



Newsletter: Spring 2008

The American Academy of Research Historians of Medieval Spain (AARHMS) was founded in 1974 by a small group of historians who shared a common interest in medieval Iberia. Since 1976 it has been an 'affiliated society' of the American Historical Association, and has continuously sponsored research presentations at the AHA annual meetings, at the International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo, and in other national and regional settings. For further information see: <http://libro.uca.edu/aarhms/index.html>.

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From the Editor

Dana Wessell Lightfoot, History, Univ. of Texas at El Paso

This is my first issue as editor of the AARHMS newsletter, having taken over from Brian Catlos who is now the President of our association. As Brian's message below indicates, there are many exciting changes happening within AARHMS as we revamp our website and work to expand our membership, especially to international scholars. The AARHMS newsletter plays an important role in keeping our members in touch with the central issues, scholarship and people in our field. Thus contributions to our newsletter are even more vital, so please forward any announcements for awards, prizes, publications and positions you have received to me at djlightfoot@utep.edu.

I would also like to announce a new forum section that will be included in the newsletter, starting in the Fall 2008 edition. It is our intention for these fora to act as a space for debate and opinion pieces focusing on questions that are currently being discussed in our field. The first forum will focus on the value of material culture and archeology for medieval Iberian history and will be coordinated by Simon Doubleday. Future topics are to be decided.

Finally, I would like to thank all those who have contributed to the Spring 2008 edition of the newsletter.

From the President

Brian A. Catlos, History, Univ. of California, Santa Cruz

Dear Members,

AARHMS was founded thirty-four years ago when Iberia was very much on the periphery of Medieval History, a frontier for a few brave intellectual pioneers. In the intervening decades this situation has changed and the peninsula has become the focus for the most exciting and innovative work done in our field, and has attracted many of the most promising young scholars. Those who were setting out to establish their careers when they founded AARHMS have now become renowned authorities and valued mentors, while their early students too have matured into senior scholars. LIBRO has developed as a resource which researchers, libraries and teachers around the world have come to depend on. With all of this our organization is ripe for transition. Our field has become broad, our numbers great, and now more than ever there is an interest among historians from North America, Europe and the rest of the world to share their research and collaborate. As a result, there is an even greater need

for an organization like AARHMS to promote our work and facilitate communication and collaboration.

It's a great pleasure to begin my term as President; after several months of consultation with my predecessor, Teo Ruíz, and our Board of Directors, we have decided to embark on a series of initiatives aimed at making AARHMS a more effective advocate for our members and to provide a forum for exchange and collaboration.

Forgive the lengthy message, but there is much to announce.

AARHMS will continue to collaborate with LIBRO and, in fact, a portion of our dues will now go to maintaining this very important service which Jim Brodman has now been administering for many years. Thanks to Simon Doubleday, the new *Journal for Medieval Iberian Studies* (Routledge) will be offering a special subscription to AARHMS members when the journal makes its debut in 2009. I urge you to support the journal by submitting articles and by requesting your institution's library to subscribe. Simon also continues his service as our book review editor; write to him if you there are books you wish to review, and be sure to tell your publishers to forward him review copies of your publications.

We now have a new domain www.aarhms.org, and a new web site will be set up in the coming months. This web site will serve as the AARHMS forum. Members will be able to update their directory listing on-line, including their details, recent publications, current projects, and upcoming research trips. A discussion board will allow members to get in touch regarding research, travel and conference planning.

Annual dues can now be paid by PayPal – meaning that you can pay by credit card over the internet in whatever currency you use. Our Treasurer, Mark Johnston – who has been working on our new website – will be able to accommodate those who prefer to pay by check.

The “public” area of the web-site will be open to all and will provide access to LIBRO, back issues of our newsletter and book reviews. Our newsletter is now in the capable hands of Dana Lightfoot. This edition is being distributed free of charge; future issues will not be published on line until two years have passed.

James d'Emilio will continue his energetic work organizing and coordinating AARHMS (and SSPHS) sessions at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, the International Medieval Congress at Kalamazoo and at the SSPHS annual meeting.

So this is what we are doing. But the effectiveness of an organization of this type is a function not only of its Directors, but its members, and there is much that all of you can and should do.

First of all, please pay your dues – they are a bargain at \$15 and now it couldn't be easier. Your money will go to maintaining our new website, supporting LIBRO and – potentially – endowing a regular series of article and book prize competitions. Remember, AARHMS dues are a tax-deductible employment expense; if you feel motivated to donate more, we are also registered as a non-profit in the USA.

If you are a senior scholar, please encourage your junior colleagues, and present and former graduate students, to join. By keeping your own membership information up-to-date, colleagues will be kept current with your research and younger scholars will have a medium for contacting you.

If you are graduate student or junior scholar: join. AARHMS provides excellent opportunities for publishing book reviews, organizing conference sessions or papers, and formal and informal collaboration with many of the most important figures in our field.

We are extending a special invitation to join to non-North American scholars, and particularly to Spanish academics. History is a discipline which cannot be practiced exclusively from one cultural perspective, it is an exercise in understanding human experience and we welcome the collaboration of our colleagues from around the world.

Members from all disciplines – the various branches of history, literature, art history – are welcome, and “Spain” is construed for us in its broadest geographic and historical sense, including not only the peninsula, but the lands of the Mediterranean shores which once formed part of the Iberian geo-political system.

Finally, everyone: send news of job appointments, promotions, grants, prizes and awards received, and new publications, for publication in our newsletter. Write a book review. Organize a conference session.

In the future, AARHMS will be as great a success and as great a service to academia and our profession as we ourselves make it.

From the Treasurer

Mark D. Johnston, Modern Languages, DePaul University

Dear colleagues,

It's a pleasure to report that AARHMS remains financially very healthy, with total assets of \$11,355.12 (\$2301.69 in our checking account and \$9043.43 in savings).

We will increase our dues to \$15 per year, beginning in 2008, in order to help defray expenses of some important improvements to our organizational services. One of these is the addition of the option to pay dues online. Using the secure servers of PayPal, members may now join AARHMS or renew their dues with the click of a button. Visit the AARHMS website to see the online payment form, which is already available.

At \$15 per year, membership in AARHMS is still a great bargain. All current and recent members of AARHMS will receive, via email, a reminder to pay dues in September, 2008.

Respectfully submitted,
Mark D. Johnston
Secretary-Treasurer

Book Reviews

Editor: Simon Doubleday, Hofstra University

James Casey. Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 328 pp. ISBN: 0521855896.

James Casey's latest book, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739*, is a welcome addition to the growing body of English-language historiography on Granada and Andalusia. The stated aim of this book is to explore some of the hypotheses surrounding the Mediterranean community: the nature of an honor society, the informal networks which held that society together, and the link between the family man and the citizen. Casey chose Granada as the vehicle for his study because of the emergence of a new ruling class following the surrender of the city to Isabel and Ferdinand in 1492. *Family and Community* is a solid social history steeped in economic context and grounded in local politics.

Casey asserts that in the early modern period, private and public obligations were intricately intertwined, and that authority belonged to a man rather than to an office. The basis for the governance of the early modern Spanish commonwealth, then, rested on the authority

accumulated by the citizen through public service and through the building of an intricate network of personal relationships. Despite the rise of the market economy, power was not tied to wealth alone, but instead was achieved through a combination of public office holding and the public services on which one spent their wealth. The reward for this service to the commonwealth was honor—the respect of one’s community, which served as the essence of a citizen’s privileged status. The honor one attained was passed on to one’s descendants. Therefore, the study of power in the Old Regime, according to Casey, leads to the family. The commonwealth family, however, must be understood in the context of the community which it served.

The pivotal point in Casey’s study emerges out of a gradual shift that occurs during this period. Money and professional obligation come to replace the importance of family, personal obligation and service to the local community in the creation and perpetuation of power. The bureaucratic authority of the absolute monarchy had to maneuver within a context of traditional forms of local power exercised by Spain’s communities. Local ruling elites increasingly garnered their power through service to the crown and sought their honor at court rather than from within their local communities. This evolution raises questions for Casey regarding how the new forms of honor bestowed by the crown would relate to that gained within one’s own local community.

In this study, Casey draws from his earlier work entitled *The History of the Family* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989). Indeed, in many respects, it seems as though Casey provides here a case study of his more generalized work on this subject. He argues in both works that the growth and consolidation of the state bureaucracy and the market economy provided Europeans (or in the present study, Spaniards) with new sources of status and power. The traditional social hierarchy based on family lineage evolves into a hierarchy based on the impersonal exchange of services by the eighteenth century. As Casey writes, “Out of the chrysalis of the old lineage society, therefore, one could begin to see the tentative emergence of the individual, obliged to make his way in a wider, colder world” (p. 293).

Beyond Casey’s stimulating thesis, this book is noteworthy in several respects. First, one of the strongest attributes of the book is that its pages are filled with real people living out their historical dramas. Casey does a remarkable job of tying the lives of these people to larger historical questions and themes in early modern Spanish history. Second, in so doing, Casey wields an impressive range of diverse archival evidence in this book. Casey’s breadth and depth of knowledge of Spain (and Europe) in the early modern period is exceptional. In the same paragraph he may combine piquant examples and evidence from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the eighteenth centuries. However, this leads to one of the weaknesses in his book. Wide-ranging primary sources, spanning centuries, served Casey well in broad-stroke conceptual points in his previous work *Early Modern Spain* (London: Routledge, 1999). In *Family and Community*, however, the reader is left to wonder exactly what *were* the distinctive social and political changes that differentiate the three centuries the book covers? As a result of this lack of characterization, the reader is given the impression of a timeless quality in early modern Granada.

Though women are sprinkled throughout this master narrative of power in the Mediterranean, Casey's study could have benefitted from a deeper treatment of women's role in communal power. For example, his analysis would have profited greatly from extending Magdalena Sanchez's work on female power in the Hapsburg court to the exercise of local power. Cloaked in guises of piety, familial devotion, and sickness, women could wield very real power and influence. (See Magdalena S. Sanchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998). Even more recently, Helen Nader – in the introduction to the volume she has edited on the Mendoza family – argues that noble women were *expected* by their families to aid in consolidating familial power and influence locally and at court (*Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.) One wonders, then, how an analysis of the ways in which women engaged in various interpersonal strategies to influence decision makers in their families, and in their communities, might have changed the outcome of this study.

There is much here to interest a variety of scholars. Casey has an extensive range of knowledge from which to ground his myriad insightful comments. His book would make provocative required reading for any graduate seminar on Spain or on early modern Europe.

Nichole S. Prescott
Stony Brook University, Stony Brook, New York

Clive Griffin, *Journeyman-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. 318 pp. ISBN 0-19-928073-8 \$120.00.

Clive Griffin's magnum opus on the Cromberger dynasty of Seville (1988) opened the curtains on the economic, cultural and artistic worlds of generations of a single family active in nascent printing industry in late medieval Spain and in the New World. His recent book on journeyman printers again shows his characteristic style graced by meticulous research in primary archival sources, vast bibliographic breadth, cautiously well-reasoned yet unexpected conclusions, and flourishes of brilliant verbal artistry. Here he broadens the lens in order to high-center on a modest economic lower middle class professional group which he retrieves from the penumbra of obscurity. This time he orients his study on a working class in the Iberian print industry, especially in the 1550s through 1570s. He works through detailed, far-reaching studies of immigrant experience, trans-Pyrenean religious practices, perceptions of heresy, Inquisitorial practices in Spain and Portugal, and retrieved contemporary assessments of lives of individual men and women associated with printing.

The Introduction traces the book's conceptual impetus to Julián Martín Abad's use of Inquisitorial trial proceedings in his comprehensive study of *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares (1502-1600)* (Madrid, 1991). Griffin's own close reading of the trial papers unearthed information about the itinerant artists, their working conditions as well as about their "social origins, education, professional training, and their careers in Northern Europe before they crossed into Spain." (p.21) His bibliographic survey showed that as early as 1902-1906 only two scholars had used records of these proceedings to reveal personal stories of individuals and only one in recent times, but none had appropriated Inquisitorial documents to examine the lives of individuals nor of a profession, a task which Griffin has pursued with vigor and enthusiasm. He carefully maps the land mines for scholars interested in conducting research in these sources. The caveats include attention to incomplete surviving documents; distortion of foreigners' names by scribes during the proceedings, and a tendency for those on trial to frame their response according to whatever they thought was the answer sought by an Inquisitor.

The Oxford University scholar marshals trial documents to paint a colorful picture of the movement of heretical printers, the legal problems occurring in groups of these *luterano*-leaning journeymen and pro-Calvinists printers whose repeated incarcerations and escapes from Lisbon to Barcelona attested to their youth, imagination and perseverance. The Inquisition built its strength on secrecy about arrest, identity of witnesses, and its *modus operandi*. Trial procedures in Toledo and Barcelona rounded up young non-Iberian heretics who bonded together in prison and forged tight relationships outside prison walls while they lived separately among "xenophobic Spaniards," one of Griffin's oft-used phrases.

Chapters 2 and 3 lay out the procedures and strategies garnered from trial documents; profiles of a hand full of journeymen begin to emerge as key figures as he reconstructs individual lives key to the argument. Chapter 4 provides a historical overview of the plight of foreign printing workers in Spain from the original immigrant printer from Heidelberg in the 1470's through the influx of French, Italian and Flemish printers in following century. (p.77) The theme of Spanish xenophobia is developed as a significant external bonding motivator among the foreign journeymen. The focus on institutional patterns of religious dynamics, immigration dynamics, labor laws, remunerations schemes in Spain and the workers' tendency to return to Iberia regardless of the gravity of their brushes with Inquisitorial proceedings sets the climate and backdrop for ensuing individual case narratives.

Griffin rescues five individuals from oblivion through Inquisitorial trial records which depict a range of societal norms and interesting lives of sixteenth-century immigrant printers. Chapter 5, devoted to the lives of three younger men (Antonio de la Bastida/Antoine de la Bastide; Enrique Loe/Hendrik van der Loe; Pierre de Rinz /Pierre de Reims) and Chapter 6 treats two settled printers (Juan Franco and Pierre Régnier). As if the individual re-creation of lives were not

gripping enough, in the ensuing chapters Griffin reorganizes the abundant minutia in order to profile the working of the presses, a technique his appreciative readers will recall warmly from his earlier exhaustive study of the Cromberger press. Chapter 7 reviews the demographics of the printing industry, the functions of the pressmen, *correctores*, type-casters and compositor. The British scholar provides throughout interesting data and asides about female printers, particularly Isabel Régner, the wife of Pierre, and women known to printers. However these and related women's history topics but these are not as fully indexed in the critical apparatus as are other subjects.

Attitudes and customs of the journeymen and their beliefs occupy the remaining two chapter topics defined from the Inquisition documents. Here again the migrant press workers are profiled as alienated by the religious intolerance of xenophobic Spain. In this climate close camaraderie flourished and manifested itself in their private choices such as song in their native languages, gambling with playing cards (the vehicle they used for smuggling seditious, pro-Reformist printed texts and illustration into Spain), cursing, and communication in a koiné which satirized and slandered the majority religion and its adherents. Their pro-Reformist fervor was not attributed to any intrinsic pre-disposition, training, or professional bent, rather to their constant interaction with a mobile community of like-minded foreigners. (p.250)

Griffin's core research deftly retrieves a close view of the printing profession and reconstructs the intimate lives of its denizens caught up in Inquisitorial proceedings. The book is meticulously organized, and consistently well-documented and formatted. Its crisp, highly useful critical apparatus extends its value far beyond its primary audience of historians of artisan history in sixteenth-century Europe. The bibliography of over 360 entries complements hundreds of primary documents from a dozen archives. The notably detailed cross-index sidebars the names of journeymen, book sellers, master printers, type-casters, typesetters, slaves, cities and villages named by country, and religious/heretical movements. The book is a delight to read and a solid contribution to Hispanic studies, a work which merits a place of distinction on the bookshelf of any reader of this review.

Nancy Joe Dyer
Texas A&M University

Jarbel Rodriguez. Captives and Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon.

Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2007. xxiii+225pp. ISBN-13: 978-0-8132-147571; ISBN-10: 0-8132-1475-0. \$64.95.

Slave ownership was a characteristic of the societies of the Medieval Mediterranean on both sides of the ecumenical divide, and had deep roots in the Roman and Islamic traditions which underlay the cultures of the Iberian Christian kingdoms and their Muslim neighbors, respectively. In the Christian kingdoms, where demand was lower, individuals could become slaves by various means, including raiding, judicial and debt slavery, and voluntary bondage. In the medieval Islamic world, where slaves played a more important role economically and socially, enslavement was limited to non-Muslims, who were either purchased (more commonly) or captured in war. The permanent state of intermittent warfare between the Christian and Muslim kingdoms of the Western Mediterranean provided opportunities for individuals on each side of the confessional frontier to engage in abduction and human trafficking. Captives were valuable as a commodity, and as an investment which could provide a return through the media of labor and of ransom.

Captives and Their Saviors explores the phenomenon of captivity in the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with a particular focus on the turn of the fifteenth century. It is a study which focuses exclusively on Christians of the Crown who had been captured by Muslims and the efforts undertaken to liberate them. The first chapter, "Raiding and Piracy," uses a series of dramatic anecdotes to introduce the reader to the political environment of shifting alliances and enmities which encouraged the development of a piratical culture among both Christians and Muslims, as well as some of the mechanics of obtaining and transporting victims. Next, in "Life and Captivity," a variety of literary (secular and religious) and archival sources are used to illuminate evocatively the terrible fate that awaited captured Christians – lives of hard labor, deprivation, isolation and hopelessness. "Captives and Renegades" turns to the challenges of "keeping the faith" when faced with such conditions, and slaves' surprising constancy (a conversion rate of only 4% is suggested (p. 81). The next two chapters, each with the principal title of "Liberating the Captives" examine in turn family-based and institutional strategies of ransoming. Family members were generally obliged to come to the aid of their kin, although the financial cost was often prohibitive. On the official side, both redemptory religious orders and the royal authorities worked to free captives. The final chapter, "The Finances of Ransoming," ventures a quantitative analysis of the impact of manumission on the household and the economy as whole. The book begins as it ends, with an evocative *mise-en-scène*, the mass rescue by the forces of Ferdinand and Isabella of the slaves of Ronda in 1485, and the ceremony which accompanied their liberation, and a meditation on the financial, physical and psychological toll of captivity on its Christian victims.

Throughout this work Rodriguez makes use of a range of archival, literary and legal sources, some previously uncited, much effectively mined from the copious work of recent Catalan and Spanish historians. *Captives* is written in a lively and engaging style, and his use of anecdotes helps to evoke the brutality of an age gone by. But how far gone is it? The image of a forsaken Christian, tortured and mistreated, condemned to indefinite captivity and occasional torture in some damp and lonely mazmorra, so readily evokes the Abu Ghraibs and Guantánamos of our present age of ecumenical conflict that it cries out for comparison. When the book does connect with the world of today, it is most often in the form of technical analyses of the physiological impact which captivity would have had on its victims, and which illuminate the precise nature of the deprivations we can assume them to have suffered. The tight focus which the author maintains on his subject is the source of the book's strengths, but also of some of its weaknesses. In his introduction (p. xxii) Rodriguez rationalizes his omission of the treatment of Muslim captives as a combination of scholarly expediency and his "interest in how the Crown of Aragon reacted to the captive problem..." But the reviewer wonders if one can understand one society's approach the enslavement of its own people when slave trading and owning was so much a part of its own culture – by telling what is, in effect, half the story. Moreover, such an approach pushes the study into a strict context of Christian-Muslim conflict, when the picture was far more complex. Slaves in the Crown of Aragon included not only Muslim captives, but native Muslims, Jews, and Christians, both Latin and Eastern. Torture was not unknown, rape was widespread, and only the kings' determination to exercise their direct sovereignty over all non-Christian subjects prevented the practice of mutilation and summary execution. Even in the context of inter-religious raiding, confessional lines were not always clear drawn; for example, the Granadan marauders who struck fear into the hearts of the Christians of southern Valencia were often acting as proxies or allies of Christian Castile. Nor are Christian captives adequately situated in the context of Islamic slavery as whole. The latter were few in number or significance compared to the slaves who were captured or purchased in sub-Saharan Africa and the Caucasus, some of whom came from Christian backgrounds and others were animist or polytheist in origin. Without such information, one fears that readers not well-versed in the history of the era may well be led to assume that slave-taking was an exclusively Muslim activity and that it was practiced predominantly against Christians, neither of which is the case. Nor does the book engage with the larger history of slavery as a phenomenon; in the era when the study concludes – that of the Catholic Monarchs – gestational Spain was on the verge of becoming a slave economy on a global scale without historical parallel, and one wonders how the experience of slavery in one of its constituent principalities contributed to this.

On the balance this is an accessible, imaginative, engaging and often original study, but with limitations; and while it does not presume to be exhaustive, its narrow focus undermines its effectiveness and usefulness, and gives it an implicitly partisan flavor. And yet it tells an important story, and would make an excellent addition to an undergraduate reading list. For

this reason the reviewer hopes that it will soon come out as a reasonably-priced paperback, since the pricing of the cloth bound edition makes it impossible to assign as a course book.

Brian A. Catlos

University of California, Santa Cruz

Nancy F. Marino, Don Juan Pacheco. Wealth and Power in Late Medieval Spain, Tempe (Arizona): Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006, xxv + 206 pp. (Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, volume 311). ISBN: 08-6698-3562

Pocos personajes de la vida política castellana bajomedieval tienen el atractivo histórico que alcanzó don Juan Pacheco. Su larga carrera personal está plagada de negociaciones, ataques a sus adversarios, servicios a la monarquía, traiciones y un largo sinfín de intereses, que marcaron toda su existencia y la de su grupo familiar. En una época en que esa vida política estuvo dominada por la presencia y actividad de grandes hombres (pensemos en el caso paradigmático de don Álvaro de Luna), Juan Pacheco es un fiel reflejo de su tiempo y de la situación de una realeza atada a los caprichos nobiliarios –último esfuerzo del mundo feudal por sobrevivir ante lo que llegará a ser el Estado-nación moderno-.

Ese amplio conjunto de circunstancias es el que trata de descifrar Nancy Marino en esta biografía de Pacheco. A lo largo de siete capítulos, la autora traza la carrera de este personaje, desde sus controvertidos orígenes nobiliarios hasta su muerte (ocurrida en 1474). Con ello, Marino pretende demostrar que –pese a lo que sostuvieron los propios enemigos de Pacheco y parte de la historiografía contemporánea-, éste “no fue más traicionero a la hora de competir que los miembros de los ilustres clanes de los Mendoza, Guzmán o Manrique” (p. xiv). A su juicio, “lo que separa a Pacheco de otros nobles principales de este período es su grado de éxito, su capacidad de mantener sus posesiones mientras estuvo del lado de la corona y su habilidad para incrementar eternamente su propia riqueza y la prosperidad de su familia” (*ibidem*). En este sentido, la autora manifiesta una suerte de admiración explícita por su biografiado, rasgo que está presente a lo largo de toda la obra (sin caer en actitudes apologéticas pero con un claro dejo de fascinación por su objeto de estudio).

En el primer capítulo, Marino despliega una prolija síntesis acerca de los orígenes familiares de Pacheco, subrayando su ascendencia a partir de tres poderosas casas nobiliarias, los Pacheco, los Acuña y los Girón. Los primeros proceden de Portugal, desde donde pasaron a Castilla tras la muerte del rey lusitano Alfonso IV. El abuelo de Pacheco, Juan Fernández Pacheco, sirvió a Fernando de Antequera en sus campañas militares, en tanto su padre, Alonso Téllez-Girón, fue un destacado miembro de la corte de Juan II. Esta revalorización sirve a Marino para exculpar a su biografiado de la acusación que le hiciera la alta nobleza castellana, en el sentido de que se

trataba de un advenedizo que no tenía rango aristocrático de importancia. A juicio de la autora, “sus predecesores, por ambos lados de su árbol familiar, lo convirtieron en más noble que muchos” (p. 18). Por cierto, hubiera sido deseable que, en este análisis, Marino se hubiera explayado brevemente acerca de la actitud de Pacheco de adoptar su apellido materno frente al paterno (práctica usual en la Castilla de entonces pero que generalmente revela intereses personales o políticos particulares).

En el segundo capítulo –“El favorito del príncipe (1436-1445)”-, la autora explica de qué manera Pacheco comenzó a servir al príncipe de Asturias, el futuro Enrique IV, gracias a los buenos oficios de Álvaro de Luna –siguiendo con ello los clásicos pasos de la *crianza*-. Este último cumpliría así con el padre de Pacheco, fiel aliado del condestable. El mismo don Álvaro se encargaría de brindarle al joven su primera esposa: la elegida fue Angelina de Luna, prima hermana del Condestable -matrimonio anulado en 1442, cuando la relación con la casa de Luna se convirtió en un peso antes que un beneficio para Pacheco-. Este contrajo matrimonio entonces con una de las herederas más ricas de Castilla, María Portocarrero -que llegaría a ser un eficaz aporte a lo largo de su vida-. La autora subraya de qué manera, a partir de 1440, Pacheco se convertiría en *privado* del príncipe Enrique, comenzando a incrementar sustancialmente su patrimonio y poder. De tal manera, su biografiado alcanzaría el mismo papel que cumplió Álvaro de Luna para Juan II: su favorito y principal confidente, relación que duraría –con varios altibajos- todo el turbulento reinado de Enrique. En ese contexto, Marino destaca lo que, en su opinión, se revela como el rasgo más profundo y persistente de la carrera de Pacheco: su estrategia de “cooperar o parecer que cooperaba con varios frentes en diversos conflictos” (p. 30). A partir de esa premisa, se describe la vida de este personaje, señalando cada uno de los acontecimientos en que intervino (en estos primeros años, limitados a una serie de enfrentamientos que estallaron entre Juan II y su hijo, entre Alvaro de Luna y parte de la nobleza y entre Castilla con sus vecinos). Así, Pacheco aparece con un espíritu “maquivélico” permanente aunque no restringido a sí mismo. En efecto, según Marino, éste siempre empleó los recursos a su alcance para promover y enriquecer a varios miembros de su familia (en especial, a su hermano, Pedro Girón). Tal situación llegaría a uno de sus puntos culminantes cuando, tras la victoria castellana en Olmedo (en 1445), Pacheco sería beneficiado con el marquesado de Villena, un señorío de la corona que fuera creado en el siglo XIII para uno de los hijos de Fernando III. De tal manera, se trataba del primer personaje no perteneciente a la familia real que ostentara tal título.

Tras ese rápido ascenso, Pacheco consolidaría y ampliaría su poder en el futuro inmediato. Durante los años que van desde la batalla de Olmedo hasta la muerte de Juan II –período considerado en el capítulo III-, el nuevo marqués aprovecharía los sucesivos enfrentamientos (y reconciliaciones) surgidos entre el rey y su hijo para intrigar contra su antiguo protector, Álvaro de Luna. En particular –y siguiendo una línea de análisis que podríamos calificar de

“psicologista”-, la autora se pregunta si, tal como sostuvieron los cronistas contemporáneos, Pacheco tuvo influencia en todas y cada una de las decisiones de Enrique. En tal sentido, entiende que hubo ocasiones en que el entonces príncipe adoptó criterios propios y que, en otras, hasta intentó suplantar a su favorito con otros personajes de la nobleza (Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, Beltrán de la Cueva). Pese a ello, “que Enrique siempre accediera no sólo revela su confianza en Pacheco sino también su deseo de complacerlo. La dependencia fue probablemente emocional en sentido natural; hasta el fin de su vida, Enrique fue incapaz de permanecer disgustado con su favorito, sin importar cuán doloroso fuera el comportamiento del marqués” (pp. 57-58). La deducción, como vemos, es muy particular y cae en el riesgo de una condena moral del monarca que es propio de las crónicas opositoras a Enrique (que, por lo demás, son las mismas que sirven de fuente al trabajo).

La caída de Álvaro de Luna es otro de los momentos destacados por Marino como reveladores de la actitud “bipolar” del marqués. En oposición a Suárez Fernández (que entiende que Pacheco contribuyó a mantener al Condestable por cierto tiempo mientras negociaba para sacar mayor provecho de su derrota), la autora considera que su biografiado se benefició directamente de esa caída y no tenía motivos para demorarla. Si Pacheco no intervino decididamente en ella es porque siempre supo actuar haciendo creer a la nobleza que él defendía sus intereses ante el rey y el Condestable y persuadiendo al primero de que obraba en favor de la monarquía (p. 61). La suposición es válida ya que responde a ese juego perpetuo de Pacheco en el mapa político de la época. Como sea (y pese a no aparecer en la documentación como promotor de la muerte de Álvaro de Luna), Pacheco –y en esto Marino razona muy convincentemente- fue el gran beneficiario de dicho ajusticiamiento ya que la mayor parte de los bienes del Condestable pasaron a sus manos. Con todo ello, el marqués de Villena demostró su tenacidad a la hora de conseguir sus objetivos –como lo hiciera el propio Álvaro de Luna en su momento-, con la diferencia respecto del antiguo valido de Juan II que nunca deseó presentar batalla por ellos sino más bien conseguirlos mediante negociaciones.

Entre 1454 y 1463, Pacheco conocería el período más próspero y significativo de su vida. Mano derecha del nuevo soberano de Castilla, Enrique IV, aconsejó al monarca “en todas las decisiones que se adoptaron en los primeros años de su reinado” (p. 67). Así, en el cap. IV, Marino señala que también influyó para llevar a la monarquía a la guerra civil. A fin de enfrentar los rumores que se sumaban contra su persona, el marqués supo tejer alianzas con los reinos vecinos (en especial, Navarra y Aragón). En este sentido, la autora incluye en su obra el complejo cuadro político de la Península Ibérica de mediados del siglo XV –tema que quizás hubiese merecido mayor consideración en otros apartados del libro-. Mientras ello ocurría, Pacheco preservó intacta su voluntad de acrecentar su patrimonio (ahora con anexiones en la zona de Murcia) y de protagonismo político (nucleando la nobleza en torno suyo). De tal manera, la oligarquía aristocrática de la que formaba parte pudo controlar el gobierno

castellano sin problemas hasta fines de 1462, momento en que se desata la célebre controversia en torno a la legitimidad de la hija del rey Enrique, Juana (la Beltraneja). En este punto, Marino señala el hecho de que el marqués, pese a jurar a la heredera, el mismo día de ese juramento denunció ante un notario madrileño que había sido compelido a ello. La autora estima que ese gesto de Pacheco demuestra que éste estaba preparado “para alguna eventualidad relativa a la sucesión”. A su juicio, los nobles –incluido el marqués– probablemente rechazaron a Juana “porque era una mujer” (p. 93) y por el recuerdo de la última reina castellana efectiva, Urraca, cuyo gobierno había sido “ineficaz y caprichoso”. Ahora bien, que la aristocracia castellana del siglo XV estimara que la acción de Juana iba a ser igual a la de Urraca (más allá del juicio de valor acerca de esta última) no parece ser una razón válida para explicar su rechazo por parte de dicha nobleza. Sorprende, de hecho, que la autora no haya acudido a otras razones para entender esa actitud (como puede ser, por ejemplo, la situación de su hermano Alfonso, atado a los caprichos nobiliarios y, por lo mismo, más fácil de manejar por parte de los tales nobles). Todo se resuelve en una explicación misógina que resulta sorprendente en el libro.

Los avatares de los posteriores enfrentamientos entre Enrique y Pacheco (orquestados ahora en torno a la voluntad de la nobleza de desplazar a Beltrán de la Cueva como nuevo favorito del rey) llevarían finalmente al despojamiento de Juana de su título de heredera, la firma de la sentencia de Medina en 1465 y un nuevo ascenso del marqués en su posición política y personal en Castilla. El célebre episodio de la farsa de Avila (analizado en su momento por Agnus MacKay) impondría un gobierno dual en el reino. En él, Pacheco (como fue habitual en su proceder) “fue capaz de manipular las acciones de los diferentes partidos durante los tres años de duración de la guerra [civil]” (p. 113). Conforme al análisis de Morales Muñiz, Marino entiende que había tres (y no dos) bandos en pugna: los leales a Enrique IV (en el que se incluían las casas de Mendoza y Velasco), los opositores (comenzando por los Stúñiga y Fonseca) y la facción aragonesa (que apoyaban al rey de Aragón en su enfrentamiento con el monarca castellano). “¿Y Juan Pacheco? Juan Pacheco actuaba en los tres campos en su propio interés por aplacar cada una de las partes en conflicto” (p. 114). A lo largo del capítulo VI, la autora describe la situación política castellana entre 1465 y 1468, identificando de qué manera el marqués de Villena jugó a favor o en contra de los intereses del monarca. En ese marco, se hace eco de una información de los cronistas en el sentido de que Pacheco pretendió concertar un acuerdo con Enrique a cambio del matrimonio de su propio hermano con la hermana del soberano, la infanta Isabel. Si bien es cierto que ese dato está incluido en las crónicas de Enríquez del Castillo y Palencia, resulta extraño que la autora no haya subrayado el carácter propagandístico que pudieron haber tenido esas informaciones (y lo asuma como elemento válido). Como sea, la muerte de tal hermano obligó a Pacheco a asumir la carga familiar dejada por aquél, con lo cual (en otro juicio de valor de corte psicólogo), Marino estima que “el

presente de su familia y su seguridad futura estuvieron antes [en el proceder del marqués] que la política” (p. 120).

La súbita muerte del infante Alfonso puso fin al tema del doble gobierno castellano. En el capítulo final, la autora traza la evolución de los acontecimientos entre 1468 y 1474 (año en que fallecen Pacheco y Enrique IV). Designado maestro de Santiago en 1467, el marqués se vio obligado a reconciliarse con el soberano. A juicio de Marino, fue el propio Pacheco quien, en su momento, lanzó la acusación de ilegitimidad que pesó sobre la infanta Juana (a fin de alejar a su supuesto padre, Beltrán de la Cueva, del favor real). El famoso pacto de los Toros de Guisando (que apartaba definitivamente de la sucesión a Juana y la reemplazaba por Isabel) sin embargo cuestionó a dicha infanta alegando que el matrimonio de sus padres era ilegal por razones de consanguinidad (es decir, sin especular sobre su paternidad). Conforme lo que señalan las crónicas de la época (que Marino sigue escrupulosamente en este capítulo), Pacheco intentó casar a la nueva princesa de Asturias con el hermano del rey de Fancia. El matrimonio de ésta con el heredero aragonés desbarató esos planes, con lo cual se reanudaron las intrigas para desplazarla y reinstaurar la herencia de Juana. Los últimos años del marqués conocen una sucesión de conflictos en varios frentes (entre ellos, la muerte de su esposa, caracterizada en la época como una versión femenina de su marido). El apoyo de la nobleza a la causa de Isabel de Castilla confinó a Pacheco al grupo de los escasos adherentes de la candidatura de Juana. La actitud futura del biografiado ante este conflicto quedará, sin embargo, como una incógnita ya que falleció repentinamente en octubre de 1474.

En el epílogo, Marino traza una breve síntesis del destino que tuvieron los bienes y títulos de Pacheco tras su muerte. La oposición de su heredero, Diego López Pacheco, a la entronización de Isabel la Católica culminó en la amenaza de un enfrentamiento armado entre ambas partes. Ante ello, el hijo de Pacheco –fiel al espíritu de su padre- aceptó negociar, perdiendo algunas de sus posesiones. Tras esto, fue leal a la corona hasta sus últimos días. De su descendencia provienen buena parte de las más significativas casas nobiliarias españolas que se mantienen hasta la actualidad.

La autora entiende que la búsqueda desenfrenada, por parte de Pacheco, de esos bienes no puede adjudicarse exclusivamente a su apetito personal de riquezas. En su opinión, “la real ambición de Pacheco no parece haber sido simplemente obtener estas cosas para disfrutarlas durante su propia vida sino para transferirlas a sus sucesores. Tenía un fuerte sentido del honor y unidad familiar [...] y parecía muy consciente de su papel como creador y encargado de legar el patrimonio” (p. 174). Prueba de ello es, según Marino, su voluntad de fundar *mayorazgos* que heredarían sus hijos, acordar beneficiosos matrimonios para todos ellos y preparar un testamento que disponía con cuidado de toda su herencia. Una vez más, por ende, la autora se

desliza en una consideración personal de su retratado, intentando exculpar su proceder frente a las críticas recurrentes de los contemporáneos.

A lo largo de sus páginas, la obra nos ofrece esta semblanza de uno de los actores más significativos de la Castilla del siglo XV, semblanza minuciosa y de fácil lectura. No cabe duda de que su autora ha sabido analizar todas las crónicas que dejaron testimonio de su biografiado, identificando cada uno de los pormenores de su vida. Asimismo, ese corpus básico se complementa con la documentación obtenida del archivo de los duques de Frías, adecuadamente expurgado. Hubiera sido deseable, empero, que esa biografía personal sobrepasara el nivel del relato de acontecimientos y ahondara algo más en la valoración de la vida de Pacheco en el marco de una Castilla que se interna en el proceso de consolidación del Estado moderno. Su papel como consejero de Enrique IV señala la continuidad de una actitud que tendrían los monarcas Trastámaras y sus sucesores, tendiente a recurrir a determinadas figuras en el ejercicio del poder –aspecto, por su parte, que marca una evolución específica de la ideología política de la época-. Por último, se echa igualmente de menos una utilización sencilla de recursos cartográficos que demuestre de qué manera Pacheco fue estableciendo sus posesiones en el contexto ibérico, a fin de guiar al lector en su evolución y en su estrategia de consolidación territorial (la obra cuenta con un solo mapa general de la Península Ibérica de la baja Edad Media).

No obstante ello, el libro de Marino constituye un acercamiento válido sobre la vida de Juan Pacheco y una obra sugestiva para todo aquél que quiera desentrañar la manera en que se comportaba la alta nobleza castellana en los años finales del siglo XV

Ariel Guiance

CONICET-Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina

All reviews are available on-line at the AARHMS site. Books for review and offers to review books may be sent to the book review editor, Simon Doubleday at the Department of History, Hofstra University (Simon.R.Doubleday@hofstra.edu).

AARHMS Announcements

AARHMS Logo Competition

AARHMS is seeking submissions from members for a new image for our logo. Ideally this would be an iconic image which can be produced in black and white or color, and could be easily incorporated into a letterhead. The image can be an original design or a public-domain reproduction. You can submit as many entries as you like.

Send images to Brian Catlos (president@aarhms.org) as email attachments (subject: "logo") by **May 1**. Please make the filename your own last name (e.g.: catlos.jpg) and include information on the provenance and symbolism of the image. The AARHMS Directors will choose one design out of the submissions, and the person who entered the selected image will receive an AARHMS membership through 2009 and a one-year subscription to the *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*.

AARHMS at Kalamazoo 2008

AARHMS is sponsoring two sessions at the 43rd International Congress of Medieval Studies (Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo), May 8-11, 2008:

Thursday May 8, 10 A.M. (Bernhard 209)

Session #42: Spain and the Schism, the Iberian Peninsula in a Time of Crisis (jointly sponsored by AARHMS and the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies)

Organizer: Michael Ryan, Purdue University

Presider: Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, University of Pittsburgh

Paper #1: "Honoré Bove's 'Somnium Super Materia Scismatis' as a Mirror of the Iberian Peninsula", Michael Ryan, Purdue University

Paper #2: "Silver Lining in Salamanca: the Studium and the Schism", Anne Marie Wolf, University of Portland

Paper #3: "Ruy González de Clavijo, Castile, and the Great Schism: Military Envoys and Political Neutrality", Richard Collins, Purdue University

Paper #4: "Carthusians and the Schism: Was There a 'Visual Reform'?", Philip J. Guilbeau, University of Michigan

Friday May 9, 10 A.M. (Bernhard 210)

Session #236: Churches and Shrines of Early Medieval Iberia, Memory and Invention

Organizer: James D'Emilio, University of South Florida (Tampa)

Presider: Deborah M. Deliyannis, Indiana University

Paper #1: "Remembering and Forgetting: Looking Back on the Early Medieval Galician Church", James D'Emilio, University of South Florida (Tampa)

Paper #2: "Now You See It, Now You Don't: Keeping Track of the Apostle's Tomb in Santiago", John Williams, University of Pittsburgh

Paper #3: "Inventing the Asturian Monarchy: the Twelfth-Century Reconstruction of the Camara Santa de Oviedo", Flora Ward, University of Toronto

AARHMS at Kalamazoo 2009: Call for Papers

Colleagues:

I will submit a slate of sessions to be sponsored by AARHMS at the 44th International Congress on Medieval Studies (Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, May 7-10, 2009). I am organizing sessions on King Alfonso VI and his times to mark the nine-hundredth anniversary of his death (1109), but I invite members to propose additional sessions on any medieval Iberian topic. If your session(s) are accepted, you will be responsible for soliciting and selecting the papers, and you will be listed in the conference program as the organizer. For US organizers, membership in AARHMS is a condition of sponsorship, and we encourage speakers and panelists to join.

I will consider any proposals received by April 28. For more information on the Medieval Congress, see their website: <http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/congress/>

If you wish to submit a proposal for an AARHMS sponsored session, please send it by email <demilio@shell.cas.usf.edu> and include the following:

1. title of the session
2. format: set of three/four papers or panel/roundtable
3. short description of the subject of the session, its significance, and its potential audience
4. names, affiliations of potential participants whom you have contacted
5. your own brief bio (current academic position; degree/dissertation, if recent; most relevant publications or papers; experience organizing sessions or conferences) and your web address (if you have one)

Please remember that it is crucial to begin lining up speakers and getting firm commitments as soon as possible. The sessions must be finalized in September, so that I can submit the AARHMS slate to the Medieval Congress by October 1 – no exceptions. I'd be happy to discuss possible topics and the procedures by email.

James D'Emilio, Associate Professor of Humanities, University of South Florida

New Forum in the AARHMS Newsletter

Starting this Fall, the newsletter will include a new forum section as a space for debate and opinion pieces on issues developing within our field. The first forum will focus on the value of material culture and archeology for medieval Iberian history and will be coordinated by Simon Doubleday. If you have ideas for future fora topics and would like to act as a coordinator for one, please contact Dana Lightfoot at djlightfoot@utep.edu.

AARHMS at the AHA: Call for Papers

AARHMS is looking for participants for panels to be held at the American Historical Association Meeting January 2-5, 2009 (New York). If you are interested, please send complete panels to Teo Ruiz at tf Ruiz@history.ucla.edu by **May 1st**.

AARHMS Seeking a New Officer

If you have good working relationship with computers, and some knowledge of the internet (basic HTML editing, FTP, etc.), please volunteer to serve as the AARHMS Web-site Editor. We are looking for a member to make a three-year commitment to overseeing the upkeep of our soon to be re-vamped web-site. This will involve updating the web-site on a biannual basis (coinciding with the publication of the newsletter) and occasional tinkering throughout the year. The Web-site Editor will join the AARHMS Board of Directors and will vote on issues pertaining to the Academy's policies and plans. Please volunteer, AARHMS depends on its members to keep functioning.

AARHMS and the Journal of Medieval Iberian History

AARHMS members are now entitled to a one-time discount offer for the Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies, whose first issue will appear in January 2009. In place of the regular individual subscription rate of \$60 (note institution rate: \$316), AARHMS members may opt to receive the journal for one year (2009) for just \$25 above the regular AARHMS membership rate. For subsequent years, 2010 onwards, the preferred rate will be renegotiated, depending upon how many AARHMS members—and how many libraries—have taken up the journal.

For information on submitting manuscripts to the journal, please see the information below.

www.informaworld.com/journals

Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies

The *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* is a new interdisciplinary journal for innovative scholarship on the Christian, Jewish, and Islamic cultures of the Iberian Peninsula from the fifth to the sixteenth centuries. *JMIS* encompasses archaeology, art and architecture, music, philosophy and religious studies, as well as history, codicology, manuscript studies and the multiple Arabic, Latin, Romance, and Hebrew linguistic and literary traditions of Iberia. Essays that engage with multiple disciplinary perspectives, non-traditional submissions (including multimedia and theoretically attuned work), and comparative articles addressing the significance for medieval Iberian studies of broader developments in medieval European, colonial Latin American, Peninsular or North African studies – and vice-versa – are strongly encouraged. *JMIS*, which is supported in part by the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University and by Hofstra University, will be published twice a year, with occasional thematic clusters.



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Submissions

Submissions for consideration must be prepared in Chicago Humanities style, and should not exceed 7,000 words; shorter pieces, and non-traditional submissions, are welcomed. Please send submissions by attachment, preferably as a Rich Text Format (.rtf) file, to simon.doubleday@hofstra.edu and to pablo.pastrana@wmich.edu. Submissions in English are preferred; however, submissions in other languages may be accepted at the discretion of the editors.

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Members' Announcements

David Nirenberg has moved from Johns Hopkins University to the University of Chicago. His new address is Committee on Social Thought, The University of Chicago, 1130 E. 59th St., Chicago, IL 60637.

Congratulations!

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From Alberto Ferreiro, two publications:

"Martin of Braga, *De trina mersione*, and the See of Rome" Augustinianum 47 (2007) 193-207.

"St. Pope Gregory the Great," Encyclopedia of Catholic Social Thought, Scarecrow Press, 2007, pp. 839-840.

*Congratulations!*

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From Salvador Martínez, a publication:

Fr. Juan Benito Guardiola (h. 1530-1600), "Historia del Monasterio de San Benito el Real de Sahagún" (Según el Ms. 1519 de la BN), Introducción, transcripción y notas críticas de H. Salvador Martínez, León: Universidad de León, 2007.

Congratulations!

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From Paul Freedman, two publications:

Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination (Yale Univ. Press, 2008)

Ed. Food: The history of Taste (Thames & Hudson, London / University of California Press, Berkeley -- 2007)

*Congratulations!*

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From Jim Brodman, LIBRO news and a publication:

With LIBRO, I am experimenting with putting up pdf of medieval documents. The first volume of documents can be found at: <http://libro.uca.edu/santcugat/default.html>. This is volume one of the Cartulario de Sant Cugat del Valles (CSIC, 1945).

My study: RELIGION AND CHARITY IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE is in press with the Catholic University of America Press and is due out in the spring of 2009.

Congratulations!

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From Dana Wessell Lightfoot, a publication:

“Honour and Shame: The Construction of Married Women’s Bodies in Medieval Spanish Law”  
Forthcoming in Creating Women: Notions of Femininity from 1350-1700 (Univ. of Toronto Press).

*Congratulations!*

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From Norman Roth, a publication:

Dictionary of Iberian Jewish and Converso Authors (Madrid, 2007; i.e., 2008). A complete catalogue of all published editions of works by Jewish and converso authors in medieval Spain or Portugal. Available from the publisher, for details please write ndroth@wisc.edu

Congratulations!

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From Francis Tobienne, Jr., a publication:

The Position of Magic In Selected Medieval Spanish Texts debuts 1 April 2008. The information can be found here:

<http://www.c-s-p.org/Flyers/The-Position-of-Magic-in-Selected-Medieval-Spanish-Texts1-84718-496-0.htm>

*Congratulations!*

\*\*If there are any announcements which have been missed, please re-submit them to the Newsletter Editor and they will be included in the Fall issue.

This newsletter is sent out only in electronic format. The AARHMS email distribution list will not be made public, sold or otherwise used except for the distribution of the semi-annual AARHMS newsletter.

Please email address corrections to Dana Lightfoot, newsletter editor at: [dilightfoot@utep.edu](mailto:dilightfoot@utep.edu)

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