About AARHMS

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, University of Northern British Columbia

Welcome to the Fall 2011 Edition of the AARHMS newsletter! We hope you enjoy the book reviews, conference announcements and members’ news that we have this edition. 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 lightfoot@unbc.ca.

Please note the addition of a new section in the AARHMS Newsletter: Conference Reports. If you are attending a conference in the future and would like to submit a report for it, please email me. We’re also looking for contributors for another forthcoming section on Iberian archives.

Thank you to all those who have contributed to the Fall 2011 Newsletter!

**From the President:**
Adam J. Kosto, Columbia University

Dear AARHMS Colleagues,

I’d like to begin my first newsletter message to you by acknowledging the extraordinary work over the past three years of my presidential predecessor, Brian Catlos. By redirecting just some of his endless supply of organizational energy toward our learned society, he managed to drag us—without too much kicking and screaming—into the twenty-first century. I'm sure you all join me in thanking him. As for those of us carrying on the work here at the AARHMS virtual offices, we have been busy over the past several months with unexciting but essential infrastructure upgrades: bylaws, membership and e-mail lists, online dues payment applications, relations with other societies, and the like. The improvements should become apparent in the year to come. But as you will see in this newsletter, ably edited in the late autumnal darkness of our most northern outpost (55 N latitude!) by Dana Wessell Lightfoot, we are continuing with the scholarly work that is at the heart of AARHMS. Simon Doubleday has curated an impressive collection of book reviews, but remains hungry for more work: he asks that those of you with contacts at academic presses (particularly in Iberia) encourage them to send us their latest offerings. Jim Todesca has organized an exciting session at Kalamazoo. And our members continue to publish and present their research on medieval Spain on both sides of the Atlantic. If you have any ideas for future AARHMS initiatives, or if you would like to get involved in the work of the society, please do not hesitate to let me know. Best wishes for an easy end-of-semester.

ajk
Conference Report:

International Medieval Meeting Lleida
28 June – 1 July 2011, Universitat de Lleida, Catalonia, Spain.

The first International Medieval Meeting Lleida took place at the Universitat de Lleida (Catalonia, Spain) between 28 June and 1 July 2011. Over three hundred delegates from some thirty countries gathered in the medieval city of Lleida this summer to take part in this conference, which was organised by Professor Flocel Sabaté and the consolidated Medieval Research Group ‘Space, Power and Culture’ of Lleida University.

The aim of this conference was to provide a Mediterranean platform, similar to the great annual medieval encounters at Kalamazoo and Leeds, for the exchange of the most current research on all things medieval. The Meeting sought to bring together scholars at different stages of their careers – from postgraduate students to more established academics – and from all over the world, to present their research and partake in debates and discussions on medieval topics on the one hand, and, on the other, on issues relating to the promotion and dissemination of medieval studies, a topic of particular relevance, especially in the light of the current financial crisis and its increasing repercussions for scholarship.

The IMM combined six separate conferences, which were incorporated as six thematic strands, with individual sessions, business meetings, a poster session, as well as a range of activities which involved Lleida’s medieval heritage.

The following six thematic strands, which consisted of papers presented by invited scholars, formed the core of the Meeting: Memory and Middles Ages, The Medieval City and Archaeology, Late Gothic Painting in the Crown of Aragon and the Hispanic Kingdoms, Crises in the Middle Ages: War and Famine, Cartography of the Soul: Identity, Memory and Writing, and Sacred Voices in Jews’ Texts. To these were added free sessions on topics such as archaeology, art and music history, the church, daily life, institutions and government, science and medicine, social and economic history, women and gender studies, borders, wars and crusades, palaeography and documentation, philosophy, theology, medieval thought and medievalism, and Islam.

The Meeting opened with an impressive inaugural lecture delivered by William Jordan (Princeton) entitled ‘A Winter’s Tale: a feature of medieval peasant life’. Following Professor Jordan’s characteristically lucid and inspiring presentation, and for the duration of the conference, papers were normally given in four or five parallel sessions at any one time, which made for a full and lively programme. Among the many highlights were papers by Rosamund McKitterick, who spoke about ‘The uses of memory in the early Middle Ages’, Antonio Malpica’s paper on ‘Ciudad y territorio en Al-Andalus. Madinat Ilbira y Madina Garnata’, and Ariel Guance on ‘Reliquias, identidad comunitaria y pasado glorioso: La memoria de los santos en las ‘Tanslationes’ hispanas de los siglos XI y XII’. Delegates also had the option of presenting their
research in poster format. The poster session included presentations on topics as varied as ‘The art of dress at the court of Castile in the mid-fifteenth century’ and ‘La moneda pugesa de Lleida’.

Conference papers and discussions aside, one particularly popular aspect of the conference were the business meetings, presentations of research groups and projects, websites, books and journals (e.g. Speculum, Imago Temporis Medium Aevum, The Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies), and round tables on a wide range of topics, including a discussion on how to obtain resources for research projects in medieval history. Furthermore, associations such as the Medieval Academy of America, the Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales or the Co-operative for the Advancement of Research through a Medieval European Network (CARMEN) held informative introductory meetings.

The convenience of having the entire conference contained within one building made it possible for delegates to move from one session to another with ease.

The diversity of nationalities which had made their way to Lleida for the IMM was reflected in the linguistic diversity at the conference: papers were presented in a range of languages, most prominently in English, Spanish and Catalan, but also in French and Italian, while many more languages could be heard in the discussions and at coffee and dinner times.

In addition to the academic part of the conference, the Meeting also included a range of cultural activities in and around the medieval city of Lleida, notably two visits to the imposing twelfth-century former cathedral, known as the Seu Vella, which towers over the city. The first visit combined a guided nocturnal visit to the cathedral with an open-air reception and tasting of local wines, while the second offered a concert of traditional music in the nave of the church.

On account of its success, the IMMLleida will be repeated in the future, with the next conference scheduled for 26 - 29 June 2012. Professor Franco Cardini (Florence) will present the inaugural lecture, entitled ‘Europa y la Edad Media: identidades, raíces, confluencias y distinciones’. He will be joined at the Meeting by several hundred scholars, among them Paul Freedman (Yale), André Vauchez (Paris) and Michel Zimmermann (Versailles). The different thematic strands (in 2012 these will be: Ideology and Society in the Middle Ages; The Birth of Medieval Linguistic Consciousness; Constructing Imagined Identities: Medieval Literature and Ideology; Catalonia and Portugal: the Iberian Peninsula from the Periphery; Sacred Spaces in the Middle Ages: an Archaeological Perspective; The Medieval Cathedral: Liturgical Space, Art, Ceremony and Music) each boast impressive programmes that can already be consulted on the website (www.immlleida.udl.cat). There will again be a range of activities in addition to the academic programme of papers, debates, round-table discussions, poster and business sessions, among them a visit to Lleida’s medieval Templar castle. As with the previous Meeting, both individual papers, or full 3- or 4-paper sessions on one of the above themes will be welcome. The call for papers, sessions, posters and business meetings for IMMLleida 2012 is
currently still open. See [www.immlleida.udl.cat](http://www.immlleida.udl.cat) for information about proposals and registration.

Karen Stober, Grupo de Recerca consolidate en Estudis Medievals ‘Espai, Poder I Cultura’, Universitat de Lleida

**Conference Announcements, Calls for Papers and Upcoming Seminars**

**SNAP: The Spain-North Africa Project**

The Spain-North Africa Project (SNAP): SNAP is a new academic organization that brings together scholars and scholarship that envision Iberia and North Africa as an interconnected region. Our members study interactions between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the western Mediterranean, using Latin, Romance, Arabic, Hebrew, visual, and material sources. We work in anthropology, art history, history, literature, musicology, philosophy, political science, and religious studies. Our mission is to bridge linguistic, national, academic, and disciplinary divides and promote collaborative projects. For more information on our mission, activities, news, membership, and contact information, visit: [www.aucegypt.edu/huss/snap/](http://www.aucegypt.edu/huss/snap/)

**SNAP Symposium (November 30, 2011)**

The Spain-North Africa Project announces a symposium on "Spanning the Straits: Unity/Disunity in the Western Mediterranean" to take place at Catholic University of America on November 30, 2011. For a program and preregistration, please visit [www.aucegypt.edu/huss/snap/](http://www.aucegypt.edu/huss/snap/)


As part of its ongoing interest in relations across the straits of Gibraltar, the Spain-North Africa Project (SNAP) announces a call for article abstracts for a special issue of the *Journal of North African Studies* (JNAS) with the theme of Facets of Exchange between North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula. The issue will be guest-edited by Miriam Ali de Unzaga and Adam Gaiser.

Authors are encouraged to explore innovative and multidisciplinary approaches to the study of exchanges between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa. By ‘exchange’ the editors envision a broad discussion that may contain interactions and movements of people, ideas, and objects, including circulation between allies or among rivals. Hence, topics of interest may include:
• economic and technological interactions (goods and commodities, modalities and mechanisms of exchange, trade networks and outposts, new technologies),
• political exchanges (gifts, ambassadors, soldiers, refugees, spies),
• artistic and aesthetic circulation (sites, pieces, artists and artisans, patrons, fashions, motifs, materials, techniques),
• socio-cultural exchange (family ties, institutions),
• religious and intellectual movements (scholars, traditions, beliefs, practices, concepts, words, texts and translations),
• other instances of appropriation, adaption or simulation

The editors especially encourage papers:

• exploring and illustrating the mechanics, processes and results of exchange in specific and detailed case studies;
• providing theoretical frameworks;
• examining clichés and assumptions;
• presenting critical reviews of previous scholarship;
• addressing the reasons for the paucity of studies on exchange between North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula and/or producing a historiographical contextualization.

The SNAP-JNAS issue will focus on medieval and early modern exchanges, but explorations of earlier or later periods will also be considered. Similarly, papers investigating the significance of exchange between North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula and its impact on other geographical areas will also be considered.

Abstracts should be 300 words in length (including provisional title, name and institutional affiliation), and should relate to original, unpublished work. Please submit your abstracts to Adam Gaiser (agaiser@fsu.edu) and Miriam Ali de Unzaga (miriam.alideunzaga@sant.oxon.org) by Dec. 31, 2011. Once selected, drafts of the articles should be no longer than 10000 words, and are expected by June 15, 2012. The Journal of North African Studies is a peer-reviewed journal and articles considered for publication are read by specialist readers, as well as by the guest editors.

Members are invited to circulate the call for abstracts and for papers to non-members, though it is expected that authors who are selected to contribute to the special issue would become members of SNAP. For further information, please visit the sites:

http://www.aucegypt.edu/huss/snap/

http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=1362-9387&linktype=1
Calls for Papers, *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*

The *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, published by Taylor and Francis, offers a forum for innovative scholarship on the Christian, Jewish, and Islamic cultures of the Iberian Peninsula from the fifth to the sixteenth centuries. JMIS encompasses archaeology, art and architecture, music, philosophy and religious studies, as well as history, codicology, manuscript studies and the multiple Arabic, Latin, Romance, and Hebrew linguistic and literary traditions of Iberia. Submissions for consideration must be prepared in Chicago ‘humanities’ style, and should not ordinarily exceed 10,000 words; shorter pieces, and non-traditional submissions, are also welcomed. Please send submissions and inquiries to Simon Doubleday (simon.doubleday@hofstra.edu), Julio Escalona (julio.escalona@cchs.csic.es) or Jesús Rodríguez Velasco (jvelasco@columbia.edu).

Generous individual subscription rates of $25 per annum remain, introduced when the journal first appeared in 2009, remain available to AARHMS members, along with back copies of prior issues. Please encourage your university library to subscribe!

Workshop, “Current State of the Art and New Directions in Research on Urban Revolts in Medieval Atlantic Europe”, University of Cantabria (December 2-3, 2011)

Friday December 2nd:
9:30 h. Introduction: Jesús Solórzano, Christian Liddy and Jelle Haemers
10:00 h. Samuel Cohn (University of Glasgow)
  *Popular Revolts in Towns, England and the Continent: What is to be done?*
10:30 h. Christian Liddy (University of Durham)
  *The Risings of the Commons in English Towns (13th-16th Centuries)*
11:00 h. Vincent Challet (University of Montpellier III)
  *Montpellier 1379: an urban community seen towards its revolt*
  Pausa-Café / Coffee break
12:00 h. Christian Kuhn (University of Bamberg)
  *Political Change in Renaissance German Towns. Historiographical Superimpositions from the 16th to 19th century*
  Debate / Roundtable discussion
1:15 h. Pausa-comida / Lunch break
15:30 h. Jelle Haemers (University of Leuven)
  *‘A moody community’ or ‘a community with authority’? An overview of the Research on urban revolts in the southern Low Countries*
16:00 h. Justine Smithuis (Universidad of Leiden)
  *Guilds in the middle: urban revolts and factionalism in Utrecht (Northern Netherlands, 14th-15th centuries)*
  Pausa-café / Coffee break
17:00 h. Jesús Solórzano Telechea (University of Cantabria)
  *Urban protests and political achievements of the Commons in Atlantic Spain in...*
the Later Middle Ages

17:30 Isabel del Val Valdivieso (University of Valladolid)
The Commons and the urban protests along the Course of The Duero River in the 15th century

18:00 h. Debate / Roundtable discussion
18:45 h. Conclusions: Christian Liddy, Jelle Haemers and Jesús Solórzano

Saturday December 3rd
10:00 h. Visita de estudios guiada / Guided tour: Revueltas urbanas medievales en Cantabria / Medieval Urban Revolts in Cantabria (Santillana and San Vicente de la Barquera)

Contact: solorzaja@unican.es

The workshop is organized as an element of the research project:
“Ciudades y villas portuarias en la articulación del litoral atlántico en la Edad Media” (HAR2009-08474)

Call for Papers: International Medieval Meeting Lleida, June 26-29, 2012

The Consolidated Medieval Research Group “Space, Power and Culture” of Lleida University is currently organizing the second International Medieval Meeting Lleida, which will be held at Lleida’s Facultat de Lletres on 26, 27, 28 and 29 June, 2012.
Like the last IMMLleida, this event will feature six different conferences, each of them focusing on a different aspect of medieval studies (i.e. history, art history, archaeology, philology and literature); over a hundred scholars from across the world will participate in the different thematic strands of the conference. The interdisciplinarity and internationality of this event is reflected in the range of its presentations, papers, meetings, sessions and poster presentations. Furthermore, there will be sessions about research management, as well as sessions introducing the activities of research institutions, presentations by companies dedicated to the management and promotion of heritage, and other activities related to the Middle Ages.
Anyone interested in any aspect of Medieval History is welcome to participate in the IMMLleida! We would like to encourage you to present a paper or organize a session or, if applicable, introduce your research group, your publications, or simply come along to enjoy the conference and take part in the excursions and the free cultural events we have organized for those summer nights.

To enroll, simply fill in the relevant form on our website:
www.internationalmedievalmeetinglleida.udl.cat

If you have any queries at all, please contact us at immlleida@historia.udl.cat
AARHMS Sponsored Session:
The Age of Las Navas: Iberia at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century

Damian J. Smith, Saint Louis University
The Significance of Las Navas de Tolosa

Miguel Gomez, University of Tennessee
Las Navas de Tolosa and the Institutional Crusade

James Todesca, Armstrong Atlantic State University
"Victory, Honor and Much Booty:" Alfonso VIII’s Motives for the Las Navas Campaign

AARHMS is also co-sponsoring a session with TEMA and will host a business meeting/reception. Details to come.

Book and Film Reviews:
Editor: Simon Doubleday, Hofstra University


For almost four decades, Anthony Bonner has produced a stream of translations and scholarship devoted to the life and work of Ramon Llull (1232-1316), the Majorcan-born lay theologian and philosopher who made some of the most unusual interventions in the religious and intellectual debates of his era. Bonner’s latest contribution to our knowledge of Llull is a bilingual edition (Latin and English) of the so-called *Vita coetanea*, a text that remains by far the single most important source of information about Llull’s career. That entire decades in Llull’s long life remain nearly undocumented is perhaps one of the best reasons for republishing the *Vita coetanea*: it is the evidence that all scholars must evaluate in any discussion of any moment from Llull’s career. For this reason, many editions of this Latin text, as well translations into other modern languages, have appeared in the past century. While Bonner’s new edition offers a convenient combination of the Latin text and its translation for English-speaking readers, most subscribers to this newsletter will probably find it of limited utility for their purposes.

*Ramon Llull: A Contemporary Life* consists of four sections. First is an “Introduction” that summarizes the major moments in Llull’s long life (8-11) and the origins of the *Vita* (7-8, 11-14). This very selective and quasi-hagiographical account of Llull’s career, apparently based on his
own recollections, was evidently redacted in 1311 by the Carthusian monks of Vauvert (Paris), with whom Llull enjoyed warm relations. The Vita survives only in the Electorium, an anthology of Llull’s writings prepared after his death by his Parisian disciple Thomas Le Myésier; an unknown Aragonese devotee also prepared a Catalan adaptation of the Vita in the late fourteenth century. All modern scholars assume that Llull wanted to use the Vita as his “passport” to participation in the upcoming Council of Vienne, where he hoped to present his proposals for training more Christian missionaries. Thus, Bonner speculates that Llull asked one of the monks at Vauvert to compose the Vita in order to avoid shameless self-promotion and to ensure a literary style more attractive to learned clerics than Llull’s simple Latin. Bonner notes that “The reliability of a ‘life’ constructed for such clearly justificatory and propagandist purposes may be doubted,” but argues for its veracity, concluding that “present day scholarship, rather than finding anything which discredits the account, has found only evidence for its reliability” (13). The reader must accept Bonner’s word for all of this: his “Introduction” features only two explanatory footnotes and mentions several works of scholarship and editions of the Vita, but otherwise offers no scholarly documentation.

Thomas Le Myésier also used the Vita as the storyline for a lavishly illustrated “cartoon” version of Llull’s life in another anthology known as the Breviculum. Full color reproductions of these famous miniatures constitute the second section of Bonner’s edition (15-28). Despite the intricate detail and lengthy dialogue balloons in each miniature, these twelve illustrations bear no explanatory captions or commentary, simply Roman numerals that correspond roughly to the eleven chapters in the Vita.

These chapters are the third section of this edition, which offers the Latin and English texts on facing pages (29-85). The Latin version reprints the now definitive edition established by Hermogenes Harada in Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina 8, published as Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 34 (Turnhout, 1980). The English version reprints the translation previously published by Bonner in his two anthologies of Llull’s writings: the Selected Works of Ramon Llull (Princeton, 1985) and Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader (1993). Nine-five footnotes accompany the text, explaining references to historical personages, noting relevant contemporary events, and elucidating uncertain toponyms, as well as adding information about Llull’s activities, available from other sources, that complements the details mentioned in the Vita. These notes condense the biographical information offered as a running commentary on the Vita in Bonner’s Selected Works and Doctor Illuminatus, but unlike those works include only a handful of scholarly citations regarding the sources or interpretation of this information.

Finally, this edition concludes with a “Bibliography” (87-88) of the seventeen scholarly works or editions that are mentioned in the “Introduction” and the notes to the Vita.

Nicely produced, like all volumes in this series published as a joint venture by Barcino and Tamesis, Ramon Llull: A Contemporary Life is a very attractive paperback, carefully edited and printed on paper of high quality with a full color cover (as well as the luscious reproductions from the Breviculum). At its retail price of $29.95, this edition could be attractive for use as a textbook in university courses, but only for the instructor who can supplement its meager
bibliography and non-existent scholarly apparatus: this edition cannot function as a “stand alone” introduction to Llull’s career or to the *Vita*. This limitation will matter little to specialists who already know to cite Harada’s Latin edition or to non-specialists who have already purchased the inexpensive paperback editions of *Selected Works* and *Doctor Illuminatus*. The imagined readership for this new edition must therefore evidently be some general audience that values a facing-page presentation of the original Latin text, but has no interest in the scholarship or criticism that Bonner distils in his translation and accompanying notes.

*Reviewed by Mark D. Johnston, De Paul University*

**Anthropomie et migrations dans la chrétienté médiévale. Études reunies par Monique Bourin et Pascual Martínez Sopena. Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 2010.**

434 pp. ISBN: 9788496820333

The modern study of medieval names, anthroponomy, began in the 1960s with German scholars at Freiburg and Münster. Another group of historians, mainly French, led by Monique Bourin and Pascal Chareille launched its own project, known as the Medieval Origins of Modern Naming (La genèse médiévale de l’anthroponymie moderne) in the 1980s and 90s. The present volume, edited by Bourin and Pascual Martinez Sopena, brings together fifteen essays focused on the importance of personal name studies for the understanding of migrations and population movements during the medieval period. It was the growing interest of medieval historians in the past decade in the nature, extent, and frequency of movements of population which brought these specialists to the subject.

There can be many different kinds of population movements, from migrations – massive displacements of population over considerable distances such as the Anglo-Saxon invasions and permanent settlement in Britain in the early Middle Ages, to those with fewer long range consequences – the crusader settlement in the Holy Land – and there were also much smaller groups of people changing location, sometimes only on an interregional basis, in ways that did not attract the attention of historians at the time, hence leaving few traces in the historical record.

Several different questions were central to the authors of these articles when investigating population movements from the perspective of personal names. To what degree can personal names be used as gauges of population movement? Does the appearance of a new, strange, or unusual name in a community mean that the person bearing it was an outsider, perhaps a foreigner, who had moved in? Answering that question, of course, requires knowing just what was the basic name stock of that community. What was the local reaction to that (those) newly imported name(s)? Acceptance or rejection? And did the identity and social status of the newcomer – conqueror, immigrant, etc. – influence the acceptability of his name? The increasing use of second, or surnames, some of them patronymics, some toponymics, after the eleventh century helps to answer some of these questions.
The scope of these articles is wide ranging, both chronologically and geographically. Six of them deal with topics from the ninth and tenth centuries, five fall into the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, and four into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Specific regions in Spain (six articles) and France (five) attract the most attention with single papers given over to topics in English, Portuguese, Hungarian, and Holy Land history.

This collection opens with a preface by Francois Jacquesson, “Ce que dit le nom propre” (xi-xxvi), addressing attitudes toward personal names in medieval literary texts. There follows an introduction to the papers themselves by Monique Bourin and Pascual Martinez Sopena (1-7). The first two articles proper are based on the well-known polyptych of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (823-29), an exceptional document for the time in providing the names of thousands of peasant land holders of that abbey. In his study “Des migrations bien encadrées dans les seigneuries rurales carolingiennes. L’exemple de l’abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés” (15-39), Jean-Pierre Devroey analyzes the polyptych to trace the movements of peasants within the monastic seigneurie, a task facilitated by the distinction made by the compiler between people who fell under the lordship of the abbey and those who were “new arrivals”. For the most part the polyptych tells of movements within the seigneurie. In the second article, “Anthroponymie et migrations: quelques outils d’analyse et leur application à l’étude des déplacements dans les domaines de Saint-Germain-des-Près au IXe siècle” (41-73), Pascal Chareille and Pierre Darlu take a quantitative approach to the study of large bodies of personal names such as in the Saint-Germain polyptych, using two different techniques. The first of these techniques, the approche statique, looks for and interprets rare and common names in given regions at a given time. The second, the approche dynamique, follows groups of names over successive periods of time. The authors are more concerned to demonstrate the possibilities and advantages of these quantitative approaches and are modestly cautious in proposing findings such as that the mobility of women differed from that of men within the Saint-Germain domains. Walter Kettemann’s article, “Migrations et retours. Quelques exemples du milieu monastique autour de l’an 800” (75-87) stands in sharp contrast to these studies. The Life of Benedict of Aniane, written c. 823 by a monk, Ardon, enables Kettemann to plot the movements of Benedict, along with a number of his monks, from Aniane in the Languedoc to Alsace and then back.

The first of the articles addressing Spanish territories is Carlos Reglero de la Fuente’s “Onomástica arabizante y migraciones en el reino de León (siglos IX-X) (89-104), which seeks to explain the appearance of Arabic names in the kingdom of León in the ninth and tenth centuries, and concludes that it was mainly migration of Mozarabs (Christians living under Muslim rule), fleeing Arabic advances from the south, which accounts for this development. The importation of Arabic slaves from al-Andalus also contributed, to a lesser extent, to this development. David Peterson’s article, “Antroponimica vasca en la Castilla condal (siglo X) (105-22) poses similar questions with regard to possible Basque migrations into Castile during that period but comes to negative conclusions: there was no significantly new Basque presence there in the tenth century. Its exceptionally rich documentary archives for the tenth century made possible a study of naming practices and population movements during that period in the various counties of Catalonia by Lluis To Figueras, Monique Bourin, and Pascal Chareille: “De la montagne à la mer: Anthroponymie et migrations dans les comtés Catalans aux 9e et 10e
siècles” (123-65). They wish to assess the importance of an analysis of personal names in casting light on a subject much studied by historians in recent years, migrations from the northern counties to regions south of the Pyrenees. One of their most striking conclusions is that the study of names alone cannot prove a population movement from one region to another since cultural exchanges could have brought this about.

The second section of the book is comprised of articles presenting research on topics from the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Following an introductory essay on the general theme, “Lecture anthroponymique des contacts interculturels aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles” (169-75), Pascual Martinez Sopena—in “Los francos en la España de los siglos XII y XIII. El testimonio de las listas de vecinos” (177-94)—uses the evidence of personal names to measure the importance of the French in northern Spain from Aragon to Galicia, especially in regions of the pilgrimage route to Santiago during the twelfth and and thirteenth centuries. In contrast to their pronounced presence in the former century they are decidedly less evident in the thirteenth. Enric Guinot Rodriguez’s study “La antroponimia como indicador de la repoblación en el sur de la Corona de Aragón (siglo XIII) (195-211) examines resettlement of the southern part of the kingdom of Aragon in the thirteenth century. Judging from the use of toponymic surnames, the great majority of settlers came from Catalonia, rather from southern Aragon nor from Valencia from the south.

Katharine S. B. Keats-Rohan looks into “The Impact of the Norman Conquest on Naming in England” (213-28), drawing from her database on the “Continental Origins of English Landholders, 1066-1166”, itself based on the rich body of information furnished by the Domesday Book: over 29,000 names, and 12,000 different people. Among her findings are that Norman personal names (forenames) almost completely replaced native English names, but that surnames taken from English place names increased steadily after the Conquest. Iris Shagrir’s “Bynames in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem” (229-45), for its part, addresses naming customs of the people, many of them French crusaders, who settled in the Latin Kingdom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with a focus on non-hereditary bynames. Her work indicates an increasing use of toponymic bynames of European origin, thus emphasizing that the bearer was an outsider not an indigenous inhabitant. In "Noms et origines des immigrants nobles en Hongrie (XIIIe siècle): la liste des ‘advenae’ entre mythe et réalités" (247-64), Nora Berend examines naming customs among nineteen noble families of European origin—from France, Italy, Bohemia, Moravia, and the Iberian peninsula but mainly from Germany—after they had immigrated into Hungary between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries. It is noteworthy that with the passage of time these families did not preserve names indicating their ethnic origins.

The final part of the collection contains four articles dealing with the geographical incidence of personal names—i.e. concentration, rarity, and absence according to region—in France and Spain in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Patrice Beck and Pascal Chareille write the introduction to this section, “Lecture spatiale des corpus anthroponymiques aux XIV, XVe siècles” (267-74). Denise Angers and Pascal Chareille, contribute an article, “Patronymes et migrations en Normandie de la fin du 14e à la fin du XVe siècle” (275-316) analyzing the
frequency of patronyms in all five viscounties of the Duchy, drawing on *roles de monnèage* which provide an exceptionally large body of names for the period from the end of the fourteenth through the fifteenth centuries. This shows wide variations in the use of patronyms by region: two out of three were found only in a single parish, only one of three throughout the duchy. Moreover, continuous changes took place over just a century with the introduction of many new names, and the disappearance of many others. While recognizing that these statistics favor the possibility of internal migrations within the region the authors could not be certain about the dimensions of such movements, nor on the places favored by them. In “Les *roles de taille* comme révélateurs de la mobilité. Cadets et immigrés en Sévérargus du 15e siècle” (317-35), Juliette Dumasy examines succession within rural families from a single barony, Sévérac-le-Château, in the Rouergue from the 1440s to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The author finds that after families died out, successors were in some cases immigrants who had moved in from elsewhere and others were younger sons who had earlier been excluded from the family inheritance.

Turning again to Iberia, Carlos Laliena Corbera, “Baisse démographique et stabilisation sociale et géographique des populations rurales au sud de l’Aragon (14e-15e siècles)” (337-47) determines on the basis of naming patterns that by 1300, the long-lived migration of French and northern Aragonese into southern Aragon had come to an end, and that during the next two centuries population movements were limited to peoples from two regions within the kingdom, Catalonia and the Ebro valley. Isabel Maria Madureira A. P. Franco, “L’anthroponymie de la ville de Porto au XIVe siècle” (349-68) is a study of naming habits with the city of Porto (Portugal) in the fourteenth century with particular attention to toponymic surnames which could indicate place of origin of individuals, particularly within the city itself.

In a postface (369-74) Patrick Geary makes summary reflections on the papers as a whole. As one might have expected, the nature of these articles varies considerably, some analyzing a relatively limited number of names, but many employing advanced statistical techniques to study groups numbering well into the thousands. They show that the study of medieval names continues to flourish.

*George Beech, Western Michigan University*


*Blood and Faith* is a readable synthesis of existing scholarship on the Morisco Question and its outcome, the expulsions of 1609-1614. Matthew Carr admits at the outset that he does not “break new scholarly ground,” his goal being “to bring the story of the Moriscos to readers who may never have heard of it” (6). For a study of this type, this is an outstanding effort. Carr cites all of the classic sources and most major recent publications on the topic; despite his avowedly humble aims, he made a trip to the Archivo General de Simancas to study letters and reports from the expulsion years. Even those who know the topic well might profitably read *Blood and
Faith as an overview. It covers in English essentially the same ground as Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent’s Spanish-language Historia de los moriscos (1978), though updated with new sources. The Morisco Question is here viewed within the context of Mediterranean geopolitics, European religious wars, and the Counter-Reformation. More daring comparisons are made with twenty-first century Islamophobia.

Carr divides his narrative into three sections. The first runs from the conquest of Granada in 1492 to the prohibition of Islam throughout Spain, begun in 1501 with the Crown of Castile, but not completed for Aragon until 1526. The second section starts during the reign of Charles V and ends with the War of the Alpujarras (1568-71) and its aftermath; the third focuses on the expulsion itself. If this tripartite beginning-middle-end structure seems to build teleology into the very shape of the book, it is nevertheless far from Carr’s intention to argue for the inevitability of the expulsion of the Moriscos. In fact, Blood and Faith is a critique of the Hapsburgs’ Morisco policy, not on moral grounds alone, but also on the grounds that any policy leading to the expulsion of 300,000 productive members of a society must be deemed a failure. For Carr, as for Henry Charles Lea in his landmark 1903 study The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion, it was the Crown that created the issue in the first place, by imposing a “top-down process” of assimilation on the Moriscos and then proceeding to interpret residual cultural and social differences as signs of treasonous disloyalty. The monarchy’s attempts to force the Moriscos to abandon not only their religion but all of their customs, including both spoken and written language, clothing, hygiene (baths), dietary practices, and music, generated resentment in a population initially willing to accept loyalty to the Crown. Under these circumstances, Carr explains, every difference, however slight, is taken as a sign of refusal to assimilate, and ultimately as an indication of allegiance with the enemies of the state, in this case the Ottomans. That the expulsion eventually came to appear as the only “solution” to this “problem” is thereby understood as a consequence of how it was framed from the start at the very highest levels.

In this context, representation becomes the crucial issue: how are the Moriscos perceived and depicted? Blood and Faith lays bare the circular nature of the process whereby singling them out for scrutiny made them appear more suspicious. In one report after another commissioned by the Crown, Carr finds the same alarmist descriptions of the Moriscos as secret Muslims plotting the destruction of Spain. He considers these claims overblown; if they were not questioned it was because they “reinforced an official image of Moriscos that was already taken for granted” (189). “Suspicions were often dependent not so much on what the Moriscos did or did not do, but on the prism of assumptions and prejudices through which Christians viewed them” (207). Carr shares this perspective with José María Perceval, whose Todos son uno: Arquetipos, xenofobia y racismo; la imagen del Morisco en la monarquía española durante los siglos XVI y XVII (1997) ushered in a new era in Morisco studies. Perceval drew on Edward Said’s Orientalism to argue that the Moriscos were a construction of the discourse about them in sixteenth-century Spain. Though Carr never mentions Said, he appears to have absorbed, probably through Perceval, this notion of a self-justifying discourse that projects its object into social space and has no need of external verification.
Carr’s single most important contribution, in my view, is to have drawn attention to the analogies between this dynamics of representation and reactions to Islamic extremism in our own time. In his epilogue he argues that “the construction of the contemporary Muslim enemy often fuses culture, religion, and politics in ways that would not be entirely unfamiliar to a visitor from Hapsburg Spain” (331). Indeed, calls for deportation of Muslim immigrants to prevent the creation of “Eurabia” are part of a “rising tide of anti-Muslim sentiment throughout Europe” (334). “In these circumstances,” cautions Carr, “the defense of tolerance and national identity can easily become a justification for self-righteous intolerance” (337). Arguing persistently against “an increasingly McCarthyite culture that demands that European immigrants prove their ‘moderation’ in order to justify their continued presence” (335), Carr chooses to end his book on a prophetic note: “Four hundred years later, the destruction of the Moriscos is an example of what can happen when a society succumbs to its worst instincts and its worst fears in an attempt to cast out its imaginary devils” (339).

_Blood and Faith_ is a political history of the decisions made by the Hapsburg administration in dealing with the Morisco problem; social, cultural, and religious aspects come into play only as part of the context for understanding those decisions. Most English-language treatments since Lea have tended to focus on culture and religion (here I am thinking mainly of work by Anwar Chejne, L. P. Harvey, and Mary Elizabeth Perry), so this is arguably an appropriate counterbalance. Also, as the epilogue discussed above makes clear, Carr’s emphasis on political decision-making highlights the relevance of the Moriscos’ story for today’s policymakers. Such an approach leads inevitably to important gaps, however. Most significantly, if we cannot trust the official discourse on Moriscos to tell the truth about their social integration, what if anything can we find out from surviving documents? In recent years a new Morisco historiography has emerged, focused primarily on precisely such issues. Its findings help fill in the gaps in Carr’s account, at the same time significantly complicating the story he tells.

For example, two monographs appearing in 2009 deal with Moriscos in Sevilla (Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, _En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios_, Valencia, Biblioteca de Estudios Moriscos) and La Mancha (Francisco J. Moreno Díaz, _Los moriscos de La Mancha_, CSIC). They confirm that local officials kept Moriscos marginalized and impeded their integration through such instruments of repression/representation as lists of Morisco residents and denunciations of minor violations of the strict rules under which they were forced to live. Undeniably, this pattern of harassment and control created in the local populace an attitude of suspicion toward the Moriscos as a group, intensifying awareness of their separateness. This pedagogy of fear indeed resembles the political exploitation of Islamist terrorism today. Both these studies also emphasize, however, the success of some segments of Morisco communities in overcoming these obstacles. This success was achieved, moreover, through strategic manipulation of the very legal structures aimed at keeping them under control, often with the collusion of prominent citizens. My ongoing research into Moriscos claiming the legal status of Old Christians shows that thousands of _granadinos_ successfully shed the label “Morisco” through litigation, thereby disappearing from documentation relating to Moriscos _per se_. Such findings force us to recognize that the process was not as “top-down” as Carr believes when he
denies any “two-way relationship in which the integration of ethnic or racial minorities is negotiated” (109) in the Moriscos’ case.

Admittedly, these studies appeared too late for Carr to have seen them; they represent, however, fruits of an approach that has been gaining ground for over a decade, beginning with Enrique Soria Mesa’s seminal articles on Morisco elites from the 1990s, and continuing through Amalia García Pedraza’s path-breaking 2002 study of Morisco wills in Granada. To this same tendency should be added Trevor Dadson’s 2007 Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos and Manuel Lomas Cortés’ forthcoming detailed study of the expulsions, which focuses more on the exceptions than has been done previously. All of this work, and more that is currently unfolding, provides a nuanced view of the process whereby Moriscos navigated their transition from medieval Iberia to life in the Hapsburg Empire. This struggle, moreover, was not the clandestine one of which we catch occasional glimpses in Inquisitorial proceedings; it was won through alliances with the wealthy, through tenacious litigation, and through sophisticated interventions in the cultural sphere, to which I now turn.

Having uncovered the presence of many assimilated granadinos whose economic activities facilitated their social integration, scholars have begun to take a closer look at the cultural production that accompanied this process. Two phenomena are clearly related to the success of descendants of Muslims seeking to improve their status: the libros plúmbeos hoax and literary Maurophilia, both of which Carr discusses only very briefly.

The libros plúmbeos (“lead books”) were a series of forgeries inscribed on circular lead tablets in a strange, almost indecipherable Arabic, purporting to be the testimony of disciples of Christ who proselytized and were martyred in Andalusia during the first century C.E. Relics of these Arab-speaking Christian saints found hidden with the lead books in a cave near Granada in the 1590s caused a surge of devotion, produced miraculous cures, and gave rise to a pilgrimage site attracting thousands of devotees. Scholars have long been persuaded that among the principle perpetrators of this hoax were two Morisco doctors, Alonso del Castillo and Miguel de Luna. In Un Oriente español (Marcial Pons, 2010), Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez-Mediano elucidate the connections between these men, especially Luna, and members of Granada’s old Christian and Morisco elites. They demonstrate that the lead books were intended to facilitate the incorporation into Spanish society, not so much of the entire minority, but of a select group well-positioned to make the transition from being identified with the converted Muslims to being considered the spiritual heirs of Granada’s pre-Islamic Arabian Christians (“cristianos arábigos”).

At the same time as the lead books were gradually “recovered,” a fad known as “Maurophile literature” reached its height. Carr discusses the most popular and influential of these texts, The Abencerraje, as merely an exception to the prevailing negative climate, commenting that “in the late sixteenth century...sympathetic literary depictions...were rare” (217). In fact, nothing could be farther from the truth. From the 1560s through the 1590s, in prose, verse, and on stage, positive representations of the “romantic Moor” of Granada were ubiquitous, prompting parodies and a polemical backlash. Explaining how Maurophilia could enjoy such widespread
success and the Moriscos be expelled a few years later has been a puzzle for generations of Hispanists. The answer appears to lie in the same elite of *granadinos* who were dissolving into the larger Old Christian population in these years. This positive representation was a counterattack designed to facilitate their entry into Castilian society, a strategic move in the culture wars of the sixteenth-century.

At the beginning of the modern era, amid religious tension leading many in Europe to consider “confessionalization” the only alternative to civic strife, the multicultural richness of medieval Spain was flattened into a one-size-fits-all ultra-Catholic orthodoxy. Carr decries what was lost, and warns us against committing the same mistakes. But he bases his conclusions on a snapshot of the field that has already begun to be superseded. The new Morisco historiography is bringing to light more and more examples of individuals and families that negotiated this transition, remained in Spain, and continued to contribute to Iberian economic and cultural life. When Carr began work on *Blood and Faith*, of all the research I have mentioned, only Soria Mesa’s articles and García Pedraza’s monograph were available. He should not be faulted for being unaware of a trend that had not yet emerged as such. Be that as it may, his picture of the transition from medieval to modern Iberia will need to be revised to take into account the large numbers of Moriscos who assimilated to Spanish society, and whose descendants remain in Spain to this day.

*Reviewed by William Childers, Brooklyn College*


I.B. Tauris has published a handsome new three-volume edition of José Antonio Conde’s study of Islamic Spain, which, at the time of its initial publication in Spanish in 1820-21, was one of the very first histories of its kind. The new edition is a facsimile of the 1854 English edition, translated from the Spanish by Mrs. Jonathan Foster. The only update is Richard Hitchcock’s fourteen-page introduction, which outlines Conde’s life and work and argues that the largely negative treatment he has received from other scholars since his death is unwarranted. Other than this useful introduction, the entire text of the three volumes is freely available online, as it is out of copyright.

A new edition of the three volumes with editing for consistency in the spelling of names and places and the introduction of footnotes and indices would be a monumental task but also an invaluable one. María Jesús Viguera Molins’ exemplary 2004 edition of another nineteenth-century Spanish Orientalist’s work on Islamic Spain, Francisco Codera y Zaidín’s *Decadencia y desaparición de los almorávides en España*, could serve as a model for future work. Her 137-page introduction provides all the background a student or scholar could need, and throughout the text itself, she inserts footnotes referring to Codera’s appendices where appropriate. The
entire book is re-typeset in a clear and modern font, and Codera’s corrigenda are incorporated into the text. Viguera also adds onomastic, toponymic and general indices. The result is a new version of Codera infinitely better suited to use by contemporary scholars of Islamic Spain and of Spanish Orientalism than earlier editions.

Unfortunately, I.B. Tauris’ new edition of Conde does not fall into the same category. With the exception of Hitchcock’s introduction, it simply reproduces the errors and challenging narrative structure of the original English edition. Hitchcock argues convincingly that Conde (1766-1820) should be restored to a place of pride among early Spanish orientalists. While many later scholars of Islamic Spain denigrated Conde’s work, Hitchcock aims to show that none of the later work with which we are now more familiar could have been produced without Conde’s pioneering history. He describes the personal and political challenges Conde, an afrancesado, faced in producing his scholarship, and the considerable efforts he undertook to obtain copies of manuscripts not in his possession. Reinhardt Dozy, the nineteenth century Dutch Orientalist, was the harshest critic of his predecessor Conde, suggesting that Conde had neither the language skills nor the honesty required to assemble a truthful account of the history of Islamic Spain, and imploring his readers to forget all the lies they had learned from Conde’s book. Later scholars, including Évariste Lévi-Provençal, followed Dozy in his dismissive attitude toward Conde, and his vast work has fallen out of vogue. Hitchcock suggests, however, that the works of Dozy and of Lévi-Provençal are patterned on the approaches and sources used by Conde. “Conde paved the way for future historians, who, after Dozy’s slanders, were often scornful yet seldom cognizant of their own debt to the remarkable achievements of their predecessor” (pp. xxviii-xxix). Furthermore, Hitchcock argues, Conde hewed quite closely to the Arabic sources. He compares a series of passages from Conde and Dozy describing the same events and shows that the earlier scholar’s versions were much closer to the original Arabic descriptions than the latter’s. Hitchcock sees Dozy’s criticisms as largely trivial, and suggests they do not take into consideration the difficult circumstances Conde faced toward the end of his life – and yet, because of the criticisms, Conde’s reputation has languished. Hitchcock is not the first to argue for a more prominent place for Conde in the canon of the study of Islamic Spain; early twentieth century French scholar Lucien Barrau-Dihigo and the late Spanish scholar Manuela Manzanares de Cirre both assessed Conde as having been undervalued. But Hitchcock’s introduction is a valuable reminder that Conde is a crucial figure in the historiography of Islamic Spain.

While Conde’s text yields a wealth of information about Islamic Spain, from the time of the rise of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula to the fall of the Nasrid dynasty, reading it presents many of the same frustrations as reading medieval Arabic chronicles. In his preface, Conde promised to repeat the narrative of the Arabs of Spain from the sources he compiled, “in their own words faithfully translated, and no others.” (p. 18) But because he drew on twenty-five odd Arabic manuscripts and did not use a modern scholarly apparatus, the resulting narrative is exceedingly complex and difficult to parse without a very close familiarity with the Arabic sources. With such familiarity, Conde’s comprehensiveness becomes apparent: for example, in his passages on Muhammad ibn Sa’d ibn Mardanish, Conde’s account consists of a greatest-hits reel of the ruler’s treatment in the Arabic sources.
However, the same passages also reveal the inconsistencies of the text and its translation. As Hitchcock points out, the second and third volumes were published posthumously in Spanish and without being edited. In volume II, page 459 (this corresponds to p. 100 of vol. II of the original Spanish volume), Conde called Ibn Hamushk the son-in-law of Ibn Mardanish, while in volume III, page 23 (Span. vol. III, p. 146), he referred to him correctly as the latter’s father-in-law. The problems inherent in the poorly edited text were compounded by its translation by Mrs. Jonathan Foster, who garbled Arabic names and transliterations and sometimes included incorrect dates. Over the course of four pages (Eng. vol. III pp. 22-26), Foster spelled Ibn Mardanish’s name four different ways (this did not occur in the original Spanish edition, see Span. vol. III, pp. 145-149). These errors make it even more unfortunate that the new edition is simply a facsimile. An updated translation or edited version of the Spanish would be an invaluable resource. As it is, the addition of Hitchcock’s engaging introduction scarcely makes this facsimile edition worth the cost for any but institutional buyers.

Abigail Krasner Balbale, Harvard University


This important and much needed book fills a void in the literature of women and the law in medieval Spain. It is, in fact, several books in one. It is first a study of women and law in the Crown of Aragon. A simple survey of the field in English would have made many of us who work on women in the Crown jump for joy. But Kelleher goes further, giving us much more than a very useful overview of the development of *ius commune*, the legal movement that blended Roman law with canon law. This, too, is cause for celebration, but she takes the subject deeper still, studying the lived experience of women. This makes the book more than overview, and more than a handbook of legal practice (which it is, in places). It is extended and ultimately convincing argument about the nature of the relationship between women, gender, and legal culture.

Kelleher starts from the premise that assumptions about women were deeply embedded in both the theory and practice of law, so much so that these assumptions shaped the lawyers’ line of questioning and the portions of the answers that they felt were worth recording. This skewing of the evidence led later scholars to regard women as powerless and subject to the will of the men in their lives. This, in turn, resulted in both faulty interpretations of the law and misperceptions of women’s lives. Kelleher uses prescriptive sources, such as law codes and legal treatises, to sketch out the legal landscape, but the centerpiece of her study is her meticulous use of descriptive sources, the *procesos* of civil and criminal inquests from the Crown of Aragon in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. These are notoriously difficult sources to use. In addition to being biased by the questions asked and the answers
recorded, they pose problems of transcription and translation, and later sources do not always note social standing of the women, family information, and occupation. As is true across medieval Europe, women are almost always seen only in relation to men. Most cases concern property disputes, mostly among women of the middling class, and are concerned mostly with Christian women. In short, the sources are a sort of a legal fiction, an incomplete one, but one that tells a truth. Medieval law is discursive, like gender, it is both fiction and performance, and medieval jurists were enacting an ongoing dialogue about the legal nature of women. Like Natalie Zemon Davis, whose work on women and the law in early modern France laid bare similar fictions, Kelleher examines case studies that focus on legal actions specific to women: dower and dowry, marriage and sexuality, and violence against women, both sexual and non-sexual.

Kelleher focuses on a critical moment in the formation of legal ideas about women when new generations of jurists, trained in the *ius commune*, came to understand that women had legal personalities distinct from those of the men. She is careful to distinguish northern and Mediterranean customary law differences, noting that the north tended to place greater restrictions on women’s legal personhood than did the Roman legal traditions of the south. Throughout the book, Kelleher is attentive to questions of social and economic rank and “relational taxonomy” (relative to men) such as class, marital status, reputation, networks of association, and literacy. She concludes that in this milieu, women took advantage of the changes in legal practice and actively participated in the formation of the legal culture that sketched out the boundaries of their lives. She vividly tells of the complex and contradictory expectations of women who were dismissed as vulnerable and legally incapable, yet who, in reality, as wives and widows, acted on their own and on their families’ behalf in court. This tension between the “poor miserable” versus “active litigious” women is the dynamic thread that runs through the book.

Chapter one sets the context for women and law during the reign of Jaume II (ruled 1291–1327). The institutional sweep of the Crown of Aragon – its federative nature, with multiple and often overlapping jurisdictions and legal systems -- allows Kelleher to make generalized statements about women’s legal identity across space. At the intersection of the Midi, Castile, and the Mediterranean, the Crown of Aragon was at the center of legal ferment in southern Europe. The law school at Montpellier was the point of contact between law students and scholars from across the region and Europe as a whole, with Bologna the other node of importance, and this resulted in a distinct legal culture, open to innovation. As the *ius commune* took shape, it provided a conceptual vision of “woman” as a broad legal category. True, women were considered weak, vulnerable, modest, and in need of protection, but the *ius commune* was flexible, also taking into consideration a woman’s life stage, marital status, reputation, and social standing. The resultant legal institutions relied heavily on a woman’s reputation, or *fama*, the common knowledge or rumor. This collective memory of a community is highly gendered because of its association with reputation, which was part and parcel of sexuality (impotence, adultery, and virginity). Presumptions embedded in *fama* as evidence colored all aspects of a legal proceeding, from the complaint (*libellus*) through the formal response, trial, witnesses, documentary evidence, oral arguments, deliberations, and verdict. It formed the basis for
proceedings known as the *inquisitio famae* that relied on denunciation, persistent rumor and open scandal, interview of witnesses, interrogation of the defendant, and *purgatio*. This was not commonly used but it was ideal for prosecuting rape and adultery where documentary and physical evidence are hard to come by. Judges were required to find two upstanding community members to testify when a woman was involved (*inquisitio veritatis*). This legal movement both undermined customary law and tended to support centralized legal authority while it brought with it a set of gender ideas that would have serious implications, some positive and some negative, for women in the Crown of Aragon.

Kelleher then proceeds to questions of women and property. Women in the Crown of Aragon maintained legal personalities distinct from men, but were not equal to them, and laws tried to balance protection and dependence, sharing property and responsibilities with male head of household’s autonomy. This internal contradiction in law between men and women prompted lawyers to protect women’s rights and enforce a patriarchal household structure that gave the male head of household full administrative rights over and responsibilities for the family economy. Case law tended to favor an interpretation that emphasized a woman’s right to financial security for herself and her family, resulting in rulings that seem contradictory but in fact are nuanced judgments that protect the family. Widows legally removed themselves from the protected legal category of “woman” and thus had a legal category that enabled them to be situated in two places based on their relation to men. Kelleher concludes that women in the Crown of Aragon had a greater chance than their Italian counterparts of exerting their authority as guardians of their minor children and administrators of the family estate. Widow-guardians had to accept the charge of guardianship formally before local royal official confirming their responsibilities to protect the children, and unlike male guardians, they could not remarry. As a result, women’s economic agency, therefore, depended on relations with men even when she was a widow.

The most compelling sections of the book concern laws regulating sexual behavior both within and apart from marriage. At this point secular law and canon intersect with community reputation, and relational categories of gender. The results are often vague and contradictory. Community definitions of laws concerning adultery and prostitution, and community policing of the laws, resulted in a continuum with unclear boundaries. Thus, “woman” as a legal category was shifting, mutable, unlike the more stable legal category of man. But taken as a whole, litigation over women’s extramarital sexual activity simultaneously unifies the category of woman and then divides it along new lines—sexual propriety, respectability—with *fama* and reputation as the central core of the evidence whether the issue was property (dower and dowry), adultery, or sexual violence (rape, assault, murder). Women, regarded as vulnerable and weak, were supposed to be protected from men, the very people who were supposed to protect them. In a precarious balance of agency and powerlessness, women were expected to argue their respectability in such a way as to prove they merited the protection. Laws focused on compensation, not punishment, with lost virginity a common basis for the complaint. More young women were involved in the cases than older women, but all women litigants used a particular rhetoric of vulnerability or dependency in their cases. Throughout all the cases, it is clear that women were aware of being watched.
The intersection of “woman” as relational category with sexual reputation as a type of evidence and ideas on gender meant that the law protected only “respectable” and “deserving” women, which echoes achingly and painfully in the modern era. In the not-so-distant past in the United States and Europe, laws regarding rape bore a strong resemblance to medieval law: women were not thought to be able to discern and reason, the community was the judge, woman’s virtue was on trial, and the standard of fear or excess was a male standard. Women had to show that they were in no way to blame for the violence. In cases involving abused wives, the courts seem to have regarded the damage that unfaithful husbands did to their wives’ honor was a harm in itself, but the damage to physical person of the woman, her integrity, and her sense of honor, were less important. The good news is that canon law upheld the idea of marriage as a fundamentally private act between two individuals with a focus on consent and assumed that a young woman had the legal capacity to give or withhold her consent independent of her parents. This led to a new, more precise definition of rape: it could involve women of whatever age, it had to involve some violence that deprived a woman of her bodily sovereignty, the woman’s consent was hers alone to give, and it emphasized the crime against family honor, fear, and suffering.

In the end, we are looking at the contents of a very familiar mixed bag. Roman law backed male authority, excluded women from the public sphere, and enforced gendered standards of sexual propriety. But this was balanced by canon law that emphasized legal personhood of women, their rights to own property, and their capacity to give and withhold consent. Women found themselves increasingly constrained by the rules of a legal culture built on the foundations of recycled Roman law ideology. For scholars, the lesson is a valuable one: the nature of the relationship between women and the law should not always be read as oppositional, and there is no single legal discourse. In this complex and multilayered environment, women participated in shaping the legal culture that influenced their lives. This message of history as discursive and not at all linear is one that has inflected much feminist work in the past decade, and Kelleheer’s work further reinforces the importance of using gender as an analytical frame. Her argument is a compelling one for Hispanists and one that will influence studies on women and the law in other medieval realms.

Theresa Earenfight, Department of History, Seattle University


The appearance of the book under review coincides with the four-hundredth anniversary of King Philip III’s 1609 edict of expulsion ordering all of the remaining Moriscos—Spaniards of Muslim descent—from the kingdom of Spain. On one level, Majid’s purpose is to chronicle the legacy of a discernable Islamophobia that fermented in late medieval and early modern Spain’s racial discourse and which has lived on in the European consciousness and
colonialist tendencies of more modern times, a vast topic that has been garnering increasing attention in our post 9/11 world. But Majid is also an ardent cultural commentator and the director of a center for Global Humanities and his presentist concerns, in many ways quite admirable, are rarely far from the surface. In his first book, A Call for Heresy: Why Dissent is Vital to Islam and America (Minneapolis, 2007), he draws on both his Moroccan background and his experience as an American academic to critique what he sees as a stifling public discourse actively besetting both cultures in parallel ways. Consistent with his first endeavor, Majid here approaches the legacy of Moorish Spain at first on its own terms, but ultimately as a vehicle to better understand (and presumably advance) the debate concerning the problems of Muslim integration in modern Europe and Hispanic immigration in the United States. The result is a sweeping assessment of the legacy of Muslim Spain, one that will intrigue the general reader with the forcefulness and relevance of its arguments, inform seasoned scholars with some well dug-up citations from lesser known works of the early modern period, but surely irritate specialists with the author's tendency for broad generalizations, dramatic oversimplifications, and frequent technical inaccuracies or inconsistencies.

A 29-page introduction frames the historical and historiographical context. For Majid, the expulsion of Moriscos in 1609, like the preceding expulsion of Jews in 1492, represents a formative moment in a long European and ultimately Western (read North American) construction of a religious and racial “other” that continues to haunt our modern discourse about Islam and immigration. “The Moor, I want to show in this book, is not only someone who is religiously Muslim; even more importantly, he or she is also a figure that stands for anyone who is not considered to be part of the social mainstream” (5). With a polite nod to Samuel P. Huntington on one side of the aisle and Edward Said on the other, Majid strategically positions his approach as a sort of middle path for engaging Western constructions of the Moor and its correlation to modern policies toward immigrant minorities.

Chapter 1, “Pious Cruelty,” takes its name from the phrase Machiavelli used to describe King Ferdinand’s cynical treatment of his Moorish vassals and aims to show how Spanish notions of nation, race, and minorities have led to the worst horrors of our own times. This vast and hazardous topic has been explored before and Majid shows familiarity with some (but not all) of the relevant scholarship. A hornet’s nest for the early modern period concerns the numbers of Jews and Muslims expelled from Spain. Majid opens by stating that in 1609 King Philip III secretly signed a decree to expel all Spaniards of Muslim descent, “anywhere between 300,000 and 500,000 people, about 5 percent of Spain’s total population” (31), but it is unclear whether he means to say that this was the number of souls who actually left Spain or the total population ostensibly targeted, but not necessarily exiled, by the decree. Many figures are thrown about, concerning both 1609 and 1492, and Majid himself seems uncertain whether to trust the numbers of L. P. Harvey, who offers more conservative estimates, Henry Kamen, whose writings concerning the Jewish expulsion are not without controversy, or Henry Charles Lea, whose pioneering work on The Moriscos of Spain (1901) is over one hundred years old. There is alarming carelessness in distinguishing between more and less trustworthy sources. James Reston Jr., for example, has no business being cited among the likes of Lea, Harvey, and J. N. Hillgarth. Voltaire, I was nevertheless intrigued to learn, placed the number of exiled Moors around 700,000. Elsewhere we are informed, evidently on the basis of a single
encyclopedia article, that “hundreds of thousands of Moors left Granada” in 1492, a figure that seems exceedingly high (48).

Counting heads in periods of great demographic change is a notoriously slippery enterprise that would have perhaps best been avoided, but an even more questionable claim concerns the direct relationship between Spanish (Catholic) racial attitudes of the early modern period and modern (secular) extermination policies such as the Holocaust, which Majid unwisely goes to great lengths to establish. Some may agree, but many will not, with the statement, “We now know that the ultimate horror of the Holocaust would not have been conceived without the tradition of racism initiated by Spain in the late Middle Ages and early modern period” (52). Students of modern political antisemitism will surely find simplistic the suggestions that the Nuremberg laws of 1935 cannot be understood without considering Spain’s fifteenth-century limpieza de sangre statutes (55), for although they are both racial laws they belong to entirely different historical contexts. And it does no service to the recent nuanced studies of medieval and modern violence to bluntly state that, “It is this long archaic genealogy of violence at the heart of European culture that explains the phenomenon of the Holocaust” (55). The works of David Nirenberg and Jonathan Elukin for the medieval period and of Albert S. Lindemann and Steven T. Katz for the modern, among many others, are sorely missing from the bibliography.

Chapter 2, “New World Moors,” looks at “the specter of the Moor” in the Iberian world and in the New World, and in particular New Mexico, where the author’s personal journey that led to the writing of the book began: “The more I think about this culturally intriguing southwestern state, the better I can decipher the ghostly presence of the Moor in its history and traditions” (65). There is certainly some truth to this assertion, as witnessed by the conflation of Indian and Moor by writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but I suspect that this presence is somewhat overblown. Once again, an overemphasis on the connection between medieval and modern leads to an essentialist reading of the Middle Ages, and in this case the Crusades. “If the First Crusade against Islam united Europe around a Christian identity, the defeat of the Moors in Spain and the expulsion of the Moriscos in the early seventeenth century created a new European consciousness… The conquest of the Indians was simply an extension of the Crusades launched against Muslims in earlier centuries” (ibid). To be sure, the connection between crusading and reconquest in Spain is crucial, as Joseph F. O’Callaghan has shown, but the historical context is vastly more complex than it is here made out to be. Indeed, the lack of a single reference to a serious modern scholar of the Crusades leaves these assertions, not to mention the title of the book, unsubstantiated.

Chapter 3, “Muslim Jews,” again promises more than it delivers. Majid endeavors to show that Jews and Muslims were, in the eyes of their Christian opponents, collapsed into a single minority status, or “other,” and that this in turn helps to explain the shared heritage and cultural affiliation between Jews and Muslims. Here an excessive amount of quotations from secondary sources (some more reliable than others) gives the chapter a defensive if not apologetic tone, and the relatively uncontroversial truth that Jews and Muslims do have a shared culture and outsider presence in Europe (though for different reasons) quickly spirals
out of orbit with discussions ranging from medieval Sephardic Jewry to modern Zionism to Hegelian philosophy, with a befuddling stopover in Nazi gas chambers: “Just as Jew and Muslim started out as Christianity’s Other in the Middle Ages, and just as the Jew embraced the Moorish heritage to better resist European barbarism in the high age of the Enlightenment, the Jew reached the end of the genocidal rope, or gas chamber, as a Muslim” (93-94). Oversimplifications and factual errors abound. It is simply not the case that “the Crusades themselves were the outcome of a dynamic, imperialistic European civilization” for, as medievalists well know, Europe at the turn of the twelfth century was feudal, fractured, and almost completely unaware of the politics of the Middle East, and it is not at all clear, or even relevant, that Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) “was far more interested in Christian-Islamic relations than he was in Christian-Jewish difference” (103). It is misleading to state (95) that Maimonides wrote his Guide to the Perplexed in Arabic for it was written in Judeo-Arabic—that is, with Hebrew characters. Lastly, I suspect many scholars of both Judaism and Islam will find objectionable the following statement: “The Muslim fatwa resembles the Jewish teshwot, and the Muslim notion of jihad has parallels with the Jewish doctrine of milhemet mitsva or milhemet hova, the only difference being that jihad can be global whereas the Jewish doctrine is ‘limited to one country’” (96). At the very least, further explanation on the meaning and context of these charged terms is desperately needed. Interestingly, the biblical and rabbinic laws of warfare are systematically presented by Maimonides, not in his Guide to the Perplexed but in his Hilkhot Melakhim (or Laws Concerning Kings), that text in Hebrew, but the introductory text for which was written in Arabic.

A fourth chapter on “Undesirable Aliens” and a concluding chapter carry the discussion into more modern times and beyond the expertise of this reviewer. Majid may well be strongest in his analysis of anti-immigrant sentiments in Europe and America, arguing cogently and no doubt correctly that excluding people because of xenophobic fears or threats to “native” culture or economies is not a viable option in the modern world and global economy. Certainly, such prejudices have long ancestries.

If I appear to be hard with this book I do not mean to be. The author’s intentions are frequently the right ones as he seeks to understand the roots of old hatreds and to illuminate a European encounter with Islam that too few scholars are comfortable discussing. Anouar Majid is no partisan ideologue either, and on several occasions he is at pains to point out the parallel intolerance of Arab countries. “Most Arab nations, for instance, are more xenophobic in their immigration policies than even the least enlightened European country” (5). For all of its shortcoming in matters of historical accuracy this is in many ways a courageous book, written from a voice that many would agree is sorely needed in public discourse. I only wish that greater care had been taken when treading on such complex pre-modern developments.

Alex J. Novikoff, Rhodes College

In many ways, *The Gibraltar Crusade* is sequel to Dr. O’Callaghan’s *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (2003). The earlier book methodically compiled the evidence for the influence of crusading ideas and institutions on the twelfth and thirteenth century conflicts between the Christian and Muslim kingdoms of Iberia (and North Africa). O’Callaghan ended that narrative with the conquest of Sevilla by Fernando III of Castile in 1248, although he mentioned that the story of Iberian crusading would continue with the later struggle over the Straits of Gibraltar. The new book picks up where the last left off, continuing the analysis of Christian-Muslim conflict through the middle of the fourteenth century, in the same methodological fashion as the earlier study.

*The Gibraltar Crusade* is organized into eleven chronological chapters. The focus is, as the title suggests, largely on the kingdom of Castile. The first four chapters focus on the reign of Alfonso X (1252-1284). From the optimistic attempts by the Castilians to establish a foothold in Morocco in the 1250s, to the disastrous Marinid invasions of the 1280s, the wild swings of fortune that marked the career of Alfonso X are carefully chronicled. The much shorter reigns of Sancho IV (1284-1295) and Fernando IV (1295-1312) are each covered by a single chapter. The aggressive military career of Alfonso XI (1312-1350) is analyzed over the course of four long chapters. The tenth chapter steps away from a chronological account of the period in order to analyze many of the issues that arise in the course of the story: the composition of armies, financing, taxation, logistics, and the religious expressions of crusading. The concluding chapter briefly reviews the ground covered, as well as quickly completing the narrative of the final century of Castilian-Granadan relations, ending with the final 1492 conquest.

*The Gibraltar Crusade* is not intended to break new historiographical ground, or to upend any standing interpretations of Spanish history. While O’Callaghan sticks to his established position, in which he privileges the religious character and motivation for the warfare in the Iberian Peninsula (as opposed to more secular motives such as plunder and conquest), this debate is not directly addressed. The primary goal, and value, of this book is the continuation of the careful, analytical narrative of the Christian-Muslim wars in Iberia begun in the earlier *Reconquest and Crusade*. O’Callaghan thoroughly digests a wide variety of both Christian and Islamic sources, and weaves them into an engaging narrative. The result is an informative and accessible account of the complex military and diplomatic history of the period. *The Gibraltar Crusade* creates, alongside the earlier work, the most complete scholarly account of the Christian-Muslim conflict in medieval Spain written in the last thirty years. While many parts of this story are covered in more detail by other monographs, O’Callaghan’s focus on the impact of the crusade in Spanish affairs frequently yields new and salutary perspectives on well-known history. For example, the account of the reign of Alfonso X, usually celebrated as *el Sabio*, paints a very different picture of this famous monarch. The story that emerges here is one of constant military setbacks, chronic financial difficulties, and almost schizophrenic diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Granada, mismanaged by an often-inept king. Similarly, the
famous death of Alfonso XI from the Black Death in 1350 appears as all the more dramatic when placed in the context of the king’s lengthy and difficult siege of Gibraltar.

O’Callaghan also successfully illuminates many of the key difficulties which the almost continuous series of wars along the frontier presented to the Castilian rulers. Money was, of course, central to all of this, and the unrelenting, often desperate quest for funds to continue the fight are described in detail. O’Callaghan effectively uses his expertise in Castilian administrative affairs to describe taxation strategies used to raise money, and carefully addresses the use of church resources as well. These latter sources of money were, of course, a central part of the institutional history of crusading, especially in Spain, where the protracted nature of warfare meant that funding was an ever-present problem.

What shortcomings there are in *The Gibraltar Crusade* are essentially stylistic, or simply side effects of the need to create a work of appropriate brevity for publication purposes. The narrative is, at many points, drawn directly from the sources, and paraphrased by the author. Though meticulously footnoted, it is sometimes difficult to tell which voice is speaking: the source’s or the author’s. From time to time fascinating details, emerging from the narrative, call out for further discussion. Many of them are addressed in the tenth chapter, but many more are not. For example, at one point the author mentions a threat, made by Pope Gregory X, to excommunicate Alfonso X if he did not repay certain loans from the curia. Such a pronouncement calls into question the entire nature of papal-royal cooperation on crusading policy. Unfortunately, O’Callaghan does not pause in his narrative to further explore this, and many similar issues. Of course this is an unavoidable shortcoming of almost any study. Some things must get cut.

Despite these minor criticisms, *The Gibraltar Crusade* is an invaluable book. O’Callaghan creates an appealing story from the careful exploration of a wide variety of sources. As more and more academic studies focus on increasingly narrow topics, it is pleasant to encounter a book that covers more than a century of history with such a careful analytic eye, and such a composed focus on the sources and the story they tell.

*Miguel Gomez, University of Tennessee*


During the course of the past forty years critical approaches towards the epic *Cantar de mio Cid* have undergone a remarkable transformation. Today, although we can by no means speak of scholarly consensus, there does appear to have been a steady shift away from the position taken up by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, who argued long and hard for a date of composition c.1140. Instead, majority opinion has hardened towards the view that the poem was composed towards the beginning of the thirteenth century by a single author, who had some understanding of the workings of the law and possessed knowledge of contemporary French epic poetry and Latin culture more broadly. Successive attempts to identify the author or the
geographical context in which he moved have not won unanimous acceptance, however. For these reasons, the publication of Dolores Oliver Pérez’s iconoclastic work, comprising a collection of articles written by the author between 1983 and 2006 together with new material, will doubtless set the cat amongst the pigeons. Oliver’s principal thesis, tout court, is that the Cantar de mio Cid bears a number of features that are not only atypical of other Christian works of the period, but can only be explained if the author were a Muslim. The portrait of El Cid preserved in the Cantar, Oliver believes, far from being that of a typical Christian caballero of his age, is that of a sayyid. His behaviour, moral values and personal attributes are recognisably those of a Muslim warlord, whose roots lay in traditional Bedouin society, while the military tactics he adopted, with their emphasis on the feigned retreat and the manoeuvre known as the haraka were recognisably Islamic. The depiction of El Cid as ‘un caballero democrático’ (p. 40), who treated the members of his warband as equals, supposedly drew inspiration from the group dynamic of the Arab tribe, while the positive depiction of some Muslims in the poem, such as Abengalvón, lord of Molina, suggests that the poet was writing for an Andalusi audience. In short, Oliver posits, the author of the Cantar must have been born and bred in Islamic lands. Not only that, she suggests that this author was none other than the jurist and poet Abu al-Waqqashi, who must have composed the poem in Valencia during the final decade of the eleventh century at the height of El Cid’s power ‘en un período de convivencia y tolerancia, cuando la idea de cruzada aún no había impregnado la mente de cristianos y musulmanes’ (p. 304). Refreshing though it certainly is to encounter such a strikingly original hypothesis, it has to be said that the edifice of Oliver’s research is built upon flimsy foundations. For one thing, many of the features of the Cantar that Oliver portrays as being typically rooted in Islamic custom were in fact equally admired in Christian society. For example, the personal qualities attributed to El Cid – his generosity, his valour, his intelligence and mesura – were also part and parcel of the chivalric code that was much in vogue in most of the Latin West during the twelfth century. Other features of the poem, notably the author’s legal knowledge (such as that of the procedure known as the riepto) and his reference to certain chancery practices (such as the use of the wax seal), also belong squarely in the later twelfth century. Elsewhere, judgements are made which do not always stand up to close scrutiny. To cite just one example, the fact that Cantar provides a positive depiction of the Muslim Abengalvón does not indicate, as Oliver suggests, that the poem must have been composed during the era of the taifa kingdoms and that it would have been greeted with hostility in mid-twelfth century Castile (p. 74). As Israel Burshatin argued long ago, the hyper-noble Abengalvón was admired by the poet precisely because he was a steadfast ally of El Cid; the Muslim’s loyalty was a reflection of the assertion of Cidian power. To judge from the book’s relatively short bibliography, Oliver’s exposure to more recent Cidian scholarship has been somewhat limited, with the result that she does not explore many of these contradictions. At the end of the book, Oliver issues a heartfelt appeal to romanistas and arabistas alike to break down the barriers that have traditionally divided the two academic disciplines and to engage in a scholarly dialogue that would give rise to ‘una nueva historia de nuestra literatura’ (p. 386). This is a laudable aim and Oliver’s book is certainly a thought-provoking contribution to the process, but it does not ultimately convince.

Simon Barton, University of Exeter

An important and welcome addition to the debates regarding chivalry, monarchy and social hierarchies, this work—originally published in Spanish as *Ciudadanía, soberanía monárquica y caballería; Poética del orden de caballería* (Madrid: Akal, 2009)—closely analyzes the texts relevant to chivalric discourse in Castile between 1300-1350, an especially eventful period, in which several sectors within Castilian society vied for power and prominence.

Dr. Rodríguez-Velasco’s dispenses with the notion that chivalric discourse is limited to specific literary genres or ideas of power. Since chivalry was present in nearly all written production, including chronicles and legal documents, its use invariably produced manifold conceptions of power. His thesis is that there were three principal Castilian actors contesting for power and dominance: the monarchy, seeking to consolidate its central jurisdiction and power, the high nobility, working to protect its traditional privileges, and a rising bourgeoisie, moving to achieve influence and recognition. All three used chivalry as a creative tool to advance their interests. Despite their conflicting agendas, all three were engaged in the *poetics of ordo* or “the textual enactment that will lead to the creation, construction and configuration of a social class” (2). Their methods included the production of private and public manuscripts. In the case of the bourgeois groups these included the *Cuaderno de la Hermandad de Caballeros* bound and integrated into the *Cuaderno de las Cortes de Burgos* (1315), the *Libro de los Cableros de la Cofradía de Santiago de Burgos* (1338) and the *Libro de la Cofradía de Santa María de Gamonal*; for the monarchy, the *Libro de la Banda*, the *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* (1348) and the *Segundo Ordenamiento en Razón de la Banda*; for the high nobility the author highlights Don Juan Manuel’s literary production. The three social sectors’ conceptions of power, self-perceptions and social hopes were articulated and developed in the “social laboratory of chivalry” (292). The author’s codicologial and textual analysis is especially useful for exploring the meeting point between how these texts were meant to be received and how they were actually interpreted and used.

Rodriguez-Velasco’s first chapter covers the rituals related the chivalry, with special attention to investing and creating knights. Contrary to the prevailing view that chivalric investiture was a ritual for reaffirming established traditions, he argues that the forms and trappings of chivalry could be modified and adapted depending on the circumstances. For the monarchy this meant that the knighting ceremony, especially the establishment of a patron-client relationship between the patron and the newly-minted *caballero* (vertical relationship) and the regulation of the behavior of knights through chivalric codes of duty (horizontal relationships), presented a useful tool for the subjugation and control of the Castilian nobility, and for the cultivation of the admiration of the general citizenry. For the magnates, the same chivalric rituals were put in the service of opposing the encroachment of the crown upon their traditional privileges. Yet it also opened the door for the urban elite to use the same rites and language to advance their position in society through the creation of confraternities. In all cases, public ceremonies,
celebrations, festivals and other rituals were purposefully suffused with chivalric elements to express both existing social hierarchies and what each sector desired these hierarchies to be. The author later picks up on the theme of public displays in his final chapter, when he discusses the emblems that each of these groups and figures created and how they served to project power and authority across the realm.

Rodríguez-Velasco devotes two chapters to the *Hermandad de Caballeros* (1315) and the Confraternities of Santiago of Burgos and Saint Mary of Gamonal. The former, he argues, was one of the first attempts to of non-noble knights across Castile to unite against the grandees and be recognized by both the crown, in this case the regents of the minor Alfonso XI (1312-50), and the high aristocracy. More ambitious than simply a defense mechanism, this short-lived fraternity—Alfonso suppressed it in 1325 upon achieving his majority—attempted to project the power of the urban elite across the kingdom and directly challenge both the barons and the monarchy. The same objective drove the two Burgos-based confraternities. Their ambition led them to concentrate their power and status within their urbs and then strive for their inclusion within the royal power structure: in other words, creating or redefining themselves as a new *ordo* or social class, becoming visible and then establishing their place in the kingdom. While as non-nobles they were limited by sumptuary laws in their use of chivalric accoutrements on their own bodies, these did not apply to their representations in manuscripts. As such, these orders invested heavily in the production of lavish codices with rules, self-justification and chivalric portraits of their members, where laws related to dress were not applicable. Although this project’s success was due in part to the monarchy’s realization that urban elites served as welcome allies against the magnates, their own efforts at redefining and promoting themselves played a much larger role. In both cases, chivalric discourse was the tool utilized—by those forming part of these new institutions—to define and protect a space within Castile.

Alfonso XI himself was no stranger to chivalry, as Rodríguez-Velasco points out, so in creating his *Orden de la Banda* he sought to control chivalric discourse and put it to the service of crown. He endeavored to create a new group of knights, and later nobles, that were tied to and ready to promote the interests of the monarchy. (He was not the first Castilian monarch to attempt to do this since Alfonso X (1252-84) had regulated chivalry through his *Espéculo* and *Siete Partidas*; however, it was Alfonso XI’s *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* (1348) that gave such formulations the force of law). The knight would not stand apart from the monarch, but actually serve as a symbol of royal power. Such conceptions were opposed by the barons, most vehemently by Don Juan Manuel, who wanted to avoid any ritual that tied them to the monarchy through such bonds of loyalty. Yet as the author’s close treatment of the Order’s chronology and manuscript history shows, the Banda appears to be either a failed or unfinished project, or a minor royal initiative given life by future writers. References to these knights are sparse in the royal chronicles, and the manuscripts that detail the Order’s rules and membership were clearly written later than when it was ostensibly founded. In fact, the *Libro de la Banda* codex was probably from around the mid-fourteenth century, nearly two decades after the Order’s beginning. The author considers the manuscript to be in ruins since it was never completed, and also purposely left unfinished, because it was bound with extra
parchment leaves to list the names of future members of the Order. The *Segundo Ordenamiento en Razón de la Banda* dates from the reign of Juan I (1379-90) at the earliest, but it provides no space for adding any new members, essentially ossifying the Order. The conception of a new knighthood and nobility tied to the crown is present in these two codices, but the *Orden de la Banda* is still a mystery, appearing and disappearing across history. In many ways, it was given life and significance by later historians. Rodríguez-Velasco concludes by arguing that the Castilian transformations along chivalric lines were earlier expressions of some that took place later across the Continent. The reverberations of these events certainly reached beyond the fourteenth century (and perhaps the Iberian Peninsula). In particular, he points out that the social transformations that took place within the Castilian cities supported the monarchy in its pursuit of central authority, while the same bourgeois groups they engendered formed a locus of resistance against the imperial pretensions of Charles V (emp. 1519-56). In asserting that the social engineering that created these chivalric urban groups started in the fourteenth century, the author challenges the notion that one has to wait until the modern period for such social changes to occur, and encourages a reevaluation of how and when the relationship between the European monarchies, aristocracy and urban elites changed in the medieval and early modern periods.

*Order and Chivalry* is not a strictly historical work—in fact, its interdisciplinary approach and close textual analysis could present difficulties for some non-specialists—yet there is enough background on the important events and figures to keep the reader grounded. This is the most authoritative study of the phenomenon of Castilian chivalry and society, complementing the author’s own study of later medieval Castile (*El debate sobre la caballería en el siglo XV. La tratadística caballeresca castellana en su marco europeo* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1996); it should stimulate discussion among Iberian and non-Iberian specialists alike.

Reviewed by Nicolás Agrait, History Department, Long Island University Brooklyn.


David Rojinsky’s *Companion to Empire* is an ambitious and innovative effort to trace the varied conceptions and uses of alphabetic writing from medieval Castile to the colonies of New Spain that argues for territorial expansion as a spur to specific types of textual culture. In his historical survey of textual production and the creation of the ideology of empire, Rojinsky opts for a “genealogical approach” that posits a number of different points of origin. This multitude of origins represents a major break from previous Romance philologists, such as Ramón Menéndez Pidal, who had often tried to present a single narrative of the past that linked the development of Spanish as a written language with the development of a national character and to create a continuum from a single point in the past up to the present.

Rojinsky explicitly resists this type of linear narrative and adopts Michelle Warren’s term “Post-Philology” – which opposes privileging a single mode of criticism or supporting any ideology of
continuity – as the guiding methodological principle for his work. This approach allows Rojinsky to engage with postcolonial theory, including medieval and transatlantic imperium theory. Dividing his work into six chapters, Rojinsky discusses six pivotal moments in the relation between textual culture and the consolidation of empire.

In chapter one, Rojinsky posits that many of Isidore of Seville’s Latin works were designed to support and legitimize the rulers of Visigothic Hispania by creating a connection between the Visigoths and the classical Roman past. In the process, Isidore makes them “worthy of letters.” This process was supported by Latin laws, which were promulgated throughout the Visigothic period. However, Rojinsky problematizes the relationship between the Visigoths and the classical past by showing how Isidore simultaneously tried to distance the Iberian Peninsula from Constantinople and the Eastern Roman Empire.

Rojinsky moves on to the Castilian works of Alfonso X in chapter two. Although he questions Alfonso’s well-established position as “father of Castilian prose,” Rojinsky recognizes the importance of Castilian for Alfonso’s ideological project. He examines how Alfonso’s vernacular histories provide the foundation for a proto-national ideology that promoted a shared history, religion, language and culture within a newly conceived geopolitical space, and masterfully situates the importance of Alfonso’s law code, the Siete Partidas, within the larger ideological project of expansion and empire.

In chapter three, Rojinsky discusses the connection between textual culture and imperial ideology during one of the most studied periods of Spanish expansion: the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. Beginning his examination with the oft-cited statement by Antonio de Nebrija that language is always the companion of empire, Rojinsky strives to put Nebrija into context, arguing that Nebrija believed that writing itself, regardless of the language, was the important element for ideology. Rojinsky ends this section by discussing how correct knowledge of language was tied to the idea of civilization and how a lack of this understanding was seen as barbarous. Rojinsky moves the focus of his work to the New World in chapter four by exploring the way that alphabetic writing was seen as a marker of civilization. Since the natives of the New World did not possess the European writing system, they were seen as uncivilized and less than human. As an example, Rojinsky discusses Peter Martyr D’Anghiera’s De Orbe Novo, an early Latin account of the conquest of New Spain that depicted the natives as being without writing. Rojinsky argues that it was the presence of an alphabetic writing system, rather than the use of any specific language, that was important ideologically and as a marker of civilization. Thus, Martyr D’Anghiera’s Latin history is as an example of how the Spanish justified their conquests in the New World based on their possession of alphabetic writing, which signified civilization.

In chapter five, Rojinsky examines the presence of non-alphabetic writing in the New World and its relation to the subsequent alphabetic writing practiced both by the Spaniards and the natives themselves. Interestingly, Rojinsky explains how non-alphabetic writing could also be authoritative, which allowed it to be used as a source for the Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún. This type of translation into alphabetic writing provided an “after-life” for the pre-
Hispanic non-alphabetic works. Moreover, in addition to the Spanish texts, the natives began producing their own alphabetic writing that provided a means of creating an ideology of opposition to empire.

Finally, Rojinsky turns to the status of written Castilian as the language of colonial law and administration in the New World. Rojinsky claims that language and power combine to enact a “scriptural” conquest of the land. Castilian texts became a way of exercising power over the recently conquered territory. In order to examine this relationship, Rojinsky examines the career and written works of Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, an early colonial governor in the New World. During his administration, Guzmán used the law to perpetrate many violent actions, which were subsequently vilified by other writers of the time, especially Bartolomé de las Casas. Guzmán utilized written texts not only to effect violence through written decrees and rulings, but also to legitimize and support these violent actions with the letters and reports that he sent back to Spain.

*Companion to Empire* is an evocative and original look at the relationship between alphabetic writing and the ideology of empire. Rojinsky usefully incorporates many elements of postcolonial theory, which allow him to read well-known texts and authors in a new way. While the work might benefit from the inclusion of more postcolonial theorists to broaden his discussion of the role of non-alphabetic writing in the New World and a more detailed discussion of the problems of approaching medieval works written in a manuscript culture, which makes the discussion of these texts difficult, it nevertheless covers a remarkable range of material. *Companion to Empire* deepens contemporary understanding of the specific texts examined by Rojinsky and also of the larger relationship between alphabetic writing and the creation of the ideology of empire.

*Bretton Rodriguez, The University of Notre Dame*

**Cristina Sanjust i Latorre, L’Obra del Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes des de la seva Fundació fins al Segle XVI. Un Monestir Reial per a l’Ordre de les Clarisses a Catalunya (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Col·lecció Cum Laude, 2010), 490 + xiv pp.**

This is a history of the monastery of the Poor Clares at Pedralbes in Barcelona. Based on the doctoral thesis of the same title submitted to the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in 2009, art historian Cristina Sanjust’s study of Santa Maria de Pedralbes offers a comprehensive appreciation of the convent’s history and architecture, its rich body of documentary evidence, and its social contexts. Lucid and authoritative, the particular strength of this work lies in its interdisciplinary approach, and in the emphasis made throughout on the continuity of both the religious life and the conventual buildings at Pedralbes.

Publishing this study in Catalan was no accidental decision. The publisher’s conscious aim, we are told in the series introduction, is to give the Catalan language a more prominent platform.
by publishing works like the present one in its original language rather than as a translation into English, French, or even Spanish.

Sanjust offers a stimulating evaluation of the historiography, not restricting herself to peninsular material, but considering her convent in a wider European context of female spirituality and entering into topics of particular current significance, such as the issue of sacred space in religious communities, or the relationships between the worlds, in this case the closely intertwined lay and religious worlds.

Three main chapters form the core of this work. The first of them, entitled ‘Sceptre, staff and crozier’, considers the three main powers behind the foundation of Pedralbes: the crown, the Consell de Cent (the ‘Council of One Hundred’), and the community of Poor Clares who inhabited the monastery. First and foremost among these influential parties was the monastery’s illustrious foundress, Queen Elisenda de Montcada. Elisenda was the third wife of King Jaume II of Aragón and, with his consent, founded the convent of Poor Clares at Pedralbes in March of 1326, when the first stone of the new community was laid. The church was consecrated only fourteen months later, in May 1327, and thanks to the generosity of its royal benefactors the nuns of Pedralbes continued to live in relative prosperity, a fact which is reflected in the grandeur of the monastery’s design. In this chapter we are introduced, in considerable detail, to the lay forces at work behind the convent – first and foremost the queen and the royal household, who provided ongoing support to the nuns, but also the city authorities of Barcelona, who maintained a mutually beneficial relationship with the convent. Finally, this chapter grants an insight into the community of nuns itself, identifying individual members of the community, their backgrounds and their duties, wherever possible. A fascinating element in this context is the list of female servants or slaves at Pedralbes, many of them of Tartar or Saracen origin, complete with their purchase or sale price and the name of their sellers / buyers.

The second core chapter focuses on the architectural ensemble. Here the author looks at the history of the construction of Pedralbes and its later developments, providing fascinating detail and a unique insight into the building processes and maintenance of the convent, as well as offering some thought on the general composition of the complex. The case of Pedralbes is set into a wider regional architectural context, giving this specific study a wider framework. In this chapter the author has used the opportunity to show off the wealth of her documentary evidence, and to great effect: what we get here is a wonderfully lively insight into the construction and maintenance of a (wealthy) community of Poor Clares in late medieval Catalonia. The surviving account books of Pedralbes reveal details about the building work, even though in some cases these are indirect and have to be deducted. At other times the evidence contains wonderfully detailed information. Thus we learn that new dormitory windows were inserted just before the end of the fifteenth century; or that in 1521 the dormitory curtains were changed and the old ones sold for 15s 3d. When, in 1514, the same rooms were whitewashed, the quantity and cost of the lime purchased for this purpose were also recorded in the account books.
The third part draws on the findings from the previous sections and takes the questions asked before to a different level. The focus of this chapter is on the symbolic function and the significance of space, both in the specific context of Pedralbes, but also considering the Poor Clares more widely. Sanjust here relates the physical reality of the monastic complex of Pedralbes to the spiritual theories of the Poor Clares, and the Rule of St Benedict, considering issues such as poverty, religious enclosure, and mystical experiences and sanctity, all in a wider geographical and historiographical context.

It is in the interdisciplinarity and the wide range of the research presented in these three core chapters that the author’s real contribution lies. Her evident familiarity with the monastic buildings of Pedralbes as well as with its documentary history puts her in the unique position of approaching the issue of symbolic space from various different angles simultaneously. There is a nice sense of continuity which runs through the pages of this work. Although its main focus is on the two centuries from its foundation to the sixteenth century, the author in fact looks beyond this chronological frame to trace the history of the community, albeit briefly, right up to the present day. The study is accompanied by an extensive international bibliography. An index, unfortunately, is not provided, but would have been useful. This aside, Sanjust has produced a highly interesting, thoroughly researched, thought-provoking and very readable account not only of one (albeit important) house of Poor Clares in late medieval Catalonia, but of this religious order more widely.

The monastery of Pedralbes is now a well-maintained museum on the outskirts of Barcelona. With its large, three-storied cloister and impressive state of preservation it should not be missed by any interested visitor to the city.

Karen, Stober, Grupo de Recerca consolidate en Estudis Medievals ‘Espai, Poder i Cultura’, Universitat de Lleida


For his slim, deeply researched, and ultimately beautiful, study, Fictions of Well-Being, Michael Solomon consults over three hundred medical writings from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, in order to analyze the vitally important role that the vernacular played in Iberian medicine. Regarding compendia, treatises, manuals of instruction, plague tracts, encyclopedic works, health guides, and recipes, Solomon argues that the use of the vernacular occupies a multivalent position for the reader who would have immediate access to, if varying degrees of comprehension of, the information contained in these writings. For Solomon, the vernacular tradition in late medieval and early modern medical writings “emerged from interrelated imperatives to address the immediate or future hygienic and pathological needs of the patient while promoting the reputation and learned credentials of the physician” (3). This was done
through the construction and negotiation of various “fictions” on the part of doctor and patient alike.

In the introduction, “Physicians, Sickly Readers, and Vernacular Medical Writing,” Solomon lays out the course of his book. Central to his study is the position of the premodern “sickly reader,” the patient afflicted with an ailment who readily consulted a vernacular medical writing in order to alleviate his or her condition. For the physician composing the vernacular treatise, although he would be able to provide assistance to a patient without being physically present, there would be a reciprocal benefit: he could, and did, use the vernacular treatise to help bolster his own professional reputation. Solomon continues this theme further in his first chapter, “Fictions of Utility,” in which he argues that late medieval and early modern physicians deliberately relied upon the vernacular to provide confidence to their readers on twin levels. Through their being able to read these treatises directly, patients would have ready confidence in the value of the medical work for both preservative and therapeutic purposes, as well as in their own abilities to apply the knowledge they gained to their particular afflictions despite their lack of professional experience in the medical arts. As scholars such as Michael McVaugh and Luis García-Ballester have proven, the professionalization of the medical profession grew apace by the fourteenth century. There was a bewildering array of traditional medical authorities, including Galen, Avicenna, and Averroes among others, whom the would-be physician would have to study at university to obtain his professional credentials. Yet by composing the vernacular medical treatise, the learned physician could distill easily that vast body of knowledge into a much smaller, easily absorbed piece of information for the sickly reader.

The second chapter sees Solomon regarding the many “Fictions of the Physician” in these premodern medical sources. He argues that the physicians themselves carefully and deliberately crafted their own professional reputations in these medical tracts, which served “as a performative space within which the author could demonstrate his academic and empirical knowledge” (49). As these treatises were hardly ever anonymous, the physician actively encouraged his sickly reader to imagine him present at his or her bedside. To inspire confidence in the patient, the doctor would rely upon a variety of rhetorical and literary strategies, including offering his own first-hand testimonials concerning the efficacy of various cures and practices and liberally peppering the body of the vernacular with Latin phrases and explanations. Furthermore, physicians’ claims of their healing abilities could border sometimes on the heroic, as in the case of the sixteenth-century doctor Ruy Díaz de Ysla, who claimed to have treated and cured more than twenty thousand patients over the length of his career (62). Although Díaz de Ysla’s claim is not to be taken at face value, it nevertheless evidences the strategies that early modern physicians relied upon to provide additional legitimacy to their medical training. In these physicians’ boasts of their wide reading of medical authorities from antiquity, of their erudite displays of their excellent Latinity, and of their collaboration with contemporary medical colleagues, lay their weapons to combat the ruses of unlicensed quacks and charlatans who competed with professional physicians for the health and finances of patients.
For the third part of the book, “Fictions and Pharmaceuticals,” Solomon demonstrates how these physicians relied upon the qualities of pharmaceuticals themselves to instill yet another layer of confidence in the healing abilities of the absent doctor. The physician would encourage the reader to acquire certain precious objects, including stones, herbs, and medicines, that suggested immediate relief in their appropriation and use. The variety of *materia medica* used in these vernacular recipes and health guides could range from the mundane, including rosemary (conceptualized as a panacea) or yarrow; to the considerably dearer, such as saffron or the flora from the Americas; to the arcane, as in wolves’ paws tied around the neck of readers who suffered from intestinal cramps or a dead man’s leg bone to be filled with feces and boiled to alleviate constipation (76). Among the seven illustrations in Solomon’s book are included a fifteenth-century image of a woodcut and prayer to Saint Sebastian, invoked to intercede against the ravages of plague, and a depiction of a blood-curdling array of surgical saws from the sixteenth-century *Chirurgiae* of Giovanni Andrea Della Croce.

Solomon’s close reading of a wealth of vernacular medical treatises serves as an excellent addition to the body of medieval and early modern medical scholarship. It would be intriguing to know, but almost impossible to chart, exactly how these sickly readers read these treatises and whether they actually comprehended the information they read. Put differently, how successful were the physicians who constructed these various fictions ultimately? That is more difficult to determine. Still, historians of premodern medicine and science, specialists in the publication, dissemination, and consumption of Iberian literature, investigators of the practices of reading within the premodern world, and those who are fascinated by the ongoing relationship between physician and patient, who each adopts a variety of strategies in negotiating their own readings of and experiences surrounding medical care, should diligently read Solomon’s marvelous work.

*Michael A. Ryan, University of New Mexico*


These two volumes contain the acts of a conference that was held in Oviedo to celebrate the eleven hundredth anniversary of the death of Alfonso III of Asturias, a pivotal figure in the early Reconquest and formation of the Kingdom of Asturias. Alfonso III was the last king of a greater Asturian kingdom, a ruler whose death led to the tripartite division of Asturias into the separate realms of Asturias, Galicia, and León. The future significance of this partition is well known to peninsular scholars. This congress brought together scholars to explore in greater depth the era of Alfonso III. The stated goal was to produce studies that reflect “todo rigor científico y sin dogmatism alguno....en el breve pero fructífero periodo de cerca de dos siglos que duró su existencia” (p. vii). The intent to avoid any ‘dogmatism’ is a reference clearly to the current
intense debate over regional identity and self-determination in the various ‘autonomías’ that appear daily in the Spanish public media. The intended approach of the congress is to be lauded, and a review of the essays reveals that it has been accomplished fully. A second stated goal is to inaugurate a new scholarly project in Asturias through a series entitled Asturiense Regni Territorium: documentos y estudios sobre el period tardorromano y medieval en el noroeste hispano, that seeks to explore this region in all of its cultural facets.

The volume opens, as is appropriate, with an essay devoted to Alfonso III—“Alfonso III y la historia del Reino de Asturias”—which contextualizes his place in the early history of Asturias. Other essays on the king touch upon a wide array of topics. The study entitled “El Castillo de Gauzón y Alfonso III. La formación del reino de Asturias a través de una fortaleza” gives one example on how the kingdom of Asturias consolidated its rule through the construction of fortresses. “Los notarios de los diplomas de Alfonso III” gives insight into the role of notaries and the jurisprudence that emerged in Asturias. The essay, “El latín de la Versión Rotense de la Crónica de Alfonso III: I - II. Peculiaridades ortográficas y morfológicas” is a two-part analysis of the Latin of these two important documents. The essay “La circulación monetaria en el reinado de Alfonso III a través de las fuentes documentales” is a unique blend of numismatics and paleography that enlightens us on the circulation of coins and their provenance in Asturias.

“Alfonso III cinco siglos después de su muerte, Los reyes de Asturias en la anecdótica historiografía goticista del siglo XV: la Anacephaleosis y la Compendiosa Historia Hispánica,” chronicles the ‘memory’ of Alfonso III five hundred years after his death though two documents little known to non-specialists. For its part, the hagiographic study “Literatura sobre Eulalia: desde su muerte hasta Alfonso III” unfolds the cult of St. Eulalia, one of the most celebrated martyrs of the Iberian Peninsula in literature up to Alfonso III. Art and illumination broadly considered is the subject of “El prerrománico, un arte de síntesis,” addressing the early romanesque for which Asturias is most famous. “Apocalipsis visigóticos: una perspectiva de clasificación de los Beatos” deals with one of the most celebrated manuscripts of the Iberian middle ages; the author examines both the images and other paleographical features. “El programa iconográfico del Naranco y la teología del poder en el Reino de Asturias,” has as its subject one of two of the most famous ninth-century churches in the hills of Oviedo, San Miguel de Naranco (the other being San Miguel de Lillo). The author unpacks the way in which the iconography reflects a theology of regal power that bolstered the authority of the Asturian kings. An essay on urban space, “Oviedo: de la ciudad romana al siglo dorado de la Reconquista,” traces the long trajectory development of Oviedo. In contrast, “Nomini Ithacii; Teodenandus conversos: Consagración personal y territorio,” considers the consecrated life and its territorial consequences in terms of personal property. The impact on a monastery from pre-to-post Muslim conquest is the subject of “El monasterio de San Martín de Castañeda/ San Martiño de Castañeira. Un enclave del noroeste mozarabizado.” Studies touching upon paleography and diplomatics are “El léxicu de la llingua asturiana y los documentos orixinales de los sieglos IX-X” — written in Asturian, known as ‘Bable’—and “La intitulación en la documentación regia: de Pelayo a Alfonso VI” “La diplomática del reino de Asturias (718-910).” In the related field of epigraphy we have “Latin medieval inscriptions devoted to the kings of Asturias (711-910),” the only essay in English. Lastly, one essay offers a select bibliographical overview of modern scholarship on Asturias, “El Reino de Asturias: bibliografía selecta.”
The essays are not organized thematically, which would have been desirable. Equally desirable would have been to include chronological maps in an appendix showing the geographical evolution of this region immediately after the Muslim invasion through the tripartite division of this part of the Iberian Peninsula. Subject and author indexes are absent and should have been included to facilitate consultation. These omissions in no way detract from the quality of the essays. The volumes have much to offer scholars who work in this region of Spain and period. One thing that became clear to this reviewer after perusing these splendid essays is that research on the history and culture of Asturias in all of its facets offers abundant opportunities for research. Undoubtedly this new series will play a role in this regard; we look forward to future volumes.

Alberto Ferreiro, Seattle Pacific University


This is an important addition to the social history of early modern Spain. Based on thoroughgoing research in the archives of Toledo, Stephanie Fink De Backer has provided a nuanced and engaging portrait of a group of women who struggled to remain autonomous within the constraints of a patriarchal society.

The first part of the book, Chapters 1-3, examines the prescriptive literature and other texts that sought to shape the behavior of widows. Here she analyzes the expected texts, like Vives’ *Education of a Christian Woman* and Luis de León’s *The Perfect Wife*. She also turns her attention to sermons and the writing of other moralists. All of these works sought primarily to restrain the widow from the stereotypical expectations of promiscuity and profligacy. Fink De Backer is to be commended for her careful reading of these texts that regards them in their entirety, rather than simply citing the most salient sound bites. As such, a well-rounded and nuanced picture of this literature emerges. Alongside these types of secular literature she includes a careful reading of how widows appear in the *comedia*. In her treatment of this genre, Fink De Backer makes the provocative argument that the dearth of depictions of widows as heads of household is a revealing absence. Historians and literary scholars have long debated the connection between the *comedias* and golden-age Spanish society. Are they a direct reflection of prevailing norms or something more nuanced? For Fink De Backer the *comedia* is about exaggeration and satire as a means of expressing social commentary. Thus, she posits, the lack of widows heading households as characters in these plays points to the social acceptance of their performance of this role. Finally, as Fink De Backer reveals in Chapter 3, widows were not always repressively constrained by the guidelines prescribed by secular literature, but often turned these standards to their advantage. Widows could deploy the ideal of the good widow to protect themselves from accusations, or to cover up activities that might have been deemed inappropriate.
The second part of the book turns to the heart of Fink De Backer’s archival evidence to explore how widows conducted their daily lives. Widows possessed significant property rights, frequently acted as guardians for their children, and often stepped in to run their husbands’ estates and businesses. Her work joins Grace Coolidge’s on women acting as guardians in early modern Spain, helping to provide a full picture of the substantial responsibilities these women assumed. Fink De Backer’s analysis of how widows participated in the local economy after their husbands’ deaths is one of the book’s strongest chapters. She details their connections to trades, guilds, and salaried labor, providing an important window into the lives of both elite and non-elite widows. This section might have benefited from a broader engagement with recent scholarship on women and work in the early modern period. Her evidence of widows’ continued participation in guild workshops, for example, is a significant finding that should be weighed against the evidence of the backlash against such participation in other parts of Europe.

Part Three extends some of the arguments made previously in the book to look at issues of poverty and charity and their role in the lives of these women. Fink De Backer finds, for example, that men entered charitable institutions in greater numbers than widows who tended to receive in-home charity. She argues that this was not, as the prescriptive literature would have us believe, because of a desire to enclose them. Instead, she believes, it “highlights the value placed on their necessary role in maintaining family and community” (256). While her evidence supports this contention, this is still an intriguing argument that will undoubtedly create debate among historians of gender.

At first glance, some of the subject of Fink De Backer’s work might seem like well-trodden territory. Surely, by now we know that Spanish women (and their European counterparts for that matter) did not adhere to the demands for their quiet reclusion and passivity. And Fink De Backer’s widows are no exception; we find in them strong and resilient women who protected their autonomy with savvy acumen. But her work is important, because it adds depth and nuance to this scholarly understanding of the limits of patriarchy in the early modern world. Her work makes two additional contributions to the literature that merit noting here. The first is her careful detailing of the lives of non-elite widows. Here her work joins that of Allyson Poska (who has analyzed the lives of early modern peasant women in Galicia). In fact, the juxtaposition of the two books invites an interesting comparison between Poska’s rural women and Fink De Backer’s urban ones. What similarities and differences would emerge from this comparison and what might this tell us about the operations of gender in early modern non-elite Spanish society? The second contribution is her attentiveness to questions of material culture and the use of space. Fink De Backer offers an excellent exploration and analysis of the homes, furnishings, and clothing of these women, thereby adding depth to our knowledge of their lived experiences.

Overall, Fink De Backer has made an excellent contribution to the social history of early modern Spain. The book also deserves a wide readership among those who study women and gender in the early modern world.

Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, Cleveland State University

AARHMS Newsletter Fall 2011

*Rulers and Ruled in Frontier Catalonia* is a imaginative and rigorous study of politics and power in one corner of the late Carolingian world. Exploiting Catalonia's peculiarly rich archives, Jarrett traces with subtlety and precision what he calls “pathways of power.”

After surveying the broader political history of Carolingian Catalonia in the book's introduction, Jarrett pursues his argument in three chapters, each of which is a case study of how different groups and individuals gained and exercised power. In chapter 1, “Vallfogona and the Vall de Sant Joan: a community in the grip of change,” Jarrett describes the monastery of Sant Joan’s remarkable extension of power during the early decades of the tenth century. Under the dynamic leadership of Abbess Emma, the monastery expanded its territorial reach and imposed its authority on neighboring landowners, swallowing whole fertile valleys and the communities within them. The most striking evidence for this process appears in a set of documents which record hundreds of the inhabitants of Vallfogona acknowledging the overlordship of Sant Joan and its abbess. Placed alongside dozens of more routine transactions, these curious records show that the monastery was a powerful engine of settlement and a remarkably aggressive neighbor. Surviving records inevitably offer the clearest view of the abbess and her allies, but Jarrett also conveys a sense of how local populations responded in different ways to Sant Joan's expansionary energies.

In chapter 2, "Three Neighbours of St. Peter," Jarrett explores the distinctive political orders in three different "terms" (Malla, l'Esquerda, and Gurb) in the diocese of Vic. Forty-four charters referring to Malla, for example, together paint a picture "affluent stability" in the period. Jarrett charts the nuclei of settlement and various territorial subdivisions. In general, continuity was the rule, but one sees the growing wealth of some middling landowners, such as Ennegó who appears in a handful of records from the 970s and 980s. The record from l'Esquerda is patchier, perhaps in part because of the area's relative isolation and less dynamic economy. Gurb, finally, appears as a case of developing lordship in pioneer lands. This exploration of the interaction of local and supra-local powers in three places dramatizes how diverse were "the pathways of power." Among other things, Jarrett carefully anatomizes the dynamism of peasant society in the region described first by Pierre Bonnassie. Jarrett discerns numerous, interconnected, levels of power encompassing modest independent proprietors, more prosperous and entrepreneurial landholders, and rich locals who sought to connect themselves to centers of episcopal and comital authority further afield. These diverse “pathways” defy easy summary, but that is precisely because Jarrett offers such a richly textured account of how power was acquired and exercised. The tenth-century political order was, in other words, not merely a matter of lords and peasants.

Jarrett devotes the third chapter, "Power with a Name," to those whose power rested at least in theory on royal delegation: the region’s counts. The centerpiece of the chapter is a study of the long career of Borrell II, count of Barcelona, Girona, Osona, and Urgell from the middle of the tenth century to his death in 993. Evidence becomes more abundant in the final decades of
the century and Borrell's activities are documented in nearly 200 records. Jarrett uses this ample corpus to map the count's associates and ambitions. The author also examines the next wrungs down in the political hierarchy: viscounts and vicarii. More than fifty records show the vicarius Sal.la cobbled together an impressive condominium of lands and castles through inheritance, comital favor, and personal enterprise.

This is a rich and engaging study. The current reviewer comes away with great admiration for Jarrett’s accomplishment and two reservations about the volume’s organization and argument. In the volume’s introduction, the author situates his work in a broader comparative framework, describing *Rulers and Ruled* as a contribution to our understanding of the fringes of the Carolingian world. Jarrett does an excellent job of reconstructing the contours of power in this region, but devotes little energy to comparing Catalonia's "pathways of power" to those in Carolingian Bavaria or Carolingian Lombardy. Given the volume's stated framework, readers might hope for more discussion of how, for example, Borrell II, Ennegó, and Emma stacked up against their contemporaries elsewhere in the Carolingian world. Catalonia was the only part of the Iberian peninsula to be integrated into the Carolingian empire so there is a way in which this Carolingian perspective makes a good deal of sense. But a focus on Catalonia as part of the Carolingian world is not without its drawbacks. As Jarrett notes, one distinguishing feature of the legal and political order of Catalonia was the continued application of Visigothic law and the endurance of some Visigothic administrative titles. Such practices link Catalonia more decisively to other parts of the Iberian peninsula rather than to other places on the Carolingian periphery.

A second question arises from Jarrett’s handling of historiographic questions. Because of the pioneering work of Pierre Bonnassie, Tom Bisson, Paul Freedman, Josep Maria Salrach, and others, Catalonia has loomed large in contentious debates about “feudal transformation” in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the introduction to *Rulers and Ruled*, Jarrett sketches the contours of these debates but indicates that rather than engaging them head-on he prefers to let the records speak for themselves. One might sympathize with his desire to avoid the mess altogether, but many of this volume’s likely readers will want to know how the author’s meticulous analysis of power affects his understanding of change and continuity. Do the diverse “pathways of power” Jarrett so carefully describes change in this period? Given the book’s subject and timeframe, some readers may be reluctant to grant Jarrett the neutrality he seems to desire.

These quibbles are perhaps just a way of asking for more of a good thing. Jarrett has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of the tenth century. His mastery of the evidence allows him to sketch an impressive gallery of tenth-century rulers (and ruled) from humble alodialists to members of Barcelona’s comital dynasty. The result is a high-resolution picture of Carolingian Catalonia's political microclimates. Throughout, Jarrett is a confident and congenial guide. *Rulers and Ruled* should enjoy an appreciative audience among Carolingianists and Hispanists alike.

*Jeffrey Bowman, Kenyon College*

As we reach the tenth anniversary of the attacks on New York and Washington DC— it is tempting to envision a scholarly ‘Generation of 9/11’, characterized by a renewed commitment to dialogue across confessional lines, and to addressing at least some of the ethical and political currency of our fields of expertise. In institutional terms, this commitment is expressed in new initiatives such as the creation of the Center for Dialogues at New York University, which hosted—on 6 October 2010—a symposium exemplifying the unexpected way in which medieval Iberian studies, once marginal, have taken centre stage, and the Mediterranean has reclaimed its place as an iconic locus of cultural exchange, even as geopolitical power has shifted to the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The symposium, entitled “The Meaning of Averroes and Maimonides for our Times: How to Make the Mediterranean Space a Community of Reason, Tolerance, Progress, and Prosperity,” featured a screening and presentation of a new documentary—itself almost ten years in the making—by New York-based filmmaker Jacob Bender, *Out of Córdoba: Averroes and Maimonides in Their Time and Ours* [http://outofcordoba.com].

Long a leading participant in American Jewish efforts to achieve a resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict, Bender narrates *Out of Córdoba* from the perspective of a committed activist for interfaith dialogue and cultural understanding; the film has allegedly been “ostracized in the American Jewish community” because of its criticism of Israeli occupation policies.¹ This is his first feature-length documentary; scholarly advisors include David B. Burrell (Philosophy/Theology, Notre Dame), Oliver Leaman (Philosophy/Judaic Studies, University of Kentucky), Michael Barry (Near Eastern Studies, Princeton), and Reuven Firestone (Medieval Judaism and Islam, Hebrew Union College-LA). It begins with the foundational trauma of 9/11: a trauma no less shocking, for those who witnessed it, for the fact that its violence has been replicated and duplicated many times before and since. Images of an Indian summer day in the Sheep Meadow, in Central Park, give way to falling towers, toxic dust clouds, and sirens. Here, Bender’s intellectual journey—which shapes the structure of the film—has its origins: “Is there really a clash of civilizations between Islam and the West?”, he wonders. “Are Jews and Muslims eternal enemies, fated to fight with each other without end?” Rejecting the political co-option of tragedy, the filmmaker confesses his disillusionment with the unfolding of US foreign policy in the following months and years, and expresses his “need to rediscover hope and idealism”. Inevitably, from our perspective—less so, from that of our students—the path of rediscovery leads back across the Atlantic to Spain, whose distant past, we are told (as Bender sits aboard the plane), “beckoned with visions of religious harmony”.

In its main intellectual threads, *Out of Córdoba* is cut from cloth very similar to Maria Rosa Menocal’s *Ornament of the World*: a text which is also filtered through the prism of New York (through a culture of hybridity and tolerance the author clearly associates with the United States), and one which in certain respects can be read as a direct historical transposition of her family’s own history of exile from Cuba. Interviewed by the filmmaker in the gardens of the

¹ Bender, private communication to reviewer.
Generalife, Menocal defends her book from the critiques launched in a particularly active phase of what Ryan Szpiech refers to as the ‘convivencia wars’\(^2\): “I meant to emphasize a *culture* of tolerance,” she suggests, not a modern ideology of tolerance. Bender’s own narrative, it has to be said, presents al-Andalus in a manner which—if a useful antidote to Islamophobia in society and in the classroom—embodies a more unabashedly romantic rediscovery of the past: this was, he affirms, “a paradise of light and learning.”

Bender’s film is structured principally as a dual exploration of the lives and symbolic significance of Ibn Rushd (b. 1126) and his near contemporary, Maimonides (b. 1138): two philosophers whose influence emanated ‘out of Cordoba.’\(^3\) Both, Bender affirms, worked close to the palaces of power; both attempted to reconcile Aristotle to their own sacred texts; both faced opposition from within their own communities; and both, ultimately, represent a reasoned antidote to fanatical religious orthodoxy. Ibn Rushd is presented as an enlightened reformer, embodying an openness and spirit of dialogue that foreshadow—as former Spanish foreign minister Miguel Ángel Moratinos asserts—the current *Alianza de Civilizaciones* initiative led by the socialist government of José Luís Rodríguez Zapatero, and lay down the gauntlet to modern fundamentalists. A Parisian sequence in the film, taking its cues partly from a chapter in *Ornament* entitled “Banned in Paris,” envisions him as the forerunner of a transhistorical Left Bank, later to encompass Aquinas, Voltaire, Darnton, Camus, and Derrida. Maimonides, for his part, is portrayed as a figure of resistance to competing forms of twelfth-century intolerance; equally, while conscious of his commercial exploitation (in the form of Rambam soap, for instance), the film envisions the spirit of the Jewish philosopher—and Sephardic culture more broadly—as a counterbalance to current Middle Eastern conflicts.

Bender struggles briefly with the paradox that Maimonides’ family, fleeing al-Andalus in the face of Almohad dogmatism, chooses subsequently to remain within Almohad territory, and indeed there are certainly questions to be asked about the conventional, still current image of the Almohad movement as an expression of characteristically Berber fanaticism; such images owe more than a little to colonial visions of the Maghreb, as Allen Fromherz, Amira Bennison, and María Angeles Gallego,\(^4\) among others, have suggested. Ibn Rushd, as Fromherz points out, may in fact have been more typical of Almohad culture than conventional wisdom would have it.

\(^2\) “The *Convivencia* Wars: Decoding Historiography’s Polemic with Philology,” in *A Sea of Languages: Literature and Culture in the Pre-modern Mediterranean* (University of Toronto Press, forthcoming).

\(^3\) There is also a conscious echoing of the film title *Out of Africa*, but this echo does not extend beyond the grammatical (Bender, private communication to reviewer).

For specialists, the principal value of Out of Córdoba may well be as a tool for teaching for students for whom 9/11 is a vague childhood memory and medieval Iberia remains terra incognita. One hopes, however, that it will also catalyze further academic dialogue of the kind that unfolded at the NYU symposium on the significance of the distant past in our conflictive present. Among the discussants at the symposium was the then-Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya at the United Nations, Abdurrahman Mohamed Shalgam, who in March 2011 would resign from his role as a representative of Colonel Gaddafi’s regime in an emotional speech at the UN. Condemning the fusion of religion and state, and referring to Wahhabi Islam as “Islam of the Desert, Plus Oil”, Shalgam called for a new form of Islam: we cannot have the Islam of fourteen centuries ago, he suggested. In the light of the events that have unfolded in Libya this year, it will be worth asking—along with Jacob Bender—how an awareness of the medieval web of Spanish-North African relations might inform public policy-making in the Mediterranean region and beyond.

Simon Doubleday, Hofstra University

Members’ Announcements

Dwayne Carpenter announces he has been asked to participate in an international project based in Nantes and partially funded by the European Union devoted to the legal status of religious minorities in the Euro-Mediterranean world (5th-15th centuries). His work will focus on Alfonso X’s legislative agenda, as articulated in Siete partidas 7.24, 25, concerning Jews and Muslims.

He has also accepted an invitation to serve on the Board of Editors of a new Boston College publication, the Levantine Review.

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Simon Doubleday announces the following publications:


“Hacia la descolonización del concepto de convivencia: algunos apuntes sobre el contexto norteamericano,” in Ariel Guiance, ed., La influencia de la historiografía española en la producción histórica americana (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2010), 59-75.

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Olivia Remie Constable announces the second edition of her edited volume: *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). Many fellow medieval iberianists have helped with this new edition, providing suggestions and new translations. The second edition contains all of the materials that were in the first edition (one text is now in a new translation), together with many new texts and illustrations.

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Roger Collins announces that his book, *Caliphs and Kings, Spain 798-1031* is due to be published by Wiley-Blackwell in April 2012. It will complete (at long last!) the fourteen volume Wiley-Blackwell 'History of Spain' series, which was first devised in the mid-1980s and covers the whole history of Spain from the Palaeolithic to the Present.

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Brian Catlos announces that together with Sharon Kinoshita, he will direct a 3rd NEH Summer Institute for University and College Professors (and graduate students), to be held in Barcelona, July 2-27, 2012. "Networks and Knowledge in the Medieval Muslim-Christian-Jewish Mediterranean" focuses on the medieval Mediterranean as a zone of cultural, scientific, and technological innovation. The facility with which ideas and technologies traversed the Mediterranean is testament to the commonalities underlying the apparent contrasts between ethnic and religious groups. The Institute’s distinguished multidisciplinary Guest Faculty includes: Peregrine Horden, Olivia Remie Constable, Charles Burnett, Karla Mallette, Fernando Salmón, and George Saliba. For general information and in order to apply, see the NEH website (www.neh.gov). Detailed information regarding this and our previous Institutes (2008 & 2010), please see the Mediterranean Seminar website (www.mediterraneanseminar.org).

They will also direct a workshop entitled, "Ethno-Religious Diversity and Cultural Innovation in the Medieval Mediterranean" at the 13th Mediterranean Research Meeting held by the Robert Schuman Centre of the European University Institute at Montecatini, Italy, 21-24 March 2012.

Catlos continues as PI and co-director of the Mediterranean Seminar/University of California Multi-Campus Research Project. Proposals for papers are being accepted for our winter and spring workshops (February 7 at UC San Diego, and April 7 at the University of Colorado at Boulder, respectively). For more information and to get on our mailing list, please contact mailbox@mediterraneanseminar.org.
This year he received a $38,000 Innovative Seed Grant for Mediterranean Studies from the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, University of Colorado at Boulder.

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Alexandra Guerson announces she will defend her dissertation “Coping with Crises: Christian-Jewish Relations in Catalonia and Aragon, 1380-1391” at the University of Toronto in January, 2012.

In May 2012, Alexandra is going to Barcelona and Girona to being a new research project with Dana Wessell Lightfoot on Jewish Women in the Crown of Aragon, 1350-1450.

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Sandra Correa-Suarez announces the coming publication of The Function of Clothing in the Feminine Spanish Picaresque Novel. Last Summer, she also coordinated the event, and present a paper about the "Jewish Latino Diaspora in Latino America and United States" for the LAJSA conference at Arizona State University in Tempe.

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Jim Brodman announces he is retiring from teaching as of December 31, 2011. LIBRO will continue to be housed in the History Department at the University of Central Arkansas. My colleague, Dr. Chris Craun (craunc@uca.edu) has agreed to watch over LIBRO and maintain its holdings in Iberian history.

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In May 2012, Dana is going to archives in Barcelona and Girona to begin a new research project with Alexandra Guerson on Jewish Women in the Crown of Aragon, 1350-1450.

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David Arbesú announces the following publications:


**Digital Edition of La fazienda de Ultramar.** Accessible on-line at www.lafaziendadeultramar.com

“Cronicones de frontera: La historiografía medieval de Rolando Hinojosa”. Hispanófila 163 (forthcoming Fall 2011).


Presentations and Lectures:


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Andrew Kurt announces the publication of “Spain and North Africa (1400-1900)” and “Pasha, Jurdar (Morocco)—ca. 1590”, Cultural Sociology of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa (Sage Publications), in press.

He also presented “the Christian-Muslim Divide in Society and Family During the Martyr Crisis in al-Andalus (850s)”, at the Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Seminar, Valle Crucis, NC (Oct, 2011).

Congratulations to all of our members!
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Please email address corrections to Dana Lightfoot, newsletter editor at: lightfoot@unbc.ca

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