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. AARHMS brings together scholars whose research focuses on the lands and peoples of the Iberian peninsula and associated territories from the period spanning roughly 400–1500CE. Membership is open to scholars of all relevant Humanities and Social Science disciplines, including but not limited to History, Literature, Art History, History of Science and Technology, Religious Studies, Jewish Studies, and Islamic Studies. AARHMS is an international organization which welcomes scholars from across the globe, from graduate students through to emeriti. Our mission is to provide a forum for contact, collaboration and scholarly debate. For further information see: www.aarhms.org

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From the Editor

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

Welcome to the Fall/Winter Edition of the AARHMS newsletter! In this issue, we present a large number of book reviews for your enjoyment, as well as the usual conference and members’ announcements. This 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.

Thank you to all who have contributed to the Fall/Winter 2009 edition of the newsletter.
From the President

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

Dear AARHMSistas,

It has still not been a year now since we re-vamped the AARHMS website and introduced our new on-line payment system, and things seem to be running well, although it is important that we continue to get the news out to both former and potential members that the site is up. I hope also that members will take the time to update their personal profiles and publication lists (the newsletter can serve as a twice annual reminder).

Plans for AARHMS this year include our usual conference panels at the Kalamazoo and in conjunction with SSHPS. Up to now organization of these has been in the capable hands of James D’Emilio; however, after several years James is ready to pass on the mantel to another volunteer. If any of our members would like to take over this important role, please contact James for details, at demilio@shell.cas.usf.edu. This would be a particularly good opportunity for junior scholars to do some substantial service for the profession as well as to start building or expanding their own scholarly networks.

Networking is, alas, going to become all the more important in the coming years as our profession and higher education in general faces an unprecedented crisis in funding both in North America and around the world. It will become increasingly important for younger scholars to become active in the field if they hope to compete in an ever-narrowing job market. Hence, I would encourage members to take advantage of the AARHMS network to organize scholarly activities or initiate collaborations. AARHMS is open to suggestions or initiatives from any members for new (low cost!) programs, so if have ideas, don’t hesitate to write in.

This rather ominous tone may be well-suited for the times, but not for the holidays, so let me close with the optimistic hope that the New Year will bring recovery to the economy and to beleaguered Humanities departments of which we are members.

To 2010, and hope to see you at the AHA!

Brian
**Book Reviews**

Editor: Simon Doubleday, Hofstra University


Anyone who has translated at some length knows the difficulties of transmitting the original meaning, and that explanations are often necessary. A written translation of a major work, moreover, requires decisions on how it should be presented to suit the purpose of the translation. Many of the considerations that go into a translation today were faced by pre-modern translators, and in the case of rendering the Qur’an into Latin for readers in western Europe the task was charged with religious tension. *Reading the Qur’an in Latin Christendom* is a meticulous study of the four pre-print Latin translations of the Qur’an and of their manuscript heritage.

By elucidating the ways the four Latin translators read and transmitted the Qur’an, Burman exposes a medieval Western interaction with the Islamic holy book rather different from the purely polemical attitude emphasized for decades in the scholarship on Christian-Muslim relations of the period, a perspective which was a natural consequence of concentrating almost wholly on anti-Islamic tracts. In this way *Reading the Qur’an in Latin Christendom* explicitly sets out to reach beyond the scope of the rich scholarship fueled by Norman Daniel’s *Islam and the West: the Making of an Image* beginning a half-century ago. The result is a specialized work which scholars and graduate students in various fields will find enlightening. It will be of use to those interested in pre-modern Muslim-Christian relations, translation and philology, or textual study of the medieval and Renaissance periods.

The central thesis begins with the assertion that although the translators undertook their task for polemical purposes, the work of translating was conducted in a truly philological way, with a manifest concern for rendering meaning appropriately into Latin and without evident bias seeping into their finished products. Yet besides differences in methodology and quality, the translations and their copies exhibit widely varying presentation and packaging. The introduction lays out the clear arguments that inform the six chapters. Chapter one introduces the reader to the four translators between the mid-twelfth and mid-sixteenth centuries whose work is extant: Robert of Ketton (1143), Mark of Toledo (1210-11), Flavius Mithradates (*surahs* 21 and 22, 1480-81), Johannes Gabriel Terrolensis (for patron Egidio da Viterbo, 1518). Burman builds on his initial observation that there is a surprising lack of polemical mistranslation among them, which is not to say that they display a high level of accuracy or precision but that the
negative regard for Islam and its claimed book of revelations were not the culprit; instead translation skills and techniques were. Apart from the translation themselves, however, the amount of philological and disputational focus of the many manuscript versions varied considerably. That complexity described in this well-written study has been appreciated by few scholars and advances the field considerably. With evident command of the manuscripts the author brings us through the mutations of how the Qur’an was translated (completely or not, close to the Arabic or not), laid out (whether alongside the Arabic original, with what titles and divisions, whether the commentary if any tended toward polemical or linguistic concerns), accompanied (whether by prefatory works, table of contents, index, glosses), and at times illuminated.

Three aspects of Robert of Ketton’s Latin Qur’an are taken up at the end of Chapter One and in the next two chapters: it is a paraphrased edition; it incorporates philological explanations from the Muslim tradition; and it is framed as a scholastic textbook with the ultimate aim of repudiating Islam. Robert, whose version was adopted most frequently during this period and survives in twenty-four manuscripts as well as two printed editions from the sixteenth century, completed what was arguably the central work of Peter the Venerable’s anti-Islamic collection in 1143 (Peter went to Spain in 1142, thus the alternative “between 1141 and 1143” also given on p. 15 is curious). Burman gives nuance to Robert’s much maligned paraphrasing method by demonstrating that his Latin style is not only extremely elegant but also relies heavily on Muslim commentaries in order to sharpen the original meaning of the Arabic of the Qur’an. Robert’s epitome in Latin thus emerges with considerable merit, his elevated style serving as “functionally equivalent” to the Qur’an’s Arabic and informed by an expert instinct for getting at the best sense of the Qur’anic text – by engaging the great Islamic exegetes who themselves had wrestled with and sought out the intended meaning of difficult passages. In fact Peter gave a nod to the need for sound philology when he placed a Muslim on his team of translators.

The book demonstrates convincingly the great extent to which the translators’ work was influenced by Muslim exegesis. Burman positions the imprint of these commentaries in the translations within the medieval context of the fluid relationship of text-translation-interpretation. Although the Islamic sources generally were left unnamed, the reliance on Muslim interpreters was consistent with Latin scholars’ use of Jewish sources in the translation and exegesis of the Old Testament. So also did Muslim translators of the Qur’an into Castilian and other Romance languages turn to the help of Islamic companions to the sacred text including lexicons, commentaries, and similar aids. (Unmentioned is another interesting comparison, the familiarity with interpretation by Church Fathers in numerous references to the Gospels in Arabic writings of Muslim mystics.) Burman lowers the supposed wall between
Christian and Muslim scholars’ *modus operandi* in Qur’an translating, and he shortens the gap believed to lie between medieval and Renaissance Latin Qur’an translators and Ludovico Marracci, whose sophisticated translation and interpretation of the late seventeenth century Burman acknowledges as a major advance while also suggesting that it was constructed on the foundation of a long tradition of utilizing notable Muslim commentaries. Contrary to the frequent depiction of Qur’an reading as crude until Marracci’s innovations, philology was of great concern to several of his predecessors.

Chapter Four tells of the reframing of Robert’s translation in subsequent centuries, such as two manuscripts in which Qur’ans used by Dominican missionaries resemble pocket Bibles they also carried, both with indexes appropriate for their work. Chapter five discusses the way Mark of Toledo’s verbatim translation frequently led to versions with a linguistic focus, and even went unaccompanied by writings against Islam; it also asserts that Mithridates’ beautiful Latin-Arabic edition was made for a wealthy consumer despite its claims to something more learned. The last chapter shows “the Qur’an as object of humanist philology” in Egidio’s four-column edition (p. 150). Exegetical notes on the translation, from Leo Africanus and from a Scotch editor, tell a fascinating story of textual life. Protestant and Catholic biases appear in some sixteenth-century Qur’ans.

The conclusion, “Juan de Segovia and Qur’an Reading in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560,” brings us back to Robert of Ketton, since Juan criticized Robert’s translation harshly. While Juan’s own trilingual translation of the Qur’an from the 1450s is missing, the extant preface from it allows Burman to capitalize on the singular account of Qur’an reading by a Christian in this period. Once again “considerable philological efforts” were spent for “polemical and apologetic ends” (p. 186).

In each chapter numerous examples make a strong case, and an appropriate amount of specific discussion is placed in the text while more can be pursued in the copious notes. Ten photographs nicely illustrate particular points about the manuscripts. The author is to be commended for his clarity in a work which illustrates the complex reading and re-presenting of the Qur’an for other Christian readers.

Andrew Kurt
Western Carolina University

The social revolution of 1521-23 in Aragon and Mallorca has not seemed to matter much to modern historians; the comunero revolution has received most of the scholarly attention. The chroniclers of Emperor Charles V initiated the marginalization of Mallorca, and they set the stage for the historical reconstruction of imperial Spain as a Castilian enterprise. The authors of this book intend to redress this scholarly elision from the historical panorama of great revolutions, revising the predominant thesis of the historian J.M. Quadrado that the Germanies of Mallorca were solely a local and insular response to the Habsburg monarchical state, and arguing instead that the revolt was symptomatic of broader continental movements that countered social and economic injustice. The agermanats of Mallorca were not only agents of Spanish peninsular transformations, they propose, but also participants in the larger rebellious environment of sixteenth-century Europe, undergoing profound social change.

The rebellious current in Mallorca had been coalescing since the fourteenth century. Political contests between central rulers and local governments during the tenure of Governor Gurrea (1512-1526) constituted an apotheosis that entailed a religious discourse directed against elites who were held responsible for the broad scale of social and economic problems. The rebels were literate men and women advancing a moral and prophetic rhetoric that countered the oligarchical structures overseen by the Habsburg dynasty. The authors record a political and religious prehistory of the tensions the Habsburgs inherited by relying on archives (e.g., Corona d’Aragó, Històric, del Regne de Mallorca), chronicles, and predominantly on the work of Quadrado. To this end, they provide a chronological sketch involving five facets of revolutionary development.

Firstly, between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, factional strife reflected an interrelated set of social and political battles; on the one hand, there was the dynamic of oligarchical control over the exercise of commercial and administrative power, while on the other the hand, tensions focused on the involvement of elites in determining the dynastic claimant to the throne. The compromís de Casp (1412) is one such example in which the citizens of Mallorca were denied involvement in the election process. The agermanats remembered this settlement as one that prevented their involvement in the contest over monarchical legitimacy and royal inheritance.

The second facet of revolutionary development, the authors propose, is military organization, a proactive call to justice, ius est in armis. On numerous occasions (e.g., the revolt of 1450-1454 in Palma and its hinterland, the campaign of Bugia, and the revolt in 1520-21), the guilds countered the viceroyalty and the local aristocracy in order to usurp jurisdiction and to resist monetary extractions. Thirdly, the authors address the question of social organization, and specifically the ways in which men and women from the island became involved in devising a
coherent structure and ideology distributed through the printing press. The other dimension of the distribution of information involved the profession of notaries, who advanced popular outrage and articulated legal grievances, which the agermanats would subsequently adapt in order to denounce the persistence of injustice.

The fourth facet, examined by the authors, revolves around the close connections between resistance and millenarian aspirations. Royalists, for example, branded the agermanats as heretics armed with their Messiah, holy book, liturgy and processions, and martyrs. One important premise of the book is that the early sixteenth century marked the beginning of a new epoch of “symbolic reconstruction.” Advanced by humanists and carried into politics by the agermanats who countered the system of the privilege, the rebels used traditional signs, church bells, banners, and beating drums that served as a call to arms.

The authors end their study by accentuating the symbolic nature of the revolt, and its ideological production. Sermons contained both elite and popular constructions; they constituted an interaction and an ‘amphibian culture’ expressing a collective memory and individual erudition. Over 357 preachers, many of them also artists, textile workers, wool workers, fishermen and craftsmen, endured crisis after crisis, while seeking justice on earth. The agermanats relied on a profound prophetic culture that included Arnaldus de Vilanova and Joaquim de Fiore. The prophetic tradition in Mallorca included medieval texts, some of which were inscribed with ancient prophesies (e.g., cant de la Sibil’la), as well as visionaries, such as Ramon Llull whose Llibre contra Anticrist was highly influential. The authors underscore a corpus of apocalyptic literature, specifically the fraticelli, who distributed a prophetic discourse that shaped the goals of the men and women who opposed the aristocracy and the crown. One of the most potent stories was about the appearance of the celestial monarch who would correct the course of history, and within this cycle of L’Encobert, a score of prophecies (e.g., Daniel and the four empires) announced the restoration of social justice by the true monarch who would implement evangelical justice. The authors note that such prophetic culture influenced politics and dynastic affairs that were marked by civil warfare, symptomatic of the reign of many Trastámara monarchs, including that of Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragon.

Bernat and Serra conclude that the prophetic hope of the restoration of a just monarch was part of a deep and continuous movement. The wellspring of prophecies vocalized popular reactions to injustice and reiterated a medieval currency of metaphors, detailing the fury of the people and the hope of the restoration of a just monarch who was to be a “valedor dels pobres i enemic dels poderosos” (255). Throughout Aragon, the cultural celebration of, and dependence on, prophecy persisted long after the suppression of the revolt in Mallorca, as it
was engrained in the 1540s in Valencia, and even in mid-seventeenth century Portugal, exemplified by the restoration of João IV, the messianic monarch.

Aurelio Espinosa
Arizona State University


In this delightful and accessible book, Debra Blumenthal makes a splendid contribution to the growing literature of slavery and captivity in the pre-modern Mediterranean. Her multifaceted argument begins by “[challenging] the prevailing view that slavery in premodern Mediterranean societies was predominantly, if not exclusively, domestic and artisanal in character and, for this reason, ought to be characterized as a ‘kinder, gentler’ form of slavery than that which appeared later.” Instead, Blumenthal argues that the lives of the men and women who were in servitude in Valencia was harsh, and that due to this harshness, the slaves became “active agents in seeking freedom” (1). At the same time, she also challenges the recent argument, championed by George Fredrickson, James Sweet, and David Bryon Davis, among others, that the roots of modern western racism date back to late medieval Iberia. While noting that there was obvious racial stereotyping and worse, she concludes, “it still seems misleading to label what we see here in fifteenth-century Valencia as ‘racism’ or ‘protoracism’” (277).

The book’s structure is clear and easy to follow; as Blumenthal constructs her argument by following the lives of slaves from the time of their capture, and their lives after enslavement (for those lucky few who were redeemed or otherwise freed). Thus, the first chapter takes up the question of how these men and women were captured and from where they came. Many were, of course, Muslims, victims of the ongoing Castilian and Aragonese crusades against the Muslim south and the prevailing piracy which was becoming endemic in the Mediterranean at this time and which placed everyone who took to the sea in danger of captivity. But a large minority was composed of Tartars, Greeks, Russians, black Africans, and Canary Islanders. Animating her discussion in chapter one is the issue of whether or not captives were taken “de bona guerra.” That is, were these men and women captured as a result of a sanctioned war and thus legally enslaveable. Crown officials began to apply this distinction to a growing number of slaves as a way of justifying their capture. Consequently, even people from regions that had no active war going on against the Crown of Aragón, such as sub-Saharan Africans, Tartars, Canary Islanders, and other non-Christians “were deemed enslaveable by virtue of their presumed hostility to Christendom and the Catalan-Aragonese Crown” (44-45). Of critical importance here, Blumenthal notes, is that they became slaves because they were captured “de bona guerra” not because they were “racially or biologically inferior” (45).

Chapter two takes us to the marketplace and the intricacies of buying and selling slaves, including the hiring of brokers, the negotiation of contracts, and the warranties given to the buyer. One of the most fascinating parts of this chapter is Blumenthal’s continued development of her argument concerning the agency of the slaves (a process begun in chapter
This agency was extensive and slaves could often play a crucial role in determining to whom they were sold and for how much with some slaves pretending madness, drunkenness, and all around boorish behavior to prevent sales in far-away cities or to people they did not like.

In chapter three, Blumenthal discusses slave labors, which included domestic work, work in the fields, unskilled and physical labor in artisanal crafts, and, to a lesser extent, skilled labor. The central theme here is what distinguished the labors of slaves from those of free workers. In fact, there seems to have been little distinction in the types of works performed by the two groups, but there were significant differences in “the conditions under which they labored” (81). The slaves, unlike their free counterparts, had little chance for social or economic advancement and they toiled under the threat of physical beatings and humiliations either to punish them or to reinforce their place in the social structure.

The next two chapters focus on the slave’s place in his or her master’s household (chapter four) and how these often intimate relationships impinged on the family’s honor (chapter five). Throughout these two chapters we see Blumenthal returning to and reinforcing her convincing argument about the agency that these slaves possessed, which in many cases seems to have been considerable. The one perplexing exception is in the area of religious conversion, where she warns us that perhaps historians have credited Muslims who did not convert to Christianity with an “inflated degree of agency” (136). It is also in these two chapters where Blumenthal’s eye for unusual and fascinating details uncovers some of the most memorable anecdotes in a book filled with them: a slave owner had a baptism ceremony for the child of one of his black slaves as if the child were his own (131); a farmer made his black slave his principal heir while bequeathing his own daughter only a set of mourning clothes (151-152); and a bearded female slave became notorious as a “sex-crazed woman” who actively went out looking for men to “victimize” (181-182).

Finally, the last two chapters address the paths to freedom (chapter six) and the post-servitude lives which some of these men and women experienced (chapter seven). Although a relatively small number of slaves found freedom, there were numerous ways of doing so including manumission, redemption, escape, and recourse to the courts. In this last, they had access to the services of the “Procurator of the Miserables” whose job it was to ensure that slaves suing their owners in court received a fair hearing (213-214). Once freed, many slaves opted to stay in Valencia or in other parts of the Crown of Aragón where their opportunities appear to have been limited and they remained on the fringes of society, an existence so precarious that for some returning to enslavement was a preferred alternative.

Enemies and Familiars is a largely successful book, but it is not without some faults. One wonders how representative the example of Valencia is for the whole of the Crown of Aragón or how the Valencian experience with slavery and captivity in the broader Mediterranean affected the attitudes and behavior of the Christian masters toward their own slaves. A fuller exploration of how Valencia compared with other slave-holding societies in Iberia and the Western Mediterranean would have helped here. Likewise, Blumenthal’s effort to convince us that slavery in Valencia was not a “‘kinder, gentler’ form of slavery than that which appeared later,” falls a little flat. Assuming that the “form of slavery which appeared later,” (Blumenthal is not specific) is the Atlantic Slave Trade, then Valencian slavery simply fails to reach the levels of human suffering associated with the New World examples, even as we consider that any
comparison of the suffering and pain of one group to that of another is always a tricky exercise. Ultimately, however, these issues should detract little from an immensely valuable, engaging, and well-crafted book that should help to define its field for years to come.

Jarbel Rodriguez
San Francisco State University


With this brief account of royal legislation regarding religious dissidents and minorities in Alfonso X’s *Siete Partidas*, Cecilia Devia provides the first of two studies of codified legal violence during the Iberian Middle Ages. The second book, also published also this year (and by the same publisher), is *La violencia en la Edad Media: la rebelión irmandiña*.

In six short chapters, *Disidentes y minorías religiosas en las Partidas de Alfonso X el Sabio* describes this 13th-century legal code as a desire on the part of the Learned King to revive Roman Civil Law in light of orthodox Christianity. Devia explains that historians still do not know whether the *Partidas* reflect social reality of their time or were written in an attempt to impose one, but from the textual perspective they exhibit the type of “legal violence” (punishments) commonly used against offenders in the Middle Ages. This study focuses mainly on legal violence used against Jews, Muslims, and Christian heretics.

The first four chapters of this book are extremely brief (the longest consisting of only eight pages) and, consequently, treat their subject matter in a very superficial way. Chapter 1 (“Introducción”) outlines a theory of legal violence as exhibited in the *Séptima Partida*, namely that people err either because of forgetfulness or pride, and that mistakes must be punished in order to make an example of people and to show that wrongdoing is not part of the natural divine order. In Chapter 2 (“La Castilla del Rey Sabio”) the author first introduces the reader to Alfonso X before spending the remaining few pages explaining the importance of the Alphonsine legal code, exhibited in its having been translated to Catalan and Portuguese before the end of the Middle Ages. Also in this chapter Devia outlines the formation of the “estados estamentales” in Castile and Aragon, the former having developed a power system of monarchy/subject, the latter a constitutional system in which non-coinciding powers were distributed with equality among the estados. In the following chapter (“Las Partidas de Alfonso X el Sabio”) the author gives further detail about King Alfonso’s desire to unite Castile under one law, based on Roman Law, with the person of the king perceived as the Vicar of Christ on Earth. She closes the chapter with commentary on the importance of the number 7: in the
author’s view, King Alfonso divided his legal code into seven parts as a means of linking it spiritually to the seven sacraments, the seven virtues, the seven mortal sins, the seven studies (the trivium and the quadrivium), and the fact that the name “Alfonso” is made up of seven letters. Chapter 4 (“La Séptima Partida y las Funciones de la Violencia”) briefly describes the thirty-four “títulos” outlined in this section of the legal code. Devia here shows violence as a measure by which a Christian monarch prevents “social contamination” – the mixing of religions. Such forms of “symbolic violence” as the forced wearing of certain articles of clothing or special marks (especially for Jews) and “social violence” (confiscation of properties, exile, execution) are described in this chapter as a means of regulating social and interpersonal relationships among Christians, Jews, Muslims, and heretics.

Chapters 5 and 6 (“Judíos, Moros y Herejes en la Séptima Partida” and “Conclusiones”, respectively) are longer than the previous four chapters and present much more detailed information. In chapter 5, Devia paraphrases a series of quotes from the Séptima Partida in which laws regarding the relationships between those of different beliefs are outlined. Punishments for those caught in sexual, business, or social relationships are described, with heretics receiving the harshest of castigations. Jews, portrayed as the killers of Christ in the Partidas, also receive severe punishments for various offences. Muslims, however, receive the least harsh punishments of those described. Chapter 6 summarizes scholarship on the history of capital punishment during the Middle Ages. Here Devia once again refers to the relationship between the Partidas and Roman Civil Law, showing how public executions were to be used as a means by which both to punish and to inspire fear in the spectators.

Though Cecilia Devia’s book presents the reader with interesting information, one would be hard-pressed to locate a central thesis or objective in this study. Its organization is quite simple: four short chapters in which historical and a very limited theoretical basis are outlined, one long chapter in which citations from the Séptima Partida are extracted and paraphrased, and a conclusion that attempts to place the Siete Partidas within the broader medieval history of capital punishment. There is very little historical interpretation or explanation on the part of the author; what little actual historical analysis we find comes from secondary sources. In sum, Cecilia Devia’s book does little more than summarize the principal characteristics of the Séptima Partida, providing readers with a quick reference to Alphonsine laws vis-à-vis religious minorities and dissidents in Late Medieval Castile.

Kevin R. Poole (Yale University)
For scholars working on a country such as Spain where—in particular since 2004—conservative politicians have used periods of the nation’s history including the Middle Ages in order to blur the social and human wounds of the Civil War (1936-39) and the subsequent dictatorship under Franco, it seems relevant and necessary to shed new light on the significance of history for the configuration of present society. From the point of view of current socio-political debates in Spain, In the Light of Medieval Spain becomes essential reading.

The volume opens with a foreword “Welcome to Moorishland” by the Madrid-based correspondent for The Guardian and author of Ghosts of Spain, Giles Tremlett. In this lucid essay, Tremlett presents how issues, either real or imagined, taken from the medieval period have commonly served as ammunition for contemporary political debates wherein—for instance—the former President Aznar denounced as a (sic) “stupidity” the ‘Alliance of Civilizations’ proposed by current President Rodríguez Zapatero.

In his introduction “‘Criminal Non-Intervention’: Hispanism, Medievalism, and the Pursuit of Neutrality”, Simon R. Doubleday addresses, from a historical, philosophical, and theoretical point of view, the methodological and ethical implications of working on medieval and Muslim Iberia/Spain. Doubleday’s well-informed discussion departs from the nineteenth-century positivistic position that the task of historians is to discover what “really happened” in the past, and critiques the aspiration to an impossible ‘neutrality.’ One essential value of the introduction is that it encompasses not only the general dilemmas of disciplines such as history (and historical theory) but also more specific issues within Hispanic Studies in the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ academic world, while also arguing for the connections and implications of these debates in a globalized post-9/11 world.

Chapter 1, an essay by Anne Marie Wolf on the lessons to be drawn from the case of Juan de Segovia, analyzes the importance and reception of a heterodox theologian who challenged Catholic dogma in the fifteenth century and suggested a peaceful dialogue with the Muslim world. Although some have argued that the main lesson to be derived from Segovia’s work is that interaction itself can prevent cultures from isolation and mutual confrontation, Wolf believes that the case illuminates the power of discourse and life experiences in shaping worldviews, the social and intellectual loss derived from silencing opposite or diverse viewpoints, the dangers of using biblical language to legitimize violence and, most importantly,
the complexity of relations between people of different cultures. Whereas the lack of attention to Spain’s history from European and English-speaking scholars is also an indicator of a jaundiced view of Spain as an antithesis of modernity and enlightened values, Wolf’s analysis clearly refutes this perspective on Spain.

In chapter 2, Leyla Rouhi offers a new reading of Don Quixote in a post-9/11 time of war when “Dick Cheney has become ‘Dick Quixote’”. Rouhi’s essay takes full advantage of the canonical Spanish work in an appeal to the (informed) contemporary reader. However, as she warns us, tempting parallels of lunacy, illusion, and misplaced idealism should be approached with a critical spirit, if we are to avoid unmerited projections on undesirable contemporary characters. Rouhi, stressing an often forgotten dimension in Cervantes’ work — his intention to give voice through narrative to “minorities and marginal beings whose stories have been erased by official history” (59) — emphasizes the value of Cervantes’ novel as a salutary reminder of the multiplicity of perspectives from which reading (of a literary/social/political text) necessarily occurs.

Mary Elizabeth Perry’s revealing article on the politics of memory (chapter 3) uses the case study of the Moriscos in order to address an issue that is highly topical in contemporary international affairs. Perry addresses, on the one hand, the connection of Morisco stories to identity and resistance, the interaction of religion with oppression and, perhaps most pressingly, the way in which violence becomes the most resilient memory, overshadowing all other memories; it “cries out for vengeance and ignites fears about power” (69). In the author’s discussion, anticipating some of the later essays in this book, a special role is assigned to buildings—generating a sense of historical continuity, sometimes through rereading and reinventing the meaning of landmarks such as Córdoba’s Mezquita— as well as the meaning of legends installed in the collective imaginary.

In the following chapter, Denise K. Filios examines the varying forms of idealization of al-Andalus — practiced, in her view, by intellectual exiles such as María Rosa Menocal, Amin Maalouf, and Rachid Nini. “Idealizing depictions of Andalusian coexistence,” she argues, “enable their authors to explore possibilities for making the real world a more survivable place and/or for remaking the self in order to be more able to survive exile. Such depictions fuse history and fantasy to produce a credible Otherworld that mirrors this one and other selves who have survived and to some extent overcome the fragmentation of exile” (91). The need to transcend the sometimes disturbing images of the countries they fled due to wars, economic crises and/or political persecution lead them to seek a safe haven in a ‘glorious past’.

Daniela Flesler revisits, in Chapter 5, the narratives constructed in Spain on immigration and the ghosts of its “Moorish” past, often perceived as an inconvenience when the country is
promoting its association with the cool European Union and when Arabic-speakers and Africans face particular hostility from the Spanish population. Such ghosts return to “haunt the official, hegemonic history of Spanish national identity” (122). The rejection of Moroccans, for instance, is reinforced by the historical implications of their religion and presence in the Spanish collective memory. As a consequence, an unclosed and unsolved past produces returning ghosts, “invading” Iberia again “in another place, and in another time” (117), albeit now in more rustic pateras. This deformed view has surfaced in stereotypes and clichés reflected in cinema, literature, and generalized social prejudices that endanger the welfare of contemporary Spanish society. According to Flesler, an “unproductive melancholic attachment to the past” (127) mirrors an unresolved trauma, but also embodies an effort to come to terms with those Southern ‘ghosts’.

Building on the theme of the contemporary presence of Islam in Spain, Lisa Abend (chapter 6) offers an excellent summary of the role played by the so-called “New Muslims” from 1975 onwards. This contribution makes available in English what was formerly fragmentary and documented mostly in Spanish-language publications; it addresses the interaction of Spanish converts to Islam with Andalusian political elites (including the nationalists), and their role at the national level in the two Zapatero administrations from 2004. This role, in particular in regard to the Alliance of Civilizations proposed by Zapatero, has played a crucial role in designing and communicating strategies for bridging gaps in the relationship between Spain and the Muslim world.

Complementing Abend’s essay and returning to the question of ‘haunting’, David Coleman (Chapter 7) completes the last section of the book. His essay, engaging with the question of historical relevance in connection with the new mosque that opened in Granada in 2003, presents a case study recuperating the issue of continuity as an empirical demonstration of “historical relevance”. In effect, it also considers the inherent subjectivity in historical writing. Coleman’s main conclusion coincides with Derrida’s formulation that historical “haunting” is typically a traumatic, unresolved problem that prevents full healing of social wounds, as suspicion of Muslims as possible terrorists seems to indicate.

The ‘postscript’ by Gil Anidjar explores the “futures of Al-Andalus,” interrogating the trope of a unique, catastrophic, and absolute ending of the history of al-Andalus, and formulating in its place a set of open-ended, future-oriented questions: is there an “unfinished project” for al-Andalus, a figure here of incompletion? “It is the endlessness, rather than the exceptionality of al-Andalus that one should rather wonder over in these days of ruinous globalization (and of carpet bombings), as one should question the attachment of historians and scholars to
repeated assertions that cultures and communities are, as a general rule, in a permanent state of war, in endless clashes of civilizations... (205)"

*In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West and the Relevance of the Past* is, in short, indispensable reading not only for historians interested in engaging with new theoretical frameworks but also for Hispanists willing to face the challenge of an open discussion on the current significance of the historically diverse nature of Spain, never eradicated despite the intense, long-standing, and often traumatic intent that the shapers of the Spanish nation have applied in the past centuries. The book presents an opportunity not only to raise awareness of the social wounds of this particular and fascinating country but also to consider the application of its history to other contemporary global contexts.

Gabriel Rei-Doval  
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee


In recent years the questioning of traditional approaches to the study of culture, as well as the revisions to which those approaches have been submitted, have brought us to a new understanding of societies that were once considered divided along confessional, political, and cultural lines in general. In this well-written and documented study, Barbara Fuchs continues this line of investigation, showing that, despite official legislation aimed at ridding Spain of Moorish influence in the late 15th to early 17th centuries, maurophilia had become an inherent component of Iberian culture; it has remained so to the present day. Tracing Moorishness in literature, game, dress, and everyday habits from the period of the Christian Reconquest of Granada to the reign of Philip III, Fuchs counters the commonly-accepted belief that the Catholic Monarchs and the Hapsburgs forged a unified Catholic nation cleansed of all Oriental and heterodox beliefs and practices. Not only does she rely on material and textual evidence from within Spain, but she also considers opinions formed about Spanish culture by outsiders (mainly the English and the Italians) of the same period.

In chapter 1, “The Quotidian and the Exotic”, Fuchs discusses Iberian cultural elements of Moorish origin that had become commonplace even for Christians by the beginning of the 16th century. As the author points out, Andalusi goods were considered the “gold standard” for Iberian Christian monarchs, their possession indicating not a tendency toward Islamicisation, as one might think, but the fashionable desire to live the elegant lifestyle imagined to be typified by the Moors. Of special interest to this chapter are Fuchs’s discussions of the *estrado*, the
patio, and the influence of Arabic on Castilian vocabulary. The *estrado*, or low platform covered with carpets and cushions, was a widespread architectural component of Iberian homes, on which people, typically women, would eat or relax. Rooms with an *estrado* often lacked furnishings or had very little, for the platform itself served as a lounging area, rendering unnecessary other forms of furniture. Like the *estrado*, the inner patio where one could sit privately, while also being outside, took on great importance in the architectural plans of home building in Iberia and were seen as different from the typical European building styles found elsewhere. Switching from architectural structure to the architecture of language, Fuchs also discusses in this chapter various early modern grammarians’ ideas regarding the Arabic elements of the Castilian language. Antonio Nebrija and Juan de Valdés, for example, believed that certain sounds present in Castilian that were absent from other Romance languages must have come from Arabic. Likewise, they pointed out in their respective works that Arabic had influenced Castilian to such a degree as to annul the use of certain Latin words in favour of those of Arabic descent. Fuchs closes this chapter with the reminder that official anti-Morisco legislation focused on religious unity (conversion to Christianity or exile), not necessarily the cultural elements of style that differentiated Spain from other European nations. Though legislation prohibited the use of Arabic, it could not prohibit the use of Arabic-derived lexemes in Castilian. Nor could it undo the centuries of cultural construction that had taken place during the years leading up to 1492.

Chapter 2, “In Memory of Moors: History, Maurophilia, and the Built Vernacular”, takes *El Abencerraje* as its main focal point. This text shows that the concept of chivalry in early modern Spain transcended confessional boundaries, as both Christians and Muslims exhibit bravery in battle and mercy to their captives. Even more, the text portrays Moorish soldiers as Spaniards equal to the Christians. In doing so, it “counters the nationalist myth of reconquista and the construction of a Spanish national identity based on militant Christianity” (39) and challenges the reader to see the frontier areas more as a “space of amity rather than the frontline of an exonerable war” (42). The text as a whole is to be taken as a memorial to the coexistence of different yet complementary creeds and ways of life in medieval and early modern Spain. In support of the maurophilia found in this fictional text, Fuchs returns to the realms of architecture in order to give historical examples of Spanish maurophilia. Both Queen Isabel and her daughter Juana demonstrated by royal decrees the desire to preserve the Alhambra in Granada despite the expense of its upkeep; likewise, the Hapsburg monarchs employed Mudéjar design as a means by which to unite their domains visually. The Casa de Pilatos in Seville and the Palacio del Infantado in Guadalajara serve as examples. Ending the chapter, the author reminds the reader that, despite the Renaissance cultural elements that may have arisen in Spain after the Reconquest of Granada, the Moorish was to remain an innate ingredient to Spanishness, only recognized as different by those not from the Iberian Peninsula.
In the third chapter, “The Moorish Fashion”, Fuchs refers to forms of dress and to romanceros as a way of furthering her argument that Moorish cultural elements had become inherent to Spanish life by the sixteenth century. The term “fashion” here takes the broad meaning of anything considered fashionable, clothing or otherwise. The first half of the chapter is dedicated specifically to the Moorish style of dress, with the intent of showing how common and deep-rooted it had become in Spain and, consequentially, how difficult passing anti-Moorish clothing laws became by the time of the Hapsburg monarchs. Andalusi garments were prized for their elegance, and many became standard among the wardrobes of the Christian nobility and monarchy. Other elements such as the toca (a turbanesque headdress) had become typical among Christian commoners in the Castilian countryside by the sixteenth century. Despite Queen Juana’s 1513 legislation prohibiting the Moorish cloak, on the grounds of possible immoral behaviour that it could hide, and subsequent legislation by other monarchs, Moorish style of dress persisted well into the modern period and even travelled the sea to the New World. The second half of this chapter takes as its subject the literary genre of the romance, specifically the similarities between the romances fronterizos and the romances moriscos (the former often considered historical and epic, the latter lyrical and amorous). A closer look, however, shows that both deal with love, and more particularly that expressed between a Christian and a Moor. Though some writers exhibited disdain for those like Lope de Vega and Luis de Góngora who wrote romances, desiring that they write on more Christian topics, the genre formed an important part of Golden Age literature, thus destabilizing the rhetoric that attempted to ostracise the Moors. Written by Christians, these poems preserved the Moorish culture in an imperfect way and may have contributed to the acclaim given the Christian forces of the Reconquest in later literature – paraphrasing the Morisco advocate Francisco Núñez Muley, if Moorish culture was as great as the romanceros suggested it to be, then that of the defeating Christians must have been wondrous indeed. Such arguments forced the supposed greatness of Spanish Christianity into a relationship of dependence with the Spanish Moors.

“Playing the Moor”, the title of chapter 4, refers to both the equestrian game of cañas made popular in Spain during the later Middle Ages and early modern period and to the literary pitting of Moor against Moor in Pérez de Hita’s text Guerras civiles de Granada. Though some churchmen, such as Covarrubias, tried to link the game of cañas to another sport written about in the Aeneid, thus erasing the game’s Moorish origins in favour of a more Europeanised one, Fuchs explains how the game, original to the Nasrids of North Africa, became fashionable among the Spanish nobility during the times of the first Hapsburg monarchs. So popular had it become at royal festivals and ceremonies, both in and outside of Spain, that some foreigners equated it not with Moorishness but with Spanishness, while others saw in the game a direct tie between the two, turning all Spaniards into Moors. Snubbed by the Italians at Carlos V’s
imperial coronation as a feminine game, *cañas* nonetheless continued to thrive among the Spaniards well into the late 16th century, forming part of Felipe II’s marriage ceremony to Mary Tudor in England. Switching from games of combat to literary battles, Fuchs describes the civil wars that take place among the Moors of Pérez de Hita’s much-acclaimed previously-mentioned text. In her discussion the author points out the large number of Moors who undergo self-inflicted exile to Christian lands precisely because they want to convert to Christianity. These literary exiles undermine the traditional view of the historical expulsion of the Moriscos on the basis of rebellion and defiance of Christian authority. The *Guerras civiles de Granada*, though fictional, questions the veracity of the court documents and other forms of official communication that portrayed Moors as the “other” when, in fact, what had come be regarded as Spanish in the eyes of the non-Spaniard was indeed more a reflection of Moorish culture than European.

Though the previous chapters focus mainly on Spaniards’ treatment of their own culture in the early modern period, the last chapter of Fuchs’s book, “The Spanish Race” looks more closely at how Spain was viewed by outsiders during the same period, and then considers the novella of Ozmín and Daraja in *Guzmán de Alfarache*. In the first part of the chapter, Fuchs addresses the Black Legend and its reception by the English, French, and Italians: though it has traditionally referred to the supposed Spanish cruelty in the New World, the author gives examples of Spain’s enemies abroad using Spanish Moorishness as a means by which to challenge its imperial domination over other European territories. Other Europeans used the game of *cañas* and bullfighting as examples of Moorish barbarianism, and Irish Catholics even went so far as to claim that Spanish Catholicism was not of Roman origin but had come straight from North Africa. In this sense, the Black Legend was linked not only to the Americas but also to Africa and to what others believed to be the origins of contemporary Spanish society. The Spanish nobility’s acceptance of intermarriage in order to ensure full Christianisation of the Moriscos provided fodder for the extra-Iberian arguments against the Spaniards. Complementing the discussion of intermarriage, Fuchs gives a succinct analysis of the story of Ozmín and Daraja found in *Guzmán de Alfarache*, a “novella that complicates the distinctiveness of Christian and Moorish identities” (133) by pointing out their shared cultural experiences despite their difference of religion. Acculturation of the Moor during the Christianisation process is only slight since both share the same cultural norms, and, in fact, class status is considered more important than ethnicity or religion, another element that non-Iberian Europeans would have used to point out Spanish otherness.

Fuchs ends her book with a postscript entitled “Moorish Commonplaces” in which she gives a short list of examples of maurophilia from the 18th century onward in Spain. Moorish forms of dress persisted into the 18th and 19th centuries not only as a cultural characteristic of the
Spanish people but also as a domestic alternative to the French influence that began to invade Spain during the Age of Enlightenment. The Romantics, on the other hand, embraced maurophilia as a means by which to create exoticism within their writings. In the 20th century, Franco looked to North Africa in creating an anti-European Spain (we cannot forget the equestrian “Moorish Guard” that accompanied him during official ceremonies). For the post-Franco period, examples are taken from the “Legado Andalusí” movement, or the institutionalised celebration of Moorish heritage in Andalusia, and the local fetishisation of the Moorish past seen in various parts of Spain, one case being the reconstructed Moorish home in Cáceres completed by one of that town’s residents and an Iraqi friend. Though maurophilia has been relegated to academic curricula in America, in Spain it continues to hold special cultural importance despite the recent “distancing mechanisms” put on immigration from North Africa and the fear of the “return of the Moor” that many perceive as a threat to Spain’s recent hard-won European status.

Barbara Fuchs’s new book will be of great interest to anyone in late medieval and early modern Spanish studies. She analyzes literary texts alongside historical events, material culture, and popular beliefs and perceptions. In so doing, she gives the reader a very well-documented study that provides a more complete understanding of the literary texts and their contexts than the traditional studies carried out on these works have done previously. Likewise, her study challenges many of the traditional approaches to literary scholarship: by placing the texts within the broader cultural contexts, she proves that they were not simply works of creative minds but rather responded to the pressing issues of identity and nation formation so significant to that period of Spanish history. Though some may find the fusion of fictional texts, architecture, dress, games and public ceremonies strange, Fuchs succeeds in demonstrating their interconnectedness and, consequently, their implications for the perception of the Spanish nation by both Spaniards and other Europeans. Possibly of more importance, Fuchs bridges the gap between the early modern period and today, revealing characteristics of Moorishness and maurophilia that still persist in modern Spain and elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world. In sum, Barbara Fuchs’s book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the Moorish elements of Spanish culture from the 15th century onward and is, in my opinion, required reading for all scholars interested in this period of Spain’s history.

Kevin R. Poole
Yale University

The six-hundredth anniversary of Ibn Khaldun’s death in 1406 inspired many exhibitions, celebrations and publications around the world, including the book under review. In Spain, Queen Sofía and King Juan Carlos opened an exhibition at the Reales Alcázares in Seville, entitled “Ibn Jaldún: El Mediterráneo en el siglo XIV: Auge y declive de los imperios.” Both the exhibit and this volume reflect a growing Spanish engagement with Spain’s Islamic intellectual heritage. Though Ibn Khaldun was born in Tunis to an Andalusi family, he has long been studied in greater depth by French, British and American scholars than Spanish ones. The editors of this volume strive to correct this deficiency by collecting twenty-seven wide-ranging articles composed in Spanish about Ibn Khaldun.

The articles may be divided roughly into three categories. The first group examines the life of Ibn Khaldun, including the places he traveled and the people he met. The second examines themes and concepts in Ibn Khaldun’s work and compares it to that of his contemporaries. The third applies Ibn Khaldun’s ideas to issues in the modern period, ranging from politics in Lebanon and Malaysia to Moroccan literature and twentieth-century Spanish thought. Approaches range from the philological to the theological, philosophical, literary and historical.

Juan Martos Quesada’s introduction presents Ibn Khaldun as a visionary rationalist fighting against the faith-filled opposition of the Middle Ages – a modernist before his time, who practiced a critical and scientific approach centuries before Galileo. He suggests that Ibn Khaldun has become an iconic figure because he adopted a “modern” attitude toward reconciling science and religion, one which has gained particular relevance in the last two centuries of European thought. Martos’ vision of Ibn Khaldun as the architect of a new model of religious rationality leaves out the broader context of medieval scholasticism and thinkers such as Ibn Rushd and Maimonides. This hyperbole is forgivable in the introduction to a book about Ibn Khaldun, but it reveals a central issue. Martos and Garrot are attempting to bring Spanish scholarship on Ibn Khaldun to the same level as French and English scholarship; however, this attempt is only partly successful because of the mixed quality of the articles. Some, like the introduction, present a somewhat simplified vision of medieval Islamic thought. Others (especially those written by Josep Puig Montada and Delfina Serrano Ruano) provide considerably more sophisticated discussions of Ibn Khaldun’s religious philosophy. Many articles will serve as useful introductions to Ibn Khaldun for Spanish speakers who may not have access to scholarship in French or English. Most valuably, articles about particular aspects of Ibn Khaldun’s life and work frequently avoid generalities and provide some new insights, and the volume’s analysis of Ibn Khaldun’s importance in Spanish thought and society is original.
The three articles concerned with the twentieth-century Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset illustrate this originality. Mikel de Epalza’s article focuses on Ortega’s writing about Ibn Khaldun, while Gamal Abdel-Karim draws parallels between the paradigm-shifting work of Ibn Khaldun and Ortega. Fernando de Ágreda Burillo’s article uses the writings of Ortega and Emilio García Gómez as guides to understanding Ibn Khaldun’s work. Pilar Altamira, granddaughter of the historian Rafael Altamira, writes a brief piece about the impact of Ibn Khaldun’s work on her grandfather’s intellectual trajectory. These articles on the great figures of twentieth-century thought in Spain elucidate an important chapter in Spain’s reengagement with its Islamic past.

José Luis Garrot Garrot’s article on the treatment of Ibn Khaldun in Spanish historiography begins by discussing the scarcity of research and writing on Ibn Khaldun. He provides as evidence several astonishingly incorrect quotes from publications in Spanish and notes that there is not a single complete translation of the *Muqaddima*, nor was there, until 2006, one Spanish monograph on Ibn Khaldun. He points out that most Spanish writing on Ibn Khaldun mentions Ortega’s 1934 article “Abenjaldún nos revela el secreto” in glowing terms, and suggests that the stunted state of scholarship on the subject may be due to an excessive deference toward a Spanish tradition that has little to offer but prejudices and superficial observations. Garrot provides an informative assessment of Spanish scholarship and concludes that most of the work on Ibn Khaldun has been relatively limited and one-dimensional.

Several articles on non-Spanish topics are also valuable. María Jesús Viguera Molins provides a practical summary of editions and manuscripts of Ibn Khaldun’s work, with palaeographic analysis. Virgilio Martínez Enamorado describes the provisional findings of an archaeological trip to Qal’at Bani Salama (sponsored by El Legado Andalusí under the auspices of the 2006 Ibn Khaldun exhibition), where Ibn Khaldun began the *Muqaddima*. Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala provides a side-by-side comparison of part of Ibn Khaldun’s universal history and one of its documentary roots, an apocryphal Arab Christian narrative of the life of the Virgin Mary.

As is the case with many large, edited volumes, this book would have benefited from a careful copy-edit (for example, on page 13, it was Barbara, not Mary, Tuchman who wrote *A Distant Mirror*). Such superficial issues aside, this book provides especially useful material on the specifically Spanish aspects of the study of Ibn Khaldun, while those familiar with the dense scholarly literature on Ibn Khaldun in English and French may find other articles quite familiar. Overall, the editors are to be commended for beginning the task of bringing the state of Ibn Khaldun studies in Spanish to a new level.

Abigail Krasner Balbale
Harvard University

The role of Islamic traditions in Christian art is a highly controversial issue in the historiography of medieval art in general, and of Spanish medieval art in particular. Despite the many studies devoted to it, it still remains one of the least known aspects of Spanish medieval art, and, undoubtedly, one of the most ideologically charged and methodologically problematic. It is for all these reasons that one has to applaud the bravery of Inés Monteira Arias for navigating into these murky waters. Her efforts are even more praiseworthy given her choice of topic: the iconography of Romanesque sculpture. In contrast with other manifestations of Spanish medieval art, such as the Mozarabic or the Mudejar, Romanesque sculpture has been regarded, as Monteira argues, as a purely Christian art form, mostly connected to the developments beyond the Pyrenees, and with roots in the Classical, the Byzantine, and the Barbarian worlds. Monteira’s goal is to challenge this view by using the case study of the Sorian Romanesque sculpture to prove that Islamic traditions had a much greater role in Romanesque iconography that has been generally accepted.

This book includes a varied and, it can be assumed, complete inventory of examples of Romanesque sculpture from Soria, whose iconography and decoration displays, according to Monteira, the influence of the traditions of al-Andalus. She uses the concept of influence in a very broad way, which allows her to include under such a label many kinds of processes, from the direct copy of motifs from the Caliphal art, and literal representations of Muslims, to inspirations in Islamic imagined worlds, courtly culture, or historical contexts. The art works are grouped in chapters according to the kind of iconography they display: figurative scenes (wrestlers, horsemen, fights between animals, fights between animal and man), representations of confrontations between Christians and Muslims, depictions of musicians and music instruments, representations of Islamic garments (tunics, headgear, pointed shoes), animals (real and fantastic, such as sirens, birds, harpies, snakes, lions, griffins), eschatological imagery, and vegetable and geometric decorative motifs. All the works are illustrated –there are 281 illustrations in the book-- thus providing an opportunity to learn about many little known pieces, although it is to be regretted that some of the photographs are of poor quality. Monteira provides new interpretations and/or sources for most of the sculptures. Many of them are highly interesting and thought provoking, while others definitely need stronger arguments and support. In any case, they all offer new paths of inquiry that deserve attention.
Monteira’s study of the Islamic influences in the Romanesque sculpture of Soria has a second, more ambitious agenda: to challenge predominant theories about the origin and meaning of Romanesque imagery. Without entirely rejecting the precedents from the Ancient Orient, the Classical and the Byzantine traditions, Monteira argues for a greater consideration of al-Andalus as their crucial transmitter to the Christian west. In her view, the Islamic world not only passed them along, but, more importantly, it provided those older artistic traditions with a new meaning, precisely the one embraced by the Romanesque, while also adding important imagery of its own. Soria—she argues—is a very suitable place for such an inquiry for two reasons. One is its frontier condition at the time, with Islamic, Christian and Mudéjar settlements. The other is the peculiar character of the Romanesque of Soria, rural and removed from the usual iconographic traditions directly inspired by the Bible and other Christian texts. Sorian sculpture abounds in vegetable and geometric motifs, fantastic and real animals, violent scenes of punishment and confrontation enacted by men and animals alike. It is in this kind of enigmatic and typical Romanesque imagery that Monteira finds the most interesting and convincing link to Islamic traditions, more specifically to Islamic eschatology. Following on the steps of previous Spanish scholars¹, Monteira argues for the relevance of the *hadiths*, specially the commentaries on the Night Journey of Muhammad, in the formation of a vivid and rich eschatological imagery that had no parallel in the Christian world, whose eschatological references tended to be rather abstract and vague. It is in the Islamic tradition, which predates the Romanesque and was wide spread in al-Andalus, that very specific details are provided about the punishment of sinners in Hell, about Limbo (a concept created by the Islamic eschatology), and about Heaven/Paradise. Among many other things, Islamic eschatology provides an alternative source to the *Phisiolegus* for the interpretation of the animals, either real or fantastic, as incarnations of the souls, the devil, and as torturers in Hell, especially the snake. Many representations of the punishment of sinners in Romanesque seem to be directly inspired in the *hadiths*, as well as other typical eschatological themes such as the devil as a naked monkey, the weighing of the souls, the guardian angels, the representation of a seated Abraham carrying children in his arms. Monteira also finds new interpretations for the decoration of typana with flowers bordered with polylobed arches framing little heads as Islamic visions of the Paradise, not crude versions of Apocalyptic visions.

The goals of this book are very ambitious and require a deep and wide ranging knowledge in many fields, as well as a solid methodological and theoretical background about the process of

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assimilation and exchange among different cultures. It would be a serious challenge for any experienced scholar, and much more for a young and novice one as Inés Monteira Arias is. The book is, in fact, her Master’s dissertation, defended at the Department of Art History at the Universidad Complutense, in 2004. This helps to understand, and to forgive, most of the shortcomings in the study, typical of any work at that level in Spain (i.e. lack of knowledge of English sources, information gaps, rushed conclusions, questionable assumptions). She herself acknowledges them, and considers this book a preliminary study. She also announces that she will continue her research in her doctoral dissertation. She certainly has a most interesting, albeit difficult, subject in her hands, and her conclusions will be eagerly awaited by those interested in medieval Spain and Muslim/Christian exchanges in any discipline. Let’s hope that the new knowledge and intellectual sophistication that she will acquire as she matures as a scholar will result in less speculation and better supported interpretations.

Matilde Mateo
Syracuse University


Escorial MS h.I.13, a large format parchment manuscript from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, contains nine prose tales: three stories of saints’ miracles (Santa Maria Madalena, Santa Marta, Santa Maria Egíciaca); two tales of martyrdom (El enperador Costantino, El cavallero Plaçidas); and four romances (El rey Gujelme, El enperador Otas de Roma, Vna santa emperatris que ouo en Rroma, El enperador Carlos Maynes de Rroma). All are adaptations from Old French sources. Though versions of the tales can be found in various medieval French and Castilian manuscripts, h.I.13 is unique in that it is the only known manuscript which contains all these stories and because it preserves the only surviving medieval Castilian versions of El enperador Otas de Roma and Vna santa emperatris que ouo en Rroma.

The text’s first documented modern reading, that which resulted in its classification within the Escorial collection as a Flos sanctorum, vidas de algunos santos e otras historias, was clearly a cursory examination, and critical approaches to and understanding of the manuscript since then have been fragmentary. The collection’s stories have been edited separately and for widely varying purposes beginning in the 1860s and culminating in a concentrated period of critical attention from the late 1960s through the mid-1980s. But, until recently, most Hispanomedeavalists would have had little idea that the individual stories formed part of a single codex or that the collection itself was more than a miscellany. It was not until Maier’s
and Spaccarelli’s 1982 article, which argued for the codex’s coherent organization, that the unity and integrity of the text began to be generally appreciated. Spaccarelli’s semi-paleographic transcription, released, along with a concordance, on microfiche in 1996, was the first edition of the entire manuscript. Spaccarelli further developed his theory of the collection’s thematic and ideological unity in *A Medieval Pilgrim’s Companion* of 1998, proposing that the text was compiled for and addressed to an audience of pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela. And Moore and Spaccarelli have subsequently argued jointly for the collection’s coherence, suggesting that its themes and imagery were carefully crafted to appeal especially to a largely female pilgrim audience (“A Unified Work”).

Moore’s new critical edition makes the complete text available in print for the first time and presents it in a form that facilitates not only further scholarly investigation but also its use in the classroom. His succinct and useful introduction contains a thorough physical description of the manuscript and a list of its contents with the *incipit* and *explicit* of each tale. Moore also traces the manuscript’s critical reception with particular attention to the issues of organization and coherence, motifs, character types, themes and thematic unity, concluding with a survey of scholarly theories about the manuscript’s conception and its compilers’ goals. On many of these issues, Moore himself is squarely and frankly within the Spaccarellian camp. He refers to the manuscript as the *Libro de los huéspedes*, the title proposed by Spaccarelli in *A Medieval Pilgrims’ Companion*. His own publications make it clear that he believes that the collection embodies an ideology of pilgrimage, that it was compiled for a pilgrim audience, and that its coherence and organization derive largely from this project. But his presentation and treatment of the ideas of others is thorough, respectful, and objective.

As an editor, Moore treads so lightly that it is easy to reconstruct the appearance of the text on the manuscript page. Based upon a transcription made directly from the manuscript, his edition respects and reproduces scribal practice including word separation and orthographic, morphological, and linguistic variation. Among the unwelcome effects of regularization, Moore notes, would have been the erasure of the manuscript’s possibly significant idiosyncrasies, including a consistent Galician influence in the text’s vocabulary. Moore lists folio numbers in the right margin and indicates column and folio breaks with a vertical line. He expands scribal abbreviations in italics. And he emends only what he judges to be obvious errors of the text’s single scribe, indicating his corrections in square brackets, and explaining them in footnotes. Rubrics and headings appear in bold and separated from the text. Changes in ink color are indicated in footnotes. Paragraph breaks correspond to the placement of rubrics or initials in the manuscript. MS h.I.13’s initial folios have suffered wear; other folios are water damaged or have discolorations or poor ink absorption due to the mediocre quality of its parchment. A notable contribution to the establishment of the text of the manuscript is that Moore, with the
aid of ultraviolet light, has been able to a significant degree to affirm the conjectures of previous editors, correct misreadings, and reconstruct for the first time otherwise illegible text. For the benefit of the student, the editor has introduced modern punctuation and capitalization and has provided line numbers in the left margin.

One welcome and practical feature of this edition is its alphabetically organized glossary, a boon to the student familiar with the conventions of medieval Spanish. In cases of variant forms or spellings, the form which appears in the glossary entry is the first, in alphabetical order, of all those contained in the manuscript. Each lexical item, then, is identified by part of speech, and followed by a list of all the variants that appear in the text as well as the multiple meanings with which the manuscript employs each term. Entries for verbs, listed as infinitives, include all the conjugated forms in which they appear in the manuscript, identified by tense. The glossary also incorporates idiomatic expressions and verbal phrases.

Moore’s critical apparatus serves a variety of practical functions, describing visual features of the folios such as initials and ink colors, and noting illegibility, damage, scribal insertions and emendations, and other accidental features of the manuscript. It explains editorial decisions, and it acknowledges the reconstruction of illegible letters, words, and phrases. The apparatus notes omissions, insertions, and other points at which the editions of previous editors diverge from Moore’s own. For the student, the footnotes offer Moore’s own commentary on and elucidation of the text. And, most important for student and scholar alike, Moore’s copious references to the comments, theories, and interpretations of his predecessors constitute, when taken as a whole, an admirable summary of critical work to date on MS h.I.13.

We should note the unusual coincidence of Moore’s edition with a second critical edition and study of this manuscript by Carina Zubillaga, which, while it complements Moore’s edition in many ways, also offers some notable contrasts, for example on the issue of editorial intervention and regularization. As the scope of this review does not permit a comparison of the two, Zubillaga’s edition merits a separate evaluation.

Stephen B. Raulston


*The Medieval Sea* synthesizes a vast body of scholarship on “the social and economic importance of the sea” (p.12), focusing primarily upon the tenth through the sixteenth centuries. Although Rose, a senior Research Fellow at Roehampton University, refers only intermittently to sources relevant to medieval Iberia, readers of this journal may appreciate the
complement this study provides to Rose’s well-received earlier survey, *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000-1500* (Routledge, 2002).²

The book is divided into seven chapters. “Image and Reality” (pp. 1-12) discusses varying depictions of the sea in Anglo-Saxon, Old Norse, Breton, Castilian, and Arabic literature, where Rose discerns expressions of a “conventional Moslem antipathy to sea travel” (pp. 4-6). While literary views of the sea might have been regionally distinct, connections forged along Europe’s shipping lanes fostered the emergence of a “common language of the sea” (p. 11). Arguing from her past research on fifteenth-century Southampton, Rose suggests here and later (pp. 61-62) that September and January were more common times for embarkation than scholarship has supposed.³

Chapter 2, “The Shipwright’s Craft” (pp. 12-38), draws upon visual, archeological, and archival sources to document a cleavage between Northern European and Mediterranean ship design. While the cities and merchants of the northern Hanseatic League favored the coche or cog, Mediterranean arsenals continued to produce galleys, with the *galee sottili* preferred for warfare and piracy, and the *taride*, a cargo ship capacious enough to carry horses, for crusading expeditions. By the close of the fourteenth century, southern shipbuilders, particularly in Genoa, had nevertheless adopted the sternpost rudder, lateen mizzen, and foresail to craft the *carrack* that would navigate both northern and Mediterranean seas.

Chapter 3, “The Way of a Ship” (pp. 39-42), studies navigational technology. Long before the introduction of the compass or *toleta* tables of winds and currents, experienced mariners learned to read the colors of the sky, stars, and the sea itself (pp. 39-52). Mariners, especially in England, where Rose asserts that astrolabes and cross-staffs were rarely employed before the sixteenth century (pp. 48-60), took soundings of deep water, and used local tide patterns to calculate sailing conditions elsewhere.

Chapter 4, “Making a Living” (pp. 63-105), cites Spufford’s calculations that Mediterranean trade, even in the worst of times, generated over twice the revenue of commerce in the North and Baltic seas (pp. 78-91). By the mid-fifteenth century, however, merchants active in the north, such as Robert Sturmy of Bristol, were attempting to create direct ties between the two trading systems, notwithstanding strenuous Genoese resistance (p. 73).

Chapter 5, “War at Sea” (pp. 106-146), contends that naval warfare in the Middle Ages is best imagined not, after Mahan, as confrontations between “fleets” on the “high seas,” so much as “amphibious,” episodic, skirmishes between modest numbers of ships, fought half at sea and

half along adjoining harbors and beaches (p. 108). In the north, Rose proposes the Battle of Dover or Sandwich (1217), as the first in which English ships deployed specifically sea-oriented tactics, using the wind to blow lime into the faces of an enemy French crew (pp. 111-118). Mahan’s analysis may be somewhat more appropriate to Mediterranean naval warfare, Rose suggests, as “issues of power, the possession of land, and the control of valuable trade and trade routes” were as, or arguably more, important to the Christian civic republics of Genoa and Venice, or the Angevin, Norman, or Catalan monarchs than the Muslim/Christian divide that commanded the attention of chroniclers (p. 127). Rose sets much of her treatment of Mediterranean maritime aggression in the context of these rivalries, arguing that zeal to preserve commerce even tempered Venice’s response to Ottoman sea-power. Drawing upon a thoughtful reading of sources such as the exploits of the fifteenth-century Castilian corsair Don Pedro Niño, Rose provides a solid discussion of medieval piracy and the guerre de course, asserting that stable insurance rates may be interpreted as evidence that piracy had little real impact upon maritime commerce (pp. 123-125; 143-146). Developing a theme first introduced in Medieval Naval Warfare (pp. 63, 126), Rose also reevaluates Mediterranean galley warfare tactics, suggesting that the Latin term frenellum (bridle), which English translators have understood to signify “the alleged practice of lashing galleys together...” to form a fighting platform may have referred to a simpler strategy of linking ships via outstretched oars (p. 140).

Chapter 6, “Peoples and Ports,” (pp. 147-170), considers conditions of sail for medieval mariners. By the high middle ages, the social status of sailors and even captains was in decline in most parts of Europe. Comparing northern ports such as the English Lynn or the Hansa Lübeck to Mediterranean entrepôts, Rose finds that Genoese and Venetian merchant nobility continued to captain their own ships on occasion, while northern European merchants invested in voyages but seldom went to sea.

Chapter 7, “A New World” (pp. 171-178), reiterates an earlier comparison between Venice and Genoa to suggest that a Genoese disposition to encourage “free enterprise” may account for the Genoese contribution to sixteenth-century European expansion. Whether Venetian defeat at the Battle of Zonchio represented cause or coincidence, the future of European maritime prosperity would shift from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic after 1500.

The Medieval Sea offers several provocative arguments, the most interesting of which is the contention, developed through Rose’s first four chapters, that coastal sailing, or cabotage, was less prevalent in medieval navigation than scholars have supposed. Cabotage argues Rose, was actually dangerous in bad weather, as high winds and reduced visibility could beach or pitch a ship on rocks (note esp. pp. 39-40). Rose’s case against the preponderance of cabotage is persuasive when she points to the exploratory voyages of medieval Norseman, but undermined by her own reference to the skill of Chaucer’s Shipman in lodemanage (coastal pilotage) (p. 46), as well as her evidence for the coastal setting of much medieval naval warfare. It would also seem difficult, in this reviewer’s opinion, to assess the precise contribution of cabotage to medieval maritime commerce, given that much of it, at least in the Mediterranean, was an informal trade in victuals and commodities that often goes undocumented. Editors of this
volume may, meanwhile, have done Rose a disservice in reserving the illustrative images for her chapter on shipbuilding until two chapters later (between pp. 82-93).

This insightful book is nonetheless valuable for the ways in which Rose revisits ostensibly settled questions as she draws together a fragmented body of scholarship to expose unities across medieval European maritime experience. Rose’s own colleagues, who focus upon the history of medieval England and the Hansa, will be grateful for Rose’s detailed discussion of Mediterranean conditions, just as Iberian specialists will profit from the way in which Rose has set Castilian and Catalan sources in a wider, European context.

Emily Sohmer Tai
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Taking its cues from Stephen Greenblatt’s Renaissance Self-Fashioning (1980) and, more recently, Patrick Cheney and Frederick de Armas’s edited collection of essays in European Literary Careers (2002), A Companion to Lope de Vega attempts to integrate Lope’s theatrical and literary works with his life-long ambition to be publicly perceived as a great playwright and author. Alexander Samson and Jonathan Thacker introduce this twenty-one-essay volume by underlining the contradictions that still surround one of the most studied figures in Spanish literature. On one hand, scholars have collected vast numbers of letters, records, and other documents that tell us much about the writer. Recent work on Lope, however, reveals that he was a relentless self-promoter and that his public life was just as much a conscious “creation” as his famed works. This, of course, complicates biographical studies, but it also gives us a window into how artists and writers of the early seventeenth century turned their craft into a profession.

The editors also address interdisciplinary challenges that Lope presents. Within academic circles interested in Spanish Golden Age theater, it is almost impossible to find a study that fails to mention Lope de Vega and his profound influences on the comedia nueva. These three-act tragicomedies emerged in the late sixteenth century and quickly became a national genre, largely under Lope’s direction. Outside of this specialized field, however, Samson and Thacker note that scholars seem to choose Miguel de Cervantes and Calderón de la Barca as representatives of early-modern Spanish literature. The editors make it clear that this volume is directed towards these broader fields as an attempt to encourage academics to take more notice of Lope’s contributions to theater and to literature. Yet this volume should not be
regarded as a simple introductory work. Indeed, seasoned specialists will also welcome the Companion, which includes chapters from some of the most highly regarded Golden Age scholars in recent decades.

After an informative introduction from the editors, part 1 includes three essays which enlighten readers about Lope de Vega’s life and the means of his astounding literary production. Victor Dixon rebukes suggestions that Lope’s habit of flipping through dictionaries and glossed historical volumes in search of theatrical material is an indictment of his genius. By analyzing Lope’s sources, Dixon shows that the playwright was an avid reader of contemporary, medieval, and classic writers alike, and that he carefully honed his intellectual prowess to impress Madrid’s most influential patrons. José María Ruano de la Haza’s essay on theater in seventeenth-century Madrid gives us a glimpse of the theater district where Lope lived and worked. His chapter also includes interesting stage diagrams, maps, and a few excerpts written in Lope’s own handwriting. Finally, Alejandro García Reidy discusses the literary codes that define the comedia nueva and traces how Lope, who initially opposed printing his plays, eventually seized the opportunity for self-promotion and sought publishers to distribute his works in book form.

Parts 2 is the first of three sections that include essays on specific works of Lope’s lyric poetry, drama, and prose, respectively. While these sections include more traditionally analytical approaches to the texts, they continue the volume’s overall mission to present Lope as a craftsman who exhibited a profound “authorial self consciousness,” as Tyler Fisher writes in his essay on the opening sonnet of Rimas humanas (63). Indeed, Fisher reveals Lope’s hands-on involvement with all aspects of his work, including the publication of his poetry. Also in this section are Arantza Mayo’s discussion of Lope’s religious poetry and Isabel Torres’ chapter on the creative processes that shape his lyrical works.

Part 3 is the largest section and includes nine essays on Lope’s dramatic works. Jonathan Thacker’s chapter on the playwright’s 1609 speech to the Academia de Madrid, Arte nuevo de hacer comedias, introduces Lope’s contributions to the development of the comedia nueva. Thacker and Alexander Samson follow with a study of Lope’s most canonical works as social and political commentaries, including the medieval history-themed plays Fuenteovejuna, Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña, and El caballero de Olmedo. Edward Friedman concludes the section by suggesting that we rethink one of Lope’s most celebrated honor plays, El castigo sin venganza, by reflecting on the “compositional process” (225) which allows the playwright to go beyond the mere text of his dramas and involve his audiences and his readers. Notwithstanding these fresh perspectives on the most studied comedias, contributors also
address lesser known works. Elaine Canning and Barbara Mujica examine Lope’s religious and hagiographic plays, and Geraldine Coates’s intriguing study of medieval sources of the chronicle-legend works shows how Lope used Spanish history to shape collective memory and a national identity. Geraint Evans revisits the thematic engagement of honor plays by analyzing Los comendadores de Córdoba within the context of audience expectations and social norms. Also noteworthy is Frederick de Armas’s latest research on how Lope references well-known paintings by Michelangelo and Titian to embellish erotic language and to complicate gender representation in La quinta de Florencia, a play in which the protagonist becomes obsessed with the image of Venus.

Part 4 contains three chapters which discuss the dramatist’s works of prose. While Lope’s quasi-biographical narrative, La Dorotea, has received critical attention in the past, Xavier Tubau’s contribution to this work inquires into Lope’s own presence as a literary creation within in the text. Apart from La Dorotea, however, scholars have rarely mentioned Lope’s other non-poetic works in any significant detail. By studying these neglected narratives, Alexander Samson’s chapter on El peregrino en su patria and Ali Rizavi’s section on the Novelas a Marcia Leonardo give us an interesting perspective on Lope as a social aspirer who used his pen to attract attention from Spain’s most powerful officials.

Part 5 departs the literary focus of the previous essays and turns to contemplate Lope’s reception, both within and outside of the Spanish world. David McGrath’s original study of visual representations of Lope includes an attractive display of 32 portraits (some in color), engravings, and statues, all of Lope de Vega. The last two contributions are an appropriate conclusion to the volume and comment on Lope’s effects outside of Spain. Duncan Wheeler looks at modern cinematic interpretations of several comedias and David Johnston examines how an explosion in translations of Lope in the twentieth century speaks to his lasting cultural resonance and his broad appeal to multiple audiences.

Overall, A Companion to Lope de Vega provides students and scholars with rich information regarding this remarkable playwright’s literary production and reception. To support the book’s mission to foster further attention to Lope among non-specialists, the Companion includes convenient translations for Spanish-language quotations. In addition, all chapters are supplemented with detailed footnotes that provide fascinating historical context and direct readers to a wide array of specialized studies for further inquiry. Medieval hispanists will especially benefit from the attention given to Lope’s medieval sources, as historical chronicles and popular romances shaped both the content and the form of many of his works. Finally, while the Companion employs a traditional format for an edited volume of essays, the carefully
chosen sequence of contributions reflects the overall theme of Lope as both a creator of literature and as the architect of his own public image.

Carl Austin Wise
University of Georgia


This handsomely-produced volume is one product of a veritable explosion of local studies on the primary sources and government administration of later medieval Catalonia and Mallorca which has been raining books onto the shelves of libraries worldwide over the past 15 or 20 years, an explosion which has been fuelled by the generous support of the two autonomous governments and their local *ajuntaments.* In general, this proliferation of local studies has been a very good thing for both scholars and the interested public alike, since prior to the 1990s the dearth of such studies was severe. Many of the products of this flowering of locally-focused Spanish historiography have been of excellent quality, but it is perhaps time for interested parties to think about the speed at which these are being produced, and also about the methodologies being employed in their production.

The present volume is the product of a collaboration between Llompart, whose 2003 PhD thesis was titled “*Un análisis histórico-contable de la Procuración del Real Patrimonio en el Reino de Mallorca, periodo 1310-1330,*” and Sastre, who has been publishing on aspects of this subject for more than two decades. The setup of this book suggests, and perusal confirms, that this book belongs to the school of Spanish ‘structuralist’ studies, which ultimately descends from the French structuralism fathered by Marc Bloch. Originally, the aim of this method was to provide a description of the ‘structures’ of a given society, under the semi-Marxist notion that this would get at the most important aspects of society, where a traditional narrative-based description of events developing over time would miss these deep structures, and provide a superficial ‘bourgeois’ interpretation of history, essentially missing the forest for the trees. This method of writing has thankfully gone out of style in much of the French academy, but it persists at the local level in many Spanish regions, and as a result we continue to get many studies which aim at a structuralist exposition of government and/or society rather than a series of explanatory narratives. Some structuralist works can be first rate; one can cite for example the older work of Max Turull on Cervera, and Rafael Narbona for Valencia, but the future now seems to lie firmly in the hands of the explainers, the narrativists, and thus my
major criticism of this work is that while it claims to provide us with an introduction to the fiscal system of the Kingdom of Mallorca during its halcyon period of independence (which happened to correspond to the high-point of economic growth in the later medieval Mediterranean), it in fact provides us with a series of static overviews of aspects of this system, which while tantalizing, immediately leave us wanting more.

The initial chapter, entitled “El marco político-institucional” provides an example. One of the longest of several sections in this chapter is entitled “La sociedad mallorquina post-conquista.” It clocks in at 13 pages, and dutifully goes through a one or two page description of ‘the knights’, ‘the churchmen’, ‘the Jews,’ ‘slaves,’ and ‘other social groups.’ There have clearly been a number of other studies which cover this topic in much greater detail, including the work of David Abulafia (who is not mentioned in this work so far as I can tell—the book contains no index); but what one hopes to find in this chapter is a detailed description of the workings of the royal government and its financial machinery. When one does get to the section on the administration of the royal patrimony, it turns out to be a disappointing nine pages in length. While it contains some useful information, one expects to find references to the excellent recent work done on Catalan royal finances by the likes of Manuel Sánchez, Pere Ortí, and Jaume Aurell, but instead these are entirely absent.

A reader who comes to this book hoping to find an analysis of development over time or interaction between aspects of the fiscal and political machinery will likewise find many causes to be disappointed, since, to be fair, this was not the principal intent of the authors. Thus while some interesting figures are presented which describe the revenues of the Mallorcan kings between 1311 and 1330, one is left with many questions about what these figures may mean. For example, it would appear as though the royal expenses amounted to less than 30 percent of total revenues, and yet we are told that the rest was pocketed by the Crown. Was there really a vast surplus of treasure sitting in the Mallorcan treasury during these decades? One finds this very difficult to believe. Likewise, although these findings are promising, only a relatively small effort would have produced much more satisfying results; if, for example, these figures had been combined with the findings in Pau Cateura’s Política y finanzas del Reino de Mallorca bajo Pedro IV de Aragón, or with some of Sastre’s earlier work, we might begin to see some real value added.

Still, one can state that this book represents a good introductory step towards the study of Mallorcan finances during the period of independence. It does have the merit of listing many of the available archival sources in an accessible way, and reproduces for us a transcription of one year of the royal accounts (1325-26) and a facsimile of the manuscript entries for the year 1318. One does wish that the years transcribed and reproduced in facsimile would have been the
same year, as this would have proved valuable both for students and for all those scholars who could benefit from Sastre and Llompart’s considerable erudition regarding the medieval Catalan language of accounting and finance. As it stands, the transcription and facsimile are handy to have, although even here, the mantra might be: A very good start! Give us more! As suggested, both authors are very capable investigators and this work proves that point. I hope that they plan on continuing these studies in the future, only with the goal of integrating Mallorcan studies with the historiography of the Crown of Aragon as a whole, and also with the aim of expanding their temporal scope, so that we get a greater sense of development over time.

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One of the greatest historiographical questions of early modern times was the rapid and doleful decline of Spain from a position of European dominance to one of regional mediocrity. One of the clear signals of this debasement of Spanish power in Europe and around the globe was the disastrous battle of Rocroi (May 19, 1643), in which an entire generation of Spanish military leaders fell before French guns. A mere decade after this disaster, Guillem Ramón de Moncada (the third marquis of Aytona) penned a work that attempted to analyze Spain’s fall in military fortunes and suggest commonsense and sometimes very simple solutions for the reeling fortunes of the Spanish army. Though Aytona wrote during a time when Iberian men of many classes were taking up their pens to call for systemic reform of Iberia’s problems at all levels, the marquis was no *arbitrista*. Instead, he was a career soldier who had fought in most of Spain’s major military theaters of the seventeenth century, ranging from Catalonia to Germany to the Low Countries. Running afoul of the Spanish king, Felipe IV (1621-1655), and his powerful adviser, the count-duke of Olivares, in 1647, Aytona wrote his principal work, the *Discurso militar*, during his imprisonment (1647-1650), both to improve the military force he had commanded for so long and to regain favor with his sovereign. Perhaps the special circumstances under which he wrote it somewhat dulled the possibility of a reformist edge in his work. Thus, even at his most critical, the marquis did not call for wholesale changes to Spain’s army, but rather for the correction of “some difficulties” (*algunos inconvenientes*) that had long plagued the institution.
The result was a thoroughly traditional military handbook composed from a very deep knowledge of classical military writers, such as Caesar, Vegetius, Byzantine emperor, Leo, Livy, and Tacitus. Even with this classical veneer, however, the work was also clearly informed by a lifetime of campaign experience on the far-flung battlefields of seventeenth-century Europe. Drawn up under twenty-nine points of discussion, the Discurso had as its purpose the correction of the structural ills that had long plagued Spain's military forces by providing means for the "common utility, proper conservation, and restoration of its losses." According to Aytona, this renewal had to come both from the king who had to override the disastrous stinginess of his officials and from the nobility and knights who had to provide for better military education and training that would imbue a deeper discipline throughout the ranks of soldiers under their charge. Many of Aytona’s suggestions for institutional betterment had to do with an improved command structure that was to extend flawlessly from the highest officers to the lowest ranks of soldiers. In Aytona’s mind, this was to be accomplished by carefully following the difficult paths of professionalism and discipline. The first would be attained by a thoroughgoing reform of the army’s cavalry and infantry, commissariat, engineering and artillery divisions. Military discipline would be improved with prime instruction of raw recruits in Spain’s glorious tradition of military arts by veterans who had spent most of their lives in the ranks. The marquis was just as determined to reduce the influence of the court on the army’s command structure which he saw as one of the main roadblocks to continued military excellence.

For scholars of military history and investigators of one of the great questions of early modern history; namely, "the decline of Spain," this new edition is an extremely significant contribution. It lets us view the intellectual world of an extremely influential military figure who, though concerned about the turn of his homeland’s international fortunes, did not discern any indication of a disastrous decline, but instead the existence of certain "difficulties" that could be dealt with some simple, though not inexpensive remedies. Probably even more important than its unconscious reflection of Spain’s initial stage of political and economic decay, the Discurso militar clearly indicates that the path of practical and scientific military writing that seems to lead inexorably across the eighteenth century into the early nineteenth to the works of Carl von Clausewitz influenced, and was influenced by, theoretical treatises on the army south of the Pyrenees.

Donald J. Kagay
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Water, one of the most scarce and disputed natural resources of the present environment, and the problems related to it—pollution, management, and distribution—have been the object of substantial historical research in the last two decades, notably in Spain, a country with poor and irregular annual precipitation. The editors of the present book are María Isabel del Val Valdivieso, Professor of Medieval History at the University of Valladolid and director of the research project *Agua, Espacio y Sociedad en la Edad Media* (Water, Space, and Society in the Middle Ages; http://www3.uva.es), and Olatz Villanueva Zubizarreta, an archaeological researcher at the Department of Ancient and Medieval History in the same university, and a member of the research group; both contribute an article to the volume. This group has previously published other collective publications on sources for the study of water in medieval Spain (1998), social uses of water (2002), and water in the medieval urban world (2008), apart from two monographs on public baths in Valladolid (2002) and municipal power and water (2003). The sixteen articles of the present book are arranged in three sections: Water in the Islamic World (three articles), Water from the Islamic to the Christian World (three articles), and Water in feudal society (nine articles). There is not much in common among the papers of the book, as is typical of such compilations, but all contributions share the assumption that water works are not the mere product of well-organised states or empires. Rather, local communities produce norms, regulations, practices, conflicts around water, and marks on the landscape.

Olatz Villanueva is entrusted with the introduction of the volume (“Agua y patrimonio en Castilla: el Puente de Itero del Castillo en Burgos y las tenerías de la ciudad de Zamora”, pp.15-45), choosing to present a specific case study of the bridge of Itero in Burgos and the dyers in Zamora, rather than providing an overview of the book’s scope. From a very ambitious definition of “immaterial cultural patrimony”, the article moves on to building techniques, treatises, and engineers, and to the interest in restricting polluting activities to the outskirts of the town.

The first main part of the book, devoted to the Islamic world, comprises three articles. Tariq Mardiani (University de Oujda, Morocco) argues that towns responded differently to water problems between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries, despite their similar environments (“L’eau dans les villes islamiques médiévales”, pp.49-75). Distribution responded to social rather than merely technological requirements. Mosques were at the centre of the systems of distribution of water to the neighbourhoods. Vicente Salvatierra Cuenca and Juan Carlos
Castillo Armenteros, after a descriptive section addressing the terraces and irrigation channels of the town of Jaén since the Roman period, point out that the Almohads—rather than the Ummayads—were the real builders of the town’s water system, expanding the town to the south, constructing water ditches in the countryside and moving polluting industries to the suburbs (“De la ciudad al campo. El agua en Jaén de época omeya a almohade”, pp.77-101). Finally, Carmen Trillo San José concludes that in Granada, in accordance with Maliki law, the alquería controlled the water of its hinterland, which was distributed following ethnic, topographic or commercial criteria. In the towns, water was distributed in line with the schedule of prayer, while water tanks were placed in mosques to distribute the water in equal shares in the neighbourhoods (“El agua en las ciudades andalusíes: Madina Garnata y su área periurbana (siglos XI-XV)”, pp.103-124).

The second part of the book opens with an article by Roberto Matesanz Gascón (“La cultura islámica del agua en la cuenca del Duero. Notas para su estudio”, pp.127-153), asking whether water exploitation in the northern meseta was implemented by eighth-century Muslim communities or rather by the resettled Mozarabs. Examining the expansion of the term aceña from the Arabic, assanya as opposed to molinis, molinaría, mulinos, he concludes that the vertical wheel expanded after 940 in major rivers and in areas of Mudejar repopulation (Toro, Zamora, Simancas, Dueñas). Esteban Sarasa Sánchez presents a general overview of the history of Zaragoza, peppered with rather too many fragments from general texts, in order to defend the idea that there were continuity from Roman to Christian times (“La economía hidráulica en el Valle Medio del Ebro: de la explotación islámica a la cristiana”, pp.155-171). We then move to the impressive huerta of Valencia—11.000 ha of irrigated land, 20 km long and 3-6 km wide, around a town of 40.000 inhabitants—with Enric Guinot Rodríguez’s article (“Com en temps de sarrains. La herencia andalusí en la huerta medieval de Valencia”, pp.173-194). Here, Guinot explores aspects of continuity and change, and using the Llibre de Repartiment he works out the morphology of a landscape: Muslims created the huerta, and its most important features were respected by Christians (network of ditches, main channels, sewage, vocabulary and Islamic uses in the day to day practices), but—Guinot argues, following Thomas Glick—feudal society reconstructed the culture of water on new bases for the particular benefit of the municipal council.

The third and final part of the book provides case studies of towns and regions under Christian power, under the hypothesis that since water was important both for the supply of the town and for the watering of the fields, municipal authorities had to carry out expensive water works. Marc Sutter studies the towns of the Mosa Valley from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries to create a typology in terms of access to water (“L’eau et la ville: le cas de la vallée mosane au Bas Moyen Âge”, pp.197-213). Beatriz Arizaga Bolumburu and Michel Bochaca, in
“Bayona y el control del curso inferior del Adour del siglo XV al principio del siglo XVI” (pp.215-229) address the implications of the change of the mouth of the Adour for the rights of Bayona over boats passing by; using the rich archives of Bayona, they show the reasons for which the town opened an artificial channel to the sea in the sixteenth century. The Livro das Fortalezas de Duarte d’Armas (1509) allows Filipe Themudo Barata (“Relaciones entre la gestión de los recursos hídricos y la construcción del paisaje en la Baja Edad Media en el sur de Portugal”, pp.231-245) to examine how the struggle to store water in southern Portugal, and to remove excess water in the north, shaped the inner and outer landscape of towns. He discusses the hypothesis that to understand medieval water systems we need to look to small communities and to scattered and humble archaeological remains. Another rich source, the Demarcações de fronteira (1537-38) underlies Violeta Medrano Fernández’s description of the relationships among the communities on both sides of the rivers on the frontier between Spain and Portugal (“Los ríos en las relaciones comerciales castellano-portuguesas al final de la Edad Media”, pp.247-273). Conflicts were not frequent among these villages, smuggling serving as a means of earning a living in the face of the fiscal claims of their monarchs. The four Cantabrian seaports are studied by Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea and Javier Añibarro Rodríguez, who examine how sixteenth-century municipal councils carried out harbour works, resorting to the “common good” to legitimate their authority and that of the oligarchies in power (“Infraestructuras e instalaciones portuarias, fluviales e hídricas en las villas del norte peninsular a finales de la Edad Media: las obras públicas como instrumentos del poder”, pp.275-305). Nicolás García Tapia (“Técnica y usos. El papel del agua en la sociedad castellana medieval”, pp.307-329) suggests that, in the Middle Ages, the use of the energy produced by rivers amounted to a technological revolution in Castile; communities had to solve myriad technological problems to build those devices and to increase productive capacity. He denies that the horizontal wheel was less sophisticated than the vertical. Using long passages of text from other authors, Lola Figueira Mourre undertakes a detailed compilation of the data related to a specific irrigation channel built in León on the river Orbigo, and to the conflicts surrounding it; the river divided the land of the bishopric of Astorga and that of the Quiñones family, counts of Luna (“Conflictos en torno a una canalización leonesa: la presa Cerrajera en al Baja Edad Media”, pp.331-357). María Isabel del Val Valdivielso’s thesis is that water was brought to towns mainly to honour, embellish and legitimate the power of the council, lords or ecclesiastics; substantial water works started in Castile only in the fifteenth century because they were expensive to build and to maintain (“Un exponente del buen gobierno urbano: el abastecimiento de agua en la Castilla medieval”, pp.359-379). Lastly, Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar focuses on the case study of Vera (Almería) to show the ways in which the use of rivers and water created an important patrimony in landscapes and buildings, and how scarcity of water catalyzed conflicts with the
Christian settlers in the years preceding the Rebellion of the Mudejars of 1568 (“Agua, riego y repoblación en Vera (Almería) durante los siglos XV y XVI”, pp. 381-417).

This volume will primarily be of use to specialists looking for specific data, or for a comparative framework for their topic. The articles are all tightly informed and documented, but most are descriptive and do not present a hypothesis, making explicit the implications of their examples; a concluding paper, a different introduction or a more engaging interaction between the different parts or authors would have been beneficial. It is nonetheless good news to have another book encompassing case studies of Christian and Muslim Spain, on which future syntheses may draw.

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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).

Conference Announcements

International Conference:
Reassessing the Roles of Women as “Makers” of Medieval Art and Architecture
26 - 28 May 2010

All sessions will be held at the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Albazan 26-28, 28037 Madrid.

This conference will address the question of medieval women's participation in the production and consumption of art and architecture. In medieval inscriptions—from paintings to embroideries to buildings—the verb employed most often is 'made' (fecit). This word denotes at times the individual whose hands produced the work, but it can equally refer to the person whose donation made the undertaking possible. As facilitators, producers, and recipients, women's overall involvement is examined within specific social and political contexts.

Twenty-five historians, art historians, and archaeologists from Belgium, England, France,
Germany, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States will present their current research on Christian, Muslim, Jewish, pagan, and secular works (6th - 15th c.).

Scholars who will be speaking on Iberian topics include Glaire D. Anderson (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill), Marisa Costa (Universidade de Lisboa), Heather Ecker (Detroit Institute of Arts), María Elena Díez Jorge (Universidad de Granada), Melissa R. Katz (Brown University), Katrin Kogman-Appel (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev), Eileen McKiernan Gonzalez (Berea College), Felipe Pereda Espeso (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid), Ana Maria Seabra de Almeida Rodrigues (Universidade de Lisboa), and Miriam Shadis (Ohio University).

For more information, please contact Therese Martin (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid), therese.martin@cchs.csic.es.


Religious Identities in Medieval Iberia: Culture, Tradition, and Reform I

Organizer: James D’Emilio, University of South Florida
Presider: Simon Doubleday, Hofstra University

Paper #1: “Cultivating Conflict in Late Roman Spain”
Presenter: Jamie Wood, University of Manchester

Paper #2: “From Marc Antony to Muhammad: Eulogius of Cordoba’s Rhetorical Use of the Istoria de Mahomet and the Classical Tradition of Invective”
Presenter: Daniel G. Perett, University of Notre Dame

Presenter: Abigail Krasner Balbale, Harvard University

Paper #4: “The Other Christians: the Mozarabs Face the Reconquest”
Presenter: María de la Paz Estevez, Universidad de Buenos Aires

Religious Identities in Medieval Iberia: Culture, Tradition, and Reform II

Organizer: James D’Emilio, University of South Florida
Presider: Michael Ryan, Purdue University

Paper #1: “Mālikī Jurisprudence and the Constructed Environment in al-Andalus:
Preliminary Considerations”  
Presenter: Sabahat F. Adil, University of Chicago

Paper #2: “‘Of Greater Weight among Discerning Men’: Mark of Toledo’s Translation of Ibn Tumart and the Intellectual Culture of Thirteenth-Century Toledo”  
Presenter: Anthony Minnema, University of Tennessee

Presenter: Krysta L. Black, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Members’ Announcements

Dr. Weston F Cook, Jr. received the University of North Carolina Award for Outstanding Teaching for the academic year 2008-2009. He recently attended the Middle East Studies Association Conference in Boston where he chaired a panel on the subject, "Representations of Muhammad."

Congratulations!!!

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Robin Vose announces the publication of Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon (Cambridge UP, 2009). Robin is also currently working with the department of Rare Books and Special Collections at the University of Notre Dame to develop a website devoted to resources for the study of the Spanish, Portuguese and other Inquisitions. Robin is giving a paper at the San Francisco de Borja centenary conference in Valencia this coming April.

Congratulations!!!

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Robert Hughes announces the publication of:

Vincent Ferrer, De unitate universalis. The Latin text and its Hebrew medieval version with Catalan and English translations, A. Fidora and M. Zonta (eds.), Obrador Edèndum: Santa

‘The figure of Ramon Llull (Raimundus Lullus) and the significance of the recent companion volume to his Latin works in the Corpus Christianorum series,’ Faventia 31/1 (2009) (Departament de Ciències de l'Antiguitat i de l'Edat Mitjana de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB)), (forthcoming).

‘Raimundus Lullus: An Introduction to his Life, Works and Thought, (CCCM 214, Brepols Publishers, 2008): A Presentation by the Editors (Dr Alexander FIDORA, Barcelona, and Dr Josep Enric RUBIO, València) and the Translator (Dr Robert D. HUGHES, Prague).’

He also presented this work and delivered a 40-minute talk followed by discussion, entitled ‘The figure of Ramon Llull (Raimundus Lullus) and the significance of the new Brepols volume treating his life, works and thought’, at the Department of the History of Older European and Czech Philosophy, in the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (ASCR), Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic, June 12th 2009.

He has recently been appointed to:
the Editorial Board of the bi-annual online journal AITHER (devoted to the study of Greek and Latin philosophical traditions)

To the Editorial Board of their Bibliotheca Philosophorum Medii Aevi Cataloniae series by Obrador Edèndum.

He is currently preparing a paper for the ‘Jornades lul·lianes en homenatge a Jocelyn Hillgarth i Anthony Bonner’ to be held in Palma de Mallorca, 25th-26th February 2010, entitled ‘The “Unionist” thesis reconsidered: Do recent datings of the Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem cycle allow us to infer that the concepts of deification and hominification used by Ramon Llull were devised for a largely “schismatic” audience?’

Congratulations!!!!

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Rebecca Winer announces that her article "Conscripting the Breast: Lactation, Slavery and Salvation in the Realms of Aragon and Kingdom of Majorca, c. 1250-1300." Journal of Medieval History 34 (2008): 164-184 was named article of the month for Feminae: Medieval Women and Gender Index in October of 2008.
Congratulations!!!!

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Miriam Shadis announces the publication of her book:

**Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) and Political Women in the High Middle Ages (Palgrave Macmillian, 2009) ISBN: 0-312-23473-2**

Daughter, wife, and mother of kings, Berenguela of Castile (1180-1246) was a key figure in the formation of medieval Castile-León. Queen of León from 1197-1204, regent for Enrique I of Castile briefly in 1214, and then Queen of Castile in her own right after 1217, she secured the thrones of Castile and León for her son Fernando III and enabled his crusades in al-Andalus. This study examines Berenguela’s use of authority and power, her legitimacy as a female ruler, and her motherhood and patronage in her efforts to maintain the thrones of Castile and León for her family.


Congratulations!!!

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Mark D. Johnston announces the publication of:


Congratulations!!!

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Francis Tobienne Jr. has the following announcements:

• Francis Tobienne, Jr. became research fellow at The Dali Museum in St. Petersburg, FL; research will go toward his new book project, tentatively: *Dali’s Medievalism: La Brujeria de Las Mujeres.*

• Francis Tobienne, Jr. received Honorable Mention distinction for the Ford Diversity Fellowship by The National Academies, 2009.

• Francis Tobienne, Jr. received 1st place in Purdue University’s 78th Literary Awards in the category of Foreign Languages and Literature for his essay: "In Praise of the Quixotic, or the Valuation of Cervantine Criticism(s)" 2009.

• Francis Tobienne, Jr. published his poem: "A CRUZAN MEDIEVALIST SIGNIF(R)ES" for *Afroeuropa: Journal of Afro-European Studies*, 2009.

• Francis Tobienne, Jr. joined University of South Florida--St. Pete as an Adjunct Fall ’09 and began teaching LIT3451: Literature and the Occult using, among many other texts, his monograph: *The Position of Magic In Selected Medieval Spanish Texts* (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008).

*Congratulations!!!*

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Alberto Ferreiro announces the publication of:


*Congratulations!!!*

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Theresa Earenfight announces the publication of:

**The King’s Other Body: María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon**

240 pages | 6 x 9 | 2 maps
Cloth Nov 2009 | ISBN 978-0-8122-4185-3 | $49.95 | £32.50

Queen María of Castile, wife of Alfonso V, "the Magnanimous," king of the Crown of Aragon, governed Catalunya in the mid-fifteenth century while her husband conquered and governed the kingdom of Naples. For twenty-six years, she maintained a royal court and council separate from and roughly equivalent to those of Alfonso in Naples. Such legitimately sanctioned political authority is remarkable given that she ruled not as queen in her own right but rather as Lieutenant-General of Catalunya with powers equivalent to the king’s. María does not fit conventional images of a queen as wife and mother; indeed, she had no children and so never
served as queen-regent for any royal heirs in their minorities or exercised a queen-mother’s privilege to act as diplomat when arranging the marriages of her children and grandchildren. But she was clearly more than just a wife offering advice: she embodied the king’s personal authority and was second only to the king himself. She was his alter ego, the other royal body fully empowered to govern. For a medieval queen, this official form of corulership, combining exalted royal status with official political appointment, was rare and striking.

The King’s Other Body is both a biography of María and an analysis of her political partnership with Alfonso. María’s long, busy tenure as lieutenant prompts a reconsideration of long-held notions of power, statecraft, personalities, and institutions. It is also a study of the institution of monarchy and a theoretical reconsideration of the operations of gender within it. If the practice of monarchy is conventionally understood as strictly a man's job, María’s reign presents a compelling argument for a more complex model, one attentive to the dynamic relationship of queenship and kingship and the circumstances and theories that shaped the institution she inhabited.

http://www.upenn.edu/pennpress/book/14660.html

Congratulations!!!

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Daniel Gullo announces the completion of his dissertation: "Eremitic Reform at Fifteenth-Century Montserrat, 1472-1497." Daniel also has a new tenure-track position at Columbus State University.

Congratulations!!!

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Brian A. Catlos is Visiting Associate Professor of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of California Boulder for this academic year. He is now co-Director of the new UCSC Center for Mediterranean Studies, and will co-direct his second NEH Summer Institute in Barcelona in July 2010. Beginning in 2010 he is PI of a UC Multi-Campus Research Project on Mediterranean Studies. (For each of these, see www.mediterraneanseminar.org.) Worlds of Economics and History, a collection he edited in honor of his dissertation supervisor, Andrew M. Watson (Economics, Toronto), has been published by the University of Valencia Press, and he has begun as Book Review Editor (Late Medieval) for Speculum. Articles/chapters published this year include: “Privilegio y poder en el Aragón mudéjar: el auge y declive del çualalaquem Çalema” in Ana Echevarría, ed., Biografías mudéjares (Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus) (Madrid: CSIC), pp. 133–82; “Dos musulmanas pleitean contra un oficial de su aljama, en un

Congratulations!!!

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Andrew Arbury announces a publication of a revised edition of ABOUT ART, an art appreciation text book (Kendall/Hunt, 2009, ISBN: 978-0-7575-6595-3). This fully illustrated art appreciation text book is succinct and more manageable for a one-semester course for non-art majors.

Congratulations!!!

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Dana Wessell Lightfoot announces two publications:


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Please email address corrections to Dana Lightfoot, newsletter editor at: djlightfoot@utep.edu

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