15	Z-III-11	Z-III-7	Z-III-12
Crónica de Fernando III	x							x														
Crónica de Alfonso X																						
Prólogo		x		x		x			x			x			x	x	x	x	x		x	x
Texto de la Crónica	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Primer Testamento				x	x		x		x	x		x	x		x				x	x	x	x
Segundo Testamento				x			x		x			x	x		x				x	x	x	x
Crónica de Sancho IV	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Crónica de Fernando IV	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x
Crónica de Alfonso XI		x	x					x	x			x	x			x						

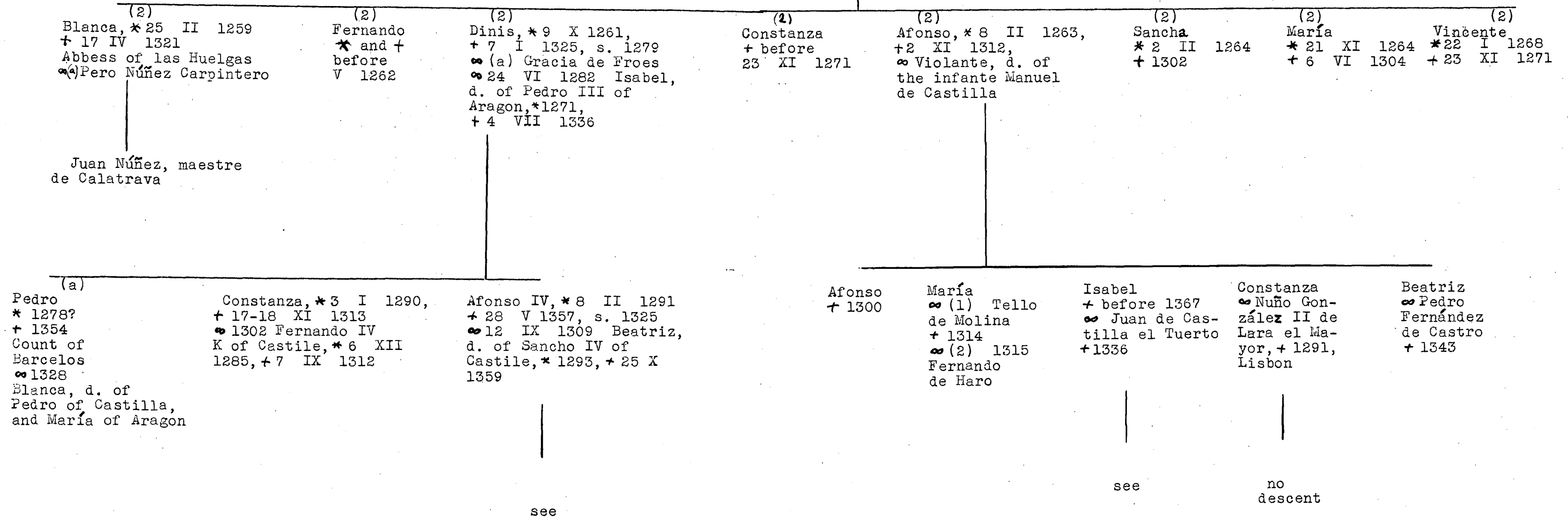
1. Casto M. del Rivero, "Índice de las Personas, lugares y cosas notables, que se mencionan en las Tres Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla: Alfonso X, Sancho IV y Fernando IV", Hispania (Madrid, 1942), IX, 591.

Appendix 2: Genealogical tables for the history of Castile 1252-1284

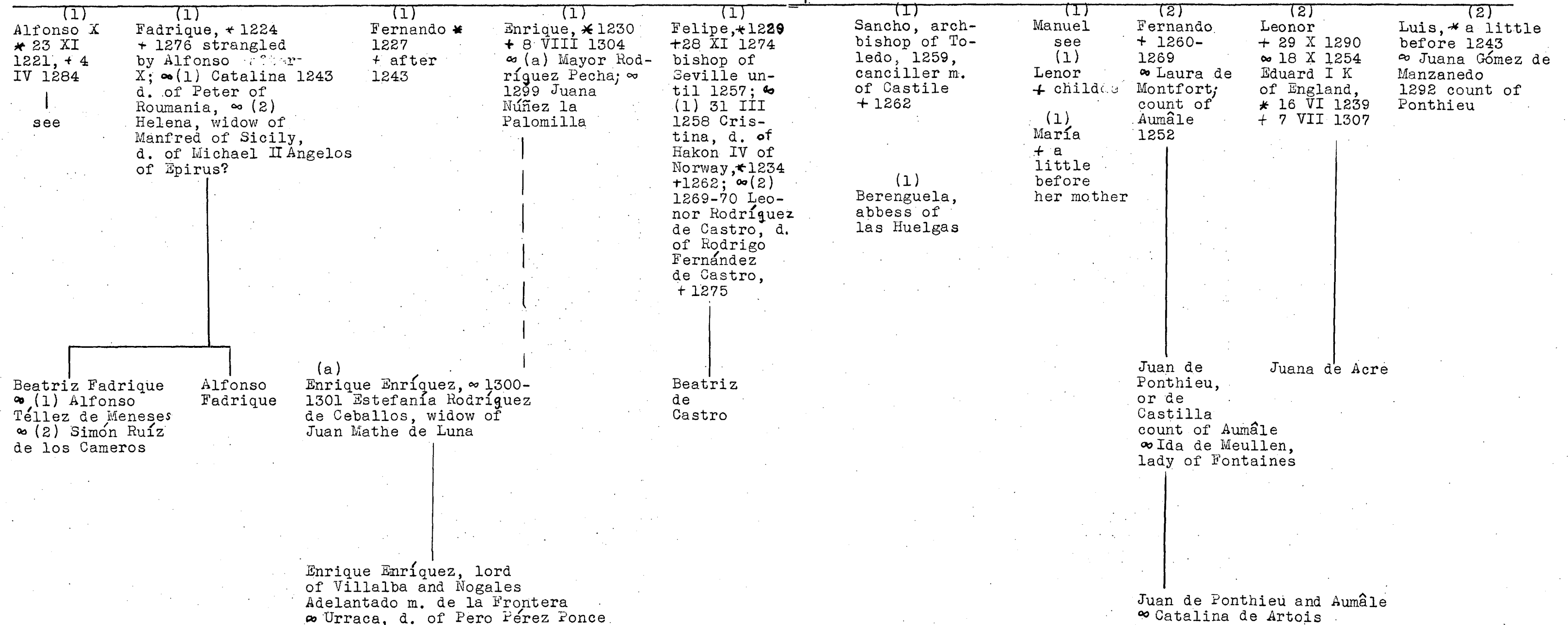
Abbreviations used in the genealogical tables:

d. = daughter * = born
 K. = King ∞ = married
 m. = mayor ∅ = divorced
 n. = natural + = died
 s. = son; succeeds (a) = concubine

Afonso III, *5 V 1210 +16 II 1279, s. of Afonso II of Portugal and Urraca of Castile
 1245 regent by papal decree
 1248 succeeds after the death of his brother Sancho II (3 I 1248)
 ∞ (1) 1235, ∅ 1245 Matilda, d. of Rennaud de Dammartin, +14 I, after 1262
 ∞ (2) 1253-3 VI 1254 Beatriz, n.d. of Alfonso X of Castile, *1241-44, +24 VIII 1302 or 27 X 1303



Fernando III, *1199, + 30 V 1252, s. of Alfonso IX of Castile and Berenguela La Grande.
 K of Castile 1217, of Leon 1230
 ∞ (1) 30 XI 1219 Elizabeth (Beatriz), d. of Philipp von Schwaben *1202, + 1234(35?)
 ∞ (2) 1237 Juana de Ponthieu, d. of the Count Simon de Aumâle, + 1278



Alfonso de Castilla, s. of Alfonso IX of Castile and Berenguela la Grande.
 + 1272 at Salamanca
 ∞ (1) Mafalda Manrique de Lara, lady of Molina and Mesa
 ∞ (2) Teresa González de Lara, d. of Gonzalo Núñez and María DÍaz de Haro.
 ∞ (3) Mayor Alfonso de Meneses

(1)

(2)

(3)

(3)

Blanca, + middle of V 1293
 ∞ Alfonso el Niño, s. of
 Alfonso X of Castile, + 1281
 1273 lady of Molina

Juana
 ∞ 1269 Dope de Haro

Alfonso de Meneses
 ∞ Teresa Pérez, d. of
 Per Álvarez de Asturias,
 lord of Noroña, + 1286,
 and of Sancha Rodríguez
 de Lara

María de Meneses
 + 1 VI 1321
 ∞ VII 1282 Sancho IV of Castile
 Upon Blanca's death Sancho gives
 the señorío to his wife

Isabel, + II 1293
 ∞ end of 1290 Juan Núñez II
 de Lara el Mozo

see

No descent

Fernando Alfonso, n.s. of Alfonso IX of Castile and Maura
 Dean of Santiago, archdean of Salamanca
 ∞ Aldara López de Ulloa

Juan Fernández Cabellos de Oro
 Mayordomo m. of Sancho IV of Castile.
 ∞ (1) María Andrés de Castro, d. of Andrés Fernández de Castro
 ∞ (2) Juana Núñez de Lara, d. of Nuño Fernández de Lara and
 Inés Iníquez de Mendoza

Fernández

Juan Fernández

Fernán Fernández

Alfonso Téllez de Meneses
 ∞ (1) Mayor González Girón
 ∞ (2) María Ánez de Limia

María Alfonso de Meneses
 ∞ (1) Juan García, lord of Ucero
 ∞ (a) Sancho IV of Castile

Mayor Alfonso de Meneses
 (3) ∞ Alfonso de Castilla

see

(a)

(a)

Violante Sánchez
 ∞ 1293 Fernán Rodríguez de Castro,
 s. of Esteban Fernández de Castro,
 pertiguero m. de Santiago, + 4, II-
 9 V 1291, and of Aldonza Rodríguez
 + 1305 at Villalba, fighting against
 the infante Felipe

Teresa Sánchez
 ∞ (1) Juan Alfonso, s. of Rodrigo Anes, lord of Alburquerque, and of
 Teresa Martínez de Soverosa, + 1304
 ∞ (2) Ruy Gil de Villalobos

Pedro Fernández de Castro,
 el de la Guerra

(1)
 Violante Sánchez

(1)
 Teresa Martínez

Inés de Castro, + 7 I 1355
 ∞ 1 I 1354 Pedro I of Portugal

Manuel, + XI 1283, s. of Ferdinand III of Castile and Elisabeth von Schwaben

∞ (1) Constanza, d. of Jaime I of Aragon

∞ (2) Beatriz, d. of the count Amadeus IV of Savoy, + 23 II 1292

Adelantado m. de la Frontera

Alférez m.

Mayordomo m. del rey

(1)	(2)	(2)
Alfonso + 1275 (Oct.?)	Violante ∞ Alfonso, s. of Alfonso III of Portugal and of Beatriz of Castile, * 8 II 1263, + 2 XI 1312 at Lisbon	Juan Manuel, * 5 V 1282, + 1349? In Córdoba? Summer 1294 Adelantado m. in Murcia Mayordomo m. del rey ∞ (1) Isabel, d. of Jaime II of Mallorca, + soon ∞ (2) Contanza of Aragón, d. of Jaime II and Blanca de Anjou ∞ (3) 1328 Blanca de la Cerda, d. of Fernando de la Cerda and Juana de Lara
	see	
	Constanza Manuel + 13 XI 1345 ∞ 24 VIII 1339 Pedro I de Portugal, * 18 IV 1320, + 18 I 1367	Juana Manuel * 1339 + 1381 ∞ Enrique, II de Trastámara, K of Castile, * 13 I 1334, + 29 V 1379
		Fernando Manuel Prince of Villena, succeeds his father as Adelantado m. in Murcia + 1350
		Enrique Manuel count of Sintra, Portugal
		Sancho Manuel lord of Carrión

Sancho IV, *12 V 1258, +25 IV 1295, s. of Alfonso X of Castile and Violante of Aragón
 1269 engaged to Guillerma, d. of Gaston VII, viscount of Béarn; ∞ (a) María Alfonso, d. of Alfonso Téllez de Meneses
 ∞ VII 1282 María Alfonso de Meneses, +1 VI 1321, d. of the infante Alfonso de Castilla
 succeeds 5 IV 1284

(?) Alfonso Sánchez (2) ∞ María Díaz, d. of Diego López de Salcedo and Teresa Álvarez Podestad	Isabel, *1283- 84 Toro, ∞ (1) 1291 Jaime II, * 1296 ∞ (2) Juan III, Duke of Breta- ña, +1328	Fernando IV * 6 XII 1285 Sevilla, + 7 IX 1312 Jaén ∞ 1302 Con- stanza of Portugal, * 3 I 1290, + 17 XI 1313	Alfonso, * 19 XII 1286 - 7 I 1287 Valladolid, + 22 VI - 15 IX 1291 Valladolid	Enrique * 16 IX - 10 XII 1288, + 1299 mute	Pedro, * end VII - beg. VIII 1290 Valladolid, + 25 VI 1319 Granada ∞ 25 XII 1311 Ma- ría, d. of Jaime II of Aragón, Mayordomo m. of Fernando IV, Tutor of Alfonso XI	Felipe, * 28 V 1292 Sevilla + before 5 VI 1327, ∞ 1311- 15 Margarita de la Cerda, d. of Alfonso and Mafalda; Tutor of Al- fonso XI	Beatriz, * 8 X - XII 1293 Toro, + 25 X 1359 Lisbon ∞ 12 IX 1309 Alfonso IV of Portugal, * 8 II 1291 + 28 V 1357; Engaged in 1297
(?) Juan Sánchez							
(a) Violante Sánchez see							
(a) Teresa Sánchez see						No descent	
					Blanca ∞ 1328 Pedro of Portugal, count of Barcelos, * 1278? + 1354		

Fernando de la Cerda, * 4 I 1256, + 25 VII 1275, s. of Alfonso X of Castile and Violante of Aragón
 ∞ 29 XI 1269 Blanca, d. of Louis IX of France and Margarita, de Provence.
 * 1253, + 17, VI 1320

Alfonso de la Cerda
 + shortly after 23
 XII 1333
 ∞ Mafalda de Narbona,
 lady of Lunel

(2)
 Alfonso Fernández

Fernando de la Cerda
 + VI 1322
 ∞ 1308 Juana Núñez de Lara,
 la Palomilla

see

Luis de la Cerda,
 count of Clermont
 and of Tilmant
 Founder of the
 Ducal House of
 Medinaceli

Juan Alfonso de la Cerda
 lord of Gibraleón, Huelva,
 el Real de Manzanares

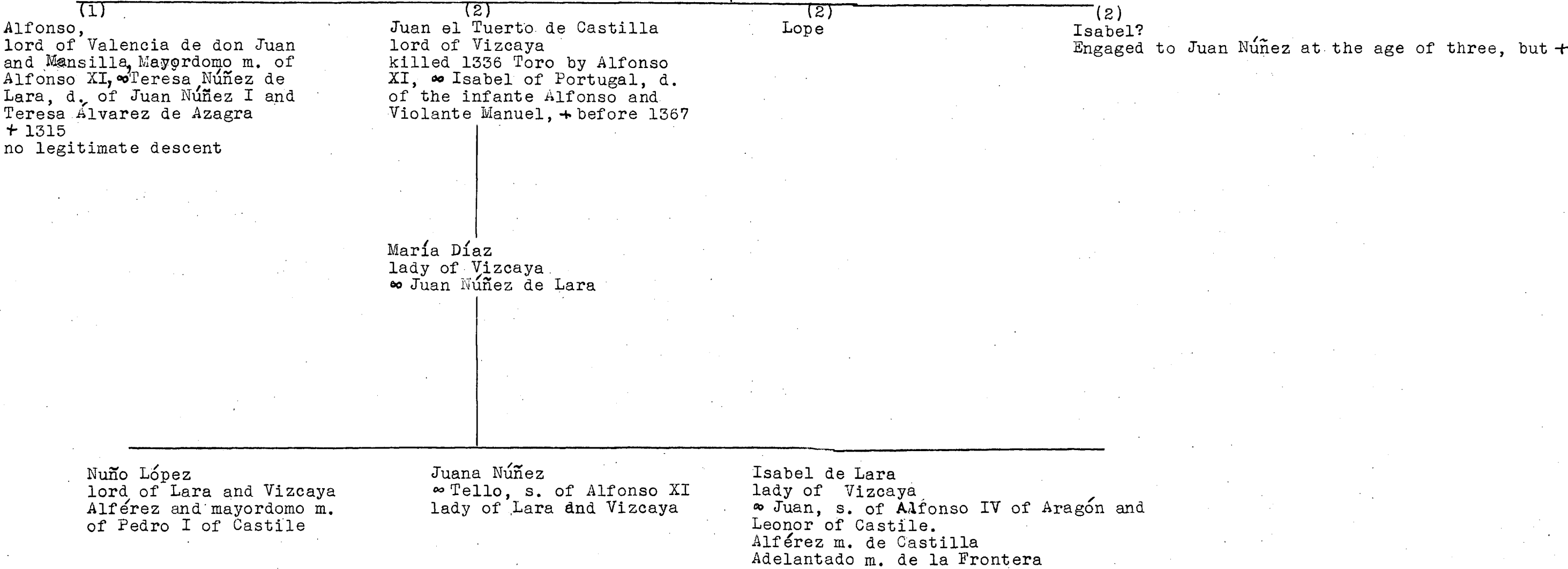
Alfonso
 de la
 Cerda

Margarita de la Cerda
 ∞ 1311-15 Felipe, s.
 of Sancho IV of Cas-
 tile, * 28 V 1292,
 + before 5 VI 1327

Inés de la Cerda
 Lady of Bemibre,
 ∞ Fernán Rodrí-
 guez de Villalo-
 bos

María de la Cerda
 lady of Villafranca
 and Valcárcel,
 ∞ Alfonso Menéndez
 de Guzmán

Juan "de Tarifa", * 1264, † 25 VI 1319, s. of Alfonso X of Castile and Violante of Aragón
∞ (1) 1281 Margarita, d. of William VIII, Marquis of Montferrat, and Isabel of Gloucester.
∞ (2) 1287 María Díaz, d. of Lope Díaz de Haro and Juana Alfonso



Nuño González I de Lara, el Bueno, +VII 1275 Écija, s. of Gonzalo Núñez and María Díaz de Haro
 ∞ Teresa Alfonso, n.d. of Alfonso IX of Castile
 Adelantado m. de la Frontera

Juan Núñez, el Gordo, el Mayor
 ∞ Teresa Álvarez de Azagra, d. of Álvaro
 Pérez de Azagra and Inés, n.d. of Teo-
 baldo I of Navarre

Nuño González II el Mayor, +1291 Lisbon, after VII
 ∞ Constanza, d. of Alfonso of Portugal and Violante
 Manuel

No descent

Álvar Núñez
 + 1287

Juan Núñez II el Mozo,
 el de la Barba
 + 1315; Mayordomo m.
 de Fernando IV, Ade-
 lantado m. de la Frontera
 ∞ (1) end 1290 Isabel de
 Molina
 ∞ (2) María Díaz de Haro

see previous page

Nuño González III

Juan Núñez III

Juana Núñez la Palomilla
 * about 1284
 1291 plans to marry her to
 the infante Alfonso, * 1286
 + 1291; ∞ (1) 1299 Enrique
 el Senador, * 1230, + 8 VIII
 1304; ∞ (2) 1308, Fernando de
 la Cerda, + VI 1322
 Fernando succeeds her in the
 señorío de Lara

(2)

Teresa Núñez, + 1315
 ∞ Alfonso de Castilla
 s. of the infante don
 Juan

Ferrán
 Núñez?

No legitimate descent.

Juan Núñez

Blanca
 ∞ 1328 Juan Manuel

Margarita

María
 countess of Estampes and Monzón

see

Lope Díaz de Haro, Cabeza brava, + 1236

∞ Urraca Alfonso de León, n.d. of Alfonso IX and Inés Iñíguez de Mendoza

Diego López, el de Bañares
(because he died there)
Constanza de Bearne, d.
of Guillermo de Moncada

Alfonso López
∞ Margarita (Teresa?)
Álvarez Simón de los
Camereros

Lope López el Chico

Mencia (de Paredes), + before 1270
∞ (1) Alvar Pérez de Castro (+ soon)
∞ (2) Sancho II de Portugal, * 8 IX 1207
+ (3) I 1248, to whom she remains
faithful after his deposition (1245)

Lope Díaz, + 8 VI 1288
Alfaro; Count 1 I 1287
∞ 1269 Juana, d. of Al-
fonso de Molina

Diego López, + 1309
Algeciras; ∞ Violante,
d. of Alfonso X of
Castile, + 1308
Alférez of Sancho IV

Urraca, Díaz, + 1284
∞ Fernán Ruíz de
Castro, s. of Ro-
drigo de Castro

Pedro,
dies at 15

Juan Alfonso
∞ Mayor Alfonso,
d. of Alfonso
Téllez de Córdoba
y María Yáñez
Batisela

María
∞ Ruy Gil de Villalobos, third
s. of Gil Manrique and Teresa
Fernández Manzanedo

Diego López
+ soon after
his father

María Díaz
(2) ∞ 1287
Juan de
Castilla

see

Lope Díaz
∞ Teresa
de Villa-
lobos
Mayordomo
m. de Fer-
nando IV

No descent

Fernando

No descent

María Díaz
∞ Juan
Nuñez II
el Mozo

No descent

Juan Alfonso

Álvar Díaz

Alfonso
Téllez

María

several children, among
them: Ruy Gil, ∞
Teresa Sánchez, widow of
Juan Alfonso de Albur-
querque

Guillén Pérez de Guzmán
+ 1212, las Navas de Tolosa

Pedro Núñez
ricohombre, Adelantado m. de Castilla
∞ (1) Teresa Ruíz de Brizuela
∞ (2) Juana Fernández de Viedma
∞ (a) María García de Roa

Mayor Guillén
∞ Alfonso X, K of Castile, * 23 XI 1220,
+ 4 IV 1284

(1)
Fernán Pérez
Adelantado m. de Murcia 7 XI 1285
till after 27 IV 1288
∞ Sancha Rodríguez de Cabrera, d.
of Ruy Fernández el Feo de Valdona

(2)
Álvar Pérez

(a)
Pedro Núñez

(?)
Alfonso Pérez, * 23 I 1256, + 19 IX 1309
in the Sierra de Gancía
∞ 1282 (?) María Alfonso Coronel
Since 3-13 VII 1293 Alcalde de Tarifa

Beatriz, * 1241-44
+ 24 VIII 1302 or 27 X 1303
∞ before 3 VI 1254 Alfonso
III K of Portugal

Juana Fernández
∞ Álvaro Díaz de
Castañeda

Pedro Alfonso
* 1284-84
+ Tarifa?

Isabel

Juan Alfonso

Leonor

Beatriz

Teresa Alfonso
∞ Juan de Ortega,
s. of Juan Mathe
de Luna

see

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