

**THE EMPIRE PAST AND PRESENT:
DISCURSIVE TREATMENT OF THE *TRANSLATIO IMPERII*
IN ALFONSO X'S *ESTORIA DE ESPANNA* AS A
LEGITIMISATION OF THE *FECHO DEL IMPERIO*.**

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ABSTRACT

Language is, and has always been, a tool for power. This thesis addresses this issue by looking at 13th century Iberia and, particularly, the reign of Alfonso X, king of Castile and Leon (1252 – 1284). As a candidate for the Holy Roman Empire, Alfonso X focused his efforts to obtain the imperial crown in an enterprise that crystallised in the collective imaginary as the *Fecho del Imperio*. Whilst his dream failed, in order to legitimise and defend his rights the Learned king appropriated the ideological narrative and developed a historiography that would influence the centuries to come.

In an attempt to develop our understanding of this, I have analysed the text of the Roman section of the *Estoria de Espanna, opus magnum* of Alfonsine scriptorium. My main objective has been to look at the efforts of *translatio* and *adaptatio* (of previous sources in Latin), and *inventio* found in the text that built the imperial imaginary of the chronicle. My analysis has revealed four repetitive topics embedded in the text that are essential in understanding Alfonso X's imperial ideology: the very concept of empire/*sennorio* and the *Translatio Imperii*; the importance of lineage for succession to the empire; the didactic character of the chronicle that established the features desirable in an emperor; and lastly, the surveillance of God in the transfer of the empire, a concept that removed any doubt in Alfonso X's suitability for the role of emperor. The results have demonstrated that Alfonso X was acutely aware of the forces he had to overcome, and the people he had to convince, in order to achieve the imperial crown: the Castilian-Leonese *Cortes* and the rest of the Iberian monarchs, and the Christian Church, embodied by the papacy.

Finally, this thesis also demonstrates that Alfonso and his *Estoria de Espanna* are part of a wider European intellectual background that explains his desire in pursuing the imperial crown. When studied in isolation, Alfonso X's imperial dream seems an exercise of stubbornness, but the theoretical plausibility of the endeavour, and the support of a wider intellectual network shows otherwise: the Alfonsine project might not have been the reckless undertaking that his successors would have us believe.

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During these years I have been told on numerous occasions that research is a lonely road. Fortunately, my experience as a PhD researcher has been quite different, and this thesis is the product of three years of love, support, and friendship.

I would like to start by expressing my gratitude to the Sir Henry Thomas Doctoral Scholarship, for allowing me to solely devote these last three years to the pure joy of research.

But if there is something that has helped me more than the financial support in achieving this dream, it is the human support I have had all the way through this adventure.

In the first place, my supervisors: Prof Aengus Ward and Dr Simon Yarrow. When I first arrived at the University of Birmingham with great motivation and little experience, their guidance was essential in helping bring order to my chaotic mind. Thank you for your patience, for all your help with my always improvable academic English (Mia, you also deserve a mention here, for all your help with the proofreading of this thesis). And, ultimately, thank you both for helping me find my own voice. You have always challenged me to be a better researcher and your lessons will become part of my academic practice for the years to come. It has been a pleasure to work alongside you, and this thesis would not have been possible without your academic, but also your emotional, support.

Of course, this acknowledgement also extends to my mentor at the Universidad de Huelva, Dr Juan Luis Carriazo Rubio, who showed me the marvels of the Middle Ages and pointed me in the right direction, encouraging me to introduce myself to Aengus with the faint hope of working under his tutelage.

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Finally, to my family. To my mom, who always trusted in me and pushed me forwards, even when I did not have the strength; and to those who already left, without whose help my dream would not have even started.

To all of you that have been part of my journey, thank you.

*Si hubiera estado presente en la Creación, habría
dado algunas indicaciones útiles.*

*Had I been present at the Creation, I would have
given some useful hints for the better ordering of
the universe.*

(Alfonso X, King of Castile and Leon)¹

This thesis was proofread for conventions of language, spelling, and
grammar by Ms Mia Parkes.

¹ Apocryphal sentence attributed to Alfonso X while discussing Ptolemy's theory of astronomy, reported by Carlyle, *History of Friedrich II of Prussia, Called Frederick the Great Vol.2*, chap. VII.

INTRODUCTION: AIMS, PURPOSES AND METHODS OF THIS THESIS

Amongst all the chronicles produced in Iberia during the Middle Ages, and all the kings that ruled over the Peninsula in the same period, the *Estoria de Espanna* and Alfonso X have likely been the most well-known and well-studied by scholars in the past 120 years. The works created in the *scriptorium* of the Learned King, who ruled Castile and Leon between 1252 and 1284, changed the ways of approaching knowledge, science, and history for centuries to come. In particular, the creation of the Alfonsine historiographical model developed a new standard of (re)writing history in the Middle Ages, and its innovations are still studied by present-day scholars. Alfonso X and the works produced under his rule have been the centre of the academic discussion for decades, and the scholarly community is still far from comprehending the magnitude of the Alfonsine endeavour on both the political and the cultural sides of the coin. In the field of historical studies, authors such as Manuel González Jiménez, Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Carlos Estepa Díez, and José María Nieto Soria, amongst many others, have been essential in the development of the historical, social, and ideological context surrounding the life of Alfonso X.² On the other hand, scholars such as Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Diego Catalán, Charles Fraker, Leonardo Funes, and Inés Fernández-Ordóñez lead the list of academics who have devoted their researches to the analysis of the cultural endeavour planned and promoted by the Learned King, in which the *Estoria de Espanna* occupies a distinct place.³

² See, amongst other works González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004; González Jiménez, 'Alfonso X, El sueño del Imperio'; de Ayala Martínez, *Directrices fundamentales de la política peninsular de Alfonso X*; Nieto Soria, 'Principios teóricos y evolución de la política eclesiástica de Alfonso X'; Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*. For more studies, refer to the Bibliography of this thesis.

³ See, amongst other works Menéndez Pidal, 'Cómo Trabajaron Las Escuelas Alfonsíes'; Catalán, *La Estoria de Espanna de Alfonso X*; Catalán, *De la silva textual al taller historiográfico alfonsí*; Fraker, *The Scope of History*; Fraker, 'Alfonso X, the Empire and the Primera Crónica'; Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*; Fernández-Ordoñez, 'El Taller Historiográfico Alfonsí'. For more studies, refer to the Bibliography of this thesis.

These works are the backbone of this research and, under their light, the present thesis aims to complete the academic panorama by addressing two of the topics that, despite coming hand in hand, have been addressed separately in many studies: the imperial aspirations of Alfonso X and the problems surrounding his failure; and how this ambition was manifested in Alfonsine historiography, most essentially in the *Estoria de Espanna*, although the interconnection between these two topics has started very recently to gain attention, as one of Fernández-Ordóñez's last articles shows.⁴ In this way, the main purpose of this thesis is to analyse and comprehend the discursive treatment of empire and the imperial idea within the text of the chronicle: how it was embedded, the main ideas transmitted that linked the empire to the figure of Alfonso X, and the main mechanisms used to portray these ideas and create the ideological framework of the chronicle.

In this light, the interdisciplinary nature of this thesis incorporates research within the fields of imperial studies, and memory and remembrance, and therefore, will contribute to the scholarship led by academics such as Robert Folz, and Pierre Racine on the one hand, who have researched on the concepts of empire and *Translatio Imperii* and their evolution⁵; and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, Michael Clanchy, and Michel de Certeau, amongst other scholars who have reflected on the exercise of writing history and its connection to the historical and political context in which chronicles were written.⁶ In this sense, the present research will apply the known scholarship to the Castilian scenario and will situate Alfonso X, and his historiography, in the European imperial scenario.

Upon my first approach I intended to analyse the discursive treatment of certain Roman emperors and rulers within the Alfonsine historiography in an attempt to exhibit, through their representations, the main mechanisms

⁴ Fernández-Ordóñez, 'The Imperium in Alfonso X's Historiography'.

⁵ See, amongst other works: Folz, *The concept of empire in Western Europe*; Folz, *L'idée d'empire en occident du Ve au XIVe siècle*; Racine, *La notion d'empire chez les empereurs Staufens*; For more studies, refer to the Bibliography of this thesis.

⁶ See, amongst other works: Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*; Spiegel, *The Past as Text*; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*; de Certeau, *The Writing of History*. For more studies, refer to the Bibliography of this thesis.

used in the *Estoria de Espanna* and the *General Estoria* to legitimise the imperial dream of Alfonso X. However, this vision proved to be partial and did not include all the imperial content of Alfonso X's ideology. Alfonsine historiography, and particularly the *Estoria de Espanna* are, as I will demonstrate, ideological objects in both content and structure, and need to be analysed as such. This meant a widening on the subject of study and, bearing in mind the aims and length of this thesis, I also made the decision to narrow the field of my research. I did so with the objective of increasing the visibility of this project, and with the hope of offering an in-depth study of the means and manifestations of imperial ideology in Alfonso X's historiography. Thus, whilst mentions of the *General Estoria* will be made throughout this thesis, the focus of my research will be the *Estoria de Espanna*. The reasons for this decision are various. It is true that the *General Estoria* also uses some of the ideological mechanisms of the *Estoria de Espanna* and its text is very revealing on the ideological purposes of history within the Alfonsine ideological framework: however, this universal chronicle was planned after the conception of the *Estoria de Espanna* with a similar ideological context, but sadly remained unfinished, ending during the times of the emperor Augustus.⁷ Accordingly, the imperial history was left out of the chronicle, and as this thesis will demonstrate, the account of the Roman emperors is essential to understand Alfonso X's imperial ideology. Therefore, the main source for this thesis will be the *Estoria de Espanna*, as a universal chronicle.

It was also necessary, owing to the limitations of this thesis, to further specialise my research on the *Estoria de Espanna*, although any continuation of this research in further projects would be highly encouraged. In this case, two variables were considered to narrow down the object of study: primarily, this research focuses on the imperial ideology of Alfonso X, which, as I will explore, was largely linked to the Ancient Roman Empire. Furthermore, and as will be also mentioned in the corresponding chapter, the Alfonsine chronicle is primarily divided in two uneven sections, containing the first one

⁷ Of the five books that have lasted to the present day, the fifth is inconclusive and only twenty draft pages are conserved, ending the account in the moment in which Saint Anne conceives Mary.

from the beginning of the text with the Biblical origins, up to the end of the Roman account of the chronicle, and the second the history of the Barbarians, the Goths, and the Christian Kingdoms.⁸ As means of historical compilation change between these two sections – and it is in the first one in which the major part of the imperial mentions are made – I therefore considered it appropriate in this thesis to focus my discursive analysis on the first section of the *Estoria de Espanna*. Thus, whilst I will mention other chapters from the second section, this thesis will analyse imperial discourse within the first 371 chapters of the chronicle. The edition I have used for this analysis is the University of Birmingham’s digital edition of the *Estoria de Espanna*, directed by Professor Aengus Ward.⁹ This project fulfilled the need for a new edition of the Alfonsine chronicle edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal in 1906.¹⁰ From the various manuscripts that can be consulted in the digital edition, which offers the complete transcription of seven of the over forty manuscripts that transmit the chronicle, this thesis will be using ms. E₁, also known by its signature Escorial Y-I-2, conserved at the monastery of El Escorial, in Madrid. This text is the first royal production of the chronicle, and the closest to the royal *scriptorium*, which is why it is also known as *manuscrito regio*, or royal manuscript. It was the closeness of this manuscript to the context of its composition that influenced my decision to consult it as the main source for my research. In the proximity between text and context, the ideology embedded in the chronicle at that very particular historical moment may then be identified.

Upon narrowing the subject of my study, I began the close analysis of the text in order to identify the imperial and ideological input of these first 371 chapters of the *Estoria de Espanna*. It was particularly important to this thesis to analyse how the sources of the chronicle were used and adapted to fit the Alfonsine ideology. In this sense, it was essential to analyse all the sources used in this section of the *Estoria de Espanna*. As a basis for this

⁸ See chapter 3.2, “The Use of Sources in the *Estoria de Espanna*”, p.61

⁹ Alfonso X, *Estoria de Espanna Digital v.2.0*.

¹⁰ Minor edits or corrections were also made in editions published in 1955 and 1977.

detailed exploration, the list of sources within the *Estoria de Espanna* published in the 1955 reedition of the chronicle by Ramón Menéndez Pidal has been essential.¹¹ The subsequent step was, then, to initiate a process of identification of imperial footprints within the Alfonsine chronicle, largely through the analysis of these sources. Therefore, this study examined how the *Estoria de Espanna* used its sources to compose its new text and create its new imperial discourse. As a result of this process, this thesis also offers an update to the sources listed by Menéndez Pidal and their incorporation to the Alfonsine text, since discrepancies were noted during the process of analysis.¹²

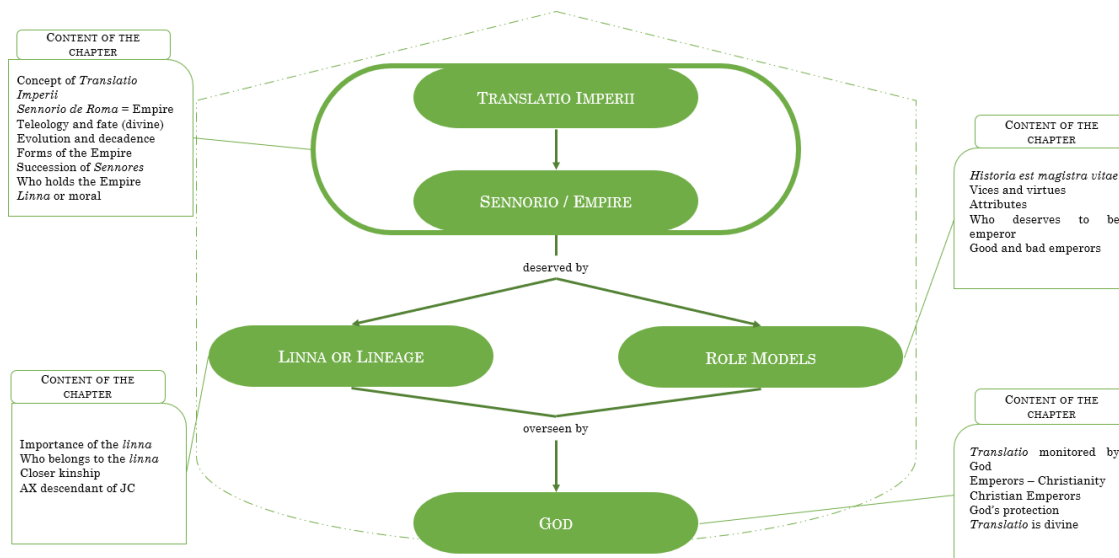
To systematically approach the text and its sources, I made use of spreadsheets within this research in order to condense all the information from Menéndez Pidal's study, the new locations in the digital edition, my own research conclusions, and the discrepancies and updates made to the list of sources. This methodology has allowed for a systematic comparison between the sources and the Alfonsine text, and therefore a better understanding of how the translation and adaptation of the sources made it to the chronicle. Furthermore, it was during this stage of the research that I began to identify certain patterns within the Alfonsine text: a series of themes in particular were persistently and coherently present throughout the entire first section of the *Estoria de Espanna*. In this sense, whilst the imperial element of the chronicle works as a unicum, it was possible to discern four specific ideas that were, I believe, essential in the configuration of the chronicle's imperial imagery, and were deeply affected by the context of its composition and of the rule of Alfonso X. All these themes are entangled, connected, and work dynamically as one, and therefore although it is possible to read just the corresponding chapter of this thesis to approach a certain topic, their magnitude cannot be fully understood without a consideration of their interaction with the others. The identified reiterative themes are:

¹¹ Alfonso X, *Primera crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*.

¹² See Appendix II, "Sources of the *Estoria de Espanna* (Chapters 1-371)"

- The idea of empire, or in words of the chronicle, *Sennorío*, as an entity that needs to be transferred, and therefore linked to the idea of *Translatio Imperii*, the transfer of the empire. This is also linked to the definition of the ruler of the *Sennorío*, that is to say the *Sennor (natural)*, after whose succession the chronicle is structured.
- The importance of lineage in the choice of the right successor to the empire. In other words, the inheritability of the *Sennorío*, and how the successive *Sennores* should belong to a certain *linna*, using the words of Alfonso X.
- The importance of the traits and actions of the emperors, how role models would reinforce the empire, and how other emperors' vices should be avoided. All this is linked to the didactic purpose of the chronicle that emphasised its ideological goal.
- Finally, the intercession of divinity in the *Translatio Imperii*; the relationships between God, the ruler, and the Christian Church, and, therefore, the role of each of these institutions in the succession to the empire. These relations are a reflection of the political framework planned by King Alfonso X.

These four topics developed a particular dynamic in the *Estoria de Espanna*, and whilst the first one explained and gave meaning to the concept of the empire/*Sennorío* in the chronicle, the two following, the inheritance and the merits of the emperors, reflect the criteria that should be considered in the election of subsequent emperors – of course, as this research will show, all of these standards would fit to Alfonso X's lineage and personality. Finally, the last of the topics – the role and intervention of divinity and the relations between the different powers on earth in respect to God – was the subsuming element of this imperial ideology. It was the binder of all these different themes and gave divine meaning to the message Alfonso X was trying to transmit. The following diagram explains how these topics are related to each other and work together:



The structure of this thesis follows, then, the relation amongst these different themes: how they build towards the constitution of the imperial ideological framework of the chronicle, how they relate to the circumstances of composition of the text, and how they overlap and interact with each other to offer, through the historiographical narrative, a consistent overview of the ideas of empire and imperial succession.

The first chapter of this thesis, which deals with the notions of empire/*Sennorio* and *Translatio Imperii*, analyses the structural concept of the evolution of these empires/*Sennorios*, which were the spine of the *Estoria de Espanna*, and also explores the idea of Rome as the ultimate empire, still alive in the times of Alfonso X. This chapter finishes with the introduction to the problem of imperial succession that will be resolved in further chapters, by analysing the dual system of election elaborated in the chronicle. This thesis thus discusses the criterion of lineage, the importance of electing an emperor within the imperial family, and the possibility of maternal inheritance, which as the chapter develops, was linked to the ascension of Alfonso X. The following chapter then deals with the development of the didactic character of the *Estoria de Espanna* towards the support of the imperial cause, focusing on the relational cause/consequence established in the chronicle with regard to the attitude and traits of certain emperors, and

their connection to the reinforcement or weakening of the imperial institution. These two aspects reflect the dual elective system of the empire and create an outline for the desirable features in a candidate whilst supporting, of course, the imperial claims of the promoter of the chronicle.

The last of these core chapters addresses the divine input in the *Estoria de Espanna*. As the other chapters demonstrate, references to divinity were a constant throughout the chronicle, and specifically in this first section in which God, as is developed in the corresponding chapter, acted as an overseer of the *Translatio Imperii*, intervening when required to protect or punish different emperors and assure the transfer of the empire/*Sennorio*. This chapter also explores, given this direct input of God in the lives and destinies of the emperors, the different relationships established between divinity and the emperors, as well as between the emperors and the Christian Church. This last relationship, as this thesis demonstrates, was presented as lesser than that between the ruler and God, and therefore would remove the ecclesiastical hierarchy from all rights to elect the subsequent emperors.

As explained, these chapters are intrinsically linked, and mentions of the different themes can be found throughout the entire study. Although this thesis is recommended to be read as a whole, in order to systematise and make the subjects approachable independently, each chapter addresses the corresponding topic by identifying and defining the concept and its evolution up to the times of Alfonso X, to later focus on the detailed analysis of the text and its sources. These in-depth analyses explore how text and ideology are entangled in the Alfonsine chronicle, and how the sources were used, translated, and adapted to fit the ideological framework of the *Estoria de Espanna* and, by extension, Alfonso X's rule. The use of the sources and the efforts made towards the translation and rewriting of the chronicle proved to be essential in understanding the underlying ideological nuances behind the Alfonsine text, and its study allows us to recreate a sense of the political ideology and the means of political communication and propaganda in the

Estoria de Espanna, as a materialisation of the Learned King's political ideology.

Accordingly, this thesis offers an interdisciplinary methodological approach, in which the Alfonsine discourse is analysed from the perspective of the studies of political thought, but also from a philological point of view that considers the intention behind the efforts of translation, rewriting, and even *inventio*, seen in the Iberian Alfonsine chronicle. This thesis offers new perspectives on the relationships between text and context due to the inherently interdisciplinary nature of the research. whilst previous philological and historical endeavours have provided the foundation for this research, this thesis goes beyond such methodological approaches, combining both disciplines in order to provide a kaleidoscopic understanding of the past, and, in the case of this thesis, the treatment of the empire and its incorporation to historiography.

Thus, this research has been able to identify the different mechanisms of imperial legitimisation used by the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* in order to support Alfonso X's claim to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire and deal with the different opposition forces that did not agree with, or directly denied the aspirations of the Castilian-Leonese king. By addressing the research questions from the point of view of two different disciplines, it has been possible to offer a more complete perspective on what the empire meant to Alfonso X, and this study has contributed to close the gap in both the historical and philological fields that address the life, deeds, and cultural endeavour of the Learned King, by continuing some debates, and discussing others. In this respect, this research has attempted to offer a complete overview of the reach of Alfonsine ideology, where it comes from, how it evolves through time, and how it keeps being present after the failure of Alfonso X's imperial ambitions, something attempted by scholars in several occasions but not achieved completely – see, for instance the studies by Iturmendi Morales and Estepa Díez, that offer an “approach” to the imperial

ideology of Alfonso X.¹³ The ideology embedded in the *Estoria de Espanna*—which can be understood as a system of notions and ideals that framed and supported the political aspirations of Alfonso X—will be shown to be one of the main aspects of Alfonsine historiographical and cultural production. Historiography was the perfect vehicle to express this ideology, which sought to revive the glory of the past and vindicate the rights and motives of the Learned king.¹⁴ Thus, by addressing the aforementioned imperial themes, this thesis offers an approach that, as mentioned earlier, has only been touched upon in previous scholarship.

On the other hand, in the field of philological studies, this research agrees with and follows the previous scholar tradition, and particularly the contributions made by Inés Fernández-Ordóñez to the operations of the Alfonsine *scriptorium* and its intentions. However, the interdisciplinary approach and the in-depth and systematic analysis of the topics and the sources shown in this research will go a step further. Thus, the present research will prove, expand upon, and update the contributions and hypotheses raised previously by other scholars on the means and intentions of the process of writing history within the text of the *Estoria de Espana*.

As a secondary result of this methodology, and as was mentioned above, this research also contributes to existing scholarship with a thorough update of the list of sources published by Ramón Menéndez Pidal in 1955 up to chapter 371 of the *Estoria de Espanna*, which proves that whilst this constitutes an exceptional work that has eased the path to researchers over the last six decades, the time has come, with the resources currently available, to revise such works. Although this thesis, predominantly for reasons of length, has only offered a revision of this first section of the chronicle, the continuation of these studies is highly recommended, and if possible, should be digitally implemented in order to facilitate access to the scholars that require it.

¹³ Iturmendi Morales, 'En Torno a La Idea de Imperio En Alfonso X El Sabio'; Estepa Díez, 'La política imperial de Alfonso X'.

¹⁴ Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*, 1-2

In sum, this research has aimed to examine the Alfonsine text as a demonstration of the use of historiography as a political tool in which the selection of sources, their translation, and adaptation have together created an imperial discourse. In this way, this thesis explores the ideological dimension of the *Estoria de Espanna* as a material manifestation of the political goals of King Alfonso X, in connection with its political context, and focusing on the importance and power that resided in the historiographical genre in the 13th century Iberia.

SECTION I.- THE *FECHO DEL IMPERIO* CONTEXTUALISED: ALFONSO X, THE EMPIRE AND THE IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY

King Alfonso X was the monarch of Castile and Leon between 1252 and 1284 and became one of the most recognised rulers in the history of the Iberian Peninsula, both for his political decisions and his cultural endeavours. This has, as mentioned above, attracted the attention of numerous academics who, since the nineteenth century, have contributed to an extended collection of studies on the deeds and works of the Learned King. One of the topics that has received more attention is the so-called *Fecho del Imperio*,¹⁵ around which this thesis is constructed. This episode was decisive in the life of Alfonso X particularly in the political sense and was crucial to the development of relationships between the Castilian-Leonese monarchy and other Peninsular and European kingdoms and institutions. Alfonso X was, at one point, at the centre of the European political and ecclesiastical elites' view, since his project transcended the Iberian borders and aimed for universality by attempting to receive the imperial crown.

In order to approach the life and deeds of the Learned King, literature is abundant, and many academics have devoted works to the figure of Alfonso X. This thesis has, exhaustively, consulted various studies from the early works published by Busson and Ballesteros Beretta¹⁶ in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century to the canonical studies undertaken by scholars such as Manuel González Jiménez,¹⁷ or the more recent works by Joseph O'Callaghan and H. Salvador Martínez.¹⁸ Regarding the *Fecho del Imperio*, the historical episode has also raised the attention of numerous scholars, such as those already mentioned, or authors such as Carlos Estepa Díez, José Iturmendi Morales, Julio Valdeón Baroque, Carlos de Ayala

¹⁵ The *Fecho del Imperio* (1256-1275) is the nomenclature given to Alfonso X's aspirations to the Holy Roman Empire and the events related during the course of the so-called *Great Interregnum* (1250-1273)

¹⁶ Busson, *Die Doppelwahl Des Jahres 1257 Und Das Römische Königtum Alfons X. von Castilien*; Ballesteros Beretta, *Alfonso (X), Emperador Electo de Alemannia*.

¹⁷ See as an example González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 1993; González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004; González Jiménez, 'Fernando III El Santo y Alfonso X El Sabio'; González Jiménez, 'Alfonso X, El Sueño Del Imperio'. For more references, see Bibliography.

¹⁸ O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*; Martínez, *Alfonso X, El Sabio: Una Biografía*.

Martínez,¹⁹ and certainly Gianluca Pagani, who offered an updated – up to 2004 – bibliography on the topic.²⁰ These contributions will help with the configuration of the contextual framework of this thesis, which aims to explain the consequences of these events not only in the Iberian and European political scenarios, but also their ideological implications materialised in cultural witnesses, such as the *Estoria de Espanna*.

Therefore, the following pages will attempt to contextualise the imperial aspirations of King Alfonso X and tackle the concept of *Fecho del Imperio* by explaining the facts, but also by considering the ideology behind the empire. The historical context surrounding the death of Frederick II and the imperial endeavour of Alfonso X has been considered essential to the understanding of the present thesis, since it contributes to the interdisciplinary perspective of this research. This series of incidents and circumstances had a direct effect in all spheres of Alfonso X's life, including the historiography produced under his direction, and the following pages will introduce the characters, the events and the ideological traditions that helped the Learned King build his own political framework.

As the introduction of this study mentioned, there have only been attempts to recreate an Alfonsine imperial ideology, and this thesis aims to contribute to the scholarship in this matter. However, the present study will not approach the *Fecho del Imperio* and the events and ideology behind it as one notion, but has opted for the division of this complex concept between the historical events and the ideological sphere. The reason for this approach is that, even though the historical events surrounding the figure of Alfonso X during this turbulent period exercised a direct influence on his political ideology, Alfonso's imperial idea draws from an even more complex origin, as will be explained in the following pages of this thesis.

¹⁹ See, as an example Estepa Díez, 'Alfonso X y El "Fecho Del Imperio"'; Estepa Díez, 'La política imperial de Alfonso X'; Iturmendi Morales, 'En Torno a La Idea de Imperio En Alfonso X El Sabio'; Valdeón Baruque, 'Alfonso X y El Imperio'; de Ayala Martínez, 'Alfonso X: Beaucaire y el fin de la pretensión imperial'. For more references, see Bibliography.

²⁰ Pagani, 'El Imperio En La Agenda Alfonsi'.

This section will, then, examine the historical facts surrounding the *Fecho del Imperio* and subsequently offer a possible Alfonsine imperial ideology. These two chapters will set forth the basis for the historiographical analysis presented in the second section of this thesis. Regarding the presentation of these complex ideas, whilst the aforementioned study by Gianluca Pagani offers a path that begins with the studies that work on the theory – the ideology behind the great *interregnum* – and ends up with the research in the historical events of the *Fecho del Imperio*, this thesis will proceed in reverse. For the aims of this study, wherein the objective is to trace the manifestations of the imperial dream in the *Estoria de Espanna*, I will first explore the historical facts, introducing the characters and relationships of power that will affect the Alfonsine historical writing, which I will then follow with an examination of the ideological implications that explain the origins of the Alfonsine imperial idea, their entanglement with the historical events of the great *interregnum*, and their place within in Alfonso X's political agenda.

Finally, the last chapter of this section will introduce the corpus to be studied in this research, the *Estoria de Espanna*, and will explore the idea of what History meant to Alfonso X, and how important the means of its writing are for the dimensions of its ideological component. The discursivity of the chronicle, as well as the main sources used in its composition will also be presented and will prepare the basis for the in-depth analysis offered in the second section of the present thesis. In this manner, the contextual framework of this research will have presented the facts, the thoughts, and the words that play a role in the construction of the Alfonsine political and ideological project.

CHAPTER I.- THE HISTORICAL EVENTS: THE *GREAT INTERREGNUM*, ALFONSO X, AND THE *FECHO DEL IMPERIO*

The succession of events that triggered Alfonso X's imperial aspirations started in 1250, with the demise of emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen. His death led the European West into a period of political and diplomatic chaos known as the *great interregnum*, in which political and ecclesiastical disputes took place, and a list of candidates fought for the imperial crown. The reason why this event caused such a power dispute was the election of Frederick's successor. The Holy Roman Empire,²¹ traditionally linked to the Christian church, found its precedent in the Carolingian empire, which started after the singular coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III on Christmas day of the year 800. This revival of the Ancient Roman Empire was, therefore, linked to Western European Christianity, leading to a change in the conception of empire itself, which then became elective and linked to the approval of the corresponding Pope. This elective character was broken by the Staufen family, who managed to establish a form of dynastic lineage of the imperial throne which did not agree with the papacy's desire for the control of the empire.²² Relations between the Holy Roman Empire and the Christian Pontiffs had been tense since the 11th century, in which the so-called 'investiture controversy' had started. This rivalry, enhanced by the Staufen's dynastic aspirations, led to the confrontation of two different factions supporting each side of the dispute: on the one hand, the Guelphs, in favour of the papacy, and on the other the Ghibellines, supporting the interests of the Holy Roman emperors. After the death of Frederick II, both sides rapidly began their own strategies, and it was this moment in which King Alfonso X got involved in the European dispute.

²¹ The nomenclature of the Holy Roman Empire aimed and intended to be the continuation of the Carolingian Empire founded in the ninth century, and subsequently, of the Ancient Roman Empire. The location would be the Kingdom of Germania, corresponding to the legacy of Louis the German, grandson of Charlemagne. But the Holy Roman Empire became effective under the political unification carried by Otto I. However, it is not until 1157 when it is possible to find in documentation the naming *Sacrum Imperium*, as a way to legitimate the institution in God and, this way, have enough power against the papacy. The title *Sacrum Romanorum Imperium* was only used from 1184. For a more detailed approach to the origin and development of the Holy Roman Empire, see the works by Birdal, *The Holy Roman Empire and the Ottomans*; Herzstein, *The Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages*.

²² See chapter 2.2 "Alfonso X and the Staufen hereditary Empire", pp. 38.

Six years after the demise of the emperor, in Soria in 1256, Alfonso X received a group of emissaries from Pisa, headed by Bandino di Lanzia, who offered the Learned King a candidacy to the Holy Roman Empire. This came after a first unfruitful attempt to elect an emperor during the previous years: the choice was between Conrad IV, son of Frederick II, and the Guelph candidate, William of Holland. But the deaths of Conrad in 1254 and William in 1256 took the imperial election back to square one. In this context, the only remaining living Staufens were Conradin, the underage child of Conrad IV; Manfred, the bastard of Frederick II; and Alfonso X, who was related to the Staufen dynasty through his mother, Beatriz of Swabia, granddaughter of Frederick I and cousin of Frederick II. The Ghibellines from Tuscany, led by the Pisans, elected and supported Alfonso X as the Ghibelline candidate for the Holy Roman Empire.

As highlighted by Carlos de Ayala Martínez, the causes and reasons that drove the Pisans to make this offer were more complex than they seemed at first. According to the author, the Ghibelline Republic of Pisa might have worked, accidentally, in favour of the papal interests, creating a division between the supporters of Alfonso X and those of Manfred, the illegitimate son of Frederick II. As de Ayala Martínez writes, the Ghibellinism often associated with Alfonso X would be “circumstantial” at best, and the Pope would have accepted Alfonso X as a candidate from the beginning – to divide the Ghibelline efforts – but was not willing to see another Staufen in the imperial throne.²³

However, to Alfonso X, the invitation to be a candidate for the empire could not have come at a more opportune moment: he had just recently signed a treaty with his father-in-law, Jaime I, that put Navarre under the influence of the Castilian crown,²⁴ and suppressed the revolt led by the Infante Don Enrique. In the words of Manuel González Jiménez, “*Alfonso X había conseguido erigirse, de forma sutil y nadad altanera en la figura*

²³ de Ayala Martínez, *Directrices fundamentales de la política peninsular de Alfonso X*, 170–76.

²⁴ de Ayala Martínez, 138–40.

*predominante dentro del panorama político peninsular, o lo que es lo mismo, 'emperador de España'.*²⁵ Alfonso X, in spite of the reluctance of the Kingdom of Aragon, his major rival in the Iberian Peninsula,²⁶ had managed to present himself as the hegemonic ruler in the Iberian scenario and, in this cloud of optimism, he did not hesitate to accept the proposition made by the Pisans 18 March 1256. In his speech, Bandino di Lanzia emphasised the virtues and lineage of Alfonso X, showcasing the kin connection between the Castilian-Leonese monarch and the Staufen dynasty.

*“Como la comunidad de Pisa, toda Italia y casi todo el mundo os consideran extraordinario, invencible y victorioso señor Alfonso, rey por la gracia de Dios de Castilla, Toledo, León, Galicia, Sevilla, Murcia y Jaén, como el más distinguido de todos los reyes que viven o que vale la pena recordar[...] y además saben que Vos amáis sobre todo la paz, la verdad, la piedad y la justicia, que vos sois el más cristiano y más fiel... sabiendo que descendéis de la sangre de los duques de Suabia, una casa a la que pertenece el Imperio con derecho y dignidad por decisión de los príncipes y por entrega de los papas de la Iglesia...”*²⁷

According to the Ghibelline emissaries, there was no better candidate to the imperial crown than Alfonso X of Castile and Leon. However, the monarch's acceptance came together with a commitment to support the Italian city of Pisa in its row against Florence and Genoa. This revealed a truth regarding Alfonso X's position as a candidate: despite the grandiloquence of Bandino di Lanzia's speech, the support offered to Alfonso X did not come from every Italian city, nor the Empire. As mentioned before, the proposal and acceptance only worked in favour of the division of the Ghibelline interests in the imperial election. The Castilian-Leonese king thus needed to establish strategic alliances and support from various different locations: other Italian cities in order to reunite the Italian Ghibelline cause; the German electors who had the voice to choose amongst the candidates; and in the Iberian context, the *Cortes* of his own kingdom which had to contribute

²⁵ González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004, 111.

“Alfonso X had managed to emerge, subtly and not arrogantly, as the predominant figure in the Peninsular political scenario, that is to say, as ‘emperor of Spain’.

For this thesis, short quotes, such as this one, embedded within the body of the text have been translated either in-text or as footnotes, whilst passages will be translated in Appendix I “Translations”.

²⁶ de Ayala Martínez, *Directrices fundamentales de la política peninsular de Alfonso X*, 178; González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004, 75.

²⁷ Socarrás, *Alfonso X of Castile*, Appendix IX, X.

to the funding of the imperial cause. Furthermore, after the nomination of Richard of Cornwall – brother of Henry III of England – as the Guelph candidate, the search for allies became particularly important, since he had not only papal support but also the vote of some of the electors.

The election consisted of seven votes. Four of them were secular: the king of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. The other three were ecclesiastical: the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier. The episode of the election between Alfonso X and Richard of Cornwall is briefly annotated in the *Crónica de Alfonso X* in the early 14th century:²⁸

“Capítulo XVII. De cómo vino la enperatriz a la corte del rey a demandar al rey don Alfosno <que le diese ayuda para quitar a su marido el enperador que estaua captiuo>.

(...) e contóles [la emperatriz] cómo le aconteçiera con el rey don Alfonso. E todos quantos lo oyeron presçiaban mucho este rey de Castilla. E sallió este enperador de catiuo e pedricaua la bondat e nobleza del rey don Alfonso.

Et sonada esta boz por todas las tierras, acaesçió que murió el enperador de Alemanna e ayuntáronse los esleedores para acordar a quién fiziesen enperador, e algunos dellos esleyeron por enperador en discordia al rey don Alfonso e acordaron de enbiar por él et que viniese a resçebir el imperio. E como quier que esto fue grant su buena fama del rey don Alfonso en las otras tierras, pero esto e otras cosas atales que este rey fizo troxieron gran enpobreçimiento en los regnos de Castilla e de León”

(Crónica de Alfonso X, 48)

Whilst the imperial choice was mentioned, as well as the fact that Alfonso X was elected, this chronicle did not seem to sympathise with the Learned King’s imperial dream and even made note of the dramatic economic consequences of Alfonso X’s imperial attempt. However, in an effort to minimise the impact of the imperial election, the chronicle failed to mention the electoral process. As Julio Valdeón and Manuel González Jiménez highlight in their works, on the 13 January 1257, the English candidate was elected by four of the voters (the count palatine of the Rhine, the king of Bohemia, and the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz). However, on the 1 April,

²⁸ González Jiménez and Carmona Ruiz, eds., *Crónica de Alfonso X: según el Ms. II/2777 de la Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid.*

the king of Bohemia changed his mind and Alfonso X was finally elected as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.²⁹ Alfonso X was able to find enough support amongst the German princes to secure his election. The French crown was also an ally due to marriage bonds, and the Learned King tried to reunite the Ghibelline cause by starting diplomatic relations with Ezzelino III da Romano, son-in-law of Frederick II, who then became one of his main allies.³⁰

In 1257, a group of emissaries led by Henry of Brabant arrived in Burgos to communicate to Alfonso X the result of the imperial election. During the following months the elected emperor, with theoretically no competition, started a campaign to reinforce his imperial entitlement, as well as beginning his initiative to gain Iberian financial support for his enterprise.³¹ In this regard, in 1259, as a document signed in 1260 – collected in O’Callaghan’s biography of the king – mentions: “*tovimos por bien de fazer nuestras Cortes en la noble cibdad de Toledo sobre el fecho del imperio*”.³² The encounter aimed to find support and funding for the *Fecho del Imperio*, and as O’Callaghan mentions, this was probably the moment when Alfonso X made public his desire to pursue the imperial crown, whilst also laying claim to his peninsular hegemony, a fact that did not please his father-in-law, Jaime I.³³

Even though the election gave Alfonso X legitimacy to compete for the imperial crown and put him in a very good position in the run for the empire, the Castilian-Leonese King found difficult to sell this idea to the Castilian-Leonese *Cortes* and the other Iberian kingdoms. This was emphasised after Pope Alexander IV claimed his preference for Richard of Cornwall. As mentioned above, the pope was not willing to place another Staufen on the imperial throne.

²⁹ Valdeón Barunque, ‘Alfonso X y El Imperio’, 248–49; González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004, 115–18.

³⁰ González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004, 118–19.

³¹ González Jiménez, 118.

³² O’Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 252–53.

“*We considered appropriate to summon our Cortes in the noble city of Toledo to discuss the Fecho del Imperio*”.

³³ O’Callaghan, 115.

From this moment, and especially from the second half of the 1260s, the rule of King Alfonso confronted numerous difficulties that affected all spheres of his political project, including his imperial aspirations. His attempts for the crown of the Holy Roman Empire were hampered by multiple events: primarily, the agreement between France and England meant the withdrawal of French support to the Alfonsine cause. The deaths of Archbishop of Trier – who voted in favour of Alfonso X – and Ezzelino III da Romano meant the end of his ecclesiastical and military alliances. In the Iberian context, as well as the reluctance of the Castilian nobility towards Alfonso's project, Jaime I led a fierce campaign of disapproval toward the Alfonsine imperial aspiration, since it meant the factual hegemony of the king of Castile and Leon over the Iberian Peninsula. The Aragonese monarch even married his first son and heir, Pedro, to the daughter of no less than Manfred Staufen, king of Sicily and illegitimate son of Frederick II.³⁴

Nonetheless, the worst enemy of Alfonso X's imperial aspirations was, as mentioned, the papacy. In this context, Alfonso X, in an about-turn, changed from his 'circumstantial' – or in Ayala's words, '*decaffeinated*' – Ghibellinism towards a 'moderated' Guelphism, especially after the death of his main Ghibelline support, Ezzelino III da Romano.³⁵ Thereupon, the Learned King, whose relationship with the Church was already complicated, tried a rapprochement to the See of Rome. However, the feedback he received from the successive popes, Alexander IV and Urban IV, was strictly neutral and far from the acceptance of Afonso X as emperor.³⁶ Urban IV, whose pontificate started in 1261, tried to reach an agreement between the two candidates and analysed the rights of each to the election, but the imprisonment of Richard of Cornwall and the pope's death in 1264 truncated these plans. Urban IV was followed by Clement IV who, in affiliation with the Anjou family, did not hesitate to invest Charles of Anjou as king of Sicily.³⁷ After this event, Alfonso X mistrusted the intentions of the Pope and self-

³⁴ González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004, 136.

³⁵ González Jiménez, 135–36.

³⁶ González Jiménez, 136.

³⁷ Valdeón Barunque, 'Alfonso X y El Imperio', 252–53.

claimed *Dei Gratia Romanorum rex semper Augustus*³⁸ – emperor by God’s grace always August. As can be seen, the relationship between Alfonso X and the papacy was far from affable, and this influenced his perception of how the ruler-religion-God dynamic should be, as this thesis will discuss in detail in further chapters.³⁹ The use of the title was a reflection of the complex ideological framework created by Alfonso X to remove the imperial election, or any influence in temporal issues for that matter, from the reach of the Christian Church.

After the death of Clement IV in 1268, the papacy faced the longest period of interregnum in its history and, in 1271, after reinstating peace with the kingdom of Granada and almost – not quite completely – appeasing the nobles in conflict, Alfonso X began his *‘ida al imperio’*, that is to say, his journey to the empire. In addition, a few months later, in 1272, Richard of Cornwall died, leaving the Castilian-Leonese king as sole candidate to the Empire. With the support of the Italian Ghibellines and an almost calm Iberian stage, the monarch only needed the papal approval. Later in 1272, Gregory X was elected pope and did not seem too favourable to the Alfonsine cause. The Learned King summoned the Castilian-Leonese *Cortes* in Burgos and highlighted the benefits the imperial title could bring to the kingdom, and at the same time blamed the rebel nobles for hampering his imperial path. In his trial to convince the *Cortes* to support his *‘ida al imperio’* in order to secure his position as emperor in front of Gregory X, Alfonso X defended the worth of his imperial enterprise in a letter destined to his son Fernando de la Cerda – compiled in the *Crónica de Alfonso X* –:

“Esto es el fuero e el pro de la tierra que ellos syempre quisieron. Agora lo podedes entender en esto, ca todas las cosas por que me yo movía a fazer lo que ellos querían, tíranlas, ende, señaladamente la yda al Inperio, que es lo más”

(*Crónica de Alfonso X*, 52)

³⁸ Estepa Díez, ‘Alfonso X y El “Fecho Del Imperio”’, 50.

³⁹ See chapters 2 “The Ideology behind the facts”, and 7 “The empire and God”.

However, the responses from the *Cortes* were not as positive as the Learned King expected. The Castilian nobles were sceptical about the benefits Alfonso claimed the imperial pursuit would bring the kingdom, and the members of the *Cortes* individually. In addition, the fact that Alfonso X was not directly crowned after Richard of Cornwall's demise was indicative of the pope's position regarding the Castilian-Leonese aspirations to the Holy Roman Empire. Soon in his pontificate, Gregory X exhibited sympathies towards Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, as mentioned, who had also defeated the Staufens in the South of Italy.⁴⁰ This defeat ended the Ghibelline support that Alfonso X had in Italy, a situation only worsened by the appointment of a new candidate by Gregory X in 1273: Rudolf of Habsburg.

From a position in which Alfonso X found himself as the only possible candidate alive to the empire, the decisions made by Gregory X and the defeat of the Ghibelline forces in the South of Italy left Alfonso X with the sole – and questionable – support of the Castilian-Leonese *Cortes*. As mentioned before, the *Cortes* were always sceptical of the Alfonsine aspiration. At this stage, the only option the Learned King had to achieve his imperial dream was to leave the Iberian Peninsula to pursue his coronation. In order to do so, Alfonso X needed the support of the Castilian-Leonese *Cortes*, to fund the endeavour, but also to secure the government in hands of his heir, Fernando de la Cerda, during his absence. In March 1274, Alfonso X summoned the *Cortes* in Burgos to discuss the possibility of “*enbiar caballeros al Imperio*”,⁴¹ send knights to the empire. The response to the economic petitions of the Learned King was, once again, negative. However, in order to fund his ‘*ida al imperio*’, Alfonso X collected taxes from monasteries and councils for the period of two years, which did not positively influence the posthumous depiction of the monarch. Shortly after, in 1274, when reunited with the *Cortes* in Zamora, his fear of being ruled out of the imperial competition became true. Gregory X had crowned Rudolf of Habsburg emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in Aachen since Alfonso X had not made himself present in the lands of the empire since

⁴⁰ González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004, 274.

⁴¹ González Jiménez, 274.

his election in 1257.⁴² Both the complicated situation in the Iberian Peninsula and the imperial coronation were a defining sign of his future failure in the imperial candidacy.

After all the efforts put in the *Fecho del Imperio*, Alfonso X did not give up when Rudolf of Habsburg was crowned, and the monarch even requested an audience with Gregory X. The pope, after numerous petitions, agreed to meet Alfonso X in the French city of Beaucaire in a series of interviews that took place between May and July of 1275. The main issue discussed was the imperial aspiration of Alfonso X. The Learned King restated the rights that legitimised him as emperor, but the decision made by Gregory X was definitive: another monarch, Rudolf of Habsburg had been already crowned emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Thereby, the meetings resulted in the complete abandonment of any imperial aspiration by the Castilian-Leonese crown, only in exchange for the rights over the Duchy of Swabia.⁴³

In Beaucaire, the *Fecho del Imperio* came to an end as, essentially, did the rule of Alfonso X. The year 1275 was the beginning of the disastrous end of Alfonso X's reign. Before his return to the kingdom, the monarch was informed of the demise of his first son and heir, Fernando de la Cerda. Once he returned to Castile and Leon, the absence of a strong royal power came together with the underlying conflicts with the nobility, Alfonso X found an impoverished kingdom that succumbed in the following years to the chaos of several rebellions. Definitively, the end of Alfonso X's rule was darkened by the events of his last years, which included the rebellion of his other son, Sancho, who against his father's wishes became his successor after his death.

The *Fecho del Imperio* was, probably, one of the most influential projects in the life of Alfonso X, and its failure was due to a complex combination of factors. It is true that, theoretically, Alfonso X was elected and had legitimate rights to be emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and there were times in which he was the only rightful candidate, therefore the

⁴² de Ayala Martínez, 'Alfonso X: Beaucaire y el fin de la pretensión imperial', 5.

⁴³ González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004, 283–240; de Ayala Martínez, 'Alfonso X: Beaucaire y el fin de la pretensión imperial', 10–16.

coronation could have been assumed. However, there were signs from the very beginning that anticipated the failure of the Alfonsine endeavour. The main obstacles Alfonso X encountered in his journey to the empire, and around which he built his imperial ideology as will be seen in the following chapter, were two. Primarily, the papacy was not willing to see another Staufen as emperor, after their dynasty had spent the previous century amassing power and influence throughout Europe. Further, the Iberian situation of Castilian hegemony claimed by Manuel González Jiménez was more delicate than it appeared at the beginning, and the pressure of the imperial enterprise not only discomfited other monarchs of the Peninsula but also added to the seed of rebellion between the Castilian-Leonese nobles, whom Alfonso X spent his life trying to subdue and convince of the worth of his imperial dream.

It is striking that Alfonso X vehemently refused to give up his imperial aspirations until the very end, in Beaucaire. This can only be explained by the assumption that the imperial ideology in Alfonso X went beyond the election of 1257 and was embedded within his universal political project. To the Learned King, whilst the Pisan proposal of 1256 was the trigger for this imperial race, it was just a piece that fitted perfectly in the scheme of reinforcement of royal power started already by his father Fernando III. To King Alfonso X the empire was a dream that was not only achievable, but also beneficial to his position as a king. This will be the focus of the next chapter of this thesis, which will discuss the origins of Alfonso X's imperial aspirations in detail, as well as his need to claim his rights as legitimate emperor. It will also discuss how the imperial project met with Alfonso X's political ambitions within the Iberian Peninsula, and how the promotion of the creation of new legislation and historiography was also in line with securing the King's political aspirations.

CHAPTER II.- THE IDEOLOGY BEHIND THE FACTS: ALFONSO X AND THE IDEA OF EMPIRE

The *Fecho del Imperio*, as mentioned above, was a remarkably influential passage in the life of Alfonso X. So much so that it would determine his immediate successors' conception of his reign. Whilst the Castilian-Leonese monarch has been traditionally remembered as the Learned or the Wise King, for years after his demise Alfonso X was remembered for the disastrous economic consequences of his imperial attempt. In spite of the initial plausibility of the task, the pursuit of the imperial crown appeared stubborn to the king's contemporaries and, to them, Alfonso's efforts only diminished the kingdom's treasury. It must be noted that the *Fecho del Imperio* was not the only project in Alfonso X's life, and that his reign had other positive outcomes, such as the conquest of Niebla in 1262, the repopulation of Seville, or the numerous legislative and economic reforms that homogenised the Castilian-Leonese territories and focused the power of the kingdom in the figure of its monarch. These accomplishments, together with the initial optimism in the imperial proposal and the sort of hegemonical position that the kingdom of Castile and Leon had at the time, begin to explain the obstinacy shown by Alfonso X, but still do not quite explain why this project led the monarch to become almost obsessed with obtaining the crown of the Holy Roman Empire.

Whilst I bear in mind the difficulties of defining an Alfonsine imperial ideology, this chapter will aim to address the reasons behind Alfonso X's persistent commitment to gaining the imperial title. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, there have been other attempts to interpret what Alfonso understood by empire and the reasons why it was so important to him. In this sense, the approach of this study will tackle the imperial ideology of the Learned King by analysing it from its origins, that is to say, from the imperial traditions Alfonso X received from both his parents: on the one hand the idea of an empire linked to the Iberian Peninsula, and more particularly to the kingdom of Leon, which he inherited from Fernando III; and on the

other hand, the imperial legitimisation given to Alfonso X through his maternal side since, as will be seen, the lineage of Beatriz of Swabia was more than remarkable. These two traditions, combined with the context of Alfonso X's reign, would result in a very particular imperial ideology marked by the aspiration to reinforce the role of the monarch and create a framework in which the borders of Castile and Leon transcended even the Iberian Peninsula, aspiring to reach as far as the Holy Roman Empire.

The Imperium Hispanicum and the Iberian legacy

In the previous chapter I demonstrated that the Castilian-Leonese king's obstinacy regarding the throne of the Holy Roman Empire could have been the major complexity in the imperial idea, which transcended the Pisan proposal of 1256. Therefore, it must be noted that Alfonso X received, as mentioned above, an Iberian imperial idea from the hands of his father, linked to the kingdom of Leon initially and with a long tradition within the Hispanic imaginary. This heritage deeply influenced the means in which Alfonso approached the imperial proposal, as I will explain, and defined the Iberian character of the Alfonsine imperial idea.

This section, then, will address the origins and evolution of the Hispanic imperial idea in order to facilitate an understanding of the burden on Alfonso X's hands upon the death of his father and when he faced the Pisan proposal. The complex history of the Iberian kingdoms during the medieval centuries and, essentially, the Kingdom of Leon, where the Hispanic Imperial idea was born, laid the foundations for Alfonso X's ideology. The evolution of the imperial title, and how it was considered outside the Leonese sphere, shaped the way in which the Learned King understood empire and the ways in which he adapted the Hispanic empire to conform to his new concept of kingship.

In this way, references to the epithet *emperor* can be traced back in royal documentation up to the 9th century, as can be seen in the *post-mortem*

mentions to Alfonso III (c. 852 – 910) in Ordoño II's (c. 871 – 910) documents.⁴⁴ However, it is not until the 11th century when a formal continuity of imperial self-entitlement can be found amongst the Leonese monarchs. King Alfonso VI (c. 1040 – 1109), for instance, held, since 1077, the title *Imperator totius Hispaniae*. This denomination, together with the title *Rex Hispaniae* that was used in previous years meant the transcendence of the kingdom's borders towards an Iberian/Hispanic scenario.⁴⁵ This pan-Hispanic concept would be the key to the imperial Hispanic ideology from the 11th century onwards: the hegemonic power within the different Iberian kingdoms had imperial potential, in the terms of a superior institution that controlled the destinies of the other realms of the Iberian Peninsula. However, what this idea lacked was an institutional framework that would allow it to sustain itself and secure its existence through time.⁴⁶ The case of Alfonso VI's geographical connotations, for instance, was linked to the idea of conquest: a unity of the Hispanic Christian kingdoms, with Leonese leadership, fighting the Muslims in the South with the aim of achieving a reunified Iberian Peninsula, lost after the Muslim conquest of 711. On the other hand, the approach of Alfonso VI's daughter, Urraca I (1081 – 1126), was quite different. Instead of holding the imperial title herself, she embraced that of her father. In this case, it was necessary to reinforce her legitimacy as queen, laying aside her predecessor's imperial program in favour of strengthening the Leonese throne. During the reign of Urraca I, it was her husband, Alfonso I of Aragon (1073 – 1134), the Battler, who declared his own title as emperor and who used the epithet even after Urraca's death. Alfonso I's title was linked now to the Aragonese military successes,⁴⁷ and was the heart of the dispute between Urraca's son, Alfonso VII of Leon (1105 – 1157), and himself.⁴⁸ The conflict ended with the

⁴⁴ Mínguez Fernández, 'Alfonso VI /Gregorio VII', 31–32.

⁴⁵ Sirantoine, 'Memoria Construida, Memoria Destruida: La Identidad Monárquica a Través Del Recuerdo de Los Emperadores de Hispania En Los Diplomas de Los Soberanos Castellanos y Leoneses (1065-1230)', 228–29; Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII, Emperador*, 41–42.

⁴⁶ Estepa Díez, 'El Imperio Hispánico', 30.

⁴⁷ Sirantoine, 'Memoria Construida, Memoria Destruida: La Identidad Monárquica a Través Del Recuerdo de Los Emperadores de Hispania En Los Diplomas de Los Soberanos Castellanos y Leoneses (1065-1230)', 232–36.

⁴⁸ Alfonso VII was fruit of his mother's first marriage to Raymond of Burgundy, who died in 1107. The union between Urraca I and Alfonso I would take place in 1109 and did not have any descendants.

total renunciation of Alfonso I's claim to any imperial title, which paved the way for Alfonso VII's imperial coronation, the first and only coronation as emperor of an Iberian monarch during the Middle Ages.

Alfonso VII was a key figure in the evolution of the imperial idea in the Iberian Peninsula, so much so that historiography remembers this king under the epithet of the Emperor. Whilst it is true that at the beginning of his rule, Alfonso VII was only titled *rex Hispaniae* – king of Hispania – as his mother was in the past, after Alfonso I's resignation the Leonese monarch began to be designated *rex et imperator* – king and emperor.⁴⁹ As can be noted, both rulers used the title *rex/regina Hispaniae*, which could be a sign that the conception of a superior entity, hegemonic on the Iberian stage, was already settled. After this notion, the Kingdom of Leon had the power, perhaps not to have an effective government over other peninsular kingdoms, but to establish a *de facto* supremacy amongst other monarchs and assure the strength of the Leonese – later Castilian-Leonese – queens and kings.

The coronation of Alfonso VII took place in the Leonese church of Santa María in 1135, and from this moment his spouses also received the treatment of empress.⁵⁰ In the ceremony, as described in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, the presence of nobles and even the participation of King García of Navarre in the ritual reveal the hegemonic role that Alfonso VII's empire aspired to fulfil.⁵¹ A significant change of mentality between Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII's perception of the empire can be noted. Whilst the former only aspired to a possible unity of the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula against the Islamic occupation, Alfonso VII also established a number of bonds based on the vassalage of different nobles and kings to the new emperor: in Sirantoine's words: "*Alfonso VI quería ser monarca de toda*

⁴⁹ Sirantoine, 'Memoria Construida, Memoria Destruida: La Identidad Monárquica a Través Del Recuerdo de Los Emperadores de Hispania En Los Diplomas de Los Soberanos Castellanos y Leoneses (1065-1230)', 237.

⁵⁰ Sirantoine, 238; Meyer, 'El desarrollo de las relaciones políticas entre Castilla y el Imperio en tiempos de los Staufén', 33.

⁵¹ Sánchez Belda (ed), *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, chapter 70.

España, Alfonso VII quería ser señor de todos los monarcas de España".⁵² Thus, Alfonso VII had in mind a pan-Hispanic feudal Empire based on loyalty and Castilian-Leonese superiority over the other Iberian Christian kingdoms.⁵³ This fidelity-based government was the reason why the *Imperium* succeeded under the rule of Alfonso VII, but also explains why it was an empire destined to fade: the lack of a juridical superstructure in the institution made the imperial situation unstable after his death. The tricky balance of power amongst the Hispanic monarchies and the absence of a hegemonic institutional force led to the disintegration of the Empire under the shape of the so-called "Spain of the five Kingdoms".⁵⁴

There is another feature that makes Alfonso VII's imperial coronation a point of inflection in the evolution of the notion of empire in the Iberian Peninsula, but this time in the relation between the *Imperium Hispanicum* and the Holy See. Unlike his predecessors, Alfonso VII was, in fact, crowned and supported by the highest ecclesiastical peninsular hierarchy – not by the pope, though, as was the case for the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire – and the nobility and royalty of several Hispanic kingdoms. It is worth emphasising that, in spite of being considered and recognised as emperor on the Iberian stage, the Holy See, instead of conferring upon him the title of emperor, named him "eminent and glorious king", probably to avoid imperial nomenclature and discern his aspirations from the true European imperial title, the Holy Roman Empire.⁵⁵ This would be relevant in the future, as it set a precedent that directly affected the imperial ambitions of Alfonso X, and previously, as will be explained, those of his father, Fernando III.

It was precisely Fernando III (c.1200 – 1252) who reunited the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, 73 years after the demise of Alfonso VII. The

⁵² Sirantoine, 'Memoria Construida, Memoria Destruida: La Identidad Monárquica a Través Del Recuerdo de Los Emperadores de Hispania En Los Diplomas de Los Soberanos Castellanos y Leoneses (1065-1230)', 242.

"Alfonso VI wanted to be king of all Spain, Alfonso VII aimed to be Lord of all the kings of Spain"

⁵³ Gordo Molina, 'Alfonso I y Alfonso VII', 74; Monroy and Montes, 'Alfonso VII, el rey entronizado', 66–67.

⁵⁴ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126-1157*, 51–52; Iturmendi Morales, 'En Torno a La Idea de Imperio En Alfonso X El Sabio', 85.

⁵⁵ Recuero Astray, *Alfonso VII, Emperador*, 137 (footnote 1).

death of the emperor marked the end of the *Imperium Hispanicum* of the 12th century, since the lack of institutional support to legitimise the imperial status of the kingdom had led to the dispersion of power amongst the different Hispanic realms. In this context, Fernando III, already king of Castile, inherited the kingdom of Leon from his father in 1230. The son of Berenguela of Castile and Alfonso IX of Leon, successful conqueror and ruler, was in an ideal position to recover the hegemonic role of his great-grandfather by maternal line – and great-great-grandfather by the paternal side – in the Iberian Peninsula, and consequently, the imperial title. The successful military campaigns against the Muslims that led to the conquests of Murcia, Jaén, and Seville – where the young prince Alfonso had a significant role – placed Fernando III in a similar position to his predecessor Alfonso VII. Depicted by historiography as the Saint, the Castilian-Leonese monarch was once again the ruler of the most powerful kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, as in Alfonso VII's case, his fight against the Muslims made him an advocate of peninsular Christianity. His successes as a conqueror were as great as those of his contemporary, Jaime I of Aragon. In fact, no other king had ruled such a vast and extensive territory in the Peninsula before. His position as the hegemonic monarch of Iberia was undeniable. His conquering endeavours could, in fact, reinforce an idea that most likely circulated at Fernando III's court: the revival of Alfonso VII's *Imperium Hispanicum*.⁵⁶

Under these circumstances, an attempt to obtain the imperial title was not out of the question. This endeavour is narrated in a French chronicle that compiles a universal history from the Creation up to 1241: the *Chronica Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium*, which, due to the contemporaneity of the latest events of the chronicle, used first-hand information collected in the French court – it is worth noting here that Fernando III was nephew of Blanca

⁵⁶ de Ayala Martínez, 'Fernando III y Las Órdenes Militares', 97.

of Castile, queen of France.⁵⁷ The chronicle describes how, in 1234, Fernando III revealed to the pope his desire to be named emperor:

*“In curia Romana talem petitionem proposuit rex Castelle Fernandus, quod nomen imperatoris et benedictionem volebat habere, sicut habuerunt quidam antecessores eius”.*⁵⁸

However, as mentioned above, the European empire *par excellence* was the Holy Roman Empire, and it was the only one the papacy was willing to recognise. The long-lasting dispute between the pontificate and the Staufen dynasty, led in Fernando III's time by Pope Gregory IX and Frederick II Staufen, was already an important effort to allow the rise of another empire in Western Europe. In addition, Fernando III's marriage to Beatriz of Swabia, related the Castilian-Leonese king to the Staufen family and, if the pope was not keen on having another emperor in Europe, especially if it meant the rise of another Staufen emperor. Fernando III's request was denied, and his imperial dream evaporated as the king understood the futility of persistence and decided to focus his rule on the Iberian Peninsula. However, this attempt set a strong precedent, to be resumed by his successor Alfonso X, and helps to demonstrate how important the inheritance of this tradition of the *Imperium Hispanicum* was to the Learned King. Be that as it may, Fernando III spent the rest of his years committed to his conquering efforts and expanding his already vast territory with the occupation of Seville during the years 1247 and 1248.

This city, Seville was one of the most important military successes during Fernando III's reign. Called “*casa e morada de emperadores*”⁵⁹ – home and residence of emperors – in the *Setenario*, the encyclopaedic work projected by Fernando III and composed under the rule of Alfonso X, Seville was the place where the Castilian king spent the last years of his life, and where Alfonso X was crowned king after his death. It is precisely Alfonso who,

⁵⁷ Hernández, ‘La Corte de Fernando III y La Casa Real de Francia. Documentos, Crónicas, Monumentos.’, 126.

⁵⁸ Alberic of Trois-Fontains, *Chronica Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium*, 936.

⁵⁹ Alfonso X, *Setenario*, Introduction, 7.

in this work – probably one of the best exponents of his political programme – took over his father’s imperial aspirations and made them his own. Alfonso X’s imperial aspiration would not have been the same, nor would it have been so persistent, without his father’s input, and his connection to the Leonese *Imperium Hispanicum*. Thus, this aforementioned allusion to Seville as an imperial city was just one of the references to the existence of an imperial lineage which included Fernando III and, by extension, Alfonso X:

“En razón del enperio, [don Fernando] quisiera que fuese así llamado su señorío et non regno, e que fuese el coronado por enperador segunt lo fueron otros de su linage”.⁶⁰

The Learned King thus rescued his father’s aspiration to revive the *Imperium Hispanicum* which, considering the successes of his reign, would have been the perfect ending to a glorious rule. However, as can be seen in the fragment, the imperial duty he received from his father also came from further back, since there is a clear reference to Alfonso VII’s coronation. The responsibility for reviving the old *Imperium Hispanicum* fell on Alfonso X’s shoulders after a long process of evolution and maturation. Fernando III developed the Hispanic idea and instilled it in his son: an empire related to the idea of hegemony and supremacy in the Iberian Peninsula, very similar but not quite the same as that which his predecessor Alfonso VII had portrayed during his years as an emperor. Alfonso X inherited the idea of the relevance of the figure of the Hispanic emperor, from the kingdom of Castile and Leon, amongst the other monarchs in the Iberian Peninsula.

In the words of Manuel González Jiménez, “*en la coyuntura del siglo XIII, ningún monarca, excepto Alfonso X estaba en condiciones de reivindicar esa hegemonía*”.⁶¹ As well as an imperial idea, Alfonso received from his father a political project of Iberian hegemony, which had to be maintained and secured. In this sense, the Learned King even married Violante de

⁶⁰ Alfonso X, Introducción, 7.

⁶¹ González Jiménez, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 2004, 73.

“Within the context of the 13th century, any monarch, with exception of Alfonso X was in conditions to claim the hegemonical position”.

Aragon, Jaime I's daughter who, as stated in the previous chapter, was Alfonso X's main rival in the Iberian scenario. This inheritance would be the reason why, from the very beginning of his reign, Alfonso X's intention was to restore the glory of the *Imperium Hispanicum* and reassert the Castilian-Leonese prevalence.⁶² However, as favourable as the beginning of his rule might have seemed, soon, multiple concerns began to emerge within the inner relationships amongst the Iberian kingdoms. As Ayala outlines, his relations with the other realms, despite his predominant position, were far from affable. Even the marriage to Violante was not enough to soften the relationship between the Castilian-Leonese and Aragonese kings.⁶³

Alfonso X faced a panorama of tense diplomatic relations with the other Iberian kingdoms, and he was trying, at the same time, to revive an imperial idea that had already failed before due to the lack of institutional and ideological support. In this context, the Learned King found himself with a need to create a legitimising system to secure his hegemonic position and promote his aspirations to resurrect the *Imperium Hispanicum*. Luckily for Alfonso, there was a dynasty that had assured their predominance and permanence in an imperial throne, as well as built a propaganda apparatus that supported the institution they represented and likened them to the Ancient Roman emperors, guaranteeing their connection to the empire: the Staufens, a family to which Alfonso X had legitimate claims and became, as will be demonstrated in the following section, the main inspiration in creating the institutional and ideological framework that the *Imperium Hispanicum* needed.

Alfonso X and the Staufen "hereditary" empire

With his Iberian heritage in mind, Alfonso X needed, as said above, to find a way of indisputably legitimising the imperial idea he was trying to revive. As mentioned in previous chapters, in March 1256, the Pisan

⁶² González Jiménez, 72–74.

⁶³ de Ayala Martínez, *Directrices fundamentales de la política peninsular de Alfonso X*, 45.

delegates proposed Alfonso X as the Ghibelline candidate to the Holy Roman Empire. The Castilian-Leonese king was chosen for his kin connection to the Staufen family through his maternal side, as Beatriz of Swabia was the cousin of Frederick II, and the granddaughter of Frederick I. This made Alfonso part of the Staufen family and, therefore, conferred him the rights to the imperial crown after the death of Frederick II and his son Conrad IV. His affiliation with the Staufen family, as well as the peace treaty recently signed with Aragon,⁶⁴ and the role of the monarch as leader of the so-called *(re)conquista* – (re)conquest – put him in the perfect position to claim his imperial rights. In this way, promoting his relationship with the Staufen family would, theoretically, only secure his imperial aspirations.

The relationship between the Castilian-Leonese crown and the Staufen dynasty came, in fact, from a succession of betrothals arranged from the 12th century onwards. The first was the marriage between the aforementioned Alfonso VII, the Emperor, and Richeza of Poland, niece of Frederick I, in 1152. This imperial marriage aimed to associate the recently established *Imperium Hispanicum* with the Holy Roman Empire, led by the Staufen family. After the non-acceptance of the Iberian Empire, represented by Alfonso VII, by the papacy, the Castilian-Leonese emperor looked to reinforce his imperial strength beyond the Iberian borders. The best way to do so was by connecting himself, through marriage, with the Holy Roman Empire, the only empire recognised by the pope.⁶⁵ This union created a precedent in the diplomatic relationships between Castile and Leon and the Holy Roman Empire that led to the second of this series of betrothals, between Berenguela of Castile (c.1180 – 1246) and Conrad of Rothemburg. In this case, the interest showed by the Staufen family in the union was noticeable, since Berenguela was the heir to the Castilian throne. However, this marriage was annulled by intercession of the pope, as the interest of Henry IV, father of Conrad,

⁶⁴ de Ayala Martínez, 45.

⁶⁵ Meyer, 'El desarrollo de las relaciones políticas entre Castilla y el Imperio en tiempos de los Staufen', 33.

conflicted with that of the papacy.⁶⁶ As can be seen, the meddling of the papacy in the imperial matters had been present since the beginning of the conflict between the Holy See and the Holy Roman Empire.

It is after these two attempts to bring together the two families when, in 1219, the union with the most long-lasting consequences and political influences took place: the marriage of Beatriz of Swabia to Fernando III, as this thesis has explained in previous pages.⁶⁷ This betrothal, and the reasons why Beatriz was chosen as the bride to Fernando III, are explained in detail in both the *Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla* (1217-1239) and *De Rebus Hispaniae* (ca. 1243). Both works agree in describing how Queen Berenguela of Castile, mother of Fernando III, sent her emissaries to the Holy Roman Empire to propose this betrothal.⁶⁸ Some authors point out that the idea of unifying both families at this stage could have its origins in Constanza of Aragon, Frederick II's wife, after her presence in the imperial Court.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the great architect and the person who had the most significant motivations for this spousal was Fernando III's mother. In the first place, Berenguela wanted to be sure that her son's marriage would be beneficial and not voided by the papacy due to consanguinity – as her marriage to Alfonso IX, cousin of Alfonso VIII, Berenguela's father had been. This annulment also placed Fernando III in a complicated position, since if his parents' marriage was not valid, neither were his pretensions to the throne. This was partially solved when Alfonso IX publicly designated Fernando III as his legitimate heir. However, his position on the throne had already been weakened. The best way to reinforce the future king's pretensions to the throne was by arranging a prosperous marriage. In the search for the most appropriate bride, there were two main requirements: first, that the candidate should not have any kin relation with Fernando III, so their marriage could not be voided; and

⁶⁶ Diago Hernando, 'La monarquía castellana y los Staufer', 58–61; Meyer, 'El desarrollo de las relaciones políticas entre Castilla y el Imperio en tiempos de los Staufén', 38.

⁶⁷ Colmenero López, 'La Boda Entre Fernando III El Santo y Beatriz de Suabia', 9–22.

⁶⁸ Rodríguez López, 'El Reino de Castilla y El Imperio Germánico En La Primera Mitad Del Siglo XIII', 614–15.

⁶⁹ Meyer, 'El desarrollo de las relaciones políticas entre Castilla y el Imperio en tiempos de los Staufén', 39.

second, that the nominee's lineage should be strong enough to support and increase her future husband's position not only on the Castilian-Leonese stage, but also amongst other monarchies both Peninsular and European.

As mentioned previously, in spite of the annulment of Berenguela's marriage to Conrad of Rothemburg, the betrothal set a precedent and paved the way for other unions. It would not be strange for the Castilian Queen to have the Staufen family in mind when thinking of a wife for her son Fernando. The association with the Staufens would assure the non-consanguinity between the two spouses and also the allegiance between the Castilian-Leonese and the Staufen family, one of the most powerful dynasties in Europe. Berenguela of Castile found the perfect match for her son in Beatriz of Swabia, who, other than descending from the Staufen imperial lineage, also was connected to the Byzantine empire:

*"Anno Domini 1219. Filia regis Philippi tradita fuit nuotui regi Hyspaniae et traducta"*⁷⁰

*"Erat autem tunc in Alemaniam puella nobilissima, pulchra vale moribus et honestis ut in tali estate honesta, filia scilicet Philippi, regis Alemanie, electi in imperatore Romanum, filii Frederici magni Romanorum imperatoris. Mater vero predictae puellae filia fuerat Ysaac imperatoris Constantinopolitano; et sic ipsa neptis erat duprum imperatorum qui maiores et preclariones habentur in universo mundo"*⁷¹

As both the *Annales Spirenses* (first half of the 13th century) and, in greater detail, the *Crónica Latina de los reyes de Castilla* mention, she was, on the one hand, granddaughter of Frederick I, and therefore cousin of Frederick II, who was her tutor after her father died. Furthermore, her maternal branch linked directly to Isaac Komnenos, the emperor of Constantinople and her second grandfather. Her value as a bride was increased by this double imperial ascent, positioning her as the chosen wife

⁷⁰ Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Annales Spirenses (919-1272)*, 84, lin. 13.

⁷¹ Juan de Soria, *Crónica latina de los reyes de Castilla*, 59.

of Fernando III.⁷² Although it was clear that this marriage was more favourable to the Castilian-Leonese interests – her lineage was superior and offered the strength Fernando III needed to secure his position – these historiographical sources do not hesitate in presenting both groom and bride as equals, as there was no woman whose lineage could be compared to the Hispanic imperial legacy of Fernando III. This union’s aim, which worked perfectly, was thus to assure the monarch’s royal position and to assure the indisputable legitimacy of their descendants.⁷³

By doing so, thanks to his mother’s ascent and after the demise of Frederick II, Alfonso X became, in lineage, one of the best candidates to the Holy Roman Empire’s crown, surpassed only by the young Conradin and, omitting his non-legitimacy, Manfred Hohenstaufen. Furthermore, after the death of Conradin in 1268, Alfonso X remained the last Staufen with legitimate rights to aspire to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire.

Alfonso X found in his imperial ascent the perfect anchor for the renewed Hispanic imperial aspiration. With the backing of the *Imperium Hispanicum* his father’s predecessors developed, and the association to probably the most influential family in Europe at the time, the Castilian-Leonese monarch embraced his kin to support his imperial dream. If becoming Holy Roman Emperor would revive the Hispanic imperial title, belonging to the Staufen family was his best card to play in his candidacy to the German throne.

However, the affiliation to the imperial family was not decisive in the election of the emperor. As mentioned in previous chapters, the succession to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire was based on an elective system, which was essentially overridden by the Staufen family. This dynasty had managed to establish a sense of family inheritance to the imperial title linked to the Ancient Roman Empire. This notion, which will be further developed in later

⁷² Rodríguez López, ‘El Reino de Castilla y El Imperio Germánico En La Primera Mitad Del Siglo XIII’, 614.

⁷³ Colmenero López, ‘La Boda Entre Fernando III El Santo y Beatriz de Suabia’, 20–21; Diago Hernando, ‘La monarquía castellana y los Staufer’, 65.

chapters of this thesis,⁷⁴ meant the creation of a link between the Holy Roman Empire and the concept of *Translatio Imperii*. This meant that the Staufen family was the inheritor of the *imperium* and, therefore, the only family who ought to hold the imperial title. The imperial dynasty created a direct connection with roots in the Ancient Roman Empire, transferred to Charlemagne, later to Otto III and finally to Frederick I and Frederick II. In this way, Frederick I for instance used the title *Dei Gratia imperator Romanorum semper Augustus* – similar to the used by Alfonso X, mentioned previously⁷⁵ – which granted him absolute power that established the foundation for this conception of the empire.⁷⁶ From this moment, the Staufen emperors would start to create an institutional and cultural framework to support their presence in the empire. Frederick I, Barbarossa, was succeeded by his first-born Henry IV, whilst his second son, Phillip, married Irene, emperor Isaac Comnenos' daughter. The fruit of this union would be, as stated above, Beatriz of Swabia, who embodied the unification of both the Western and the Eastern Roman Empires for the first time in centuries. This imperial inheritance was, then, passed onto her son Alfonso X, who found in the Ancient Roman Empire the perfect legitimisation of his political aims.

This connection to Ancient Rome was supported by the Staufen family through the promotion of several historiographical works written in the middle of the 12th century that connected the Roman emperors to the members of the German family. Such are the cases of the *Kaiserchronik*, which provides a list of emperors since Julius Caesar and up to Conrad III – including Charlemagne;⁷⁷ or the *Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*, written by Otto of Freising, that develops the idea of the *Translatio Imperii* linked to the Staufens, as explained in detail in following chapters. This last concept would also be treated by Godfrey of Viterbo, who would defend the existence of a unique imperial dynasty that had held the title from Aeneas's times and

⁷⁴ See Chapter 4.1 "The *Translatio Imperii*"

⁷⁵ See chapter 1 "The historical events", p. 21

⁷⁶ Racine, 'La notion d'empire chez les empereurs Staufen', 135–36; Marzocchi, 'Renovatio Imperii Romanorum', 194.

⁷⁷ Robert Folz, *L'idée d'empire en occident du Ve au XIVe siècle*, 111.

ended with the Staufens.⁷⁸ These connections to the ancient past were supported by an important artistic and propagandistic programme developed by the Staufen dynasty, in which the emperors were portrayed as the Caesars had been centuries before.⁷⁹ Such is the extent of the *imitatio* of the German emperors, that in 1231, Frederick II promoted the composition of the *Liber Augustalis*, a work that rescued the Roman law and adapted it to the current circumstances of the kingdom of Sicily and the Holy Roman Empire. In such a way, the Staufens supported their lineage with an institutional framework that would protect their ambitions.

These strategies of legitimising the Staufens as the only emperors of the Holy Roman Empire helped not only to secure their position in the empire, but also worked against the papal ambitions in the aforementioned long-lasting dispute between the temporal and the spiritual powers. Entitled as *Reges Romanorum*, or kings of the Romans, the Staufen emperors became the main rivals to the papacy. Under the rule of Frederick II, the emperor presented himself, and therefore his successors, as the personification of Law and dispenser of justice by the Grace of God, head of the Christian empire and vindicator of the world's dominance, the so-called *dominium universalis*.⁸⁰

The connection of the emperors to the Ancient Roman empire seemed to be key in securing independence from the Christian Church, and Alfonso X found the arguments he needed to claim his imperial crown in the legitimising model used by the Staufens. The lack of historical roots and institutionalisation showed by the Learned King's predecessors in their attempts to build an imperial model, together with the traditional complexity of the Hispanic diplomacy, led to the demise of the *Imperium Hispanicum*. However, Alfonso X not only represented this Iberian empire, but also embodied the inheritance of the Staufen dynasty. In this way, the Castilian-

⁷⁸ Engels, 'El Sacro Imperio Romano-Germánico', 52–54; Racine, 'La notion d'empire chez les empereurs Staufen', 139.

⁷⁹ Vagnoni, 'Caesar Semper Augustus', 184–151; Racine, 'La notion d'empire chez les empereurs Staufen', 137.

⁸⁰ Racine, 'La notion d'empire chez les empereurs Staufen', 138.

Leonese monarch, aligning himself with the German dynasty and embracing, as will be seen in the following section, the aforementioned mechanisms to link himself to the Classical past and the *Translatio Imperii*, created a new model of kingship/emperorship. This rulership was characterised, I will explain, by a centralised organisation of the power in which the king/emperor is the centre of all decisions. To Alfonso X, the total assumption of his Staufen inheritance seemed to be the solution to all his disputes with the papacy: the pope was most definitely not willing to accept another Staufen in the empire, but belonging to the Staufen family, and therefore to the *Translatio Imperii*, gave Alfonso rights as emperor in which the papacy did not have voice.

As will be developed in the following section, the ideological programme planned by King Alfonso X was born from the combination of his Iberian imperial inheritance and his belonging to the Staufen dynasty. The resurrection of the *Imperium Hispanicum* came hand in hand with the assumption of his rights to the Holy Roman Empire, since Alfonso X was the result of the reiterative attempts of approach between the Castilian-Leonese crown and the Holy Roman Empire. The political task that Alfonso X had ahead necessitated the construction of a strong ideological framework, that supported his position and institutionalised the imperial notion linked to the Iberian Peninsula through its connection to the Staufen dynasty. The following section will aim to address the construction of such an ideological framework, and how it was manifested in the shape of the vast cultural endeavour for which Alfonso X is still recognised in the present day.

Alfonso X's imperial ideology and the reinforcement of royal power

The point of departure for this new political framework dated back to the beginning of Alfonso X's reign, in 1252. In this moment, whilst he inherited quite a strong position in the Iberian Peninsula from his father, the balance of power, always complicated amongst Hispanic monarchies, required an ongoing effort to reaffirm the Castilian-Leonese royal authority. The hegemony of Castile and Leon was relative even during the times of Fernando

III: in spite of the strength showed by his military actions, the relations with other kingdoms, and more specifically Aragon, had been tense since the Castilian-Leonese kingdom's advance in the South of the Iberian Peninsula had collided with the Aragonese expansionist interests.⁸¹ Not even the marriage between the future King Alfonso X and Violante of Aragon in 1249 was enough to soothe the disputes between the two families. In addition, conflicts with other kingdoms, such as the establishment of borders with Portugal in the Algarve, or the succession controversy after the death of Teobaldo I of Navarre, were also impediments to the assurance of the Castilian-Leonese hegemony and the alliance with the kingdom of Aragon.

As the dispute between Castile and Leon and Aragon showed, the conquests of the Iberian Muslim territories were the perfect tool to demonstrate superiority amongst the rest of the peninsular kingdoms. Alfonso X, following Fernando III's programme, pursued the unification of the Iberian territories as a political unity not only against the Muslim infidels, but also to the European monarchies.⁸² The kingdom of Castile and Leon was presented, in this context, as the Christian guard of the Iberian territory. This situation, as was to be expected, discomfited the other Iberian rulers, in particular Jaime I of Aragon. This would come hand in hand with intense diplomatic activity from the Castilian-Leonese side towards the other peninsular monarchies, the purpose of which was to guarantee the prestige and hegemony of the kingdom led by Alfonso X.⁸³ Amongst these diplomatic relations, the aforementioned conversations held by Jaime I and King Alfonso in Soria in 1256, just before the Pisan proposal, should be highlighted. The presence of the Pisans reaffirmed Alfonso X's hegemonic position over the Aragonese crown and gave him the opportunity to bring back the idea of resurrecting the *Imperium Hispanicum* his father attempted to revive. In this way, the idea of monarchy that Alfonso X was raising, based in Isidorian precepts, understood kingship as the government of a monarch over a "whole

⁸¹ de Ayala Martínez, 'Relaciones de Alfonso X con Aragón y Navarra', 103.

⁸² Valdeón Baruque, *Alfonso X el Sabio*, 114.

⁸³ de Ayala Martínez, *Directrices fundamentales de la política peninsular de Alfonso X*, 156–63.

geographical unit”, that is to say, control over the Iberian Peninsula.⁸⁴ This definition of a unitary territory was fundamental in promoting this new concept of rulership linked to the idea of *Imperium Hispanicum* and focused on the figure of the king.

Regarding the role of the king, the other Iberian monarchies were not the only peninsular obstacles in his imperial pursuit: the character of the Castilian-Leonese monarchical politics, based on the existence of the so-called *Cortes*, the political institution that advised but also controlled the king, collided with the idea of kingship/emperorship that was arising in the mind of Alfonso X. The Learned King, in the same way as other monarchs of the 13th century, such as Frederick II himself and the rest of Christian monarchies, joined a political trend based on the strengthening of royal power.⁸⁵ In the Castilian-Leonese case, the transition to a more centralised political model was complicated, since the majority of decisions in the realm were in hands of the *Cortes*. This institution, composed by the three main privileged strata – nobility, church, and royal councils – considered the king a *primus inter pares*, and their power of decision was crucial to the kingdom’s politics. However, Alfonso X’s conception of the role of the king/emperor differed from that of his predecessors. Whilst the relationships between the king/emperor and his people/other kingdoms was based in vassalage during Alfonso VI, Alfonso VII and Fernando III’s reigns, in the case of Alfonso X the conception of ruling became more organic and attended to the characteristics of nature: the king would rule over a corporatist monarchy. According to Nieto Soria, during the 13th and 14th century, the role and functions of the king/emperor redefined the ideological organisation of kingdoms. In this regard, the most significant models the author identifies are the ones he named “*feudalismo teológico*” and “*concepción corporativa*”.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ de Ayala Martínez, 150–51.

⁸⁵ de Ayala Martínez, 145.

⁸⁶ Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*, 90–99. These concepts will be referred in English as “theological feudalism” and “corporative conception”.

The first of them, “theological feudalism”, based the relationships of the king with the subjects and other kingdoms in terms of vassalage: in other words, the king was the lord of the kingdom. Examples of this model were the monarchies of Alfonso VI, Alfonso VII, and Fernando III, whose conception of kingship was defined by vassalage, not only from their subjects but also from other monarchs. The changes enacted during the rule of Alfonso X altered the nature of these relationships: these are explained in the *Siete Partidas*, the crown jewel of the Alfonsine legislative compositions. According to the *Ley V* of the *Título I*, “*E naturalmente que dijeron los sabios que el rey es cabeza del reino (...) de donde él es alma e cabeza de todos los miembros*”.⁸⁷ In this sense, the King became the head and soul of the kingdom, while the nobles, the church, and the subjects constituted the body. The same would happen on an imperial level, with the emperor as the head of a wider territory and the other kingdoms constituting the different parts of the body. This theory of the “mystical body” came from Aristotelian precepts and was previously adopted by the Christian Church, which considers God the head and leader. The case of divinity is the maximum expression of the corporative conception, wherein each character plays a role and has a place in the organisation of the kingdom. In this way, the project planned by Alfonso X would be the earthly *imitatio* of this system: the king/emperor is the head, and all the kings, institutions and subjects follow. This is linked also to the relationship the monarch would have, in this paradigm, with divinity, which will be explored in detail in the corresponding chapter of this thesis.⁸⁸

As was to be expected, this new conception of the organicism of the kingdom/empire discomfited the members of the *Cortes*, particularly the nobles, for whom the notion of the *primus inter pares* – the first amongst equals – would be supplanted by a model based in the power of the ruler. The nobles would lose influence and power of decision, at the same time as the monarch would assume new functions. In order to achieve this, Alfonso X led

⁸⁷ Alfonso X, *Las siete partidas*, Partida I, Ley V.

“*And, naturally, wise men told the king was the head of the kingdom (...) where he is the soul and head of all the members*”.

⁸⁸ See Chapter 7 “The empire and God”.

an ambitious programme of renovation and reinforcement of the royal power, in which cultural and ideological changes played a very important role. In this sense, the Learned King promoted intense cultural reform and supported the translation of scientific works, the composition of literature of different genres and, most linked to the ideological purpose of his politics, the creation of historiography – the focus of this research – and legislative works. The *Siete Partidas*, together with the *Espéculo*, the *Fuero Real* and the aforementioned *Setenario* built a corpus that contained Alfonso X's legislation, considered by scholars to be unparalleled in Europe by their time.⁸⁹ The aim of these works was not only to construct an institutional and legislative framework for the Alfonsine kingdom/empire, but also to create a legitimisation discourse to be spread amongst the different limbs of the mystical body and establish each one's functions.⁹⁰ Alfonso X aspired to the legislative homogenisation of his kingdom and, as the references to the figure of the emperor reveal, perhaps also the Empire.

It is impossible to ignore the resemblances between his legislative endeavour and the *Liber Augustalis*, also known as *Constitutions of Melfi*, or *Constitutionum Regni Siciliarum*,⁹¹ mentioned in previous pages of this thesis. The Staufens corpus, as the Alfonsine did subsequently, tried to compile the Roman law and adapt it to the circumstances of their kingdoms, but with validity to cover the needs of an imperial supra-government. Both works, the *Liber Augustalis* being briefer, aimed to create the institutional framework to support their monarchs' delicate situation in both kingdoms: on the one hand the situation of the Staufens in Sicily that discomfited the papacy; and on the other, the complex situation of hegemony of the Iberian stage. The *Liber Augustalis* and the *Siete Partidas* tried to offer their kingdoms a homogeneous legislation, and the influence of the former on the latter should not be discarded, in the same way as Alfonso X mimicked the embracement

⁸⁹ Iturmendi Morales, 'En Torno a La Idea de Imperio En Alfonso X El Sabio', 108–14.

⁹⁰ García de Cortázar, 'Alfonso X y los poderes del reino', 21.

⁹¹ Frederick II, *Constitutionum Regni Siciliarum*.

of the ancient past to support his imperial claims, as will be seen in further pages.

In this sense, the text of the *Siete Partidas* defined not only the functions, rights, and obligations of the king/emperor, but also of his subjects, the nobles, the church, and the relations amongst them all. Especially relevant in connection to the historical context around the *Fecho del Imperio* is the established liaison between the king/emperor and the church, that would define the catastrophic ending of Alfonso X's aspirations.⁹² In this regard, it is important to bear in mind that the Castilian-Leonese monarchy had always had a special relationship with religion, closer to the creed itself, and not as attached to the institution of the Christian Church.⁹³ The relation between God, king/emperor, and Christian Church, that will be analysed in detail in further chapters,⁹⁴ redefines and changes the Gelasian "theory of the two swords" in which the temporal power was subjected to the spiritual of the church:

*"Nuestro señor Dios puso otro poder temporal en la tierra (...) por la mano de los emperadores e de los reyes. E éstas son las dos espadas por las que se mantiene el mundo: la primera, espiritual; e la otra, temporal. La espiritual taja los males escondidos, e la temporal los males manifiestos."*⁹⁵

According to this passage of the *Siete Partidas*, God chose kings and emperors to embody temporal power on Earth, giving them the right and power to apply justice. The emperor, who is according to the *Partidas* "*vicario de Dios*", ruled in the name of God and should only obey and answer to the papacy in spiritual matters.⁹⁶ This separated the papacy from any decision in the temporal sphere. The final election of the emperor, traditionally a role assigned to the Pope, was alienated from the ecclesiastical duties of the papacy, and from then should be "*escogido de toos aquellos que han poderío*

⁹² See Chapter 1 "The historical events", pp. 23

⁹³ Remensynder, 'Marian Monarchy in Thirteenth-Century Castile', 256–57.

⁹⁴ See chapter 7 "The empire and God".

⁹⁵ Alfonso X, *Las siete partidas*, Partida II, Prólogo.

⁹⁶ Alfonso X, Partida II, Título 1, Ley I.

*de lo escoger*⁹⁷ – chosen by all those who have the right to choose – always under the surveillance of God.⁹⁸

In summary, Alfonso X's legislative words created the ideal framework in which the monarch's imperial aspirations should have worked. Firstly, the redefinition of the different limbs of the mystical body gave role and purpose to all the members of the *Cortes*, and put them in service of the monarch, revoking the idea of the king being a *primus inter pares* that was traditionally assumed. Secondly, these works also achieved the delimitation of the powers of the Christian church, and particularly the papacy, in ruling matters: by bringing together the connection of the king/emperor with divinity – using the figure of “*vicario de Dios*”, or God's vicar – the papacy lost the elective prerogatives to the empire, and, in theory, the Pope should not have had influenced the imperial succession. Finally, by using the legislative corpus of the Roman law as a foundation, Alfonso X aligned his kingdom/empire with the stream of legitimisation in the Classical past used by the Staufens, which provides the empire imagined by Alfonso X with historical roots that give meaning to the idea of *imperium* itself.

Thus, Alfonso X did what his predecessors failed to do to secure their empires, providing an institutional framework that supported the imperial idea from every single aspect of the governance of the kingdom/emperor: from the roles and functions of each of the agents of the kingdom, the relation of the king/emperor with divinity, and the rooting of the empire in ancient history. The main backing was found in the Staufen heritage, through the legacy of his mother, Beatriz de Swabia. In an empire that was once elective, the Staufens proved that lineage is an undisputable means of legitimisation. This was made by connecting the imperial bloodline embodied by the Staufens, Alfonso X included, to the emperors of the Ancient Rome, linking the imperial succession to the long-lasting concept of *Translatio Imperii*, which will be the centre of a later chapter in this thesis.⁹⁹ According to this, the imperial

⁹⁷ *Chosen by all those who have the right to choose.*

⁹⁸ Alfonso X, Partida II, Título 1, Ley II.

⁹⁹ See Chapter 4 “The *Translatio Imperii*”

lineage dated back to Nimrod and Jupiter, through Aeneas, the Caesars, Charlemagne, and up to the Staufens.¹⁰⁰ The German imperial family provided Alfonso X with the necessary roots to promote his imperial dream. In so doing, the idea of resurrecting the *Imperium Hispanicum* is supported by the imperial lineage of the Learned King, and both goals became one in the mind of Alfonso.

Nevertheless, in spite of the theoretical viability of the ideological and institutional framework offered by the Learned King, due to the circumstances surrounding Alfonso X, this project was not fully viable. On the one hand, the different strati of the *Cortes* and particularly the Castilian nobles, who rebelled against Alfonso X on more than one occasion during his rule, did not welcome the new changes very openly. To them, attaining the crown of the Holy Roman Empire seemed more an individual project of the monarch than an effort of the kingdom. In the same way, the restoration of the *Imperium Hispanicum*, in the shape expressed in the *Siete Partidas*, would directly affect the extent of the nobility's influence in governing matters, whilst putting the Castilian nobles in a position of submission towards the king/emperor. On the other hand, the high clerical hierarchy, and by extension the papacy, did not agree with the separation of powers established by Alfonso X, according to which the Christian Church should not meddle with the temporal power. And lastly, the urban oligarchies did not receive the new centralised power well.¹⁰¹

To fight these very practical motivations, the Learned King needed to legitimise himself beyond any dispute. The Staufens' mechanism of rooting the origins of the king/emperor's power in the ancient past became the perfect tool to legitimise the position of the monarch amongst his subjects. Lineage and heritage became essential in understanding the changes Alfonso X made to the concept of kingship. To support his project, and its survival through time, Alfonso X needed to work on the creation of a royal memory that linked

¹⁰⁰ Fraker, *The Scope of History*, 109.

¹⁰¹ García de Cortázar, 'Alfonso X y los poderes del reino', 94.

all these new ideas and built a historical imaginary. Together with the legislative works mentioned above, the composition of a royal history became key in the ambitious political and cultural project carried out by Alfonso X and his *scriptorium*.¹⁰²

Historiography, as the following chapter addresses in detail, became one of the greatest efforts for the Alfonsine *scriptorium* and its new way of writing history. The new ideological paradigm that would be introduced in the composition of the Alfonsine chronicles resulted in a new historiographical model that would define the genre for centuries. As I will explore, the Alfonsine *Estorias* condensed, in the shape of a historical narrative, the political desires and destinies of the Alfonsine imperial ideology.

¹⁰² García de Cortázar, 14–17.

CHAPTER III.- WORDING IDEOLOGY: DISCURSIVITY AND HISTORY IN ALFONSO X'S *ESTORIA DE ESPANNA*

The previous chapters of this thesis have discussed the Alfonsine interest in the imperial crown and the difficulties he faced in his pursuit of the imperial dream that ended up in failure. As mentioned, Alfonso X saw himself in a theoretically perfect position to claim the title of emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, which would unify the two imperial traditions he inherited: the idea of the *Imperium Hispanicum* developed by his father's predecessors and the imperial legacy passed down by his mother, Beatriz de Swabia. The Italian proposal was just the trigger that began Alfonso X's imperial journey, the so-called *Fecho del Imperio*. However, the papal opposition and the reluctance of the *Cortes* to fund the imperial project required Alfonso's creation of a legitimisation system that supported his claims. At this stage, the production of the Alfonsine *scriptorium* became a key agent in the Learned King's political project.

This cultural, on a par with political, production – as has been advanced in the previous chapter of this thesis – is essential to understand the political project idealised by Alfonso X, and his relationships with the different social strata – such as the aforementioned Castilian-Leonese nobility, or the papacy. In this sense, the works created in the Alfonsine *scriptorium*, whilst belonging to different genres and dealing with a wide range of topics – music, law, games, history, literature, etc. – all reflected different aspects of the life and project of King Alfonso. For instance, the legislative works mentioned in the previous chapter exhibited, profusely, the new Alfonsine organisation of the kingdom/empire; the *Setenario* on the other hand, amongst other topics, developed the relationship between the monarch with his own past, and with God and religion.

Thus, Alfonso X's cultural project emerged as the materialisation of the ideology behind the Castilian-Leonese monarchy of the second half of the thirteenth century. These works are central in explaining Alfonso X's political

manoeuvres and ideology,¹⁰³ but were also the perfect vehicle to justify and support such actions. Although this political input is easier to identify in some of the works promoted by Alfonso X, such as the *Siete Partidas* and the *Setenario*, the totality of the works supervised by the Learned King contributed to the creation of the ideological framework of the monarch's reign. As mentioned before, together with these legislative works, those within the historiographical genre proved to be key for the ambitions of the Castilian-Leonese monarch. Historiography was, therefore, intensively developed under Alfonso X's rule, so much so that the Alfonsine *scriptorium* created a new historiographical model that would become the paradigm of writing history for the centuries ahead. This model has been already identified and studied by recognised scholars as Diego Catalán, Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, Leonardo Funes, and Georges Martin, amongst others.¹⁰⁴ It is not the aim of this chapter – nor this thesis – to replicate these authors' previous discussions of the characteristics and creation of the Alfonsine historiographical model and how the Alfonsine *scriptorium* worked.¹⁰⁵ On the contrary, this chapter aims to define what history and historiography meant in the larger scheme of the ideology that Alfonso X tried to support and promote, and some of the ways in which this was achieved.

In this sense, the present chapter aims to address the role of History within Alfonso X's ideology by focusing on two key questions that articulate this thesis's argument: 1) what does Alfonso X understand by History, and why it is used as a political means of legitimisation; and 2) how is this new History written. This will prepare the field for the understanding of the following chapters of this thesis, which develop in detail the means of writing history in the Alfonsine *scriptorium* and how the text was influenced by the

¹⁰³ Catalán, *La Estoria de Espanna de Alfonso X*, 13–18; Rico, *Alfonso El Sabio y La General Estoria*, 123–41.

¹⁰⁴ Catalán, *La Estoria de Espanna de Alfonso X*; Catalán, *De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos*; Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*; Fernández-Ordóñez, 'El Taller Historiográfico Alfonsí'; Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La Historiografía Alfonsí y Post-Alfonsí En Sus Textos'; Funes, *El Modelo Historiográfico Alfonsí*; Martin, 'El Modelo Historiográfico Alfonsí y Sus Antecedentes'.

¹⁰⁵ On the topic of how the Alfonsine *taller* worked and to what extent Alfonso X was in charge of the intellectual input of the works produced in the *scriptorium*, see: Menéndez Pidal, 'Cómo trabajaron las escuelas alfonsíes'; and García Solalinde, 'Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras'.

ideology surrounding the *Fecho del Imperio*. In order to do so, this research will analyse the means of compiling the sources of the chronicles and how they were translated and adapted to the new ideological framework.

History and historiography: concept and aim.

As this thesis will demonstrate, historiography has the power to foster, support, and legitimise ideology, since it can be shaped after the desires and ambitions of its promoter. However, before addressing the ways in which History was used for ideological matters during this period, it is necessary to define and comprehend King Alfonso X's understanding of the discipline. In this vein, and as mentioned before, the role of the monarch in the composition and conceptualisation of the *estorias* should not be disregarded, since as García Solalinde pointed out, there is textual proof of the implication of Alfonso X in the early stages of composition of the *General Estoria* and, presumably, the *Estoria de Espanna*¹⁰⁶. Therefore, the concept of History and the aims of the *estorias* were closely overseen by Alfonso X, explaining how the context of the *Fecho del Imperio* permeated the text of the chronicles in such a consistent manner. Although, as will be seen, the two chronicles written under the vigilance of the Learned King are the best example of the historiographical genre, the role of History can be inferred from other works with ideological content developed by Alfonso X. The case of the *Setenario*, for instance, is paradigmatic. The encyclopaedic work that introduced knowledge as one the main pillars of Alfonso X's political project was not only intimately linked to the *Siete Partidas*, but also furthered the inclusion of the historical narrative as an asset to the Learned King's ideology.¹⁰⁷

As the end of the previous chapter proposed, the construction of a historical imaginary that rooted Alfonso X's imperial ideology in the past was essential in the configuration of his new political framework. In this sense, even though it is not mentioned specifically, History was present in the

¹⁰⁶ García Solalinde, 'Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras', 285-286

¹⁰⁷ Catalán, *La Estoria de Espanna de Alfonso X*, 16-17.

Setenario in the shape of the narrativization of the diachronic evolution of the Hispanic imperial idea and the account of the successes of Fernando III, essentially in its laws IX and X. Whilst law IX narrated the history of Fernando III's inheritance and conquests, as well as the king's repopulation efforts, law X used the city of Seville to explore the imperial idea, starting the section with the sentence "*Ca ella ffué antiguamente casa e morada de los emperadores*" – for it was, in old times, house and residence of emperors.¹⁰⁸ This reference, as mentioned in previous chapters of this thesis, contextualises the importance of the imperial issue and its relation to Seville as a city, linked to Fernando III after the conquest. In this context, the same law mentioned the imperial idea linked to Fernando III's lineage and the restoration of the imperial dream, since Fernando should have been "*Coronado por emperador segunt lo fueron otros de su linage*" – crowned emperor the same way as others in his lineage.¹⁰⁹ The text of the *Setenario* gave an explanation of the existence of the imperial idea using the history that links the empire to the city of Seville and the reign of Fernando III. History proved to be, in this work, a tool to spread ideology and teach ways of ruling. The integration of this discipline amongst other traditional knowledges such as theology or natural sciences, also contained in this work, was, according to Georges Martin, one of the greatest innovations of the rule of Alfonso X.¹¹⁰

History was included in the same standing as other sciences and became one of the main components of Alfonso X's cultural and political project.¹¹¹ The importance of historical discourse could be already inferred from works like the *Setenario*, but – as one might expect – the reach and relevance of the discipline was clearer in the historiographical works promoted by the Learned King. This is shown in the list of different sciences

¹⁰⁸ Martin, 'El Modelo Historiográfico Alfonsí y Sus Antecedentes', 10–11.

¹⁰⁹ See chapter 2.1 "The *Imperium Hispanicum* and the Iberian legacy", p.32.

¹¹⁰ Martin, 'El Modelo Historiográfico Alfonsí y Sus Antecedentes', 12.

¹¹¹ Rico, *Alfonso El Sabio y La General Estoria*, 124.

contained in the prologue of the *Estoria de Espanna*, in which History followed other natural sciences like geometry and astronomy:

*e por que las artes de
las sciencias e los otros saberes que fueron fal
lados pora pro de los omnes fuessen guarda
dos en escripto por que non cayessen en oluido
[...]dell ar
te de geometria que es de medir [...] esopieron
los atrono
mianos con grandacucia [...]
Ca si
por las escripturas non fuesse; qual sabidu
ria o engenno de omne se podrie menbrar de
todas las cosas passadas aun que no las fallas
sen de nueuo que es cosa muy mas grieue*

(EE 1, 7-9)

On the other hand, and in connection with this passage, the chronicles finished the definition of the object of study, the attitude of historians while writing History, and even the consequences of ignoring historical knowledge.

*Los sabios antiguos que
fueron en los tiempos
primeros e fallaron
los saberes e las otras
cosas; touieron que men
guarieren en sos fechos
e en su lealtad. si tan
bien nolo quisiessen
pora los que auien de uenir; como
pora si mis
mos. o pora los otros que eranen so
tiempo.
E entendiendo por los fechos de dios
que son
espiritaes. que los saberes se
perderien murien
do aquellos que lo sabien e no
dexando remen
brança. por que no cayessen en
oluido*

(EE 1, 1-2)

*Onde, porque el saber del tiempo
que fue es cierto e non de los otros
dos tiempos, assi como diximos,
trabaiaron se los sabios omnes de
meter en escripto los fechos que son
passados por auer rememrança
dellos como si estonçes fuessen, e
quelo sopiessen los que auien de
uenir assi como ellos. Et fizieron
desto muchos libros que son
llamados estorias e gestas [...] E
dizieron la uerdad en todas las
cosas e non quisieron nada
encobrir.*

(GE I, p3a)

In both the Alfonsine chronicles, the *Estoria de Espanna*, and the *General Estoria*, the concept of *rememrança*, or memory, was mentioned as the main purpose of the act of writing the past. The *Estoria de Espanna* explored this notion, warning of the dangers of forgetting history, and the compilers of the chronicles assured the veracity of the historical account written by the *omnes sabios* – wise men – and the *sabios antiguos* – old wise

men – later compiled by Alfonso X.¹¹² The mention of these writers is essential, since Alfonsine historiography in general, and the *Estoria de Espanna* in particular, were the result of the use of a formidable corpus of sources; historiographical, ecclesiastical, and literary, all of them adapted to the new times and project of the Castilian-Leonese king. In this context, it is important to highlight the notion of veracity, since the past acts as a mirror to the present, and lessons should be learnt from the texts. As this thesis will demonstrate, the didactic side of the chronicle will be essential to Alfonso X's plans to reclaim the *imperium*.¹¹³ Thereby, these chronicles rooted their legitimacy in the use of sources, some of which were even listed in the prologue of the *Estoria de Espanna*. This work, cited, amongst other texts, the *Chronicon Mundi* by Lucas de Tuy and the *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae sive Gothica* by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. These two works were composed under the reign of Fernando III and were not only an important resource of historical content for the *Estoria de Espanna*, but also helped in the epistemology of History developed by Alfonso X, that linked to his imperial idea. One of the main influences that the *Estoria de Espanna* adopted from these sources – particularly Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon* – was the historical perspective inherited from Isidore of Seville.¹¹⁴ This was the origin of the Alfonsine historiography's providential character that, as will be seen in the following chapter, would help to develop the continuance of the empire throughout history.

Nevertheless, the *Estoria de Espanna* took a different turn by centralising power and the fate of historical development in the figure of the *senor natural*, the natural lord, to the detriment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the nobility.¹¹⁵ This attitude agrees with the position of centralisation of royal power discussed above.¹¹⁶ With regard to this issue, this thesis argues that there was another influence in the conception of

¹¹² Catalán, *La Estoria de Espanna de Alfonso X*, 19.

¹¹³ See Chapter 4 “The *Translatio Imperii*”

¹¹⁴ Fernández-Ordóñez, ‘De la historiografía fernandina a la alfonsí’, 109–14.

¹¹⁵ Fernández-Ordóñez, 114.

¹¹⁶ See chapter 2.3 “Alfonso X's imperial ideology and the reinforcement of the royal power”, p. 42-43

historical discourse that has been disregarded by modern historiography: the *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, written by Bishop Otto of Freising during the twelfth century. This author, as will be explained, was a member of the Staufen family, and his chronicle was a universal history that promoted the interests of the Staufen emperors¹¹⁷. Catalán already highlighted that the education of Alfonso X and his siblings meant a change from the previous generations of Castilian and Leonese princes, due to the influence of his mother, Beatriz of Swabia. The queen, who grew up in the court of the Holy Roman Empire, might have been the bridge of the German and the Castilian-Leonese's intellectual exchange. This could have been how the knowledge of Otto of Freising entered the Iberian stage. The work of Otto of Freising could have helped in the construction of the concept of History developed by Alfonso X, and in the propagandistic and legitimising character of Alfonsine historiography, since historical evolution was tackled in a similar way in both historiographies.¹¹⁸

In the same way as in Otto's work,¹¹⁹ the justification of the empire was one of the main ideological pillars of Alfonsine historiography and, as this thesis will demonstrate, the *Estoria de Espanna* proved to be a perfect example. The chronicle's propagandistic purpose can be inferred from the wider intended audience of history in the times of Alfonso X in comparison to the rule of Fernando III. As defended by Inés Fernández-Ordóñez and other scholars, there was a change of paradigm in the intended audience of historiography between the rules of these two monarchs:¹²⁰ whilst during the previous century, History was used as a didactic tool reserved for the genre of the *Speculum Principis*, and the audience of these works were therefore princes and their close circle, during Alfonso X's rule the audience widened. In this sense, Fernández-Ordóñez points to the use of deictic elements in the

¹¹⁷ For more information on Otto of Freising's concept of history see: Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, Chapter 9.

¹¹⁸ See chapter 4.1 "The *Translatio Imperii*", pp. 82-83, 85-86

¹¹⁹ See also, Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, 123-142

¹²⁰ Fernández-Ordóñez, 'De la historiografía fernandina a la alfonsí', 96-99; Rubio García, 'Del Latín al castellano en la cancellería de Alfonso X el Sabio', 266-67; Quirós, 'Alfonso X El sabio y el romance castellano', 18.

discourse in order to draw the audience's attention as key in the understanding of how these stories spread.¹²¹ For instance, the use of verbs like 'listen' and the second person plural might indicate an oral performance of these works linked to a wider audience.¹²²

*E esto es. que quando a ellos falleciesse
dauer Rey de su linage; entonce nascrie
cristo. el messias que ellos esperauan. e assi
fue ca en tiempo dest emperador **nascio cue
mo uos adelante contaremos.***

(EE 132, 5)

*E **otrossi sabet** que aquel
anno fueron ciertos los de Roma del cosso
de la luna que andauan buscando grand tiem
po auie*

(EE 133, 3)

*E desta batalla que uencio
alli lo llamaron emperador primera mientre
bien cuemo fizieron a Ponpeyo por los gra
nados fechos que fiziera **cuemo desuso oyes
tes.***

(EE 135, 7)

The use of deictic marks, together with the scholarship of the contents addressed in the chronicle, might also indicate the circulation of these chronicles within a court scenario. One might think that the reason for this orality was the illiteracy of the Court, however, as Michael Clanchy suggests, it is quite difficult to estimate the levels of literacy in the Middle Ages, and there are proofs of a progressive textual increment towards the 12th century, as Malve also confirms.¹²³ In this vein, performed text, which was a phenomenon traditionally associated with epic texts, seemed to seem far more comprehensive and reach many different genres, including history, and represented the basic values of lay culture through the public recitation of stories. Texts were, therefore, read aloud and enjoyed publicly, and became vehicles for sentiments and values such as cultural identity¹²⁴. If that were

¹²¹ Fernández-Ordóñez, 'De la historiografía fernandina a la alfonsí', 97–101.

¹²² For more information on public reading, see Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, chap. Reading in the Middle Ages.

¹²³ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 12-13; Melve, Literacy – Aurality – Orality, 162-163, 169. For further information see also: Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*.

¹²⁴ Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 184. For more information on public reading and entertainment of the Court, see Spiegel, *Romancing the Past*.

the case of the Castilian Court, the nobility would be, in a recreational context, one of the main targeted audiences of these performances. These nobles were, as explained in previous chapters, essential for the funding of the imperial enterprise, and therefore one of the groups that needed to be convinced of the legitimacy of Alfonso X's imperial project. This raises a separate issue towards the circulation of the chronicles: how could the text be effectively transmitted amongst the members of the Castilian-Leonese court? In this regard, other than the aforementioned didacticism of history established in the prologues of both chronicles, the *Estoria de Espanna* develops two innovative characteristics: 1) the use of the vernacular language, Castilian, for the writing of history – which is shared with the *General Estoria* – and 2) the geographical focus of the chronicle in the Iberian Peninsula, or *Espanna*.

On the use of Castilian,¹²⁵ all previous historiography in the kingdom of Castile and Leon had been written in Latin, a language that was only known by the king's closest intellectual circle, and within the ecclesiastical sphere. In order for the *Estoria de Espanna* to be understood by the wider public, a different language was thus required. The use of vernacular languages was already common in other cultural works promoted by Alfonso X, who ordered the translation of sapiential and scientific texts from different languages, such as Latin or Arabic, to Castilian, and endorsed the composition of the *Cantigas de Santa María* in Galician-Portuguese.¹²⁶ But it was within the legislative and administrative fields that the use of Castilian had already proven effective in the spreading of ideological messages. During Alfonso X's rule the *Fuero Real*, the *Siete Partidas*, and the *Setenario* used the Castilian language, whilst administration had already used Castilian since the beginning of the 13th century. The first document written in Castilian, with a considerable extension was the *Tratado de Cabrerros* in 1206,¹²⁷ and during the administration of Fernando III, the use of Castilian

¹²⁵ For more information on this topic refer to Wright, *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, Part 3

¹²⁶ Quirós, 'Alfonso X El sabio y el romance castellano', 18-21

¹²⁷ Mínguez, 'Fueros palentinos en la época de Alfonso VIII', 63. The *Tratado de Cabrerros* was an agreement between Alfonso IX of Leon and Alfonso VIII of Castile that aimed to put an end in the conflict between the two kingdoms on the possession of certain fortresses.

was generalised in administration.¹²⁸ This task was continued by Alfonso X, who crystallised the use of the vernacular for official documents. The use of Castilian permeated to the field of historiography, and this change modified the ways of writing history in the peninsula for the centuries to come.

Along the same lines, as mentioned in previous chapters, the Castilian nobles were not convinced by an investment in an international enterprise such as the *Fecho del Imperio*, since they were more focused on Iberian affairs. In this context, the choice made by Alfonso X's *scriptorium* to use Castilian as a language of power to discuss the general history of the Iberian Peninsula was an ideological statement. By using Castilian, Alfonso X appealed to the two entities that affected the development of his imperial enterprise in the Iberian Peninsula, that is to say, the aforementioned Castilian nobles, but also the other Iberian kingdoms.¹²⁹ By implying that Castilian was the language of power, in which the history of the entire peninsula should be written, Alfonso X made a double statement: Castile is the hegemonic kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula, and once this hegemony is assured, the *Espannas* should aspire to the universal empire under the rule of the lineage of kings of Castile and Leon.

This also explained the Iberian geographical focus of the *Estoria de Espanna*, which presents the *sennorío* of the Iberian Peninsula as one only, linked to the universal imperial crown. This approach is physical rather than ethnic or national, as it implicates all the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. As established by Diego Catalán, whilst nowadays the geographical demarcation of historical studies is common, the work promoted by the Learned King was pioneering in organising History around a geographical reality and the lineage of rulers that governed over it.¹³⁰ In this sense, returning to the aforementioned immediate sources of the *Estoria de Espanna*, the closest of them to this geographical conception is *De Rebus Hispaniae*, which follows the organisation coined by Isidore of Seville in his chronicle,

¹²⁸ Fernández-Ordóñez, 'De la historiografía fernandina a la alfonsí', 95.

¹²⁹ See Chapter 2 "The ideology behind the facts", *passim*.

¹³⁰ Catalán, *La Estoria de Espanna de Alfonso X*, 29.

considered the first medieval history of a people in medieval times, the Goths.¹³¹ However, Alfonso X reverses this concept and, rather than following the history of a people, the structure of the *Estoria de Espanna* followed the geographical demarcation of the Iberian Peninsula and all the peoples that settled there subsequently. This created an idea of unity of the Iberian territory, in which Castile held the predominant position – as shown by the use of Castilian. This idea aligned with Alfonso X's hegemonic intentions, which were addressed in previous chapters.

It is possible that this decision might also have been influenced by the existence of another work in the Andalusian sphere, a history of the kings of *Spain*, by al-Razi, which shared a similar geographical conception and political aims.¹³² However, it seems that this work acted as an influence rather than a main source in the writing of the *Estoria de Espanna*, similar to the influence of Otto of Freising's *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, proposed in this thesis. These works may not appear directly in the text but helped to shape the conception and structure of the Alfonsine chronicle, since the political goals were, considering the different scenarios, essentially shared. This demonstrates the great complexity of the intellectual conception of the *Estoria de Espanna* which was not merely another chronicle copying chronicles, but something new. The Alfonsine *Estorias* were written within a very particular ideological framework, and with very particular goals. The assimilation of other influences that had used historiography before to support their political ambitions confirms the ideological character of Alfonsine historiography. In this sense, the *Estoria de Espanna* was a unique witness, in which the effort of combining sources and influences, their translation to a language that could be widely understood, and the adaptation to Alfonso X's political needs meant a defining turn in the ways of writing history for the centuries to come.

¹³¹ Catalán, 29.

¹³² Catalán, 30. In the chronicle written by al-Razi (*Ajbar Muluk al-Andalus*, also known as *Crónica del moro Rasis*), the author tries to promote the greatness and independence of the Western Califate.

To follow this idea, the following pages of this section will explore how these sources and influences were used and added to the *Estoria de Espanna* to build the imperial character of the chronicle. This will work as an introduction of the analysis that will be the focus of the further chapters of this thesis. By analysing the general use of sources of the Alfonsine chronicle, this thesis will create a foundation for the detailed analysis of the sources of the *Estoria de Espanna* in order to explain the different mechanisms of legitimising the imperial idea.

The use of sources in the Estoria de Espanna: the creation of a new history

As has been stated above, the Alfonsine chronicles were pioneering in the sense that they signified the creation of a new historiographical model. Among the features that made this possible, the use and treatment of the sources – including their translation to Castilian – is probably one of the most relevant. The new historiographical text constituted a combination of the selection of sources, their translation, and most importantly, their adaptation to the royal historical account. Therefore, in the following chapters, this thesis will develop an explanation of how the sources were employed in a way that supported the imperial aspirations of Alfonso X. In order to create a solid base for the argumentation of this research, the present section will introduce the main sources and authors used in the composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*. Building on these foundations, this thesis will aim to throw light on how the compilers worked in order to create a text that fitted the ideological framework of Alfonso X's rule. In order to achieve this, it is important to understand 1) the way in which the Alfonsine *scriptorium* worked, 2) which sources were mostly used, and 3) how some of them were incorporated in the long and complex process of creation of the *Estorias*, and particularly the *Estoria de Espanna*.

On the first issue, the processes of creation of both *Estorias* have been studied in detail by Inés-Fernández-Ordóñez, who has worked on how these teams approached the writing of history and has given results on how the

materials were collected. In this regard, as the author points out, the two works were written simultaneously and shared many of the sources and materials used for their composition. However, the existence of different teams can be proven by the contrast in sections of the chronicles.¹³³ Thus, for the *Estoria de Espanna* there is, primarily, a disparity between two large sections: the first one from the primitive history of *Espanna* to the end of the *Sennorio de Roma* – the section which is the focus of the present thesis – and a second one from the history of the barbarians, the Goths, and the Christian kingdoms. The use of sources for this second section seems to be very consistent, following Jiménez de Rada’s chronicles – mainly the *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae*, but also the *Historia Arabum*, the *Vandalorum*, and the *Alanorum Silingorum* – which are contrasted with Lucas de Tuy’s *Chronicon Mundi*. This is confirmed not only by the text, but also by the explicit mention of the use of these sources in the prologue of the chronicle:

*e tomamos de la cronica dell
arçobispo don Rodrigo que fizo por mandado
del Rey don Fernando nuestro padre. e de la
de Maestre luchas obispo de Tuy.*

(EE 1, 20)

As can be seen in the fragment from the prologue of the *Estoria de Espanna*, the first sources mentioned were precisely the chronicles of Jiménez de Rada and Lucas de Tuy. This second section, however, other than using the aforementioned sources very closely, also includes other works to complete information in very specific passages,¹³⁴ such as the so-called *mainete* which will be addressed in further pages of this research regarding the treatment of Charlemagne in the chronicle.¹³⁵

The first section of the two highlighted by Fernández-Ordóñez in the *Estoria de Espanna* presents a more complex use and hierarchisation of the

¹³³ Fernández-Ordóñez, ‘El Taller Historiográfico Alfonsí’, 6–7, 11–12.

¹³⁴ Fernández-Ordóñez, 11.

¹³⁵ See Chapter 4.3 “Rome, the culmination of the *Translatio Imperii*”, pp. 103-105

sources, some of them also mentioned in the prologue of the Alfonsine Iberian chronicle:

*e de paulo
orosio e del lucano. e de sant Esidro el primero.
e de sant Alffonso. e de sant esidro el mance
bo. e de Idacio obispo de Gallizia. e de Sulpicio
obispo de gasconna. e de los otros escriptos
de los concilios de Toledo. e de don Jordan chan
celler del sancto palacio. ¶ e de claudio Tho
lomeo que departio del cerco de la tierra me
ior que otro sabio fasta la su sazón. e de
dion que es
criuio uerdadera la estoria de los Godos. e de
Pon
peyo trogo. e dotras estorias de Roma. las que
pudimos auer que contassen algunas cosas
del fecho despanna. ¶ e compusimos este li
bro de todos los fechos que fallar se pudieron
del
la*

(EE 1, 20-21)

The sources listed in the prologue, immediately after mentioning Jiménez de Rada and Lucas de Tuy, were used in the first section of the chronicle, the one that contained the history from the origins and up to the end of the *Sennorío de Roma*. As the text shows, these sources were a mixture of patristic and classical authors' works. The chronicle nonetheless used other sources that were not included in this list, but which were identified in Menéndez Pidal's study, and confirmed after the analysis made in this thesis.

In particular, and focusing on the second question raised in this section of the thesis on the most commonly used authors and works, the main source for the first 371 chapters of the *Estoria de Espanna* is the *Chronici Canones* by Eusebius of Caesarea, completed and translated into Latin by Saint Hieronymus. This work is a compilation of chronological tables that were widely used to structure and correlate events in this first part of the chronicle. This source was used in almost half of the 371 chapters, and even though it was not included in the prologue's list of sources, the author and his work were mentioned in several chapters as source of certain information. These are just a few examples of the inclusion of this source in the Alfonsine text.

*en la ar
te de la melezina segund **cuenta**
euse
bio en las sus ystorias.
(EE 210, 11)*

*E segund cuenta **Eusebio** en
la ystoria ecclesiastica. diz que el oyo
yurar
a Costantino que medio dia era
quandol
a el contescio aquello.*

(EE 320, 5)

*Ca segund cuenta **Eu**
sebio en la estoria ecclesiastica;
Licinio
que uio que ell Emperador
Costantino era tan
amado que todas las gentes del
mundo lotenien por padre.*

(EE 323, 2)

*Auino assi segund cuen
ta sant **Eusebio** Obispo de
Cesarea la de palestina en
un su libro que a nombre la estoria
eclesi
astica.*

(EE 325, 1)

This manner of including sources in the text, by introducing the author, helped with the identification of the original texts and the different changes and it was a constant strategy across the entire chronicle. Similar was the case of the second most important source in this section in terms of proportional use: Paulus Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos*. Orosius brought the Augustinian influence on the *Estorias*, and almost 40% of the chapters of this first section of the chronicle consistently make use of its source material. As chapters go by, the use of this source decreases, and by the end of the section several lacunae are found. The *Historia adversus paganos* was listed, as has been seen above, in the prologue of the *Estoria de Espanna* as one of the main sources of the chronicle, and this is corroborated by the numerous times in which Orosius was mentioned to give content to different chapters:

*E segund dize la
estoria de **paulo orosio** poblo lo
hercules.*

(EE 76, 25)

*Sobrete crescer e minguar
dell Jmperio de Roma departe la
estoria de
orosio en este logar. e diz assi.*

(EE 92, 16)

*E dize **Orosio** que
esta onra dio el Cesar ala batalla
de los de
cantabria. por que fue muy fuerte e
de grand
nombre e la uencieron los suyos.*

(EE 139, 12)

*que dize **del paulo**
orosio en la su hystoria. ell
emperador
Comodo nombre de prouechoso
dannoso
fue a todos.*

(EE 224, 9)

Orosius provided the *Estorias* with abundant historical content, but also aided in the creation of the ideological framework and the terminology used to define historical processes, as one of the main intellectuals used to recreate a new definition of history and historical evolution. That is the case, for instance, in Chapter 92 of the *Estoria de Espanna*, that discusses the concepts of *minguar* and *crecer* related to the empire. This was connected to the concept of imperial evolution and the *Translatio Imperii*, as will be seen in the next chapter.

Also significant was the *Estoria de Espanna*'s use of Paulus Diaconus's *Historia miscella*. With an appearance similar in figures to Orosius' text, the tendency in use throughout the chronicle seems to be inverse: whilst the use of the *Historia adversus paganos* shows a decrease as the chapters progress, the use of Diaconus's *Historia miscella* as a source increases exponentially with the progression of the historical account. This work offered a great deal of historical content for the imperial section, and it was the main source for numerous chapters and episodes. However, and also entirely in agreement with Fernández-Ordóñez's opinion, there is an issue regarding Diaconus's work and Eutropius's *Brevarium ad urbite condita*, which Menéndez Pidal claims was another of the main sources of the *Estoria de Espanna*.¹³⁶ It is necessary to bear in mind that Diaconus's *Historia Romana*, which is one of the books of the *Historia Miscella*, is the amplification and continuation of Eutropius's *Brevarium*. It seems that Diaconus's chronicle was the only text used for the composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*, as it was more recent and contained the entire text of Eutropius's *Brevarium*. Besides the proof offered by Fernández-Ordóñez in her study, the analysis of the sources made in this thesis has shown that in all the cases in which Eutropius is listed as a source of a chapter of the *Estoria de Espanna*, Diaconus's texts also seems to be a direct reference. In most cases, both authors are included in Menéndez Pidal's list, however, there are many cases in which only of the sources is mentioned,

¹³⁶ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 163–72.

that is to say, there are instances in which Diaconus is mentioned as a source and not Eutropius, and vice versa.

There are, in this regard and as the analysis of the sources confirms, chapters in which Diaconus's text is listed as a source, but not Eutropius's. This gives the first signifier for a reconsideration of the presence of Eutropius's *Brevarium* in the *Estoria de Espanna*. Such is the case, for instance, in Chapter 285, in which Diaconus and Eusebius-Hieronimus were used for inclusion of the lightning that killed Aurelius:

*e dio sententia de muerte contra
muchos otros. e mato sus sobrinos. e
fue mui cruel en matar las yentes.
assi que lo desamaron todos. e desi sallio
de la cibdat. e fue a andar por la tierra.
e un dia ell yendo por el camino. cayo
un rayo cerca del e de sus caualleros.*

(EE 285, 3-4)

*[...] saevus et sanguinarius, ac
necessarius magis in quibusdam, in
nullo amabilis imperator, trux
omni tempore, etiam filio sororis
interfecto [...]*

*Iste cum persecutionem aqi
adversus Christianos nonus a
nerone decerneret, fulme ante eum
magno pavore circumstantium ruit;
ac non multo post in itinerer
occiditur servi sui fraude, qui ad
quosdam militares*

*viros amicos ipsius nomina pertulit
annotata, falso manum ejus
imitatus, tanquam Aurelianus
ipsos pararet occidere.*

(*Historia Miscella* col. 898-899)

*Aurelianus cum aduersum nos
persecutionem mouisset, fulmen
iuxta eum coitesque eius ruit.*

(*Chronici Canones*. 185)

*Occiditur servi sui fraude, qui ad
quosdam militares viros, amicos
ipsius, nomina pertulit adnotata,
falso manum eius imitatus,
tamquam Aurelianus ipsos pararet
occidere; itaque ut praeveniretur,
ab isdem interfectus est in itineris
medio,*

(*Brevarium IX*, 15°)

These fragments show how both the *Historia Miscella* and the *Chronici Canones* mentioned the thunderbolt as the cause of the death of Aurelius. The *Brevarius* on the other hand, whilst very similar in text to Diaconus's work, does not mention the lightning. This is just an example of Diaconus's

amplifications on the text of the *Brevarius*. These absences of Eutropius's chronicle, when Diaconus's is present in the text, are the first support for this research's hypothesis that the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* only used the *Historia Miscella*, and not Eutropius's *Brevarium*.

On the other hand, and more illustrative, there are cases in which Eutropius is mentioned as a source, but not Diaconus. For those instances, the in-depth study of the Alfonsine text and its sources has proved that the *Historia Miscella* also includes that content. That is, for example, true in the case of Chapter 320 of the *Estoria de Espanna*. Menéndez Pidal's list of sources claims that the fragment 23-25 is taken from the *Brevarium*, but does not list the *Historia Miscella*, which is, nevertheless, listed as a source for the previous sections of the same chapter:

*Luego que fue cos
tantino apoderado en Roma aquel anno.
cuemo era omne fecho a su guisa. e que se
rabaiaua de complir much ayna que qui
er que el coraçon le diesse; con sabor que
auie de seer sennor de tod el mundo. fue
lidiar con Licinio su cunnado marido de
Costantancia su hermana. e ouo con ell.
la primera batalla en Pannonia e uen
cio lo. e fuxo Licinio e guiso de cabo sus
huestes de muy grand guisamiento a
marauilla. e lidio otra uez Costantino
con el en un logar que a nombre Cibalas.
e fue uencido Licinio much ayna. ¶ E
gano daquella uez costantino Dardania
e Moesia e Macedonia. e muchas otras
prouincias. ¶ E aquell anno en que aquesto
contescio; moraua diocleciano el que fue
ra emperador enell aldea de que a desuso con
tado la estoria que era acerca de Salon.*

(EE 320, 23-25)

*Constantinus tamen, vir ingens et
omnia efficere nitens, quae animo
praeparasset, simul principatum
totius orbis adfectans, Licinio
bellum intulit, quamquam
necessitudo et adfinitas cum eo
esset; nam soror Constantia nupta
Licinio erat. Ac primo eum in
Pannonia secunda ingenti
apparatu bellum apud Cibalas
instruentem repentinus oppressit
omniue Dardania, Moesia,*

*Constantinus vir ingens, et omnia
effucere nitens quae animo
proeparasset, simul principatum
totiu orbis affectans, Licinio bellum
intulit, quanquam in cessitudo et
affinitas cum eo esset, ac primo
eum in Panonia vicit, secundo apud
Cibalas juxta palude Hiulcam
nomin, Constantino castra Licinii
nocte interumpente, Licinius fugam
petiit, Byzantiumque fug volucri
peruenit, ubi Martinianum*

*Macedonia potitus numerosas
provincias occupavit.*

(Brevarium X, 5)

*officiorum magistrum Caesarem erat.
Constantinus omni Dardania,
Moesia, Macedonia potitus,
numerosas provincias occupavit*

(Historia Miscella col. 908-909)

The *Historia Miscella* includes this information under the empire of Alexander instead of under the rule of Licinius or Constantine, which might explain its absence in Menéndez Pidal's list. As Fernández-Ordóñez proved, and this thesis supports – by offering an updated list of the sources for the Roman section of the *Estoria de Espanna* – Eutropius's *Brevarium* was not used in the composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*. Therefore, the Alfonsine chronicle only uses Diaconus's text, which was more recent and contained the extended text of the *Brevarium*. This is relevant for the present study, since it proves the need to update the list of sources of the entire chronicle, not only on the Diaconus-Eutropius matter, but in order to corroborate and correct, if necessary, every source in the *Estoria de Espanna*.

Be that as it may, Menéndez Pidal's fundamental contribution to the field also identified the last of the main sources for this section of the *Estoria de Espanna*, the inclusion of which was essential in understanding the ideological dimension of the chronicle and its relationship with the stages of composition of the work: the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais. This work, part of the *Speculum Maius*, was a history of the world up to its author's lifetime and was widely circulated amongst European intellectuals, arriving in Castile during the reign of Alfonso X, in whose will it was listed.¹³⁷ The *Speculum Historiale* became an important piece of the composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*, not only for the historical information that it added to the chronicle, but also for its didactic and ideological input in the Alfonsine work, which aided in the creation of the chronicle's imperial imagery. The *Estoria de Espanna* employed this source in a third of the chapters of this first section of the chronicle, all of them on the imperial history of Rome – as

¹³⁷ See chapter 6.1 "The pedagogical power of literature", pp. 148.

will be analysed in detail in further chapters of this thesis, the *Speculum Historiale* endowed the chronicle with moral content associated to different characters, especially emperors.¹³⁸ The first of the references to this source was made, precisely, in chapter 119, at the beginning of Julius Caesar's empire, another structural point of inflection in the chronicle, according to Fernández-Ordóñez.¹³⁹ There was a difference, though, in the treatment of this source and its inclusion in the *Estoria de Espanna* that contrasted with the previously mentioned sources: whilst Orosius and Eusebius-Hieronymus, for example, were introduced in the text to lend veracity to the information given by their works, Vincent of Beauvais was not introduced as himself, but used in order to include other classical authors that furthered the creation of this sense of veracity throughout the entire Alfonsine text. This created a feeling of coherence in the chronicle that gave *veracitas* to the text by using the *auctoritas* of the aforementioned authors and others, such as Lucan or Pompeius Trogus. Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale* was used, therefore, to introduce authors like Suetonius, Hugh of Fleury – Hugo el Floriano in the chronicle – Josephus, Hegesippus, or Cassiodorus, as listed in Menéndez Pidal's study. The following fragments are just an example of this practice:

*e esto fasta aqui cuenta **Suetonio**.
e daqui adelanta dize en la su
estoria. Que fu
e julio cesar uno de los meiores
caualleros del
del mundo.*

(EE 119, 53)

*E segund
cuenta **Suetonio** en el quinto libro
de
las sus estorias. Luego que ell
Emperador
Claudio ouo bien afirmado el su
regno.
perdono por siempre a todos
quantos le
fizieran algun mal. o dixieran
alguna
cosa contra el.*

(EE 170, 17-18)

¹³⁸ See chapter 6.2 "*Historia est magistra vitae*", p. 167-168

¹³⁹Fernández-Ordóñez, 'El Taller Historiográfico Alfonsí', 12.

According to the scholar, the structural frontiers in this first section of the *Estoria de Espanna* are:

1) EE 1-118: Primitive history and Roman consuls

2) EE 119-123: History of Julius Caesar

3) EE 124-371: Imperial history

*E uini
eron aquell anno muchas
pestilencias e
enfermedades de muchas guisas
sobre
los gentiles de todo el sennorio de
Roma.
ca segund cuenta **hugo el de
floriano el**
Imperio de Roma que solie ante
seer mucho
onrado.*

(EE 269, 2)

*E segund cuentan **Josepho e Egi
sippo.** fueron por todos los que
murieron en
toda aquella cerca de la cibdat de
Iherusalem;
mil uezes cient mil. E los catiuos
fue
ron nouaenta e siete uezes mil.*

(EE 186, 79)

*En essa ora segund cuenta **Jose
pho;** sintieron los sacerdotes que se
mouie
la tierra e tremie. e oyeron una uoz
co
mo de campana que salie daquella
camara
apartada del santuario del templo*

(EE 164, 12)

*E segund
cuenta **Cassiodoro** dalli adelante
la sen
na de la cruz en que fuera tornada
la del
labaro; fue mas preciada que todas
las
otras. por que yua siempre antell
Empera
dor. e aorauan la los caualleros.*

(EE 320, 19)

This particular means of introducing authors who are not used as factual sources in the *Estoria de Espanna* but whose classical status gave them more *auctoritas* than to Vincent of Beauvais – almost contemporary to Alfonso X – is proof of the complexity of the inclusion of sources, and particularly the *Speculum Historiale*, in the Alfonsine chronicle. In this regard, the findings by Francisco Bautista show how this particular source was especially relevant in the process of composition of the chronicle and is essential in studying the ideological input that is the focus of this thesis.¹⁴⁰

Francisco Bautista formulates a new theory on the stages of composition of the chronicle and the inclusion of certain sources, such as the *Speculum Historiale*, after the finding in the Biblioteca Nacional de España of ms. 9268, also referred as ms. H.¹⁴¹ The discovery of this codex meant a change of paradigm in the procedure of the composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*, since it was shown to be an earlier stage of compilation of the

¹⁴⁰ Bautista Pérez, 'Para La Tradición Textual de La Estoria de España de Alfonso X'.

¹⁴¹ From now, BNE.

chronicle.¹⁴² The codex is composed of four texts, all of them written by different hands, and divided into three sections: the first one is an abbreviated chronicle of the consuls and emperors of Rome; a section that includes the *Sumario del despensero* and the *Ordenamiento de 1406*; and two songs, added *a posteriori* between the two aforementioned sections. The first text was described by Gómez Pérez¹⁴³ as a “*compendio de la Estoria de Espanna de Alfonso el Sabio hasta el rey Rodrigo*”,¹⁴⁴ and is also divided in four sections: a table of contents; a text linked to the *Estoria de Espanna* from the origins and up to the rule of Commodus; a text related to the *Versión Crítica* (EE 359-459);¹⁴⁵ and a text linked to the *Versión enmendada* of the *Estoria de Espanna* (up to EE 547).¹⁴⁶ It is the first text of this section, the one from the origins up to the times of the emperor Commodus, which provided Bautista with the necessary data to formulate his hypothesis. Though identified with the text of the *Estoria de Espanna*, ms. H presents profound differences in composition and use of sources.¹⁴⁷ As Bautista proves, the connection between both texts is undeniable, as the use of certain sources such as Paulus Orosius seems similar, and the distribution of content is comparable. An example of this last characteristic is the treatment of the story of Dido and Aeneas, which takes a similar position in both versions.¹⁴⁸ However, there are also, as mentioned, profound discrepancies¹⁴⁹ which prove that ms. H might be an earlier stage of composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*.

In the first place, there is a difference in the conception of time and historical evolution shown by the alternative dating system present in ms. H, and the absence of the theory of the four empires. On the first, probably one of the most notable differences in the text, the dating system used in ms. H is closer to the one used in the *General Estoria* than the one the *Estoria de*

¹⁴² Bautista Pérez, ‘Para La Tradición Textual de La Estoria de España de Alfonso X’, 154–64.

¹⁴³ Gómez Pérez, ‘Dos Canciones Castellanas Del Siglo XV’, 22.

¹⁴⁴ *Compendium of the Estoria de Espanna by Alfonso X up to King Rodrigo*”

¹⁴⁵ Cited in Bautista’s study as PGC 365-458.

¹⁴⁶ Cited in Bautista’s study as PGC 556.

¹⁴⁷ Bautista Pérez, ‘Para La Tradición Textual de La Estoria de España de Alfonso X’, 150.

¹⁴⁸ Bautista Pérez, 154.

¹⁴⁹ Bautista Pérez, 154–79.

Espanna follows from the imperial section onwards.¹⁵⁰ This, together with a closer proximity to the sources of the text of ms. H and the *General Estoria* than displayed in the *Estoria de Espanna* – bearing in mind that the two works shared compiling materials¹⁵¹ – led Bautista to think that ms. H is an early writing of the *Estoria de Espanna*. This is supported by the absence of certain sources in the composition of ms. H, for example Justine’s *Epitome*, which explains why the manuscript from the BNE does not contain the prophecy of the four empires after which the *Estoria de Espanna* was structured.¹⁵² The different use of sources is also evident in the extended use of Jiménez de Rada’s *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae* for the first section of ms. H, whilst in the *Estoria de Espanna* the use of this work is marginal at this stage of the chronicle and is reduced to the introductory chapters, as the previous chapters of this thesis have explained.

Nevertheless, if there is one source that explains and supports the idea that ms. H is an earlier stage of composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*, it is the absence of the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais in the BNE manuscript. In the imperial section, ms. H seems to ignore the *Belovacensis*, both in content and in the aforementioned analytical system established in the *Estoria de Espanna* from the beginning of the Roman Empire. The absence of this source results as stated, in a structure closer to the *General Estoria*, with an Iberian focus, unlike the same section of the *Estoria de Espanna*. The chronicle at the centre of this study – in spite of being a history of the peninsula, thanks to the contributions of the *Speculum Historiale* – seems to be, in the imperial section, a universal history. The historical account followed the deeds of the different emperors, whether they happened in the *Espannas* or not. This endowed the chronicle, as the chapter on the concepts of *Sennorío* and *Translatio Imperii* develops, with an imperial message that served as conformation of the political framework idealised by Alfonso X.

¹⁵⁰ See chapter 4.3 “Rome, the culmination of the *Translatio Imperii*”, pp.96.

¹⁵¹ Fernández-Ordoñez, ‘El Taller Historiográfico Alfonsí’, 6–7.

¹⁵² See chapter 4.1 “The *Translatio Imperii*”, pp. 82.

Definitively, ms. H shows a briefer historical account, closer to the structural sources of this first section of the *Estoria de Espanna*, such as Orosius and Diaconus, that in this manuscript seem to have a more direct translation without the comments and prosifications common in the final product of the Alfonsine *scriptorium*. However, the manuscript lacks some of the contents that this thesis considers essential to promote and support the imperial idea of Alfonso X, such as the prophecy of the four empires and the moral account of the emperors – found in most of the cases in the *Speculum Historiale*.

If, as Bautista asserts, ms. H is an earlier stage of composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*, the absence of certain sources – such as Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* – and some structural information – such as Daniel's prophecy of the four empires – would implicate some interesting conclusions in the ideological conception of the chronicle. The political and ideological content would have been a later addition to the *Estoria de Espanna* and, therefore, the didactic and propagandistic intention was not present in the first moment of composition of the Alfonsine work. The chronicle might not have been conceived as an imperial political object since the beginning: on the contrary, the *Estoria de Espanna* would have been thought to be a continuation of the Hispanic historiographical tradition. Under this light, the chronicle's only political aim would have been to assert and assure the hegemonic position of the kingdom of Castile and Leon on the Iberian stage. That was already achieved by the geographical focus – *Espanna* – and the use of Castilian, that later would also prove useful in the imperial pursuit. On the other hand, the imperial input would have been a later addition, probably during the years of the *Fecho del Imperio*, or very close to its end in 1275, in which the idea of the four empires, and the moral depictions of the emperors offered by the *Speculum Historiale*, made from the chronicle an imperial justification, as the following chapters will prove.

The case of ms. H is just an example, probably one of the clearest, of the intention behind the process of composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*,

and allowed scholars to understand better the different stages of writing, not only from a literary point of view but also from the perspective of its political and ideological consequences. As I have mentioned, the *Estoria de Espanna* is a particularly complex work in its composition and use of sources, and ms. H offers the opportunity to study the treatment and addition of content in an earlier, previously unknown stage of composition of the chronicle. The findings made by Francisco Bautista have not only been field breaking in their discovery of a new manuscript of the *Estoria de Espanna*: they have also opened the door to new studies on the use and treatment of sources that are contained in the Alfonsine work, but not in ms. H. Within these, Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale* is remarkably essential to understand the imperial side of the Alfonsine chronicle, which is the focus of this thesis. As will be seen in the following chapters of this thesis, this author was key to understand the "imperial pedagogy" implemented in the *Estoria de Espanna*, since the chronicle does not just copy the *Belovacensis* but also assumes features of the French tradition in didactic literature.¹⁵³ No less important is the contribution of Jerome to the structure of the *Estoria de Espanna*, with his development of Daniel's prophecy of the four empires that provided, as this thesis will prove, an imperial framework for the Alfonsine chronicle.¹⁵⁴ Further, more generally, the different treatment given to the sources in ms. H in comparison with the *Estoria de Espanna* will prove that the prosification of the text can also have an ideological intention.

Lastly, I would like to emphasise that the *Estoria de Espanna* is, therefore, a chronicle built through embracing many other literary traditions, and the adaptation of these intellectual influences to the Alfonsine political scenario. The chronicle promoted by the Learned King met the purpose of supporting and legitimising the monarch's imperial aspiration, whilst reinforcing the political framework already established in his legislative efforts. In this sense, the use and treatment of these sources and influences is what made this chronicle a pioneer in the historiographical Hispanic

¹⁵³ See Chapter 6, "Role models and object lessons".

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter 4 "The *Translatio Imperii*".

context. It is the study of these sources, how they are selected, translated, and implemented in the chronicle, that makes possible an understanding of Alfonso X's intentions at the time of the composition of the *Estoria de Espanna* and all stages of this process.

This chapter on the discursivity and importance of the means of compiling and writing concludes the contextual section of the present research. As mentioned previously, the aim of this first section of the thesis was to present the main subjects of this study: Alfonso X's imperial ideology and its materialisation in the *Estoria de Espanna*. Thus, the historical events surrounding the so-called *Fecho del Imperio*, and the composition of the Alfonsine chronicle have been examined in order to offer a chronological and historical framework, necessary to understand the ideology behind Alfonso X's rule and embedded in his historiography, as the present chapter has advanced and this thesis will demonstrate. For these reasons, the following chapters will then analyse the imperial aspect of the chronicle from different points of view, by addressing certain topics that appear in the text consistently and are related, one way or another, to the Learned King's imperial dream. From the concept and notion of empire and *Translatio Imperii* developed in the *Estoria de Espanna*, to the promotion of the imperial *linna*, the pedagogical character embedded within the chronicle, and its relationship with Christianity, God, and the Christian Church, this thesis will analyse how the text then created – from these sources – a historiographical political message that supported Alfonso X's imperial dream.

SECTION II: TRACING THE EMPIRE: IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY IN THE *ESTORIA DE ESPANNA*

The empire was, as I have laid out in the previous section, one of the main pillars of Alfonso X's ideological framework. The previous chapter discussed the contextual framework of this imperial pursuit: from the facts that triggered the *Fecho del Imperio* to the origins and evolution of Alfonso X's imperial ideology, and how this permeated the cultural production created in the *scriptorium* of the Learned King. As has also been presented, the new historiographical model nurtured by Alfonso X was a fundamental part of this ideological project, and the means of writing history became a powerful tool in adapting the past in order to reshape the future. This new model, characterised by the compilation of a large number of sources – over fifty different works are used in the first 371 chapters – the translation of these texts to Castilian, and the adaptation of the narrative to coherently support the chronicle's ideological stance, created a precedent that would be continued in Iberian historiography during the following centuries. The previous chapters aimed to explain Alfonso X's ideology and his new approach to history, as well as offering an introduction to the main sources used in the first section of the *Estoria de Espanna* from beginning of the text to the end of the Roman *Sennorío*, which is the subject of this thesis.

In this section, the core of this thesis, I will explore the four topics mentioned in the introduction that seem to be consistently mentioned or used in the first section of the chronicle, and are a fundamental part of the ideological content imbued in the *Estoria de Espanna*. It has also been said that these 371 chapters achieved the condensation of the Alfonsine ideology in a way the following chapters of the chronicle did not. In addition, given the significant attention paid by scholars to the sections starting after the milestones years of 711 (the Muslim conquest) and 1085 (the Christian conquest of Toledo) this research completes the picture by analysing the first section of the chronicle. In doing so, it will be possible to understand the reasoning behind the writing of the different sections of the chronicle; reasons

that are shared amongst sections but manifested in different ways, adapting to the context of what each historical period could offer to Alfonso X in order to support his own ideas.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter of this thesis, these four chapters, whilst standing on their own, need each other in order to illustrate the total reach of Alfonso X's imperial ideological input within the chronicle. The previous section hinted at the importance of these four themes in our understanding of the Alfonsine imperial idea, as they cover the different approaches to the imperial succession Alfonso X attempted to legitimise: the first of these topics will discuss the concept of empire and its function, the so-called *Translatio Imperii*, that secured the persistence of the empire throughout the centuries. This continued existence was possible thanks to a sophisticated system of succession which was based, according to Alfonso X, on two main principles: inheritance and merits. These two themes are, as I will explore in the following chapters, intertwined, and create a sort of legitimisation from which King Alfonso was able to benefit. Finally, and further linked to the idea of the *Translatio Imperii*, this empire envisioned by Alfonso X was closely related to divinity, which supervised and controlled the process of the *Translatio*.

The use of these themes, whilst reshaped and adapted to the Alfonsine scenario, was not an original innovation of the *scriptorium*, since all had been used before by other monarchies and rulers in order to legitimise various models of government. This is why each of the following chapters will begin by addressing the diachronic evolution of said themes up to the time of their adoption by Alfonso X. By analysing how these concepts evolved throughout history, it will then be possible to understand how, and why, they were used in the creation of the *Estoria de Espanna*.

Once each topic has been analysed, the ensuing chapter will address how it was treated in the *Estoria de Espanna* by offering an in-detail examination of its inclusion in the Alfonsine text. In this way, the specific sources used in the text will be highlighted, and I will also examine how these

were translated and adapted. This examination of the text of the *Estoria de Espanna* will also stress the importance of the digressions and original additions to the Alfonsine text, linking said changes to the context surrounding the Alfonsine imperial cause. This analysis will allow me to identify the main mechanisms of imperial legitimisation used within the chronicle and, once these four topics are analysed, will allow for a better understanding of the imperial ideology and propaganda expressed within the *Estoria de Espanna*.

Following the structure presented in the introduction of this thesis, the first topic I will analyse is the concept of *Sennorio/emperio*, linked to the notion of *Translatio Imperii*, and how this theme was embedded in the content and structure of the Alfonsine chronicle. This theme will then lead to a consideration of the criteria for imperial succession established in the chronicle, and the following two chapters will then discuss the two ways in which, according to the *Estoria de Espanna*, an emperor might deserve to be a candidate and inherit the empire, namely lineage and personal traits. However, as I will show, all these themes are tainted by the influence of divinity. As will be explained in the final chapter of this section, it is divinity that oversees and controls the transmission and inheritance of the empire and, in the case of Alfonso X, the Holy Roman Empire.

CHAPTER IV. THE *TRANSLATIO IMPERII*: THE *SENNORÍO* CHANGING HANDS

Despues uinieron los Emperadores con los Cesares. Et en estos dos principados de los Cesares e de los emperadores des que ellos començaron; duro el sennorio del Jmperio de Roma fastal nuestro tiempo.
(EE 110, 40)

The Translatio Imperii: evolution of the discourse and its use against the Papal influence

The concept of *Translatio Imperii* has been mentioned previously in this thesis, in conjunction with the idea of Alfonso X being the rightful heir of the Holy Roman Empire. The empire as an institution, as explained in previous contextual chapters, had created a sense of continuity throughout the centuries. This was specifically relevant in the hands of the Staufen family, who associated the *imperium* – or empire – with their dynasty, and their dynasty with the Roman imperial past, as links in a sort of ‘imperial chain’. This, as the present chapter will develop, would act as the imperial power and influence’s ultimate form of legitimisation, separating said power from the influence of the papacy. As I will demonstrate, by associating themselves with the empire, and therefore with the abstract idea of the *Translatio Imperii*, the decision of imperial succession was taken from the hands of the Pope and promoted this ‘inherited’ empire built by the Staufens, in which Alfonso X was included. In this way, this section of the current chapter aims to define and discuss the evolution of the concept of the *Translatio Imperii*, how this was accepted by European monarchies, and what – if any – was its relationship with the Christian Church. This will explain the idea Alfonso X received of the empire and its evolution through the *Translatio Imperii*, which would be implemented and portrayed in his historical works, and more concretely in the *Estoria de Espanna*.

As the Staufen dynasty proved, during the Middle Ages the notion of empire took the shape of an everlasting and permanent agent and was considered the ultimate degree of temporal power. By changing and adapting to the needs of time, it became an institution always present in the political imagination. The concept, coined during the medieval centuries, that gave name to this idea of passing and continuity is the so-called *Translatio Imperii*, in which the engine for historical evolution is the transfer of the *imperium*. As Jacques Le Goff pointed out, “*The world in every age had one heart; the rest of the universe lived according to its rhythm and impulse alone*”.¹⁵⁵

Such discourse on the *Translatio* can be tracked back from the 7th century up to the Early Modern centuries. This metahistorical idea was, therefore, a product of the Middle Ages. The empire became a timeless institution that was supposed to witness the evolution of history up to its end.¹⁵⁶ When defining empire, scholars such as Edward Gibbon have done so in connection with the concept of *Decline and Fall*¹⁵⁷ – however, that notion might be contradictory to the attribution of an everlasting institution. Pocock brings some light to this question by claiming that “*survival might entail revival*”.¹⁵⁸ The resilient character of the Empire made the process of decline into a trigger that supported the evolution and adaptation of the institution throughout time. This is how the empire, the *imperium*, underwent major fundamental changes in the hands of the *Translatio*, but also the *Renovatio Imperii*. These two dynamics worked together and created a continuous yet cyclical evolution in which decline was a necessary step towards change and, therefore, progress. Within this teleological approach, as will be seen in this chapter and as Alfonso X attempted in his time, many intellectuals and monarchies have claimed that their times were the culmination of the *Translatio* and the empire, now swaddled and reinforced by Christianity. After the conversion of Constantine, the new religion became the root of the imperial institution. Empire and papacy created an unwavering association

¹⁵⁵ Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization 400-1500*, 171.

¹⁵⁶ Le Goff, 170–74.

¹⁵⁷ Gibbon, *Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

¹⁵⁸ Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion. Volume 3, The First Decline and Fall*, 127.

that would redefine the relations between the two institutions for centuries to come.¹⁵⁹ The new *Imperium Christianum* redefined the features of empire; the classical past and Christianity became a constant in the European imaginary in the shape of an institution that was adapted and resurrected on numerous occasions in order to reinforce the legitimisation of different circles of power.

Western European monarchies were a clear example of this process of appropriation: in coalition with the Christian Church – in most cases, but not in Alfonso X's candidacy to the empire – and with the raise of identity ideas, these monarchies claimed ownership of the imperial myth and created new discourses of legitimisation. Their aim was to bring the concept of *Translatio Imperii* to their sphere of influence and thus include themselves in the imperial succession. Such is the case, for example, of the association made in the 12th century by Geoffrey of Monmouth between Troy and the British monarchy, vernacularized and popularised by Wace, in which Brut, Aeneas's grandson, was the founder of the British monarchy.¹⁶⁰ In this instance, a direct kin connection was created in order to bestow an imperial origin upon the British kings. Wace's version in Anglo-Norman was key in understanding the subsequent French tradition of the *Translatio*, materialised in the works of Chrétien de Troyes, amongst others. In the twelfth century, Chrétien, in his *Cligès* managed to connect the Greek empire and the Arthurian legends through marriage. In France, during the same century, a revision of the *Aeneid* entitled the *Roman d'Eneas* also pointed out the importance of the classical past and legitimisation through marriage.

Furthermore, all these traditions that attempted to use the *Translatio Imperii* to legitimise their own monarchies drew from the influence of the figure who, *de facto*, had brought the Empire back to the political scenario in the Middle Ages: Charlemagne and the Carolingian Empire. The Frankish king and later emperor became the paradigm of the *Rex Christianus*, and the

¹⁵⁹ See Chapter 1 "The historical events", p. 15.

¹⁶⁰ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, bk. I.

papal initiative for his coronation began the aforementioned complicated association between emperors and pontiffs¹⁶¹. This event meant a *Renovatio Romani Imperii*, and the final rupture with the Eastern Empire and Byzantium. Following the transfer of the capital of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople, which had also meant the transfer of the *imperium* from the West to the East, this was a significant development. In the figure of Charlemagne, and therefore his successors, the Carolingian empire thus restored, ‘renovated’, the imperial title’s link with Western Europe. In order to achieve this, the new rising Carolingian Empire required the intercession of the Christian Church to reclaim its imperial condition and restore the Roman Empire. As I have mentioned above, this association between the empire and the Church came from the times of Constantine, who converted to Christianity and was the assumed author of the so-called *Donatio Constantini* – probably one of the most famous cases of forgery in History.¹⁶² This document gave the pope the capacity to influence the political affairs that affected the Western Roman Empire. In this sense, Charlemagne’s coronation on Christmas Day of the year 800 became one of the most paradigmatic events to be influenced by the *Donatio*. The Roman Church brought the *imperium* back to the West in the figure of Charlemagne and, consequently, the Franks.¹⁶³ Once the empire was restored, Charlemagne’s successors, Lothair and Louis the Pious, also anchored their legitimisation in Rome through an intensive cult surrounding both the city itself and the empire as an institution. Later, the Frankish tradition inspired Otto I, who used the titles of *Augustus* and *Imperator Romanorum et Francorum* to support this idea.¹⁶⁴

As the Frankish tradition was fading, the link between Rome and the now German emperors was becoming stronger, especially from the times of

¹⁶¹ See the discussion on the Christian nature of Charlemagne’s empire and his relation with religion and Christianity, see Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory*.

¹⁶² For more information on the forged character of the document, see Fried, *Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini*; Matzukis, ‘The Donation of Constantine’.

¹⁶³ Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion. Volume 3, The First Decline and Fall*, 99.

¹⁶⁴ On the reception of the legend of Charlemagne and its reception in the following centuries see: Latowsky, *Emperor of the World*; Gabriele and Purkis, eds. *The Charlemagne Legend in Medieval Latin Texts*.

Otto III, who led the Holy Roman Empire during the last decade of the 10th century. The transfer of the *imperium* from the people of the Franks to the Germans was required in order to assure the continuity of the empire. As was the case for Alfonso X, as this thesis aims to prove, historiography was the perfect vehicle for the *Translatio*. Authors such as Ekkehard of Aura, for instance, pointed out that Charlemagne made possible the transfer of the *imperium* to the Germans; the same way the *Kaiserchronik* (c. 1150) created a direct succession from Augustus to Conrad III, assuring the continuity of the imperial transfer.¹⁶⁵

Under Conrad and his successors, the Staufen dynasty, the imperial institution reached its maximum expression not only in status, but also in power and influence. At this juncture, the aforementioned Otto of Freising, uncle of Frederick I and therefore member of the imperial family, brought to life the concept of *Translatio et Renovatio Imperii* that was to have such an influence in Alfonso X's *Estoria de Espanna*. To Otto, the *Translatio Imperii* was the centre of his historical understanding, and it was deeply linked to the concept of *Decline and Fall* mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, but also to the notion of *Renovatio*. The bishop of Freising composed his works, the *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus* and the *Gesta Frederici Imperatoris* during the 12th century, when the relations between the Staufen emperors and the papacy were becoming increasingly tense.

Thus, in spite of being a member of the Church, his kin connection to the emperors is worth keeping in mind, as his chronicles are a merging of Christian and imperial history that based the origin of the Empire in Augustinian precepts and Daniel's prophecy of the four empires – Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman. According to these, of the four empires, Rome would be the last to fall. This resulted in the strong belief that in spite of its *Decline and Fall*, the transfer of the *imperium* allowed its survival. The Franks, who Otto linked to Troy, were as Roman as the Byzantines. In extension, the Staufens, referred to by the bishop as the *teutonici*, were a

¹⁶⁵ Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe*, 14–108.

branch of the Franks. Through this legitimisation sovereignty fell on the temporal power, despite this connection between the Empire and the Christian Church. The consequences of the *Donatio Constantini* might not be possible to undo, but its reach could be managed and put under the emperor's will.¹⁶⁶

This document, that had been mentioned on several occasions in relation to the relation between the Empire and the papacy, was the trigger for this tension between the papacy and the Empire. The *Donatio Constantini* defined the power dynamics in Western Europe and the roles that both the Pope and the emperor should play. In this forged document, Constantine, supposedly, not only meant the transfer of the capital to the East but also the conferral of imperial authority to the Pope.¹⁶⁷ This relationship evolved over the course of centuries, and what started as a collaboration to bring the Empire back to the West and end the Arian threat became a heated dispute between the two institutions that led to the already discussed investiture controversy.¹⁶⁸ In this context, the papacy began to imbue itself with imperial attributes, to the point of considering the pope the true emperor, as the affirmation contained in the *Summa Parisiensis* claims: the Pope was *verus imperator et imperator vicarius eius*.¹⁶⁹ On the other side, the Holy Roman Emperors, and more concretely the Staufen dynasty, also called upon the imperial preponderance on temporal power. In this sense, the aforementioned Otto of Freising pointed out that, whilst the conversion of Constantine was a triumph of Christianity, God put his Church in the hands of both the papacy and the empire, rather than in the hands of the latter subjected to the former.¹⁷⁰ In addition, in an effort towards revival, the Staufen emperor assumed and embraced imperial attributions in order to make a statement against the papal aspirations. Roman features were adopted in different spheres of power, such as internal policies, foreign affairs, and even the

¹⁶⁶ Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion. Volume 3, The First Decline and Fall*, 61–63.

¹⁶⁷ Pocock, 129.

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter 1 “The historical events”, p. 15.

¹⁶⁹ McLaughin, *The Summa Parisiensis on the Decretum Gratiani*, Causa II, Quaest. IV, Cap. 3.

¹⁷⁰ Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe*, 99–102.

emperor's self-portraits and representations.¹⁷¹ Examples of these policies are the new legislation promulgated by these emperors, primarily the *Liber Augustalis*, but also the iconographical and architectural projects developed under the rule of the Staufens,¹⁷² whose aim was to imitate the Ancient Roman emperors' actions within their *urbes*. Such was the case of the Staufen castles and settlements in Sicily, but also of Aachen, Charlemagne's imperial capital. These medieval emperors, by referring back to the Ancient Roman Empire, and including themselves within the stream of the *Translatio Imperii*, created a bridge that connected both imperial realities and gave legitimacy to their claims against the ambitions of the Roman apostles.

This process of *imitatio* performed by the papacy and empire reached its climax during the first half of the 13th century, when, as has been discussed in previous chapters, the policies developed by Frederick II to claim the *dominium mundi* irritated the successive pontiffs.¹⁷³ During this time, the German imperial family had secured a prominent position in Western Europe, not only by the direct control of wide areas such as Sicily, but also through the arrangement of a complex and dynamic marriage policy in order to associate themselves with different European monarchies. Proving irritating to the papacy, this policy significantly expanded the Staufens' range of influence: such was the case, for instance, for Ferdinand III and Beatriz of Swabia, whose marriage linked Alfonso X to the imperial dynasty.¹⁷⁴ However, continuous disputes, especially in Italian territory, had debilitated both sides, and at the time of Frederick II's death the absence of a strong succession to the imperial throne led to the aforementioned *Great Interregnum*. In this context, Alfonso X became the last to claim the imperial legacy of the Staufen dynasty. The Castilian-Leonese monarch assumed and adopted the ideological and historiographical apparatus, developed by the Holy Roman Emperors and materialised in the works of Otto of Freising and his new

¹⁷¹ Scholl, Gebhardt, and Clauß, *Transcultural Approaches to the Concept of Imperial Rule in the Middle Ages*, 22.

¹⁷² See Chapter 2.2 "Alfonso X and the Staufen hereditary empire", pp. 38-39; and Chapter 2.3 "Alfonso X's imperial ideology", p. 44.

¹⁷³ Vagnoni, 'La Legittimità e La Sacralità Imperiale Di Federico II Di Svevia', 55–56.

¹⁷⁴ See Chapter 2.2 "Alfonso X and the Staufen hereditary empire".

perspective of the *Translatio Imperii*. Alfonso stood in a very similar position to that of the Bishop of Freising: his project drew from a comparable conception of history, and a very particular understanding of the division between papacy and empire. The use of sources – Orosius in particular – the construction of history following the prophecy of the four empires, and the submission of papal power to the imperial institution might indicate a deeply pragmatic aim in both cases.¹⁷⁵

Alfonso X, as developed in the contextual chapters of this thesis, did not cultivate better relations with the papacy than his Staufeu predecessors, and to some extent the Pope's refusal to grant Alfonso the imperial crown was a reaction to the ambitions of the imperial family. After the death of Conradin, the closest legitimate heir, the Castilian-Leonese king had to contend with the ambitions of both Guelphs and Ghibellines, as well as with the fact of never having set foot in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Furthermore, in spite of the Staufen's progress in retrieving the imperial election from papal hands, at the moment of the *Great Interregnum* the electors' opinion remained dependent on that of the Pope. At this juncture, in the same way Otto of Freising had legitimised the Staufeu family's imperial power, Alfonso would find in the *Translatio Imperii* – and in historiography as a vehicle for it – the perfect tool to reinforce his position. The Learned King, with the support of the majority of the electors, still needed the encouragement of the Castilian-Leonese *Cortes*, and the papal acceptance of his election.

To Alfonso, historiography, as for Otto of Freising and Frederick I, became essential to promote his inclusion in the transfer of the empire. The *Estoria de Espanna*, as will be seen in the following chapter of this section, became an ideological object structured after this idea of *Translatio Imperii*. The magnitude of the empire, the path to legitimate succession, and even the role of the Pope in the imperial elections can be traced in detail in Alfonso X's chronicle. The Alfonsine chronicle, like Otto's *Duabus Civitatibus* on the

¹⁷⁵ See Chapter 3.2 "The use of sources in the *Estoria de Espanna*" *passim*.

German stage, brought the focus of the *Translatio Imperii* to the Iberian Peninsula, and also was a reaction to the consequences of the *Donatio Constantini*, and in extension to the imperial and papal dispute. As the following section will explain in detail, historical evolution is marked solely by the transfer of the *imperium*, and therefore the papal influence in temporal matters is limited. Definitively, the concept of *Translatio Imperii* provided a means through which to separate imperial legitimisation from the papal influence and create an imperial narrative linked, indisputably, to the past.

The Empire and the Sennorío in the Estoria de Espanna: the trails of the Translatio Imperii

The concept and evolution of *Translatio Imperii* in Europe, regarding in particular the Holy Roman Empire and by extension Alfonso X, has been discussed in previous pages of this thesis. The following chapter will thus provide an in-detail analysis of the text of the *Estoria de Espanna*, in search for traces of this imperial concept. In this way, the current section will develop how concepts such as *sennorío/emperio* are treated in the chronicle, and how historical evolution is conceived in the mind of Alfonso X, whilst the subsequent section will address the particular treatment of Rome as the last of the empires of Daniel's prophecy and, as mentioned above, the empire associated with the Staufens and the Castilian-Leonese King.

I will begin here with the Alfonsine approach to the concept of *Translatio Imperii*. In the Castilian-Leonese tradition, this notion takes shape and is formed under the ideological command of its monarch. Before the efforts of Alfonso X, the specific circumstances of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon resulted in an elusive treatment of this theme within historiographical productions, which were influenced by Isidorian precepts. When Isidore of Seville wrote his extensive work, the only existing empire was the Byzantine Empire, and this might have been one of the reasons for the marginal references to the empire up until the 13th century. However, Alfonso X's particular circumstances, already discussed in this thesis, were

enough to displace the previously accepted traditional Isidorian influences with a new identity linked to the imperial transmission.¹⁷⁶

This change of perspective, far from accidental, was likely influenced by the relations between the Learned King and the Staufen family, whose origin was already anchored in the Roman Empire. This sense of continuity would not only fit the Holy Roman Empire's political agenda as support for the *dominium mundi*, but would also, theoretically, be sufficient legitimisation for Alfonso X's aspirations to the imperial crown in the face of opposition from the papacy. At this juncture, Alfonso X embraced the German tradition manifested in the historiography by Otto of Freising. If the family connections between the Castilian-Leonese king and the German imperial dynasty are considered, it would not be surprising that the works of Otto of Freising were, at least, known in Alfonso X's intellectual circle. The fact is that chronicles written in both contexts share a number of similarities, the most obvious being the use of common sources, essentially the *Historia Adversus Paganos*, but also Augustine precepts, such as the development of the prophecy of the four empires. This shared intellectual background led to a teleological perception of history in the two works. One and the other would divide history into different empires described in the prophecy, with only slight changes depending on the literary tradition. Thus, Orosius, probably due to his Hispanic origin, changed the Persian empire for the Carthaginian in the list of subsequent empires. This alteration was reversed by the bishop of Freising,¹⁷⁷ but accepted by Alfonso in his works, perhaps for the same reason as Orosius:

Quatro son las partes del mundo; segund los sabios antiguos las nombraron. ¶ Orient. ¶ Occident. ¶ Septentrion. ¶ Medio dia. E segund aquesto fueron quatro los emperios que sennorearon el mundo. ¶ El primero de babilonia aparte dorient. en el tiempo

Quamvis nonnulli Persarum regnum simul sicut Medorum ac Chaldeorum Babilonico annumerantes secundo loco Affricanum inter IIIor mundi principalia regna posuerint regnum, ut sic secundum IIIor regna constituent, orienti scilicet Babylonicum, austro Affricanum,

¹⁷⁶ Fernández Gallardo, 'La idea de "translatio imperii" en la Castilla del bajo medievo', 753–56.

¹⁷⁷ Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.*, 30.

del Rey nino. ¶ El segundo aparte
de
medio dia en affrica en Carthago la
grand
en tiempo dela Reyna dido. ¶ El
tercero en
Macedonia aparte de septentrion
enel ti
empo dalexandre. ¶ El quarto en
Roma
aparte doccident en tiempo de Julio
Cezar.

(EE 17, 1-6)

septentrioni Macedonicum,
occidenti Romanum tribuentes.

(CHDC, Liber II, capitulum XIII)

Based on this prophecy, both histories understood historical evolution as the history of its rulers: Otto would divide the historical material according to world monarchies, whilst the Castilian-Leonese king would do the same in his chronicles, more so in the *Estoria de Espanna*.¹⁷⁸ The development of history shown in the Alfonsine chronicles seems to follow a structure based on the succession of different *Sennoríos*. History was ordered, then, after the transfer of power, by what Alfonso called the *linna*, the organising principle of historical evolution. Thus, the *Sennorío* worked in the *Estoria de Espanna* almost as a synonym of *imperium*, and the protagonists of this historical evolution were the *príncipes* – princes – or *sennores naturales* – natural lords – that hold it.¹⁷⁹ The Alfonsine *Estorias* were structured around this central idea of the *Translatio Imperii*, the transfer of the *Sennorío*, in the case of the *Estoria de Espanna* within the Iberian Peninsula. In this way, the *Sennorío de Roma*, the last of the empires, would have come after the *Sennorío de Carthago*, which was linked to the *Sennorío de Troya* through marriage in this text. In the same way as other European monarchies, as mentioned above, the Castilian-Leonese empire idealised by Alfonso X also linked the history of its territory – and its rulers – to the trend of the *Translatio Imperii*.

Accordingly, the *Estoria de Espanna* introduced the idea of the empire explicitly, and even offered a definition of the concept of emperor, supposedly linked to an etymological origin:

¹⁷⁸ Otto of Freising, 30.

¹⁷⁹ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 19.

*EN latin dizen parare por
 appareiar. Et esta palabra
 parare segund cuenta hugi
 tio; componese con Jn. e di
 zen Jmperare. Et es Jmperare
 en el nuestro language tanto cue
 mo mandar sobre otros e sennorear. E deste
 Jmperare por tal mandar uiene este nombre
 Jmperator que es por Emperador. por que ell
 Emperador es sennor que manda e sennorea
 sobre otros e sobre Reys.*

(EE, 113, 1-3)

This definition was created by the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* using and adapting the definition of *parare* from Hugutio's *Liber Derivationem*, so an important input of the Alfonsine political thought might be expected. According to this definition, the empire that Alfonso X tried to sketch defended the concept discussed of the mystical body, with a universal approach: the emperor rules other kings.¹⁸⁰ This aligned with his aspirations within the Iberian Peninsula where, as I have explored in previous chapters, he inherited a hegemonic position amongst the other Iberian monarchs. Alfonso, in his pursuit to develop a strong ideological framework, defined this concept in other works. Amongst these, probably the clearest and the closest to his imperial ambitions in both the Iberian Peninsula and in Europe is the depiction of empire and the role of the emperor offered in the *Siete Partidas*. This legislative oeuvre explored in its Title I of the *Segunda Partida* the concept of empire and how an emperor should rule: an emperor was the “*señor que Dios tal honra da*” and, therefore, “*no es tenido de obedecer a ninguno, salvo al papa en las cosas espirituales*”.¹⁸¹ This statement, that the *Siete Partidas* made so clear, is present throughout the *Estoria de Espanna* wherein the role of the emperor overshadowed the pope. The emperor in the *Estoria de Espanna* was, then, the greatest and only power that must be followed. The empire was linked not only to the title of *Sennor* and the action of *ensennorear*, but to the concept of *Sennor del mundo* and the exercise of *ensennorear el mundo*. This difference established in the chronicle is of particular interest, since it shows the different spheres of power the *sennorio*

¹⁸⁰ See Chapter 2.3 “Alfonso X’s imperial ideology”, p. 43-44

¹⁸¹ *The emperor was the lord honoured by God and should not obey the pope in anything but spiritual matters.* See Chapter 2.3 “Alfonso X’s imperial ideology”, p. 46.

could reach. As Charles Fraker highlights, here, the *Estoria de Espanna* starts to develop two parallel narratives, the first a history of *Espanna* and the *sennores* and *sennoríos* that ruled over it – whether these *sennores* were considered to *ensennorear el mundo* or only the *Espannas* – and the second an imperial history of the *Sennores del Mundo*, that is to say, the emperors, referring to the four empires from Daniel’s prophecy. Definitively, in Fraker’s words: “*the two strands would, of course, have come together in Alfonso, the latest figure of both series*”.¹⁸²

The title of *Sennor del Mundo* was only given to rulers after Julius Caesar established the Roman Empire. In Chapter 122, Caesar is referred to as “*el primero emperador*”: during the rule of Augustus, the *Estoria de Espanna* bestows upon the Roman emperors, who were already *Sennores de Espanna*, the *Sennorío del Mundo* and “*la summa de las cosas e de los sennoríos a seer so un sennor*” (EE 137, 18)¹⁸³. This title and position were only possible after the Roman Civil Wars and the pacification of the different lands conquered, such as the Hispanic provinces. However, according to the *Translatio Imperii*, Rome could not have reached the *Sennorío del Mundo* without first receiving the *imperium*. In addition, as this work is a history of Spain, this transfer of power had to be linked in some way to the Iberian Peninsula. The *Estoria de Espanna* presented, at this regard, one of its most significant efforts of *inventio* by linking the transfer of the *imperium* from Troy to Rome, through Carthage to the Iberian Peninsula, following the *Aeneid*. Such an effort represented the Castilian-Leonese manifestation of the summoning of the Trojan past as a legitimisation mechanism, within the Western European stream I discussed above, which included similar practices in British and French historiography.

It is worth bearing in mind that the *Estoria de Espanna* was a history of the Iberian Peninsula and that it is well known that, according to Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Aeneas’ journey from Troy to Rome, and its foundation, did not

¹⁸² Fraker, ‘Alfonso X, the Empire and the Primera Crónica’, 96.

¹⁸³ *The sum of all things and Sennoríos should belong to just one sennor.*

feature a stopover in the Peninsula. Nevertheless, the presence of Aeneas in the chronicle was necessary, and the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* decided to include the Trojan hero through his presence in the account of the *Sennorío de Carthago*, the empire responsible *ensennoreando* the Iberian Peninsula at that moment, under the rule of Queen Dido. Aeneas was associated with Carthage through his marriage to the queen, who had been introduced earlier in the chronicle. The narrative of the *Sennorío de Carthago* went back to the moment in which Dido decided to leave Tyre after her husband's death, when she was encouraged by a divine message (EE 54) and aided while sailing West (EE 55). Once she arrived in Africa, Dido was not only welcomed by the people that inhabited those territories, but also asked to be queen of the land. This is how Dido decided to found her new realm, Tibirsa, later called Carthage (EE 55-56). Once she was established in Carthage, according to the *Estoria de Espanna*, Dido decided it was time for expansion and asked her servant Carthon to look for a propitious place for founding a new settlement. Carthon, then, received another divine message and set sail towards the place that would become the city of Cartagena, in the Iberian Peninsula (EE 57).

This digression is especially important since it represents the first major *inventio* of the *Estoria de Espanna* in regard to imperial ideology. Nowadays, it is traditionally accepted that the city of Cartagena was founded by Hasdrubal the Fair around the year 227 BC, as established by Strabo in his *Geographica*.¹⁸⁴ However, throughout history, different mythological origins have been attributed to this Mediterranean settlement. The first mentions of the foundation of Cartagena can be found in texts by numerous authors, such as the aforementioned Strabo and, especially, Justin and Pompeius Trogus, who are used as sources in the *Estoria de Espanna*. Whilst the first author mentions Hasdrubal as its founder, the other two traced the foundation of Cartagena back to the 15th century BC, when, according to them, it was Teucer, son of King Telamon, who founded the city.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the

¹⁸⁴ Strabo, '*Lacus Curtius - Strabo's Geography*', Book III, Chapter 4.

¹⁸⁵ López Salmerón, '*La creación de una ciudad*', 88.

Estoria de Espanna, in spite of knowing and using these sources, did not adopt this mythological narration, and attributed the foundation of Cartagena to Queen Dido of Carthage. This apparently unnecessary change linked, once and for all, Carthage and Queen Dido with the Iberian Peninsula, which allowed for Aeneas's entry into the *Estoria de Espanna*. Subsequently, Aeneas founded Rome, and included the Castilian-Leonese imperial thread within the stream of the *Translatio Imperii*.

In this way, Aeneas' entry into the *Sennorio de Carthago* in the *Estoria de Espanna* happened following the events of the *Aeneid*, when the Trojan hero shipwrecked on the African coast. According to the chronicle, at this moment, Aeneas received an oneiric message from God that would write his destiny and justify the moral flaws of the hero's actions for the sake of a greater good – the foundation of Rome:

*En
esto adormeciosse e fuel dicho en suennos
que primero casarie con la reyna dido. e de
pues irie a aquel logar o el cobdiciaua.
E pues que desperto semeiol que esta uision fue
ra de dios e plogol mucho. E guisosse lue
go por yr a ueella.*

(EE 59, 7-9)

Aeneas was told in this dream that before going to “*aquel logar o el cobdiciaua*” – that place he coveted, that is to say Rome – he would marry Queen Dido. This wedding was also part of the Alfonsine *inventio*. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, Dido and Aeneas had a relationship, but it was only consummated by a symbolic ceremony in which Juno was a witness. Ovid's *Heroides*, one of the main sources for this episode, barely mention the fact of a union, and the term *coniux* is reserved for Dido's first husband, dispelling any possible doubt or ambiguity. Other medieval receptions of the myth, such as the aforementioned *Roman d'Eneas*, written in the twelfth century in France, even removed the informal union that Virgil refers in his work. However, the *Estoria de Espanna* not only included a union between Dido and Aeneas, but also a rightful marriage that is celebrated in all Carthage. Dido became, in the eyes of the audience of the chronicle, a devoted wife who would take her

life as a result of the pain caused by Aeneas' departure. Aeneas' union to Dido was sacred in the *Estoria de Espanna*, to the point that in the chronicle, the Carthaginian queen was Aeneas's only wife.¹⁸⁶ Dido became his companion and ally, and understood the importance of Aeneas' mission, even blessing his departure. In the *Estoria de Espanna*, unlike in the *Aeneid*, Aeneas did not sneak away in the middle of the night, but rather consulted with his wife over the mission he had ahead to honour his father, and showed remorse when he had to leave (EE 60). The divine plan that led Aeneas to the foundation of Rome had to come before both his and Dido's personal desires. In this context, and very innovatively, the *Estoria de Espanna* did not judge or condemn Dido after she committed suicide. She was treated as a saint and her remains were kept in the temple of Aesculapius. This fragment after her death (EE 63, 1-10), which uses Jiménez de Rada's *Historia Romanorum* to explain Dido's succession by her sister, also seems to be original in the treatment given to the death of the Carthaginian queen. Dido was the figure that allowed the *Translatio* to move from the East to the West, and thus in spite of her suicide the *Estoria de Espanna*, in another effort of *inventio*, sanctifies the queen whose death is received with sorrow by her people.

A lawful marriage, the reluctance of Aeneas to leave his wife Dido, and her exoneration after committing suicide all create a narrative in the *Estoria de Espanna* that frames this story within the comprehensive picture of Alfonsine ideology. The main goal of this chain of changes was to trace the *imperium* that Rome would receive back to the Trojan hero. At the same time, the narrativization of this episode was essential in linking this theme of the *Translatio Imperii* to the Iberian Peninsula and justifying its inclusion. Carthage thus became the anchor of this legitimisation, and it was Dido who gave Aeneas the chance to bring the *imperium* from Troy to Carthage. As her consort, Aeneas became *Sennor de Carthago*, and brought the empire to the North of Africa, one of the four *Sennorios del Mundo* from Daniel's prophecy

¹⁸⁶ Both Virgil's *Aeneid* and the *Roman d'Eneas* include the marriage between Aeneas and Lavinia, who is not even mentioned in the *Estoria de Espanna*.

(EE59, 18; 63, 7-8). From this position, Aeneas was able to fulfil his destiny and became the origin of the imperial dynasties of Western Europe, as the predecessor of Julius Caesar and the rest of the emperors.

Aeneas's inclusion in the Alfonsine work was necessary to explain the origin of the lineage, or *linna* that, importantly for Alfonso X, would legitimise the divine character of this imperial line that would last until the rule of the Learned King. The king/emperor who held the *imperium* had the right to exercise the *Sennorío* due to his heritage. In the other Alfonsine chronicle, the *General Estoria*, as highlighted by Fernández-Ordóñez and Fraker, the lineage of Alfonso X could be traced back to Nemrod himself, who is identified with Saturn, Jupiter's father.¹⁸⁷ This would create the thread that united Aeneas, Rome, the emperors, the Staufens and, through his kin relation, Alfonso X.¹⁸⁸

The *Estoria de Espanna* embraced this idea and set the focus of historical evolution in the succession of these *emperadores naturales*, which peaked during the so-called *Sennorío de Roma*. As discussed in previous chapters, the ultimate goal of historiography in legitimising the empire was the creation of a thread from the origins of the empire to the Staufen emperors and, by extension, Alfonso X. As has also been seen, in this method of anchoring in the past, Rome carried an impressive weight: the Roman law was adopted and adapted, Roman attributes were given to Staufen emperors, and a direct kin connection between the Roman emperors and those in the Holy Roman Empire was created. In this sense, this first section of the *Estoria de Espanna* was, as Fraker points out, utterly disproportionate compared to the rest of the work. These 371 chapters, from the origins to the fall of the Roman *Sennorío*, do not leave any emperor behind, and even when the section ends and the chronicle moves on to another *Sennorío*, the imperial narrative continues. In this way, the Carolingian, the German and, of course, the Castilian under Alfonso X were Roman in every sense. The *Estoria de*

¹⁸⁷ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 35–37; Fraker, 'Alfonso X, the Empire and the Primera Crónica', 96.

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter 5 "Lineage or Linna".

Espanna talked about a single great empire that, if the chronicle were to be finished, would have ended with Alfonso X himself.¹⁸⁹

In accordance with this, the following pages will focus on the *Sennorio de Roma*, the last of the four empires of Daniel's prophecy linked to the journey of the *Translatio Imperii*. It is the Roman section of the *Estoria de Espanna* in which the empire and its dynamics are fully explained, creating the main body of the imperial legitimisation of the chronicle. The account of the Roman emperors was, as this following section will exhibit, essential in establishing the ways in which the *imperium* is transferred and thus how the Staufens and Alfonso X managed to claim their inheritance of the *Translatio Imperii*.

Rome, the culmination of the Translatio Imperii

It is remarkable how the entire chronicle, in spite of being an Iberian history, is built around what one could call a Roman core. The disproportionate length of the Roman section, which comprises 344 chapters out of the 1146 of the totality of the work – or 574 chapters of the E1 manuscript – must have an explanation further than the literary and stylistic. The importance that the *Estoria the Espanna* places on Rome is rooted not only in the devotion to the classical past, but also in the strong belief that Alfonso X and his predecessors were part of the same family tree, the same *linna*. Given the fact that Rome was, according to Daniel's prophecy, the last of the four empires, the process that takes place in the Middle Ages in the hands of the Staufens and particularly Alfonso X, is not one of resurrection but one of restoration. At this juncture, as I have previously discussed, *Translatio* equates to *Renovatio*: the *imperium* was not resurrected by the Carolingians and then inherited by the Germans, the empire was rather brought back by Charlemagne from the East, where it was surviving, to the West, where it was restored. The empire embodied by Charlemagne was a renewal of classical precepts also assumed by his successors. In this way,

¹⁸⁹ Fraker, 'Alfonso X, the Empire and the Primera Crónica', 95–98.

according to the concept of the *Translatio Imperii*, the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire – and by extension Alfonso X – were as Roman as Julius Caesar, Trajan, Vespasian, or Charlemagne.

In this sense, the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* were aware of the place Rome must have had in the work as a whole; so much so that the beginning of the *Sennorío de Roma* meant a disruption in the compilation and even the dating system of the chronicle. As I discussed in previous chapters, the composition of the chronicle was far from homogeneous, and in the same way there are two separate sections – from the origin to the end of the Roman *Sennorío*, and onwards – within the first section there are also disruptions that might indicate the special treatment of empire in the *Estoria de Espanna*. In this sense, other than the structural frontiers identified by Fernández-Ordóñez,¹⁹⁰ Fraker identifies another disruption between chapters 110 and 118,¹⁹¹ which dealt with the history of the consuls and Roman administration, as well as presented the character of Julius Caesar to begin with his imperial rule in chapter 119. From this moment, as also identified by Menéndez Pidal and Catalán, the *Estoria de Espanna* changed in language, compilation technique and use of sources.¹⁹² The chronicle went from being a history of the Iberian Peninsula to a history of the Roman Empire. Before this tipping point, one could follow the evolution of the events and their relation, in one way or another, to the *Espannas*. The only exceptions to this rule were the digressions on the origins of Carthage and Queen Dido, and the Roman Civil War. The inclusion of the first of the passages was justified by its connection to the city of Cartagena, as was said above, as well as due the ideological importance of bringing Aeneas to the *Translatio Imperii*. The second passage was justified in the text because some of the episodes of the war took place in Spain, but also because the end of this conflict allowed Julius Caesar to hold

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter 3.2 “The Use of Sources in the *Estoria de Espanna*”, p. 68.

¹⁹¹ Fraker, ‘Alfonso X, the Empire and the Primera Crónica’, 97.

¹⁹² Catalán, *De la silva textual al taller historiográfico alfonsí*, 43–44.

the title of *Sennorío del Mundo* for the first time and introduced one of the most important lessons of the chronicle: the dangers of shared power.¹⁹³

This episode, as will be seen in greater detail in its corresponding chapter, worked as an *exemplum* in which both contenders fought for the possession of the *Sennorío del Mundo*. It was introduced by its pedagogical value and “*las razones en que se puede aprender quien quisiere de exiemplos de castigos*” (EE 81, 7).¹⁹⁴ From chapters 79 to 107, the *Estoria de Espanna* developed an account of the events of the Roman Civil War using Lucan’s *Farsalia* as a central source. However, the complexity of the topic can be seen by the extensive use of other sources, such as Diaconus’s *Historia Miscella*, Jiménez de Rada’s *Historia Romana* and Orosius’s *Historia Adversus Paganos*. It is Orosius, essentially, who provided the text with the ideological and didactic materials to create an *exemplum* out of the passage of the Roman Civil War. For instance, in Chapter 92, the chronicle introduced the history of a fire in the city of Rome, which, according to the text, “*fue sennal del crebanto que roma e so Jmperio auien a tomar por las lides destos dos principes*” (EE 92, 1);¹⁹⁵ these two princes being Julius Caesar and Pompey.

These wars were the turning point for the political dynamics of the Roman *Sennorío*. The chronicle itself introduced the episode in Chapter 79 and linked it to the Iberian Peninsula, explaining how after the conflict between Julius Caesar and Pompey the ruling order of Rome would be different, and power would be embodied by a single ruler, unlike the previous consulates and triumvirates:

*Sobre
las Razones desta conquista de las espannas
se començo a descubrir el fecho. poro fueron des
pues a tiempo mudadas las maneras del sen
norio de Roma. e los Regnos todos ayuntados
en uno. e los sennorios en un sennor solo. E el
fecho poro esto uino descubriosse en este
ponpeyo
el grand. e cumpliosse en Julio Cesar. e firmos
se en Cesar agosto. Agora por que fueron las*

¹⁹³ Fraker, ‘Alfonso X, the Empire and the Primera Crónica’, 97.

See Chapter 6.2 “*Historia est magistra vitae*”, on Julius Caesar and Pompey.

¹⁹⁴ *The reasons in which anyone could learn from examples of punishment.*

¹⁹⁵ *It was a sign of the disruption Rome and the empire suffered for getting involved in the conflict between these two princes.*

*es
 pannas de amos estos principes. por sos tiempos
 departidos fablaremos aqui algun poco de
 los fechos dellos. contando las estorias de las
 espannas en sos logares o uinieren. E depar
 tiremos de los nombres del sennorio de Roma
 sobrestas razones. e los nombres que llamaron
 a los sennores quel ouieron. E cuemo
 sennorearon
 las espannas departiendo de cada unos por
 sos tiempos.:*

(EE 79, 35-39)

This passage worked as a presentation of the following chapters, not only those related to the Civil War but also those that explain the order of Rome after the conflict, that is to say, up to the end of the structural frontier of Chapter 119, in which Julius Caesar's rule began. The fragment also introduced a reference to the subsequent holders of the *sennorio*: it would be Pompey who first assumed the solo ruling of Rome. However, this model only became a political reality under the rule of Julius Caesar and was institutionalised by Augustus. Whilst Menéndez Pidal alludes to Jiménez de Rada's *Historia Romana* as the source for this fragment, the analysis of the text shows that this particular text was, most probably, an addition made by the compilers of the chronicle as a summary of the following chapters. Thus, it is established that Pompey was the first in the *Sennorio*, paving the way for Julius Caesar and Augustus. This idea was reiterated later in the chronicle, for instance in Chapters 80 (26) and 87 (9), in which the epithet *emperador* was used for the first time in relation to Pompey and, in fact, to a Roman ruler. However, Pompey's rule was short-lived, and Julius Caesar would remain in the *Estoria de Espanna* as the first emperor to gather such power: "*sennor del so Jmperio e no otro pincep ninguno como el fastal so tiempo*" (EE 107, 3-4).¹⁹⁶

*mas a ninguno non dieron po
 der dalli adelant que fuesse igual con el
 de Julio Cesar. Et el por razon del sennorio
 dell Jmperio que auie todo. yl acrecio mucho;
 llamosse Cesar augusto. e en el quedaron e se
 acabaron todos los nombres de los principa*

¹⁹⁶ *Lord of his empire, there was no prince alike until his time.*

*dos que en la corte de Roma ouiera fasta
alli de las ordenes de las cauallerias. e en
el se mudo la manera del sennorio dell Jm
perio. e el nombre del princep. Et llamaron
a el Cesar Augusto. E del nombre deste to
maron los emperadores que enpos el unieron;*

Cesares Augustos

(EE 109, 3-6)

Julius Caesar, after the long conflict against Pompey, and despite his flaws, eventually received the *imperium* and established the imperial rule of Rome.¹⁹⁷ Under his rule the epithet *Augustus* was coined, as an attribute that was systematically used by all Roman emperors, and all those who later aspired to resurrect and renovate the imperial title.¹⁹⁸ The *Estoria de Espanna* attempted to explain the origin and etymology of this term using Hugutio's *Liber Derivationum*, from which entry "*augeo*", giving the word *Augustus* the meaning of "*acrescentar*" or "*crescer*". The emperor, now *Augustus*, was he who aided the growth of the empire.

This idea of the empire as a living organism that can grow – and also, therefore, shrink – was present throughout the entire imperial section of the chronicle, and was introduced also in the chapters on the Civil War. It was in the aforementioned Chapter 92 where this idea was developed.

¶ *Sobrete crescer e minguar
dell Jmperio de Roma departe la estoria de
orosio en este logar. e diz assi. Que ell estado
dell Jmperio de Roma la forma troxo de la
grand mar. que numqua queda de crecer e min
guar. e que assi fizo ell Jmperio de Roma. que
siempre crecio e mingo e numqua souo en un
estado.*

(EE 92, 16-17)

According to the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna*, this notion of the growth or decline of the empire was explained by Paulus Orosius. Whilst it is true that this chapter, in general terms, followed Orosius' *Historia adversus paganos* (VI, 14^o, 1-4), the text of the chronicle seems to be heavily rewritten and this increase-decrease dynamic appears to be an original addition to the

¹⁹⁷ See Chapter 6.2, "*Historia est magistra vitae*", p. 162.

¹⁹⁸ See Chapter 1 "The Historical Events", p. 21; Chapter 2.2 "Alfonso X and the Staufen Hereditary Empire", p. 38; and Chapter 4.1 "The *Translatio Imperii*", p. 81.

Alfonsine text. According to this idea, for example, while Julius Caesar and Pompey were conquering the Gaul and Asia, the empire ‘grew’; but when both began contesting each other, the empire was ‘shrunk’. This is one of the major ideological inputs in the *Estoria de Espanna*, as it would be present throughout the entire imperial section and was related to the notions of decline, fall, and *Renovatio* discussed in introductory section of this chapter. This dynamic would define the ways in which the *Translatio Imperii* worked towards the end of the Roman *Sennorio*.

In this vein, once the victory of Julius Caesar over Pompey had been established within those intermediary chapters between the Civil War and the beginning of Caesar’s rule – of which EE 110-114 refer to the new political order – Chapter 115 also uses this concept of increase and decrease of the empire, and emphasises the etymology of the word explained in Chapter 109.

*Et por que acrecento siempre en ell Imperio;
llamaron le augusto. que quier tanto dezir
cuemo acrecentador. Et este Julio cesar fue
Emperador de Roma e sennor del mundo.
por que todas estas razones que son aqui dichas
del. pueden seer uerdaderas. Et deste nombre
cesar que llamaron a Julio; dixieron dalli ade
lant Cesares a todos los otros que regnaron
empos el en ell Imperio de Roma. cuemo des
pues augustos por acrecentadores.*

(EE 115, 15-17)

Chapter 115 is, probably, one of the most important of the *Estoria de Espanna* in terms of ideology. It discusses five reasons for the name of Julius Caesar that are linked, in one way or another, to the imperial ideology embedded in the chronicle; some of these reasons will be discussed in the corresponding sections of this thesis. The chapter closed with the repetition of the definition of *Augustus*, which emphasised the importance of the term and prepared the reader for its attribution to Octavian, who was so associated to the epithet that he would be remembered by it.

It is, precisely, Octavian Augustus under whose reign the Roman Empire underwent an intensive process of institutionalisation. The same way as Alfonso X during his time, Augustus put the focus of his rule in creating a political framework and building the new image for the empire. For instance,

in Chapter 127, the *Estoria de Espanna* developed the main changes carried out by the emperor in terms of administration: the creation of the census, the new coinage, and the use of the *Era Hispánica*. This last measure would be just one of the changes in the calendar implemented by the new emperors. Previously, Julius Caesar would have changed the name of the month *Quintil* to *Julio* (EE 120), since it was the month of his birthday. Later, Augustus, not to be outdone, changed the name of the month known as *Sextil* to *Agosto* (EE 137). But the main chronological change made within this section of the *Estoria de Espanna* was not part of the narration, but rather the structure of the chronicle. The end of the rule of Julius Caesar (EE 123) and the beginning of Augustus' (EE 124) are the third structural frontier established by Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, but also by Menéndez Pidal and Diego Catalán, who noticed that this chapter even starts a new quire.¹⁹⁹ The compilation changed from this chapter forward in the entire Roman section and was noticeably marked by the change in the dating system.

After Chapter 124, therefore, the *Estoria de Espanna* assumed an analytic dating system that compared the events with the year of the emperor and other dating mechanisms.²⁰⁰ Thus, the chronicle synchronised the year of the emperor with the year of the foundation of Rome, and during Augustus's rule two more chronologies were added: the aforementioned *Era Hispánica*, shortly after the beginning of his empire; and the year of Jesus Christ, after his birth. This dating system was used consistently by the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* throughout the entire chronicle, even after the end of the *Sennorio de Roma*. In later chapters, the year of the *Sennor* ruling over the Iberian Peninsula was synchronised with the year of the Eastern Roman emperor or the Holy Roman Emperor – it is interesting to see how the emperor's year is something to take in account to keep track of time, whilst the years of papacy never seem to be relevant in the *Estoria de Espanna*. This gave the chronicle a sense of continuity from the beginning of the Roman

¹⁹⁹ Fernández-Ordóñez, 'El Taller Historiográfico Alfonsí', 12; Catalán, *De la silva textual al taller historiográfico alfonsí*, 83–84.

²⁰⁰ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 21–22.

Empire to the end of the chronicle, emphasising the fact that the empire Alfonso aspired to was the same empire Augustus ruled in his time.

In fact, this dating system is only interrupted in very few occasions in the chronicle. These disruptions were reserved for those who Fernández-Ordóñez denominates “*emperadores sin derecho*”:²⁰¹ such is the case of, for example, Galba (EE 182), Vitellius (EE 184), Pertinax (EE 233), Macrinus (EE 252), or Maximinus (EE 260-262). The way in which these emperors rose to power, or the shortness of their rule, ensured they were not included in the dating system created after Augustus’s ascension to the throne. The chronologies also stopped in moments when the empire was divided, as the beginning of the Tetrarchy (EE 312). In these cases, the dating system was not complete or most likely, absent. Thus, within this mentioned sense of continuity, these disruptions did actually make a point in the narrative: in order to be part of and continue the *Translatio Imperii*, the emperors had to access power by using some sort of legitimisation, in the form of lineage, merits, or a divine predestination, as I demonstrate in this thesis.

Understood in this way, the sense of continuity supports the global idea of the transfer of power, the *imperium*, amongst rulers. Throughout the Roman section, the reader/listener would be able to see how the *imperium* was handed from each emperor to the next, and how the rulers that ‘grew’ the empire were those legitimised through their lineage or their deeds or protected by God. However, given that the Roman Empire was supposed to be the last according to Daniel’s prophecy, the transfer of the *imperium* after the institution of the Roman Empire is not from one people to another. In this case, the decline that in previous cases led to the *Translatio Imperii* now led to *Renovatio*. In this vein, there is, as in the development of the Roman section, a sense of decay that increases and concludes with the end of the Roman *Sennorío* in the Iberian Peninsula, but also with the continuity of the *imperium* in the Eastern Roman Empire, later Byzantium. The instability of

²⁰¹ Fernández-Ordóñez, 22.
“*Non-rightful emperors.*”

most rules, the frenzied succession of emperors, and the division of the empire all led to its “decrease” and, therefore, to the need of a restoration or *Renovatio*.

In this way, after the end of the *Sennorio de Roma*, the Alfonsine chronicle needed to show support for the aforementioned sense of continuity of the *Translatio Imperii*, up to the times of King Alfonso X. This is how, following the same strategy as Otto of Freising, who was likely an influence in the conception of the *Estoria de Espanna*,²⁰² the compilers of the chronicle found their anchoring in the main medieval milestones for the transfer of the *imperium* presented in the introductory section of this chapter. As developed above, Charlemagne had triggered the restoration of the *imperium* in Western Europe. Through the assumption of the imperial throne by the Franks, the empire was brought back to the West and strengthened, later to be passed onto the *teutonici*, the Teutons, and therefore the Staufens and Alfonso X. This explains what Fraker considers one of the most problematic anomalies in the *Estoria de Espanna*: the positive portrait of Charlemagne in the chronicle.²⁰³

According to Fraker, the extensive treatment of the figure of the Frankish emperor must obey ideological demands. Whilst the previous Castilian tradition offered a derogatory image of Charlemagne – Jiménez de Rada, for instance, pointed out his incompetence when it came to conquering²⁰⁴ – the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* did not hesitate to include in their chronicle an extended episode based on the *Mainet*, a piece devoted to Charlemagne’s youth.²⁰⁵ The inclusion of this episode was, in itself, an anomaly in the compilation of the chronicle, and there were no similar epic pieces included as sources of the *Estoria de Espanna*. The episode (EE 608-

²⁰² See Chapters 3.1 “History and Historiography”, pp. 55, 59; 4.1, “The *Translatio Imperii*”, pp. 82-83, 85-86; 4.2, “The Empire and the *Sennorio* in the *Estoria de Espanna*”, p. 87.

²⁰³ Fraker, ‘Alfonso X, the Empire and the Primera Crónica’, 98–99.

²⁰⁴ Bautista Pérez, ‘La tradición épica de las Enfances de Carlomagno y el Cantar de Mainete perdido’, 233.

For more information of the early reception of Charlemagne in the Iberian scenario, see: Bailey and Giles, eds. *Charlemagne and his Legend in Early Spanish Literature and Historiography*.

²⁰⁵ For further information on the treatment of Charlemagne in Castile during the Middle ages, and on the *Mainet* in particular, refer to Bautista Pérez, ‘Las leyendas carolingias en Castilla durante la Edad Media. Edición de la crónica fragmentaria’; Bautista Pérez, ‘Memoria de Carlomagno’.

610) narrated the events happened during the years young prince Charles spent exiled in Toledo, where he met princess Galiana and, after defeating her father's enemies, he decided to bring her to France and marry the princess – after she converted to Christianity. With the addition of this epic passage, the *Estoria de Espanna* strengthened two points related to the imperial imaginary created by Alfonso X. Firstly, by way of his inclusion in the imperial thread of the *Translatio Imperii*, young Charles entered automatically under divine protection, as stated in chapter 609 (34), “*mas non quiso dios quell prisiessse en carne*”.²⁰⁶ God, as mentioned, and as I will explore in detail in the corresponding chapter of this thesis, monitored the *Translatio Imperii* and effected its development. His intervention in regard to Charlemagne would be as relevant to the transfer of the *imperium* as his intervention in Aeneas's story, for instance. In this regard, there is also then another parallel between the story narrated in the *Mainet* and the account of Aeneas's journey: whilst the Trojan hero was linked to the Iberian Peninsula by his marriage to Queen Dido, Charlemagne was linked to the Hispanic territory after his marriage to Princess Galiana. Matrimony became important in the legitimisation of the imperial lineage, and in the same way the union between these characters connected the *Translatio Imperii* to the Iberian Peninsula, so too did the marriage between Fernando III and Beatriz of Swabia.

In the same way as that of Aeneas, the inclusion of Charlemagne was essential in the *Estoria de Espanna* to legitimise the *Translatio Imperii*, and his presence in the Iberian Peninsula was necessary for his inclusion in the chronicle. Accordingly, the inclusion of the *Mainet* – which for Pio Rajna is merely an apocope of *Maine*, that is to say, *Charlemaine*²⁰⁷ – in the chronicle comes prior to a main change of narrative, essential in understanding the topic of the *Translatio Imperii* within the Alfonsine text: after Chapter 25, the

²⁰⁶ *But God did not want him to suffer in flesh.*

²⁰⁷ Rajna, *Le origini dell'epopea francese*, 243.

chronicle stopped following the emperors of Byzantium and began the account of Western emperors that lasted until the Staufens and Alfonso X.

*E daquj adelant dexa la es
toria el cuento por los Emperadores de Cos
tantinopla; e trael por los Reys de Fran
cia que regnaron en Alemanna e en Fran
cia.*

(EE 625, 22)

The compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* needed to justify this change of narration, as well as the relevance of Charlemagne to the *Translatio Imperii*. Therefore, the chapter that presented Charlemagne through the inclusion of the *Mainet* worked as an introduction to the medieval transfer of the *imperium*. This change of narrative meant the final transfer of the empire from the East to the West, following Otto of Freising's idea of *Translatio Imperii*, and legitimising the possession of the *imperium* by Western emperors from Charlemagne to Frederick II. In Alfonso's political framework, the relevance of Charlemagne in the *Translatio Imperii* could not be dismissed and his inclusion in the imperial line led to this different treatment of the emperor highlighted by Fraker. For Alfonso X, the empire embodied by Charlemagne was a renewal of the Ancient Roman Empire, embraced and assumed by the Frankish emperor and his successors, as shown in the change of narrative to follow the year of the Western Roman emperor. In this way, as previously mentioned, Julius Caesar was as Roman as Trajan, Vespasian, Charlemagne, Frederick I, or Alfonso X.

Thus, whilst the times evolve, the Roman Empire remains the same. Considering that Rome was the last of Daniel's empires, the Roman empire, unlike its predecessors, did not fade and pass on the baton to the next empire, but rather found a way to survive within its people. The *imperium*, in order to face periods of decline and crisis, changed, evolved, even migrated. The compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* were aware of these obstacles, and refer to them using the terminology previously developed: the empire "*mingua*" or "*cesce*" until the times of the composition of the chronicle.

*E de
sta guisa crecio e mingo ell Jmperio ell ell
Jmperio de roma. fasta que es uenido
el so estado a aquello en que oy esta.*

(EE 92, 22)

Accordingly, within Alfonso X's ideological framework, the empire remained alive, but migrated to the East and under the shape of the Byzantine Empire until the rise of the Frankish emperor. As pointed out at the beginning of this section, *Translatio* and *Renovatio* worked together towards the survival of the *imperium* as a metahistorical institution. The empire, or *imperium*, was treated in the *Estoria de Espanna* as the object of the *Translatio Imperii*, but also as a living entity. To the Alfonsine compilers, the empire suffers and 'shrinks' when its ruler does not meet its standards: whether these are belonging to the imperial lineage, having divine support, or acting virtuously – and not contending in a Civil War, as was the case for the aforementioned Julius Caesar and Pompey. Furthermore, the empire as an object can be divided, as happens during the times of the Tetrarchy and, more clearly, after the division between Honorius and Arcadius, neither of which positively affected the state of the empire. The division of the empire resulted in its final decrease and ended up with the demise of the *Sennorio de Roma*.

*Depues de la muerte de
Theodosio ell Emperador;
fueron Archadio e Honorio
amos sus fijos alçados por Emperadores.
E partieron ell Jmperio
entressi de guisa que archadio ouo tierra
de Oriente. E honorio tierra de Occidente.*

(EE 362, 1)

The chapters after this division continued to mention both the Western and the Eastern emperors in the chronicle's dating system. However, the Western presence weakened as the Goths took control of the provinces of the Western Roman Empire. Finally, in Chapter 423, the *imperium* remained solely within the hands of the Eastern emperor, and only they were mentioned consistently until the transfer of the imperial focus to the

Frankish empire. The Ancient Roman Empire, and more concretely its Western part, suffered towards the end a period of decline characterised by instability, unworthy emperors, and division²⁰⁸. In this regard, the *Estoria de Espanna* managed to create a feeling of decline towards the end of the Roman section that led to the migration of the *imperium* from Rome to Constantinople.

The *Translatio Imperii* is, probably, one of the largest hidden themes of the *Estoria de Espanna*. Following the previous tradition and the influences of authors such as Otto of Freising, Alfonso X and his compilers used the concept of the *Translatio Imperii* as the engine that powered the development of history. The notion was present in the very idea of historical evolution and, as has been explained in this chapter, the structure of the chronicle itself reflected the importance of the transfer of the empire/*Sennorío*, that is to say, the *imperium*. Alfonso managed to create with this work the perfect tool to not only link himself to the *linna* of the *Translatio Imperii*, but also, as I will develop, to show himself as the only true candidate for the crown of the Holy Roman Empire.

The following chapters of the present thesis will, therefore, explore this sense of decay and decline, the Alfonsine chronicle in its ideological dimension, emphasising the importance of the succession of the emperors. The *Translatio Imperii*, as the metahistorical concept that it is, oversaw the composition of the chronicle and affected its representation of the factors involved in the transfer of the *imperium*. For the Alfonsine *scriptorium*, the decay that led the *Sennorío de Roma* to its end was caused by a long list of malpractices in the election of the successive emperors. The next chapter of this thesis will address the importance of the imperial *linna*, which was sometimes dismissed and underestimated, and led to the rise of emperors that ‘decreased’ the empire. However, in order to possess the *imperium* and work towards its strengthening, it was also necessary for a potential emperor to deserve the imperial title. In this sense, the *Estoria de Espanna* used the personal traits

²⁰⁸ Coates, “‘Et si desto menguas’: Decadencia imperial en la Estoria de Espanna”, 105,111

and features of the emperors to create an imaginary in which the vices and unrightful acts led to the 'decrease' of the empire, and the virtues and good decisions to its 'increase' and strengthening. Lastly, and as the last chapter of this section will tackle, one should not forget the divine character of the empire and, by extension, of the *Translatio*. As the *Estoria de Espanna* shows on several occasions, God oversees the process, as well as protecting and leading a path for the true members of the imperial *linna*, those who deserve and are destined to hold the empire.

CHAPTER V.- LINEAGE OR *LINNA*: BELONGING TO THE IMPERIAL KIN

*E por que roma fue depues
poblada de los que descendieron del li
nage de eneas. punnaron ellos e los que
depues uinieron de fazer aquella cibdat
de roma atal que no fallassen otra que
fuesse egual della.
(EE 71, 3)*

The blood-right principle. Diachronic evolution until the times of Alfonso X

The use of blood-right legitimisation as an explanation of the dynamics of royal/imperial succession has been traditionally accepted by academics as a reality of the pre-Modern period and, especially, the Middle Ages.²⁰⁹ In this sense, it has been discussed how very close the idea of *Translatio Imperii*, main engine of history and root of the Staufens' imperial legitimisation, is to the idea of an imperial lineage that secured the transfer of the *imperium*. This section aims, then, to function as an introduction to what lineage meant in the times of the Learned King, in order to provide context for the analysis of the manifestations of inheritance and kin-right within the text of the *Estoria de Espanna*.

Therefore, in order to understand this progression, one must examine the evolution of the concept and lexicon of family since the origins of the Western cultural foundations, in Rome. In this way, during the Republican period, kinship, encoded in specific terms, was necessary in constituting the aristocracy and distinguishing different groups of power. Blood affinity was linked to the legal rights of a member of certain kin to the benefits of belonging to that family. The terminology used to refer to concepts of family and kin reflected the reality of the conceptualisation of these terms; in other words, how family and kin-relation were understood. In this way, the Latin term *familia,ae* refers to all the members of a family core, linked by blood, marriage, or adoption, and the properties that belonged to the household –

²⁰⁹ Guerreau-Jalabert, 'Flesh and Blood in Medieval Language about Kinship', 61.

including, of course, slaves and freedmen. On the other hand, Romans used the word *agnatio, nis* to refer only to the patrilineal descent that included male members linked not only by blood, but also by adoption. In Rome the family name was handed down from the *pater familiae* to the son, whether biological or not. Perhaps one of the most paradigmatic cases of the use of this *agnatio* was the relationship between Julius Caesar and his successor, Octavian, who was his adopted son. The inclusion of this example in the *Estoria de Espanna* is particularly relevant, as it demonstrates the different conception of family at the time of composition of the chronicle. For Romans, adoption was a common way to guarantee one's lineage, and the concept of family transcended blood implications that were assumed as needed at certain point in history.²¹⁰

There are at a first glance two discrepancies between the Roman model and the medieval concept of family performed by the Staufens and Alfonso X, and these differences will be the focus of the analysis of the *Estoria de Espanna* in further pages: firstly, the exclusively paternal character of the *agnatio*; and secondly the possibility of the inheritance outside the blood-line, through adoption.

These two features, which differ profoundly from what can be found in texts such as the *Estoria de Espanna*, are the result of a long evolution in the medieval centuries based on two pillars that were also essential to understand the ideological framework of the Holy Roman Empire and, most essentially, Alfonso X's empire. This introductory section will address the vernacularisation of the Classical lexicon into medieval languages – especially Castilian, since the Alfonsine chronicle is written in this language, and the academic proposal of this thesis is, in many cases, based on the analysis of the processes of translation from Latin to Castilian. The influence of the Christian Church is also highly relevant to this thesis in terms of both terminology and also the concepts of family and inheritance, since these shaped the notion of family, but also affected the relations between the

²¹⁰ Harders, 'Agnatio, Cognatio, Consanguinitas. Kinship and Blood in Ancient Rome', 20–31.

Church and the ruling dynasties of Europe. Finally, the concept and evolution of the resulting German kin-right will be addressed, as well as all the Iberian manifestations of kin-right that, in combination, resulted in the rule of King Alfonso X, heir of the Staufen family.

In this way, departing from the Roman concept of kin and family introduced above, after the restoration of the empire in the Middle Ages, the first steps towards this evolution can be noted during the Carolingian period. At this stage, the system of kinship adapted and became less oriented towards generational depth and more focussed on establishing links amongst the living members of a dynasty with a common ancestor.²¹¹ This is one of the first signs of the influence of the Christian Church, and at this moment it is possible to note not only its spiritual leverage, but also political and legal leverage – including issues as inheritance and succession. In this regard, an example of this change in conception is the progressive increase in the use of the term *consanguinitas*,*is* in literature produced by the Christian Church during the Middle Ages, meaning the sharing of a common relative in one sense, and more explicitly the sharing of a father. These changes permeated in vernacular languages: *lignage* or *ami charnel* in French, *fründe* in German, or the Spanish *linaje* or *linna* are examples of the new lexicon.²¹² This evolution was caused by the influence in Latin lexicon of Biblical and patristic Latin.²¹³ The Christian Church established a hierarchical system based on filial relations and the model of the nuclear family, but also mentioning the extended blood-relations in forbidding marriage within an extensive range of kin.²¹⁴ Language, affiliated with the Church, became a tool of legislative and moral control over the concept of family and succession in the Middle Ages. In this sense, the now-Christian society was characterised by a hierarchical nature that was transferred to all spheres of life. This phenomenon, translated to the political scope, resulted amongst other changes in the

²¹¹ Sabeau, Teuscher, and Mathieu, *Kinship in Europe*, 4.

²¹² Harders, 'Agnatio, Cognatio, Consanguinitas. Kinship and Blood in Ancient Rome', 20; Sabeau, Teuscher, and Mathieu, *Kinship in Europe*, 4.

²¹³ Guerreau-Jalabert, 'Flesh and Blood in Medieval Language about Kinship', 61–63.

²¹⁴ Sabeau, Teuscher, and Mathieu, *Kinship in Europe*, 5.

reduced importance of the patrilineal feature of the *agnatio*: this was a mere reflection of the hierarchical and, more importantly, elective system by which the Church was regulated.²¹⁵ This was the case of the Holy Roman Empire, which was based on the elective principles established in the aforementioned *Donatio Constantini*: the authority for imperial election was placed, ultimately, in the hands of the Pope.²¹⁶ This was corroborated by Charlemagne's coronation as emperor and "King of the Romans".²¹⁷ With time, the process of succession for the Holy Roman Emperors was subject to an election by a group of prince electors – a reflection of the election of the Pope – which must be accepted and corroborated by the papacy, removing any kin-right factor in the election of new emperors.²¹⁸

The elective character of the empire allowed the Papacy to control who was sitting on the German throne, and to dilute the divine character of the imperial election by removing its hereditary component. This way, the "Holy" nature of the empire was granted, as in Charlemagne's coronation, to the Pope as a liaison with the divinity. However, as explained in previous chapters, after centuries of the Papacy's undisputed influence in the imperial coronations, the Staufen family managed to change the system and secured their presence on the German throne. This dynasty, by using their kin-right to support their aspirations, assured their presence on the German throne and their legitimacy to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, regardless of the Pope's opinion. In order to achieve this, they inserted themselves in the stream of the *Translatio Imperii*, assuming the divine nature of the empire and leaving the Pope powerless in temporal and imperial matters.²¹⁹ As will be seen in this chapter, kin might be traced to a divine or mythological origin; this would show a divine predisposition to be called for the crown. This idea collided with the notion in which a kin relation to the previous emperor was not relevant to the imperial election. Nevertheless, the Staufen family

²¹⁵ Harders, 'Agnatio, Cognatio, Consanguinitas. Kinship and Blood in Ancient Rome', 26; Guerreau-Jalabert, 'Flesh and Blood in Medieval Language about Kinship', 63, 74.

²¹⁶ See Chapter 1 "The Historical Events", p. 15; and Chapter 4.1 "The *Translatio Imperii*", p. 85.

²¹⁷ See Chapter 4.1 "The *Translatio Imperii*", pp. 80-81

²¹⁸ See Chapter 1 "The Historical Events", p. 18-20

²¹⁹ See Chapter 2.2 "Alfonso X and the Staufen Hereditary Empire"

followed the principle that dictated the older the dynasty, the worthier they were to the crown.²²⁰

According to this last point, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the Staufen emperors considered themselves descendants of the Frankish emperors led by Charlemagne. Moreover, it was the Frankish king who inherited the imperial prerogative of the Roman Empire, renovating the *imperium* in the Western Roman Empire, and rupturing with the Byzantine Empire. This was sustained by Otto of Freising's assumption that the Germanics were a branch of the Franks and, therefore, shared the same blood and right to the *imperium*. This idea was exploited and expanded by the Staufens, but particularly by Alfonso X who, as will be seen in the following pages, stretched his imperial lineage to a mythological/divine origin. These ideas were also linked to the concept of Germanic kin-right which marked, one way or another, the royal imperial, and also nobiliary succession in the Frank/Germanic scene since late antiquity. The kin right was an essential contribution to the theory of Divine Right, in which the *Translatio Imperii* was underpinned.²²¹ Therefore, the kin-right developed by the Germanic ruling dynasties and, particularly by the Staufens, was used together with the *Translatio Imperii* to assure the dynasty's possession of the German crown. As a consequence, in the context of the Holy Roman Empire, the emperors were independent from the papacy in their election and succession.

However, as also mentioned in previous chapters, the tradition inherited by Alfonso X and therefore reflected in the *Estoria de Espanna* is dual: the legitimisation through lineage used by the Learned King draws from the Staufens' legitimising adherence to the *Translatio Imperii* and the imperial lineage. Furthermore, the kin-right in Christian Iberia suffered during the Middle Ages a process of strengthening and settlement that was also adopted by Alfonso X's historiography. This development became especially notable from the 10th century up to the 13th, during the times of

²²⁰ Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, 14–17.

²²¹ Kern, 21.

Alfonso X. It was during these four centuries that lineage as a principle of legitimisation was consolidated. Before the 10th century, royal accounts, in the shape of annals, were limited to listing names and years of rule. However, at the end of the century an increase in the interest of compiling the ruling dynasties and their members can be noticed. In this sense, for instance, in the kingdom of Navarre the *Genealogías de Roda* was written, to be followed by the composition of the *Genealogia comitum barcinonensium* in Barcelona, and, circa 1200, the so-called *Liber Regum*,²²² or *Libro de las generaciones y linajes de los reyes*.²²³ This last work meant the final establishment of the vernacularisation of the genealogical genre in Christian Iberia, reinforcing the importance of lineage.

The consolidation of this idea can be also found in historiographical works from these aforementioned four centuries. The composition of Asturian historiography reinforced the expansion of the genealogical and kin legitimisations within chronicles: The *Chronicon Albendensis* mentioned how Alfonso III was linked to the lineage of the Asturian and the Goth monarchs, meaning a tipping point in the consideration of lineage as a mechanism of worthy succession.²²⁴ The validation of this principle was corroborated by these invented lineages that became even more common during the 12th and 13th centuries, following the European trend mentioned in the previous chapter. For instance, in the 12th century, the author of the *Historia Silensis* explicitly mentioned that the purpose of his chronicle was to weave a legitimising lineage for the “emperor” Alfonso VI.²²⁵ This began a new tendency by which history and lineage could be adapted – or even invented – if required.

The aim of historiography seemed to adapt according to the context and the needs of its promoters. Such was the case of Fernando I of Castile (1016 – 1065), whose position was reinforced in the *Chronica Naierensis*; and of

²²² The first chronicle of the Iberian Peninsula written in a vernacular language, Aragonese. The *Estoria de Espanna* was the first written in Castilian.

²²³ Martín, ‘Linaje y Legitimidad En La Historiografía Regia Hispana de Los Siglos IX al XIII’, 3.

²²⁴ Martín, 4–6.

²²⁵ See Chapter 2.1 “The *Imperium Hispanicum* and the Iberian Legacy”, pp. 27.

course it was also the case of Alfonso X in the *Estoria de Espanna*. The former did something unprecedented on the Hispanic stage and hugely influential for the Alfonsine creation: it used the female lineage or *agnatio* when establishing the genealogy of kings and princes. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, in Rome, the *agnatio* was masculine, and so it remained for the majority of the medieval centuries and kingdoms, except for a few cases. The aim of the *Naierensis* was to consolidate the position of Fernando I, who became king after marrying Sancha, daughter of Bermudo III of Leon, against whom Fernando rebelled and succeeded.²²⁶ Fernando I was also son of Muniadona, Queen of Pamplona and daughter of the Count of Castile. After these two women, Fernando I had legitimised himself sufficiently to not only sit on the Leonese throne, but also to found the Castilian royal dynasty. The later case of Alfonso X was somewhat similar, in the sense that his main legitimisation to the imperial crown was in hands of his mother, Beatriz of Swabia. To the Learned King, creating a valid connection between himself and the Staufen heritage through the figure of his mother was essential in order to create a solid political framework that supported him as the rightful emperor. These two kings are examples of how historiography adapts to the purposes of its writers/promoters. In this case, the maternal *agnatio* was adopted as a source of legitimisation, something that after this became, due to circumstances, a distinctly Castilian feature.

However, genealogical literature linked to legitimisation varied in the different Iberian kingdoms: The female *agnatio* that supported the Castilian interests was discarded in other Iberian kingdoms, such as Navarre. The principle of legitimisation through lineage became a matter of hegemony amongst the Hispanic kingdoms, and Castile did not hesitate to use all the legitimising mechanisms at hand to support its supremacy amongst the rest of the Iberian Peninsula.²²⁷

²²⁶ Martin, 'Linaje y Legitimidad En La Historiografía Regia Hispana de Los Siglos IX al XIII', 4–5.

²²⁷ Martin, 5.

Castilian hegemony was a reality in the 13th century and came hand in hand with the evolution of the kin-right principle as a manner of succession, especially in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon.²²⁸ In the political context, the figure of Berenguela of Castile, who was introduced in previous pages of this thesis, was essential in understanding the importance of political marriages and lineage strategies. After having her marriage annulled, Berenguela needed to find a wife with an undeniable lineage to marry her son, Fernando, in order to assure his position on the throne of Castile and Leon.²²⁹ Promoted by Berenguela, the *Chronicon Mundi* written by Lucas de Tuy reaffirmed the maternal *agnatio* of Fernando I, which would support Fernando III's rights to the throne. This work was used as one of the main sources of the *Estoria de Espanna*, and its way of using the female *agnatio* fitted the Alfonsine aspirations to the imperial throne. However, whilst the female inheritance had been well established in the kingdom of Castile since the times of Alfonso's father, since the female inheritance was not the norm amongst the majority of medieval European kingdoms, I do not believe the treatment given to the family relations regarding succession would have been as sophisticated as it was in the *Estoria de Espanna* if Alfonso X had been reliant on Fernando III's lineage and not his mother's. As will be seen, by promoting his female *agnatio*, Alfonso X defended his imperial claim not only in front of the Castilians, but also in front of the other kingdoms and institutions. This, together with the established preference of the lineage succession over the election manifested in the pages of *De Rebus Hispaniae* – also one of the main sources of the Alfonsine chronicle – gave Alfonso X a strong Hispanic tradition to follow in combination with the legitimising mechanisms and arguments drawn from the Staufens.

In this way, returning to the two main discrepancies mentioned at the beginning of this section, it can be seen that the evolution of both the possibility of succeeding in the empire not belonging directly to the *linna* – through adoption, or election, for instance – and the paternal character of the

²²⁸ See Chapter 1 “The Historical Events”.

²²⁹ See Chapter 2.2 “Alfonso X and the Staufen Hereditary Empire”, p. 36.

agnatio evolved, in the case of the 13th century Castile, into two of the main pillars in the constitution of the ideological framework regarding lineage in the *Estoria de Espanna*. The first of these was the importance of belonging to the imperial lineage that would emancipate the imperial election from the hand of the papacy, who refused the aspirations of the Learned King; and the second was the possibility of using the maternal *agnatio* to legitimise Alfonso X's claims to the imperial throne after the lineage of his mother, Beatriz of Swabia.

The following section of this chapter will therefore look at the manifestations of these two features within the text of the *Estoria de Espanna* in order to recreate the lineage discourse of the chronicle. The reflections of the *linna* in the chronicle will be analysed from their divine/mythological origins, and the connections between this invented past and Alfonso X will be highlighted. As I will show, in the same way as the Staufens, Alfonso X included himself in the same lineage as Julius Caesar, Aeneas, or even Nemrod: connections to this past are therefore common throughout the entire first section of the chronicle, and are in many cases connected through this idea of the female *agnatio*. Kin connections between succeeding emperors will also be addressed and it will be demonstrated how, in most cases, the closer in kin to the previous emperor, the better the decision for the empire, even if that requires changing the content of the sources.

In sum, the following pages will show how the mechanisms used in the *Estoria de Espanna* secured the kin-right as an element inherent to the *Translatio Imperii*, and how Alfonso X tried to defend the idea that he should be chosen, due to his lineage, in favour of the interests of the empire.

Alfonso X and the importance of the linna

In the context of the *Great Interregnum* and the *Fecho del Imperio*, it has been seen that Alfonso had to find a strong support for his imperial claims: whether to face the papal refusal, or to convince the *Cortes* of the benefits and viability of the imperial cause. As has been discussed in this

thesis, the stronger asset in Alfonso X's ambitions was precisely his kin connection to the ruling imperial family, the Staufens. This section will explore the ways in which this link was exploited, and to what extent history was modified and adapted to fit in the Alfonsine imperial narrative. The new use of the kin-right, already started by the Imperial family with the support of the historiography created by Otto of Freising, would become the major solution to overrun the papal rejection of Alfonso X's imperial election. In addition, I will show how, by promoting this imperial and sometimes divine *linna*, Alfonso X did not only build his argumentation against the papacy, but also created a framework in which, as chosen monarch/emperor, he had a predominant position amongst European monarchs and thus over the Iberian kingdoms. The following pages will explore how the Alfonsine chronicles, and the *Estoria de Espanna* in particular, not only included this idea of lineage within the text itself but also embedded it within the structure of the chronicle. In this way, it is possible to see that evolution towards decline, mentioned in the previous chapter, linked to the idea of *Translatio Imperii*: I have explained how the *imperium* was transferred upon conditions of merit or lineage, which were added to the chronicle via different rhetorical solutions. In the case of the *linna*, the compilers of the work used varied mechanisms of inclusion, characterised by an intended use of the sources, a particular translation, and original additions to the text of the chronicle. These mentions to the belonging (or not) to the imperial *linna* were more or less subtle in the text: direct references to inheritance are common, however in other cases the relations between the emperors need to be analysed to establish their belonging (or, again, not) to the *linna*, and the consequences of said successions.

Fernández-Ordóñez already indicated the relevance of the *linna* in both of Alfonso X's historiographical works: according to her studies, and as was mentioned in the previous chapter, Alfonsine History was structured by the rules of different *sennores*, members of the *linna*.²³⁰ In this way, Alfonso

²³⁰ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 19.

X collected in his chronicles an account of the emperors that have held the *imperium* up to his time, and from its origins. The Learned King justified the divine origin of the empire through a direct link with the first of men created by God, Adam, via the line of Noah and his sons, from whom all the kings of the world descended. Following this idea, Alfonso linked the Staufens, and himself through his mother, to the lineage of Nemrod, the first of the kings:²³¹

“E del linaje deste rrey [Nemrod] vinieron los rreyes de Francia e los emperadores de Rroma e de los emperadores de Rroma e de los rreyes de Francia por linna vino la muy noble señora rreyna doña Beatriz, mujer que fue del muy noble e muy alto señor e sancto don Fernando, rrey de castilla e de Leon e padre e madre que fueron del muy noble e alto rrey don Alphonso, que fuzo fazer estas historias e muchas otras”

(Ms. Omega, f. 236r)

The scholar asserts that Nemrod is linked by the compilers of the chronicle with Saturn, Jupiter’s father, whose fate was linked to the city of Rome. The predestination to the imperial capital made Nemrod the *Sennor* of the Empire and the world, and it would be he who began the *linna* of the Roman emperors who preceded Alfonso X.²³² Shortly after in the *General Estoria*, Alfonso linked this *linna* of Jupiter with the Trojan cycle of Aeneas, the Caesars, the emperors, and the Staufens. The *General Estoria* set the paradigm of a direct kin relation between Alfonso and Nemrod, Jupiter, and Frederick II. On the other hand, the *Estoria de Espanna* also supported these ideas of divine origin of the imperial rule: in this case, by setting the main focus on the Trojan origin of the empire. That can be seen, for example, in chapter 71 of the *Estoria de Espanna*, in which the compilers added a fragment establishing that Rome was populated by Aeneas’ descendants:

por que roma fue depues poblada de los que descendieron del linage de enneas. punnaron ellos e los que depues uinieron de fazer aquella cibdat de roma atal que no fallassen otra que fuesse egual della.

(EE 71, 3)

²³¹ Fernández-Ordóñez, 34.

²³² Fernández-Ordóñez, 34–36.

Aeneas' inclusion in the *Estoria de Espanna* and its relevance were discussed in the corresponding chapter of this thesis.²³³ To sum up, whilst complicated due to geographical reasons, his inclusion in the chronicle was solved through his connection to Queen Dido, and the *inventio* of the foundation of Cartagena. His presence in the *Estoria de Espanna* was essential to support the structural pillar of the *Translatio Imperii*, and both Aeneas and Troy became symbols of connection between the successive emperors and the transfer of the *imperium*. A case of this direct relation and anchoring in Troy is the introduction of Trajan, one of the Hispanic emperors, whose name is said to come from the Trojans since he is part of their lineage:

¶ E dixieron le Traiano por que era
del linage de Troya que uinieron poblar a
aquella tierra. ca el Vlpio trinito auie nom
bre. e por sobre nombre Traiano.

(EE 195, 4)

Again, the compilers seem to have added this information, since in the source for this fragment, Paulus Diaconus's *Historia Miscella*, there were no mentions of Troy. The repetition of the motif and the fact that the information, as in the case of Cartagena, seems to be added, might lead to think of the importance this connection had in the ideological programme of the chronicle.

The relevance of the Trojan theme in the chronicle is confirmed by a third direct mention of Aeneas's lineage in chapter 121, when the *Estoria de Espanna* mentioned that Julius Caesar belonged to the Trojan hero's lineage:

Quando quier que los huessos de Ca
pis fueren descubiertos. mataran sus parientes
a uno
que descendra del linnage de Julo e sera
uengado por mu
chas pestilencias que uernan a tierra de
ytaaia. e esto se
entendie bien que fuera dicho por iulio cesar
quedescendie
del linnage de Julo el fijo de Eneas.

(EE 121, 7)

²³³ See Chapter 4.2 "The Empire and the *Sennorío* in the *Estoria de Espanna*", pp. 92.

This passage, which follows Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, might have also used information from a source later employed in the chronicle to explain the relationship between Julius Caesar and Augustus: Diaconus's *Historia Miscella* (col. 849-850). The source claims that Octavian came "*maternum genus ab Aenea per Juliam familiam*", that is to say that he came from Aeneas through the Julian family. Given that the rest of the sources of the fragment do not mention the Trojan connection whatsoever, the resulting Chapter 121 might constitute a translation or an adaptation of Diaconus's text. The other possibility is that the mention of Aeneas in this fragment was another original addition made by the compilers, in which case Diaconus's text would not have been not used for the composition of this passage.

Nonetheless, the fact is that the *Estoria de Espanna*, in its explanatory nature, established a direct connection between Julius Caesar and Aeneas. The connection between the two rulers can be discussed at length, since the relevance of Julius Caesar in the chronicle should not be underestimated. Julius Caesar, as previously mentioned, restored the *imperium* and brought it definitively to Roman domain. The emperor is a complex character whose portrait in the *Estoria de Espanna* underwent a process of compilation and rewriting that most emperors were not granted. This emperor, as the following chapter will develop in detail, was described with dichotomic features: a fair emperor, but also covetous, Julius Caesar was introduced by his relationship with Pompey and the Civil War. Once Pompey was defeated, there was no better way to legitimise his position in front of the empire than linking his lineage to the Trojan hero, the same way Julius Caesar would have done in reality during his time with the promoting of the composition of the *Aeneid*.

Julius Caesar became one of the characters most commonly used in the *Estoria de Espanna* to legitimise the *linna*: the ruler was not only linked to Aeneas in the past, but also to Alfonso X's time. In Chapter 115, which is one of the most ideologically packed chapters of the entire chronicle, the reasons

for the name Caesar are discussed, and the compilers alluded to a very particular feature of the emperor:

*La segunda razon
dizen que este ninno salio de luego con cabel
los. e con una uedija apartada mientras mas
luenga que todos los otros cabellos. Et en latin
dizen Cesares por uedija. o por
cabelladura.
o por cerda de cabellos. Onde fue tomado desta
palaura Cesaries este nombre Cesar. e llama
do a aquel ninno por aquella cerda con
que nascio.
E segund esto cesar tanto quiere dezir cuemo
el de la uedija o el de la cerda. o el de la crin.
ca por tod esto es dicho cesaries.*

(EE 115, 5-7)

In this chapter, the compilers alluded to the etymology of *Cesar* to explain why the emperor received his name. This second reason, which source is Hugutio's *Liber Derivationum – sub voce 'cedo'* –, explains that *Cesar* meant *Cerda*, bristle, as Julius Caesar was born with a bristle of hair on his chest. This episode might go unnoticed if the connection to its context of composition is not highlighted: it is hard not to see the relation between this *Cerda* and the epitome received by Alfonso X's firstborn, Fernando de la Cerda, inaugurator of the House de la Cerda. Fernando, who was apparently also born with a bristle of hair on his chest, the reason behind the sobriquet, was thus directly linked to the Roman emperor.²³⁴ Furthermore, a simple syllogism would explain that, if Fernando de la Cerda was linked to Julius Caesar, and was Alfonso X's son at the same time, the Learned King was also connected to the conqueror of the Gaul. This can even be extended: if, as has been stated before, Julius Caesar was a descendant of Aeneas, his connection to Alfonso X meant that the Castilian-Leonese monarch would automatically be included in the imperial *linna*. This example is maybe one of the most obvious kin connections between Alfonso and the Roman emperors who belonged to the *linna*, and after this statement, the compiler's efforts focussed

²³⁴ Núñez Bernal, 'Origen Del Linaje de La Cerda', 9; Argote de Molina, *Nobleza del Andaluzia*, Book II, Chapter XX.

on supporting the inner connections of the *linna* and establishing which imperial elections were good for the empire, or led it to *decrecer*.

In order to introduce the favourable successions, a common stylistic solution was to explicitly establish the relation between members of the *linna* that supported this idea of family continuity in the *Translatio*. In this sense, the less the *linna* was mentioned, or the more emperors outside the imperial lineage were crowned, the more evident was the state of crisis and decline of the empire. This was connected to the ideas presented in the previous chapter of the sense of rise, decay, and fall of the empire, that could be felt in the evolution of the Roman section of the *Estoria de Espanna*.²³⁵

Following this idea, in a moment of upsurge of the empire, when it was established by Julius Caesar, the kin relation between the emperor and his successor had to be ensured within the Alfonsine text. In Chapter 124, the compilers claim that, after the death of Julius Caesar, who left no children, his successor was Octavian, his nephew. This justifies Octavian's succession to the empire, but also sets an important principle that should be followed in- and outside of the chronicle: if existent, the successor should be the emperor's first-born, that is to say, his direct son. In the case of the lack of a son, the succession fell onto the shoulders of the closest in kin.

*Pves que Julio cesar fue
muerto assi cuemo auedes
oydo; por que non dexo fijo
ninguno que heredasse el sen-
norio depos el; alçaron los
Romanos en so logar por
sennor de roma e de todas las otras
tierras quel obedecien; a Octauiano que
era so sobrino fijo de su hermana.*

(EE 124, 1)

*Anno ab urbe condita DCCX
interfecto Iulio Caesare
Octavianus, qui testamento Iuli
Caesaris auunculi et hereditatem
et nomen adsumpserat idemque,*

*Et cum his Octavius, adolescens
annos decem et septem, patre Octavio
senator genitus, maternum genus ab
Aenea per Juliam familiam sortitus,
Caesaris nepos, Acciae²³⁶ sororis ejus*

²³⁵ See Chapter 4.3 "Rome, the Culmination of the *Translatio Imperii*", pp. 102-108

²³⁶ The text used by Menéndez Pidal (Diaconus, 'Historia Miscella Ab Incerto Auctore Consarcinata, Complectens Eutropii Historiam Romanam, Quam Paulus Diaconus Multis Additis ... a Valentiniani

*qui postea rerum potitus
Augustus est dictus, simul ut
Romam adulescens admodum
uenit, indolemsuam bellis
ciuilibus uouit.*

(Orosius VI, 18^o, 1)

*filius, quem ille testamento haeredem
reliqueram et nomen suum ferre
jusserat.*

(Diaconus col. 849-850)

This section of the *Estoria de Espanna* follows, according to Menéndez Pidal, Orosius's *Historia aduersus paganos* (VI, 18^o) as a primary source, and Diaconus's *Historia Miscella* (col. 849-850) to complete details, amongst other sources. However, a close look to the text and its translation might indicate that Diaconus's was the text followed primarily.

Diaconus, probably also used for the mention of Aeneas in Chapter 121, as mentioned above, at least as an inspiration, seems to be the direct source for the translation of this passage of the *Estoria de Espanna*. The text of the chronicle used the term *sobrino* to refer to the relation between Julius Caesar and Augustus. In that manner, whilst Orosius's text used *avunculus, i* for this term, Diaconus used *nepos, is*. It is to be considered that even though *nepos, is* was translated in most cases as grandson or granddaughter, the wider use of the term was common in classical and medieval texts: it might also mean another kind of descendant, including a nephew or a niece.²³⁷ From an ideological point of view, the use of Diaconus's text to add information on Octavian's mother and her connection to Julius Caesar might be related to the issue discussed in the introductory section of this chapter, of the female *agnatio*. Octavian's rights for the succession were given to him by his mother, Accia, who was Julius Caesar's sister. Alfonso, who also received his succession rights through his mother, Beatriz of Swabia, might have been interested in stating the maternal *agnatio* of Octavian and, with this information being absent in Orosius, used Diaconus's text. The compilers of

Imperio Usque Ad Tempora Justiniani Deduxit, et Landulphus Sagax, Seu Quisquam Alius Continuavit Usque Ad Annum Christi. 816'.) transcribes *Accire* but, considering it refers to Accia, Julius Caesar's daughter, it might be a mistake of the transcriber.

²³⁷ As can be confirmed by analysing the concordances offered by the Perseus Digital Library on the term *nepos* (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=nepos&la=la&can=nepos0#lexicon> last access 13/08/19), in various occasions the term is used with wider meaning, indicating any kind of descent.

the *Estoria de Espanna*, while composing the beginning of Octavian's rule, decided to abandon momentarily Orosius's text and offer more information about the supposedly kin relation between the two emperors. Within the ideological framework of the chronicle, establishing this relationship was important in order to assure the kin-right succession and the feminine inheritance of the imperial reigns. After this statement, it is clear that the chronicle, as is the case in other Castilian historiographical works mentioned in previous pages, accepted the transmission of the *linna* through the maternal line.

It might seem that during the beginning of the Roman empire, the chronicle set a trend of establishing a clear succession to the imperial *linna*, often based in the female *agnatio*. In this way, at the time of Augustus's death, the *Estoria de Espanna* commences the rule of Tiberius, who is said to be the emperor's nephew. Here, the compilers, in an effort of *inventio*, assumed the closer character of the kinship between the two emperors. The source for this fragment is, again, Paulus Diaconus's text (col. 863-864), which tells how Tiberius is the son of Livia, Augustus's second wife. The *Estoria de Espanna*, on the other hand, states explicitly that Tiberius is Augustus's nephew, son of his sister. This affirmation rooted the imperial succession in the two pillars mentioned in previous pages: the validity of the female *agnatio*, and the assertion that closer the kin the better. This closer kinship might have had the aim of supporting the inheritance in the *Translatio Imperii*, and also the importance of belonging to the *linna* for an effective transfer of the *imperium*. Further, and once again, the maternal *agnatio* was able to legitimise the inheritance.

However, Chapter 204 shows that the female *agnatio* does not have to be maternal: the right to the empire could be given through a female heir to her husband. That is the case of Antoninus Pius who, not connected to Hadrian through any kin – other than adoption, according to the text of the *Speculum Historiale* –, was said to be the son-in-law of the emperor, and therefore, rightful heir to the empire.

*LVego que Adriano fue muer
to; finco por Emperador
de Roma Tito Antonino
que era su yerno. e que auie
el porfijado. e dexado por
heredero dell Jmperio.*

(EE 204, 1)

*Antoninus Pius, erat vir pijssimus, & natura
benignus, qui ab Adriano in filium adoptatus
fuerat*

(*Speculum Historiale* X, 91)

As can be noted, the assertion of family connections is commonly seen in the text of the *Estoria de Espanna*. For instance, in the cases of Nerva and his son Trajan (EE 193, 4), or Severus and Caracalla (EE 247, 3; 248, 1) amongst others. Nevertheless, in some cases, the chronicle needed to emphasise the support of a certain idea and developed said themes of the closer kinship and the maternal *agnatio* in detail, such as in the aforementioned successions at the beginning of the empire. The female legacy explained the inheritance of Augustus and Tiberius and supported their rights to the Roman empire. The situation lived by the Learned King was fairly similar as, upon the absence of a closer relative to Frederick II, Alfonso X became the rightful heir to the imperial crown due to his maternal *agnatio*.

Also, and in relation to the kin connection between Alfonso and the Staufen dynasty, the *Estoria de Espanna* displays the recurrent allusion to the succession uncle-nephew which in some cases, such as the Augustus-Tiberius inheritance, was an original addition of the chronicle. In Chapter 167, Caligula's succession of Tiberius also used this legitimisation. Tiberius, knowing the end of his life was close, had to decide who would be his successor: Tiberius, his grandson, or Gaius – Caligula – his nephew. At the end, Gaius was chosen, even when Tiberius recognised that his grandson was closer in line. The use of translation is also interesting in this chapter. The source for the episode was the *Speculum Historiale* (VII, 128), and the term used for both candidates was the previously used *nepos, is*.

*E yaziendo herodes pre
so adolecio ell emperador Tiberio en la cibdat
de capreas. e por que uio que morrie enuio por
todos los nobles omnes de Roma. e por tibe*

*rio so nieto. e por Gayo su sobrino. [...]
e Gayo el sobrino fu
esse grand mannana poral tio. ¶ E quando
lo uio ell Emperador pesol mucho. mas
encubriolo e dixol. fijo tu eres emperador
pero Tiberio auie mayor derecho de lo seer
mas yo se la uoluntad de los dioses. e se que
eres tu meior pora ello. E desi llamo todos
los ricos omnes e diogelo por sennor.*

(EE 167, 8-11)

*[Tiberius], videns autem se moritutum
conuocatis nobiles imperii sui, et duobus
Nepotibus suis, Caio & Tiberio, [...] Fili [Gaius]
tu succeeds mihi in imperio, quod potius
debeatur Tiberio quasi haereditario iure
tanquam filio filii. Sed ego video te utilem
imperio, noui mentes Deorum, conuocatis
nobiles denunciabit eum Imperatorem.*

(Speculum Historiale VII, 128)

As can be seen here, whilst the source mentions that Tiberius was the grandson, there is no further information about the connection between Gaius and the emperor. The uncle-nephew relation is, then, another original addition to the Alfonsine text. This might indicate a tendency on the part of the compilers of the chronicle to use the uncle-nephew affiliation when the kin between the emperor and his successor was one other than filial. This assures the belonging to the *linna* and, therefore, the correct transfer of the *imperium*. The *Estoria de Espanna* shown to be very careful when asserting kin-relations between rightful members of the imperial *linna*, and sometimes an effort of *inventio* was needed. In the cases when the connection between emperors was not clear or seemed too far, the compilers tended to change the information from the sources in order to offer a clear link, sometimes closer than that stated in the original source. The idea of the *linna* was portrayed in a way that created a sense of continuity along the entire chronicle, as these mechanisms were not exclusive to the Roman section. The first example of this structure can be found long before the beginning of the Roman *Sennorío* and set a precedent in the chronicle that would be followed to a greater or lesser extent in the entire *Estoria de Espanna*. Back to Chapter 9 of the chronicle, the compiler, with the desire to promote the idea of an imperial *linna* that had to be transmitted through inheritance, decided to create a kin-connection between Hercules and his successor in the *Sennorío de Espanna*,

Hispan. As Inés Fernández-Ordóñez points out, the *Estoria de Espanna* changed the tradition transmitted by the source of the episode, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae*:²³⁸

*Desque hercules ouo conquis
ta toda esperia e tornada en su sennorio ouo
sabor
dir andar por el mundo por las otras tierras. e
prouar los grandes fechos que y fallasse. empero
non quiso que fincasse la tierra sin omnes de so
li
nage. en manera que por los que el y dexasse.
fuesse
sabudo que el la ganara. e por esso la poblo
daquellas
yentes que troxiera consigo que eran de grecia. e
puso en cada logar omnes de so linage. e sobre
todos fizo sennor un so sobrino que criara de pe
quenno que auie nombre espan. y esto fizo el por
quel prouara por much esforçado e de buen
seso. e
por amor del camio el nombre ala tierra
que ante
dizien esperia. e pusol nombre espanna.*

(EE 9, 5)

*[...] dimissoque eis Hispano quodam nobili, qui
secum ad adolescentia fuera conversatus ab
eius nomine Hesperiam Hispaniam nominavit.*

(*Historia de Rebus Hispaniae, I, 5, p.10*)

Once again, the uncle-nephew relation was chosen to support the evolution of the *Translatio Imperii*. The recurrent allusions to the *linna* created a sense of continuity in the imperial lineage that was emphasised on several occasions within the text. In Chapter 199, for instance, after the previous chapter stated the connection between Trajan and Aeneas, the compilers also mentioned the relation between this emperor and his successor, Hadrian. This case was especially representative as both the uncle-nephew structure and the feminine *agnatio* were present.

*Depues de la muerte de
Traiano ell Emperador
finco en su logar Adriano
fijo de su sobrina que era
senador e adelantado de
Roma. [...]
E sabet que est Empe
rador adriano fue natural despanna bien
cuemo traiano su tio.*

²³⁸ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 38.

This fragment asserted that Hadrian succeeded Trajan due to his kin: Hadrian was the son of Trajan's niece. The sources, on the other hand, used the term *consobrine*, vocative of the masculine substantive *consobrinus,i*, which means 'cousin': "*Igutur Aelius Adrianus consibrine Traiani filius*" (*Speculum Historiale* X, 69). The *Estoria de Espanna* did not only change the relation from the term *consobrinus*, but also changed the link between the two emperors and claimed a female *agnatio*, instead of a masculine one, through Trajan's niece, who in this account is Hadrian's mother. In this way, the chronicle consistently used both aforementioned mechanisms by making the kin relation closer via the uncle-nephew – now niece – structure, and made use of the female *agnatio* to transfer imperial rights. Such a deep change in the relation between the protagonists of this chapter must have had an explanation within Alfonso X's environment: Beatriz of Swabia remained under the tutelage of Frederick I, her cousin, after her father's death.²³⁹ The queen, also granddaughter of Frederick II, became the female *agnatio* of Alfonso X, the same way as Hadrian's mother, who was Trajan's niece and was protected by him, became Hadrian's *agnatio*. Once these two factors have been established, as can be seen in the fragment, the following mention to the kin between the two emperors is simplified, and Trajan became Hadrian's uncle directly, since the uncle-nephew succession through the female inheritance was assured previously.

These explicit mentions to the belonging to the *linna* of certain emperors were not uncommon in the chronicle but seem to be reserved to particular cases. Primarily, it was used to support the idea of the *Translatio Imperii* and secure the continuity of the imperial lineage, for instance, in the case of the first emperors after Julius Caesar. In addition, this legitimisation also appeared for emperors who, for one reason or another, were important in the account of the *Estoria de Espanna*, whether their rule was judged

²³⁹ See Chapter 1 "The Historical Events", p. 15.

positively or if they were connected to the Alfonsine ideology in any way. In this last group one might include characters like Hadrian or Trajan, whose Hispanic origin and positive rule assessment made their presence in the chronicle essential.

On these inclusions of the *linna* in the text, although the connection uncle-nephew seems to be characteristic of the Alfonsine chronicle, there were also mentions of the direct father-son connection when existent. These are usually less interesting for the aims of this research as they are usually simply translations of the sources, and original additions have not been found. In this sense, the analysis of changes in the narrative such and accentuations of other sorts of inheritance, such as the uncle-nephew structure or even direct and explicit assertions to the disruption of the *linna*, prove more revealing. Therefore, for the aims of this study, the next category whose results are especially ideologically revealing is that of the emperors who are not considered in the imperial lineage for different reasons. These emperors stand out within the historiographical discourse, and usually their rules are not taken in much consideration or are directly valued as negative.

The case of Diocletian is very illustrative in this sense. The emperor, described in the chronicle as cruel, merciless, and jealous, was claimed to have an unknown lineage in the *Estoria de Espanna*.

*Et fue
est emperador diocleciano natural de
tierra de dalmatia. e omne de tan uil
logar que numqua se pudo saber por
cierto quien fuera so padre. ca los u
nos lo tenien por afforrado de Anolino
el Senador; et los otros que fuera fijo de
un escriuano. e assi fue la uerdad. Ca
era fijo de escriuano e afforrado de Ano
lino.*

(EE 295, 2)

Diocletian, according to the chronicle, seized power not because he belonged to the *linna* or because his good deeds meant that he deserved the imperial title, or because his fate was divinely predetermined, but after he was raised emperor by his knights. He had, under the concept of *linna* explained in this thesis, no rights to claim the empire. The compilers, in order to emphasise this fact, do not hesitate to allude to the lack of lineage of the emperor. Whilst the source for this fragment (Diaconus's *Historia Miscella*, col. 900) also mentioned how Diocletian was "*obscurissime natus*" – of obscure nature – the text of the *Estoria de Espanna* emphasised the fact that it was impossible to know the truth. The mention of the vileness of the Dalmatian region is also to be noted, since it is established in the chronicle that some origins are "better" than others. Whilst in the case of Diocletian his precedence only seemed to emphasise his inadequacy for the empire, in the case of the Hispanic emperors – Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian – the treatment is the opposite.

Similar is the approach given to Licinius, who, in his desire for power, went to war against Constantine. He was depicted, both in the *Estoria de Espanna* and in Diaconus's text (col. 909), very negatively: lustful, covetous, proud, and illiterate, amongst other qualities.²⁴⁰

*E fue
este Licinio omne much escasso e muy
cobdicioso. e muy duro e much aspero. e
brauo y esquiuo. e no soffrido en ningu
na cosa. E era muy luxurioso. e querie grand
mal la letradura. e esto era por que lo el
no podie aprender. [...]
prouechoso alos aldeanos
e alos labradores. por que dizie que del linage
dello uinie el.*

(EE 327, 4-6)

It is clear in both the source and the Alfonsine text that in this war, one of the two contenders had imperial rights and the other did not. Licinius did not belong to the imperial *linna* since, as the text explained, his lineage

²⁴⁰ See Chapter 6.2, "*Historia est magistra vitae*", p. 171, 208.

was very far from that of the emperors. On the other hand, in the case of Constantine, his rights to the imperial title were more than explained in the *Estoria de Espanna*. In the first place, as will be discussed in further chapters of this thesis, his conversion made him the paradigm of the Christian emperor protected and promoted by God.²⁴¹ Furthermore, as his belonging to the imperial *linna* was already explained in Chapter 199, when his father Constantius was said to be grandson of Claudius – Claudius II, whilst this is not stated in the chronicle – through his daughter. Again, an example of the female inheritance justifies the succession in the imperial lineage and the *Translatio Imperii*.

*E costancio era nieto dell em
perador claudio fiyo de su fija.
[...] fizieron a Costantio dexar amj
dos a Elena su mugier en qui auie por
fijo a Costantino que fue depues empe
rador e casaron lo con Teodora annada
dell emperador herculio maximiano et
ouo en ella seys fijos hermanos de cos
tantino*

(EE 299, 3,5)

Constantine's lineage was introduced in this chapter in a way that solved any doubts on the adequacy of his ruling period. The fragment, which followed Diaconus's text (col. 901-309) very carefully linked Constantine directly to the list of the Roman emperors and prepared his rightful succession for future chapters.

On the other hand, and in the same line as Diocletian and Licinius, there were emperors who acceded power by force and with no connections to the imperial *linna*. Other than those previously mentioned, Julianus is also a good example. In Chapter 233, the unrightful emperor was said to have plotted the assassination of Pertinax, and used the force to claim the throne.

*E acabo de
los seys meses. uno que auie y que dizien Julia
no. omne poderoso e lleno de toda nemiga
que era sennor de lees; guiso cuemo mata
ron a Helio ell emperador enel palacio del*

²⁴¹ See Chapter 7.2, "God and the Empire in the *Estoria de Espanna*", pp. 205-211.

Capitolino. ¶ E depues de la muerte de Helyo cuemo era aquel Juliano muy poderoso e auie muchos de su parte; metiosse a tomar ell Jmperio por fuerça. e apoderosse del lo mas que pudo. siete meses. mas por que lo tomaua sin grado de los senadores e del pueblo de Roma non fue contado en la linna de los emperadores. nin fue llamado emperador. mas alçaron otro que auie nombre seuero que era muy poderoso otrossi.

(EE 133, 5-6)

Julianus, whose rule was assessed very negatively, was not called emperor, and was not counted in the *linna* of emperors since he took the power unrightfully by force and against the will and election of the senators. Similar was the case of Macrinus, who also seized the throne by force, and against the will of the Roman people.

E [Macrinus and his son] ouieron ell Jmperio cuemo por fuerça mas a pesar que a plazer de los romanos. e por esta razon regnaron poco e non touieron ningunos con ellos. E por ende non pudieron fazer ningunos fechos granados que de contar fuessen

(EE 252, 4-5)

As the fragment indicates, the reason Macrinus and his son ruled for a short period of time is simply because they seized the imperial crown unrightfully: they forced their way into the empire, they did not belong to the imperial *linna*, and they did not count with the support and election of the Romans.

This last factor, the election of the emperor by the Roman people, or in other cases by the Senate on their behalf, seems also to be important to Alfonso X in the narrative, as it was repeated on several occasions throughout the chronicle and was related to the imperial election of 1257.²⁴² Alfonsine imperial ideology, and the *Estoria de Espanna* as a reflection of it, created a dichotomy regarding the balance between the belonging to the imperial

²⁴² See Chapter 1 “The Historical Events”, p. 19.

lineage and the choice of the candidate to the Empire. The election of the succeeding emperor was, according to Alfonso X, not only supported by his inclusion in the imperial *linna* – which still was a definitive factor – but also by certain rules in the election, and most definitely by the merits the candidate had accumulated to contend for the imperial crown. If one of these criteria was breached, the *Estoria de Espanna* would prove that the election was not right, and that the resulting emperor would only ‘decrease’ the Empire. The previous examples of Licinius, Julianus, and Macrinus, for instance, show that by breaking the rule of belonging to the imperial *linna*, their rule would not be counted in the *Translatio Imperii* or, if so, its assessment would be negative.

On the other hand, when the rule breached is that of the direct succession – father-son or, if not possible, the closest in *linna*, such as the many examples of uncle-nephew inheritance – the consequences for the empire were also to be noticed. Such is the case, for example, of the succession Claudius-Nero. In Chapter 174, Nero was elected emperor due to the influence of his mother Agrippina, Claudius’s wife, overlooking Claudius’s son. Nero was also Claudius’s son-in-law after his marriage to Octavia, the emperor’s daughter. If there were not any sons on Claudius’s side, this election would have fitted in the theory of the maternal/female *agnatio*, and Nero would have had rights to claim the imperial throne. Alas, Claudius had a son, Britannicus, who had definitively more rights to the empire. Unlike in other cases, the *Estoria de Espanna* did not try to make the relation between Claudius and Nero closer to justify the inheritance, but it emphasised the wrongful election that led to the awful consequences of Nero’s rule.

*cumplio ell emperador Claudio
 sessaenta e quatro annos que nasciera. e
 adolecio en Roma en sus palacios. e era
 tan enpoder de su mugier Agripina e
 de sus afforrados; que no fazie ninguna
 cosa si no lo que ellos querien e mandauan.
 ¶ E por ende por conseio de su mugier de
 seredo de todo ell Jmperio de Roma a brita
 nico su fiijo. E establecio por heredero e por
 Emperador a Nero que era marido de Octauja*

su fija. e assi fue adelantado ell yerno al
fijo lo que no deuie seer de derecho. ¶ E des que
est ordenamiento fue fecho; murio ell
Emperador claudio. e finco Nero en su lo
gar.

(EE 174, 1-5)

This fragment is explicit in indicating that Claudius's successor should have been Britannicus and that Nero, whilst he belonged to the imperial family, was not the legitimate choice. The consequences of this election were displayed in the following chapters: for instance, Chapter 175, which follows very closely the *Speculum Historiale* (IX, 1), made clear that the character of the emperor changed abruptly. The text of the *Estoria de Espanna* dedicated the following chapters to display his vices and cruelty and offered a very detailed account of the emperor's death in Chapter 181, something previously unseen in the Alfonsine chronicle.²⁴³ As I will develop in the following chapter of this thesis, the chronicle showed how the unfair election of Emperor Nero had negative consequences, since he was not the most rightful candidate. In this case, despite starting his rule virtuously, the character of the emperor shifted and became one of the most ominous emperors of the Alfonsine chronicle, which naturally led to a 'decrease' of the empire.

As mentioned above, the balance between lineage and election was very delicate, and in this respect, there were also examples in the chronicle which showed that, in spite of belonging to the imperial *linna*, some emperors should have not been chosen to rule the empire: for example, an emperor whose vices are known before his rule, but who is crowned, nonetheless. The mistake in this case is not skipping the most rightful candidate, as the case of the succession Claudius-Nero, but not considering the personal features of the candidate for the crown. According to this idea, the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* created a secondary system, also linked to the ideas of *linna* and *Translatio Imperii*, that would also consider the merits of a candidate to be elected. In this way, in order to assure the correct transfer of the *imperium*,

²⁴³ See Chapter 6.2, "*Historia est magistra vitae*", p. 169.

and always within the members of the *linna* – following the aforementioned rules of proximity and female *agnatio* – the qualities of the emperor must be measured in order to assure the worthiness of the candidate and to justify his election within the other members of the imperial lineage. The case of Titus and Domitian is paradigmatic in this sense. In Chapter 190, in which Titus' demise is narrated, the compilers also mentioned who succeeded him in the empire and the reasons of the inheritance. According to the text, which follows the *Speculum Historiale* and the *Chronici Canones*, Titus was succeeded by Domitian, since they were brothers.

Ell emperador Tito auie un hermano menor que el aqui fazie mucho dalgo. e a uie nombre domiciano. e el andaua quanto podie guisando cuemol matasse. e por castigar quel fiziessen; numqua quedaua de punnar enello quanto podie. e Tito sabie lo muy bien. pero numqual quiso matar por ello. ni partir de su companna. ni quiso que fuesse menos onrado que el. mas bien como el primer dia de su Imperio lo fizo equal de si en el sennorio; bien assi mando que lo fuesse dalli adelante. e rogaua muchas uezes adios enporidat llorando. que el mudasse el coraçon a su hermano en guisa quel quisiesse bien.

(EE 190, 2-5)

One might assume that, using the same common sources as the rest of this section, the compilation would have been the same as the case of Nero, for instance, where the compilers translated more than created new content on the election of the ominous emperor. The treatment given to Domitian seems, however, to be more elaborated. In comparison to the sources, the Alfonsine text added the fact of Titus knowing about his brother's flaws, which are ignored due to the emperor's mercy. Titus was even shown praying to God that Domitian's character would change. This passage was completed by the information of the following chapter of the chronicle, also based in the *Belouacensis's* text (X, 11, 37), where in spite of the good deeds performed by

the emperor Domitian at the beginning of his rule, his vices and bad habits were highlighted and introduced the change of rule of the emperor.²⁴⁴

In contrast to the previously discussed case of Claudius's succession, in which the fault in the election system was the infringement of the first-born rule, in the case of Titus, who was not mentioned as having children, the closeness in the *linna* was not the cause of the wrong imperial choice. Domitian was a member of the imperial lineage and thus had the right to succeed his brother in the empire. However, the rule of deserving the empire was the one breached in this case. Following the same structure as the aforementioned Claudius-Nero case, the reasons for the poor choice were explained before the beginning of the successor's rule, and in the same way it is explained that Nero was not the closest in line to inherit the empire, it is then explained how the character of Domitian was already a cause of concern for his brother Titus, even before his death. The unsuitability of the new emperor was displayed as an introduction to the consequences this imperial choice would entail. In this case, the belonging to the imperial lineage was not in itself a guarantee of the correct transfer of the *imperium*: whilst the imperial *linna* remained essential for the succession, the consideration amongst the members of the imperial lineage was subjected to other criteria, such as proximity or the qualities of the candidate. This is where the expositive character of the *Estoria de Espanna*, which justifies the existence and inviolability of an imperial lineage, met the didactic nature of the chronicle, which will be the focus of the following chapter. In this way, the compilers used the text not only as a means of justification for the *Translatio Imperii*, but also as a resource to display the ideal attributes of a good ruler and the consequences of the correct choice in the election of the emperor.

In sum, this chapter has explained how the concept of lineage evolved in the Iberian Peninsula and was received during the rule of Alfonso X, who adopted and adapted it to his Staufen inheritance and his imperial

²⁴⁴ See Chapter 6.2, "*Historia est magistra vitae*", pp. 168-169.

aspirations. In this way, we can see how the particular Iberian circumstances, the relationships between royal power and religious hierarchy, and the evolution of the German kin-right resulted in a legitimisation system based on the importance of lineage, and in this context the imperial *linna* and the possibility of the transmission of inheritance through female *agnatio*, which had precedents in the Castilian scenario but were crystallised during the rule of King Alfonso X. It has also been seen how these two precepts are consistently present throughout the entire *Estoria de Espanna*, in which efforts of rewriting are common when assuming closer kinships to legitimise succession – very commonly under the structure uncle-nephew – and also to demonstrate that the female inheritance is valid in the transfer of the *imperium*. Following these established succession rules, the Learned King also manifested his claims to the Holy Roman Empire since he was, at a certain point, the closest in line for the succession, which he received through the figure of his mother Beatriz of Swabia.

On the other hand, at the end of this chapter and as an introduction to the following pages of this thesis, it has also been discussed how, whilst lineage is essential to the effective transfer of the empire, the election system created in the ideological framework of the *Estoria de Espanna* had another condition subjected to the blood-right: the candidate, other than belonging to the imperial lineage, also must portray a certain set of virtues and steer clear of vices and bad habits. This complex set of conditions that characterise a good emperor was an innovation of the Alfonsine *scriptorium*, and meant a change in the paradigm of succession that had been traditional not only in the Iberian scenario, but also in the universal sphere of the Holy Roman Empire. This system of succession not only provided Alfonso X with the necessary supports for his desired coronation, but also set an important set of rules defying the papal initiative that had been the ruling voice in the previous centuries.

The following chapter, then, will address the second of these rules, the merits of the candidates reflected in the didactic character of the *Estoria de Espanna* as a chronicle that also works in the creation of models to be followed and avoided. In this sense, as I will show, the Castilian-Leonese didactic tradition is complex and draws from the combination of the influences that came from other kingdoms of Western Europe – France in particular – but also from Al-Andalus.

CHAPTER VI.- ROLE MODELS AND OBJECT LESSONS: WHO SHOULD BECOME EMPEROR.

*Los sabios antiguos que
fueron en los tiempos
primeros e fallaron
los saberes e las otras
cosas; touieron que men
guaríen en sos fechos
e en su lealtad. si tan
bien nolo quisiessen
pora los que auíen de uenir; como pora si mis
mos. o pora los otros que eranen so tiempo.
(EE 1,1)*

The pedagogical power of literature: origins of didactic literature in the Middle Ages

I concluded the previous chapter of this thesis by introducing the didactic value encrypted within the text of the *Estoria de Espanna*, exposing the multipurpose character of the chronicle and, more generally, of historiography and literature. Chronicles, in their expositive nature, were the perfect space for complex narrations in which their authors were able to include various genres and purposes. The Alfonsine chronicle, for instance, used its historical account to justify the importance of imperial lineage and stress that the election of the emperor should be made within this *linna*. In explaining the features an emperor should (or, as the case may have been, should not) possess, the *Estoria de Espanna* exploited its didactic character towards the legitimisation of the empire and became something of a *Speculum* – a mirror – in which rulers should find themselves reflected.

The case of the *Estoria de Espanna*, as this chapter will demonstrate, was paradigmatic in the sense that it consolidated previous traditions and created a new account of moral history, in which the limits of its didactic and justifying purposes became blurred. Thereupon, the Alfonsine chronicle established that character was essential in the election of a new emperor and that, whilst lineage was also highly significant, the attitudes and deeds of a candidate should be considered in the deliberation. Following this idea, this chapter will approach the didactic concept in terms of its ability to offer the

reader examples from which to learn, as well as examples of the pedagogical content within the *Estoria de Espanna* itself.

In general terms, the didactic genre has manifested in many different forms, from works devoted to the education of princes to chronicles – the focus of this thesis. I will demonstrate how historiography, as one of the many faces of didactic literature, may be used as a means through which to learn from past events and characters. In chronicles or other pedagogical genres, the lesson learned will always have been adapted and shaped in the process of writing these stories, and thus these chronicles might go hand in hand with didactic or sapiencial literature during the Middle Ages, since these adaptations endow the chronicles with some sort of didactic character, ability to teach. This evolution and conformation of the genre will be key in understanding the ideological input of the *Estoria de Espanna* with regard to the empire, and the ability of the text to disseminate this ideology and indoctrinate the readers into believing and accepting the new precepts defined by the Alfonsine *scriptorium*.

This chapter will begin, as in previous chapters, with an approach to the concept and its evolution – in this case didactic literature – from its origins on the European stage within the first section to the conformation of the Castilian pedagogical model in the latter. As this chapter will show, this pedagogical model was an amalgamation of Western European traditions, the Andalusian influences, and the particular circumstances of the kingdom of Castile and Leon, specifically the rule of Alfonso X. By understanding how this European didactic tradition originated, it will be possible to address the immense amount of pedagogical content that was transmitted from this tradition to the Alfonsine circle. Following this introduction to the origins and evolution of the sapiencial literature in Europe in general, this section will move on to look at the Iberian, and specifically, Castilian stage. The particular evolution of didactic literature in the kingdom of Castile, together with the influences from other traditions, such as Andalusian and European,

will allow me to explain the didactic character of Alfonso X's cultural endeavour and the *Estoria de Espanna* which, as I will demonstrate, represents another reflection of Alfonso X's imperial aspirations.

When looking at the genre of didactic literature from its origins, it is important to pay attention to its relationship with Christianity: as will be seen, the evolution of the genre came hand in hand with the development of the relations between the Christian Church and the European royal families, in terms of who is appropriating the didactic discourse. If this thesis has addressed in previous chapters the importance of concepts such as lineage and *Translatio Imperii* in the dispute between the two powers, this chapter will demonstrate the relevance of control in intellectual matters. In this sense, the following pages will discuss how the process of strengthening of kingship, which has been mentioned previously, was marked by the creation of didactic works that would create a new narrative of power in which the right to be ruler, whilst based on Christian values, was not subjected to the Christian hierarchy.

From the beginning of the Middle Ages, pedagogic literature came from, eminently, Christian precepts. The Church exercised a form of monopoly on culture and the transmission of knowledge, so much so that the word cleric was a synonym of "wise man".²⁴⁵ In this context, the Christian Church received the legacy of Latin literature and was the instrument of its dissemination, first in Latin and later in vernacular languages. The Church therefore controlled the creation and dissemination of culture, and consequently education. From sermons teaching moral lessons to formal education of higher layers of society, clerics and Churchmen created and were in charge of their own doctrinal discourse. It is not surprising, then, that education was ruled by the precepts of the sapiential books from the Old Testament and Patristic texts, led by renowned authors such as Saint Augustine, Saint Gregory the Great, Saint Isidore of Seville, or the Venerable

²⁴⁵ Alvar, 'Prosa didáctica', 86.

Bede, amongst others.²⁴⁶ These authors and the reception of their works were the doctrinal ground for general education in moral matters, and also for the education of rulers. From the moment this didactic literature was be addressed specifically to princes, increasing its pedagogic value, the so-called genre of the *Speculum Principis* was born.²⁴⁷ The genre of the *Speculum Principis* embraced a complete group of works with similar aims and purposes, mainly the education of princes and/or rulers, but did not necessarily indicate that all of them shared the same exact contents or formal characteristics, as I will demonstrate.²⁴⁸

The early origins of this type of literature can be tracked to the Carolingian period, during which the existence of works destined for princes/rulers and their moral, ethical, and political education can be demonstrated. In this sense, Carolingian authors were essential to the upsurge and development of the genre. Alcuin of York, for instance, although he did not compose any specific work on the matter, wrote a long series of letters to the kings around him – Charlemagne and Louis included – in which the emperors’ respect for the Pope was emphasised, for it was the Pontiff who was in charge of conferring the imperial crown.²⁴⁹ On the other hand, authors such as Smardagus of Saint-Mihiel and Hincmar of Reims devoted their literary production to works that discussed matters of the art of ruling, which were widely disseminated in their time and for the centuries to come, massively influencing the European tradition of the *Speculum Principis*.²⁵⁰

During this first stage of maturation for both the genre and the advice for how to rule wisely contained therein, the main orientation of the writings was religious, and the fundamental principle was to replicate on earth the

²⁴⁶ Rodríguez de la Peña, “Imago Sapientiae”: Los Orígenes Del Ideal Sapiencial Medieval’, 19; Palacios Martín, ‘El mundo de las ideas políticas en los tratados doctrinales españoles’, 463.

²⁴⁷ Palacios Martín, ‘El mundo de las ideas políticas en los tratados doctrinales españoles’, 464.

²⁴⁸ Alvar, ‘Prosa didáctica’, 103.

²⁴⁹ Born, ‘The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance’, 589–92; Alvar, ‘Prosa didáctica’, 103. See Chapter 1 “The Historical Events”, p. 14.

²⁵⁰ Born, ‘The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance’, 592–93, 603–4.

hierarchical rule of Heaven.²⁵¹ As with all matters of ideology during this long period of the Middle Ages, this precept is related to the broader sense of the Christian character of society and politics. Thus, as was explained in the previous chapter, the Christian Church, in control of culture and the political theoretical discourse, tried to replicate the same model by which Heaven was ruled.²⁵² As Alcuin made clear in his letters, rulers should comply with the Christian precepts and Church representatives, as they were the essential link between the divinity and the empire.²⁵³ Pedagogical literature was thus composed following these guidelines and was favourable to the promotion of Christian values.

The means and purposes of sapiential literature remained the same until the end of the 11th century and well into the 12th and 13th centuries. During this period, Western Europe underwent two processes that resulted in a diametric change in the conceptualisation of knowledge and its relation to power.²⁵⁴ These two factors are firstly political, with the reinforcement of the monarchical power as a reaction against the papacy; and secondly intellectual, within the many innovations of the so-called Renaissance of the 12th century. Both aspects were drawn together with the crystallisation of this new phase of evolution in Medieval didactic literature and, in particular, the genre of the *Speculum Principis*.

Starting with the political sphere, as stated previously, the Christian Church controlled the dissemination of culture and the political discourse. The peak of this trend of thought came after the reforms made by Pope Gregory VII. These consolidated the hierarchical structure of society by which monarchs and emperors were subjected to the power of the Pope, as the Christian Church was the intermediary between divinity and humanity. This new theory of power provoked a reaction from European monarchs that led to

²⁵¹ Palacios Martín, 'El mundo de las ideas políticas en los tratados doctrinales españoles', 464.

²⁵² See Chapter 5.1 "The blood-right principle", pp. 111-112

²⁵³ Scholl, Gebhardt, and Clauß, *Transcultural Approaches to the Concept of Imperial Rule in the Middle Ages*, 107.

²⁵⁴ Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, viii.

a gradual strengthening of the monarchical authority in order to separate temporal and spiritual power.²⁵⁵ This process, together with the intellectual innovations that I will discuss further in the following pages, resulted in the creation of a new discourse of power and consequently a different mode of instruction for princes. The monarchs/emperors, particularly Alfonso X, benefited from these new intellectual contributions and used them in their attempts to reinforce their power and appropriate doctrinal discourse.

These innovations were forged during the 12th century, when the intellectual revolution allowed for the development of cities, the entrenchment of episcopal schools and the emergence of universities.²⁵⁶ The cultural centre migrated from monasteries to cities, and new social classes emerged in urban areas related to the socio-economical changes also produced during this century. This led to the democratisation of culture and a secularisation of the doctrinal materials, and education in general. In this moment, texts from the Classical past became essential in understanding new intellectual innovations. Roman law, literature, and philosophy renovated the previous scholarly materials, and the work of Aristotle meant a milestone in the evolution of educational texts.²⁵⁷

This intellectual context formed an ideal support for European monarchs in their attempts to emancipate the monarchy from religious power. The rivalry between the papacy and monarchies, already discussed in this thesis, resulted in the need for kings and emperors to establish a separation between the two spheres of power. In other words, they needed to take control of the cultural and moral discourse as well as the education of princes. Such efforts to control the didactic production led to the composition of a series of works that consolidated the genre of the *Speculum Principis*. The authors, whilst still members of the Church, were now based in urban areas and

²⁵⁵ Haro Cortes, *La imagen del poder real a través de los compendios de castigos castellanos del siglo XIII*, 7.

²⁵⁶ Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 358.

²⁵⁷ Palacios Martín, 'El mundo de las ideas políticas en los tratados doctrinales españoles', 465; Haro Cortes, *La imagen del poder real a través de los compendios de castigos castellanos del siglo XIII*, 7–8.

exposed to these new intellectual and political influences; furthermore, in many cases, their works were commissioned by monarchs. The piece that would be considered the model for the genre was the *Policraticus* by John of Salisbury. This work, though not dedicated to the education of a prince but rather of a ruling king – Henry II of England –, became the model of all the subsequent *Specula* composed.²⁵⁸ The bishop of Salisbury introduced new innovations in the treatment of patristic texts and topics extracted from the Bible but most importantly, also included this new set of Classical sources and created a new political discourse. In this work, John of Salisbury explored how these classical influences and cultures were essential for the education of princes/monarchs. In his book IV, the author not only asserted the importance of knowledge for rulers, but also warned against ignorance and its consequences, pointing out that the monarch should be knowledgeable on both men and God’s law.²⁵⁹ In essence, to the bishop of Salisbury, power could only come from God and, therefore, the princes were his representatives on Earth.²⁶⁰ To reinforce these ideas, John of Salisbury made use of classical *exempla* featuring Alexander the Great and the Roman emperors, a mechanism that would be received and replicated by many authors during the end of the 12th and through to the 13th century:²⁶¹ Alfonso X was included in the list of monarchs and intellectuals that followed this theory. The *Policraticus* was received directly, or indirectly, through the texts of authors such as Helinand of Froidmont, who wrote a chronicle for Philip II of France, which contained a treaty on the wise rule of a prince, *De bono regimine principum*. This text was mostly a re-working of John of Salisbury’s work and became a main source for Vincent of Beauvais who, as has been explored in

²⁵⁸ Palacios Martín, ‘El mundo de las ideas políticas en los tratados doctrinales españoles’, 467; Rodríguez de la Peña, “Imago Sapientiae”: Los Orígenes Del Ideal Sapiencial Medieval’, 37.

²⁵⁹ Dubel, ‘Princeps Educatus in the Thought of John of Salisbury’, 13–14.

²⁶⁰ Haro Cortes, *La imagen del poder real a través de los compendios de castigos castellanos del siglo XIII*, 22.

²⁶¹ Rodríguez de la Peña, “Imago Sapientiae”: Los Orígenes Del Ideal Sapiencial Medieval’, 37–38.

this thesis, was one of the principal sources of the first section of the *Estoria de Espanna*, essentially in moral matters.²⁶²

Vincent of Beauvais (1184/94 – 1264) was a Dominican friar known for the composition of the *Speculum Maius*. This author's writings displayed a wide command and knowledge of many different traditions and sources, from well-known ancient texts and patristic authors to the recently translated, and therefore available, works of Aristotle and Avicenna and the knowledge contained in other encyclopaedias such as Isidore's *Etymologies*.²⁶³ In his most famous work, Vincent of Beauvais tried to demonstrate the presence and vigilance of God over all spheres of existence, something that would also be found in the Alfonsine chronicle,²⁶⁴ and thereby created a universal scope. In this sense the *Speculum Historiale*, the third and most extensive part of the compilation, gave the reader an account of universal history.²⁶⁵ The *Speculum Historiale*, within the characteristics of the genre, used the historical account to impart a lesson upon its reader, as the following pages of this chapter will develop in their in-depth analysis of the Alfonsine text.

In addition, surrounding the figure of Vincent of Beauvais, and linked to his close relation with Louis IX of France – who left the education of his sons in the hands of the Dominican friar – a group of intellectuals known as the Saint Louis Group began to congregate, and between them composed various works that could be classified within the didactic genre of the *Speculum*. Notable amongst this group of intellectuals was the figure of William Perault: just as Vincent of Beauvais devoted his *De morali principis institutione* to Louis IX and his son-in-law Theobald of Navarra, Perault also dedicated his *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis* to the Navarran monarch. This brought the influence of this circle of authors onto the Iberian stage, where

²⁶² Palacios Martín, 'El mundo de las ideas políticas en los tratados doctrinales españoles', 468. See Chapter 3.2 "The Use of Sources in the *Estoria de Espanna*", p. 57

²⁶³ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 42.

²⁶⁴ See Chapter 7, "The empire and God".

²⁶⁵ Blair, *Too Much to Know*, 43.

their ideas spread quickly.²⁶⁶ The work of this group of scholars, linked to the mendicant orders and led by Vincent of Beauvais, had a very rapid impact in the Castilian scenario and most clearly in Alfonso X's texts.²⁶⁷ The presence of this work in Alfonso X's collection is proven by its mention in his 1284 last testament, which mention the "*quatro libros que llaman Espejo istorial que mandó fazer el Rey Luis de Francia*".²⁶⁸ This assertion seems to be a direct reference to the four books that comprised Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Maius*.²⁶⁹ The exact moment that Alfonso X's *scriptorium* would have received this work is unknown. One potential option is that the *quatro libros* mentioned above referred to the four *Specula* written by Vincent of Beauvais. If this is the case, the works should have arrived in the Castilian court after 1264, the year of Vincent of Beauvais's death, and when his last *Speculum – Morale* – was added to the compilation. However, as César Domínguez asserts, the mention of the *quatro libros* may have referred not to the four parts of the *Speculum Maius*, but to the four volumes in which the *Speculum Historiale* was traditionally presented. This theory sounds more reasonable and would give an earlier arrival date, in the period between 1244 to 1270.²⁷⁰ It could be possible, with further research, to give a more accurate date if the text from the *Estoria de Espanna* were to be compared to the two stages of composition of the *Speculum Historiale*. In doing so, it would be possible to define whether the *Speculum* arrived in the Castilian court before or after 1258-1259, when the author finished the revision of the three first *Specula*.²⁷¹

However, regardless of the date of these influences, and in particular that of Vincent of Beauvais, the proximity between the aforementioned group of Saint Louis and the Alfonsine sphere is evident not only in the *Estoria de*

²⁶⁶ Palacios Martín, 'El mundo de las ideas políticas en los tratados doctrinales españoles', 471–72; Vincent of Beauvais, *De morali principis institutione*, XXII.

²⁶⁷ See Chapter 3.2 "The Use of Sources in the *Estoria de Espanna*", p. 67.

²⁶⁸ "The four books titled Espejo Istorial, that were commissioned by King Louis of France". Real Academia de la Historia, *Memorial histórico español*, Book II, document CCXXIX.

²⁶⁹ Rubio García, 'En torno a la biblioteca de Alfonso X el Sabio', 550.

²⁷⁰ Domínguez, 'Vincent of Beauvais and Alfonso the Learned', 173.

²⁷¹ Vincent of Beauvais, *De morali principis institutione*, XX; Paulmier-Foucart and Lusignan, 'Vincent de Beauvais et l'histoire du *Speculum Maius*', 100.

Espanna but also in the rest of the works promoted and commissioned by King Alfonso X. There are recurring similarities in the planning of certain ideas and concepts, for example the God-Monarch-Church relationship, which receives very similar thematic treatment in the *Siete Partidas* and the *Setenario*.²⁷² The case of Alfonsine historiography was potentially the clearest use of these influences, especially with reference to the text by Vincent of Beauvais. For instance, the use of *exempla* and moral portraits of emperors resulted in a convenient narration with a didactic purpose, which was used extensively in Alfonso X's *Estoria de Espanna*. It is worth bearing in mind that if the aforementioned early entrance of Vincent of Beauvais's text in the Castilian court and the absence of this source in ms. H are considered, it might be inferred that the use of the *Speculum Historiale* in the chronicle is not the result of the sudden discovery of the source. This leads to the thought that the source might possibly represent an intentional addition to the existent text of ms. H. In its analysis of the text, this chapter will address some of the inclusions of the *Speculum Historiale* and the possible reasons for its use and manipulation in the *Estoria de Espanna*, such the importance of the didactic component. However, further research would be necessary in order to understand the implications of the inclusion of the *Speculum Historiale*, and how it affected the different stages of composition of the chronicle. In any case, what cannot be doubted is the extraordinary influence of these sources, stemming from the ideas developed in the *Policraticus*, which permeated the Alfonsine ideology and gave its character to Alfonso X's texts, in particular the *Estoria de Espanna*.

The Alfonsine cultural production was imbued with all these influences, but the wider case of the Iberian stage is worth to mention, as sapiential and didactic literature in the Iberian kingdoms is not only influenced by this particular chain of sources. As I will explore in the following pages, the Hispanic tradition of didactic literature developed independently from its

²⁷² Palacios Martín, 'El mundo de las ideas políticas en los tratados doctrinales españoles', 216.

very early stages. From the relevant influence of legislative texts that became characteristic in Iberian didactic literature, to the influences of translated texts that arrived from al-Andalus, and finally the aforementioned French influences, the Christian Iberian stage was, in the 12th and 13th centuries, a very active node of encounter for the reception, assimilation, and adaptation of different literary traditions.

As has been asserted in this chapter, the particular character of the Iberian didactic literature emerges from a long evolution that, according to some scholars, can be tracked as far back as the 7th century, when juridical texts started to display the characteristics of the ‘good king’. This influence, crystallised in the *Liber Iudicum*, together with the reflections of Saint Isidore and patristic texts, conceptualised the ideal monarch based on the virtues of moderation and justice.²⁷³ This idea of sapiential literature linked to juridical texts would last into the times of Alfonso X, whose legislative texts resumed the efforts of promoting the desirable characteristics of a ruler through law: The Learned King, in his various legislative works, represented the duties and commitments of the king/emperor to his people.²⁷⁴

However, the didactic purpose in Hispanic literature was marginal to the legal texts until the 13th century. In fact, the first work of didactic literature in Christian Iberia not related to the means and purposes of legislative literature does not appear until the rule of Fernando III, who commissioned the *Libro de los Doze Sabios* for the instruction of his sons.²⁷⁵ And even in the case of King Fernando III there was an interest in the legal codification and reinforcement of the royal power in the different works he commissioned or started to be finished by his son Alfonso X.²⁷⁶ During his reign, Fernando III also felt the need to reinforce monarchical power in the Iberian Peninsula and, in the same way as his European homologues, took

²⁷³ González Criado, ‘La literatura como recurso formativo del príncipe’, 67.

²⁷⁴ See Chapter 2.2 “Alfonso X’s imperial ideology and the reinforcement of royal power”, pp. 42-43

²⁷⁵ Bizzarri, ‘Las colecciones sapienciales castellanas en el proceso de reafirmación del poder monárquico (siglos XII y XIV)’, 39.

²⁷⁶ González Jiménez, ‘Fernando III El Santo, legislador’, 112–13.

over the control of the ideological discourse.²⁷⁷ In this way, he not only granted legal power to the king, but also instructed his son Alfonso X to do the same when the time came. The *Libro de los Doze Sabios* showed Prince Alfonso the features a king should possess and gave special importance to the strengthening of the monarchical power which, as stated in Chapter IV, “*debe el rey ser fuerte y poderoso*”.²⁷⁸ As Bizzarri asserts, sapiential and didactic literature entered the Iberian Peninsula as a means of reinforcing the royal power that needed strengthening, not only in other European kingdoms, but also in Castile.²⁷⁹ Ultimately, King Fernando III found himself in the position of having just reunified the kingdoms of Castile and Leon and needing to prove his suitability as the hegemonic monarch of the Iberian Peninsula. However, it is also important to bear in mind that this fight for hegemony was not only against other Hispanic Christian kingdoms, but as would be the case of his son during the subsequent decades, against the ecclesiastical hierarchy after the Pope’s refusal of Fernando’s coronation as emperor in 1234.²⁸⁰ The *Libro de los doze sabios* proved that the exercise of power was independent from the Christian Church, and offered a new form of didactic narration that, though influenced by the same reasons that motivated other European monarchs, also bore the imprint of the various texts from al-Andalus that were being translated throughout the Christian Iberian kingdoms and especially in Castile and Leon.²⁸¹

These Andalusian influences were a characteristic feature of the Iberian Peninsula due to its particular geopolitical situation. The works translated arrived fairly early in the Christian Hispanic sphere, allowing for the development of a Hispanic sapiential tradition started by the *Libro de los*

²⁷⁷ Haro Cortes, *La imagen del poder real a través de los compendios de castigos castellanos del siglo XIII*, 8.

²⁷⁸ Fernando III, ‘*Libro de Los Doce Sabios o Tratado de La Nobleza y Lealtad. Ed. Digital a Partir Del Manuscrito M - Ms. 92 (=77) de La Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo de Santander*’. “*Should the King be strong and powerful*”.

²⁷⁹ Bizzarri, ‘Las colecciones sapienciales castellanas en el proceso de reafirmación del poder monárquico (siglos XII y XIV)’, 45.

²⁸⁰ See Chapter 2.1 “The Imperium Hispanicum and the Iberian Legacy”, p. 31.

²⁸¹ Foronda, ‘Sociedad política, propaganda monárquica y “régimen” en la Castilla del siglo XIII.’, 70.

doze sabios, which then influenced the subsequent works and adaptations made from the end of the rule of Fernando III and after Alfonso X's coronation. The first of these translations/adaptations was the collection of tales entitled *Calila e Dimna* (ca 1251), translated from Arabic, although its origins can be traced back to Hindu literature.²⁸² This work asserted the importance of the education of kings/princes through culture and the knowledge of classical philosophers, laying the foundations for the early Hispanic genre of the *Speculum* with such features as the relevance of the king's master and the dialectic relation between ruler and philosopher.²⁸³ King Alfonso X continued this task of translation and adaptation, but also gave importance to other traditions such as the aforementioned relationship between juridical texts and didactic literature, traditional in the Iberian context. The Castilian-Leonese king promoted the composition of many different works in which the lines between legal, political and didactic purposes were blurred. Such is the case of *Calila e Dimna*, *Poridat de Poridades* and the *Sendebat*; the *Libro the los Cien Capítulos* and *Flores de Filosofía*; the *Siete Partidas*, the *Espéculo*, and the *Setenario*; as well as the *Estoria de Espanna* and the *General Estoria*. These works might not seem to have anything in common, but all of them, as a matter of content and terms defined and used, promoted the same ideas regarding the functions, obligations, and rights of the monarch/emperor in his relation to the people and to God. These works also created a new doctrinal corpus for princes which used the Classical past and translations, particularly from Arabic sources, to promote the notion of a fair, measured, and wise king.²⁸⁴

According to some scholars, such as Nogales Rincón, this Hispanic sapiential tradition would have evolved around the end of the 13th century, under the rule of Sancho IV, signifying a progressive abandonment of this autochthonous character in favour of influences from other European

²⁸² Gómez Redondo, 'Prosa de ficción', 134.

²⁸³ González Criado, 'La literatura como recurso formativo del príncipe', 71.

²⁸⁴ Haro Cortes, *La imagen del poder real a través de los compendios de castigos castellanos del siglo XIII*, 15–18; Nogales Rincón, 'Los espejos de príncipes en Castilla (siglos XIII-XV)', 134–35.

monarchies, whose didactic literary traditions had enjoyed a strong development during the 12th and 13th centuries.²⁸⁵ However, as has been already explained in this thesis, under the rule of Alfonso X the adoption of these French influences can be identified in combination with the previous Andalusian tradition. It was during the rule of the Learned King when the thread that ran from the *Policraticus* through Vincent of Beauvais made a significant appearance in Iberian didactic literature. The use of treaties such as the *Speculum Maius* – or at least part of it, the *Speculum Historiale* – as one of the main sources for works like the *Estoria de Espanna* showed an earlier implementation of these influences, whilst the previous tradition based on the translation of the works from al-Andalus and the autochthonous legislative doctrine was still standing. Alfonso X, following the steps of his father with the commissioning of works such as the *Libro de los doze sabios*, assumed the task and pushed it to the next level. The Learned King was, then, in charge of the new Castilian-Leonese didactic literature that was born from the two aforementioned traditions: the autochthonous Hispanic literature, the mixture of the early legislative texts and the translations of the works from al-Andalus, and the French influences that continued the innovations of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. The result was this vast corpus of texts that had, in one way or another, a didactic purpose, including the doctrinal value of historiography. In Castilian-Leonese didactic literature, as in the two traditions that conformed it, History is an essential component that goes hand in hand with the doctrinal character of the works.²⁸⁶ *Calila e Dimna*, for instance, based their doctrinal discourse in the dialectic between the monarch and the philosopher, who uses *exempla* from the past to support their lessons. The French tradition also contributed, amongst other characteristics, the use of the historical account to contrapose vices and virtues of different rulers from the past as mirror for the new princes/kings.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ Nogales Rincón, 'Los espejos de príncipes en Castilla (siglos XIII-XV)', 16.

²⁸⁶ Bizzarri, 'La historia como exemplum en los "espejos de príncipes" castellanos', 2.

²⁸⁷ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 40.

The *Estoria de Espanna*, then, as will be developed in depth in the following pages, included all these influences within its text and created a new doctrine that conformed to the aspirations of King Alfonso X. In this sense, the chronicle and the other works promoted by the Learned King appropriated the didactic discourse to support the strength of the royal – in this case Castilian-Leonese – power on the diplomatic stage, and more specifically, in relation to the Christian Church. Whilst the lessons taught and the virtues highlighted in the Alfonsine historiography followed the precepts of Christianity, the ecclesiastical hierarchy did not have any influence in the didactic and moral input of the chronicles. The following section of this chapter will, then, analyse in detail the Alfonsine text in order to connect all these ideas and influences and see their manifestations in the *Estoria de Espanna*.

Historia est magistra vitae: Alfonso X and the appropriation of the didactic discourse

As has been stated previously, the didactic discourse in the Iberian Peninsula and, essentially, Castile and Leon was the result of a balanced mixture of the European doctrinal tradition, led in this case by Vincent of Beauvais, and the influence of the texts translated from Arabic that arrived in the Castilian-Leonese court from al-Andalus. As a consequence, Alfonso X's cultural production, and particularly his historiography, displayed a range of characteristics that showed this dual cultural inheritance from the use of the sources to discursive mechanisms. This chapter will analyse how this new doctrine is embedded in the Alfonsine text, and how history was represented as a *magistra vitae* and a model following, in content and in structure, the principles of the genre of the *Speculum Principis*.²⁸⁸ In this sense, Alfonsine historiography did not hide its didactic character: in fact, this purpose was

²⁸⁸ Fernández-Ordóñez, 40; Poirier, 'Fuerzas y Poderes Sobrenaturales al Servicio del Poder. Los Héroes Del Mito al Exemplum En La Historiografía Alfonsina - Dialnet', 47–48.

established from the very beginning of both the *General Estoria* and the *Estoria de Espanna*. The universal chronicle asserted in its first chapter that “*los fechos de los buennos tomassen los ombres exemplo pora fazer bien*” (GE Book I, 1),²⁸⁹ a clear and characteristic manifestation common in the genre of the *Speculum Principis*. The *Estoria de Espanna*, for its part, introduced the chronicle in manuscript E₁ with a miniature depicting King Alfonso holding a sword and a book – seemingly a chronicle – which is given to his son Fernando.²⁹⁰ This exemplifies Alfonso X’s intention to transmit his knowledge to his son, the prince and future king. The Iberian chronicle also clarifies its doctrinal nature within the text of the prologue:

*Los sabios antigos que
fueron en los tiempos
primeros e fallaron
los saberes e las otras
cosas; touieron que men
guaríen en sos fechos
e en su lealtad. si tan
bien nolo quisiessen
pora los que auíen de uenir; como pora si mis
mos. o pora los otros que eranen so tiempo.*

(EE 1, 1)

These first words of the *Estoria de Espanna* were a didactic statement, referring to all the wise voices that should be heard and learned from. The allusion to the *sabios antiguos* was not only a reaffirmation that the content of the chronicle should be believed, but also worked as a warning to the reader that the lessons learned from the past are essential to the present.

Regarding these readers, as Fernández-Ordóñez points out, the *Estoria de Espanna* was, in its multipurpose character, a doctrinal treaty intended for the education not only of princes, but also of the kingdom’s subjects – including noble families that were able to access the contents of this chronicle by reading or listening to them.²⁹¹ The chronicle would teach them the two basic principles of government: the role of God in temporal affairs, and the

²⁸⁹ *The facts of the good men should be taken as an example of good acting.*

²⁹⁰ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 40.

²⁹¹ See Chapter 3.1 “History and Historiography”, p. 56.

respect for the natural *senhor*, the king or the emperor, whose power had been emancipated from the Christian Church since it was given directly by divinity.²⁹² As I have shown, to Alfonso X – who appropriated the didactic discourse that was traditionally in the hands of the Church – the chronicle was a history of these *sennores*, as its structure reflects. Following this idea, the *Estoria de Espanna* then developed a doctrine through the use of *exempla* set by those essential rulers.

*e escriuieron otrossi las gestas de
los principes. tan bien de los que fizieron mal;
cuemo de los que fizieron bien. por que los que
des
pues uiniessen por los fechos de los buenos
punnassen en fazer bien. e por los de los
malos que se castigassen. de fazer mal. e por
esto fue endereçado el curso del mundo de ca
da una cosa en su orden*

(EE 1, 11)

Therefore, by highlighting the moral traits and deeds of remarkable *sennores*, whilst also using negative models as an example, the chronicle was able to emphasise its character of *magister principum*.²⁹³

Nonetheless, a close reading of the texts shows that the didactic purpose of this chronicle is dual: on the one hand it is used, as mentioned, as a *speculum principis*, and therefore is destined for the education of Prince Fernando; on the other hand, the doctrinal character of the *Estoria de Espanna* also has a justifying purpose, as has been hinted at towards the end of the previous chapter. The moral traits and deeds of an emperor were decisive in their election and coronation. The criteria for the election of an emperor should primarily be his kin, but this ought to be followed by a careful evaluation of the personal traits of the candidate in order to choose an emperor that would promote the growth of the empire. The chronicle exemplified the positive traits a ruler should possess and justifies, as I will demonstrate in the following pages, certain traits of the emperor such as

²⁹² Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La Historiografía Alfonsí y Post-Alfonsí En Sus Textos', 113.

²⁹³ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 42; Fernández-Ordóñez, 'La Historiografía Alfonsí y Post-Alfonsí En Sus Textos', 113.

covetousness. The *Estoria de Espanna* proved that the election of an emperor had consequences, whether positive or negative: the results of electing, for instance, an emperor who did not belong to the *linna* were therefore displayed in detail.²⁹⁴

The compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* did not hesitate to elaborate upon the punishment deserved by those emperors whose actions or attitudes led to the ‘decrease’ of the empire, and in this sense showed that some vices were more forgivable than others, that some actions had justification, and that some elective principles, such as those described previously, could not be surpassed. One of the clearest displays of this pedagogical and ideological purpose is the introduction of the Civil War between Pompey and Julius Caesar in chapter 81:

*Mas
agora contaremos de los fechos que
amos estos principes fizieron daqui
adelant sobre que ouieron guerra
e lidiaron muchas uezes. ellos
e los otros cibdadanos de Roma
por las razones dellos. e de los fechos que ellos
fizieron por las otras tierras; diremos ende
algunos. Lo uno por que fueron amos sennores
de las espannas pero que en sennos tiempos.
Lo al por que uienen y razones en que puede
aprender quien quisiere exiemplos de castigos
E en tod esto departiremos de los fechos de las
espannas en sos logares o acaecieren.*

(EE 81, 5-8)

This fragment was, according to Menéndez Pidal’s study, taken from Jiménez de Rada’s *Historia Romana*. However, the rewriting effort seems major, and the mention of punishments and the educative potential of the text was an addition made by the compilers: this exposed the intentionality of the didactic nature of the text. This fragment on the Civil War was, as Fraker points out, one of the most obvious uses of the instructive mechanisms shown in the *Estoria de Espanna* for it illustrated the dangers of power and became a political lesson²⁹⁵. The treatment of this episode was essential, as I

²⁹⁴ See Chapter 5.2 “The importance of the *linna*”, p. 118.

²⁹⁵ Fraker, ‘Alfonso X, the Empire and the Primera Crónica’, 97.

have explored in previous chapters, as it turned out to be one of the two episodes in Roman history that did not have a heavy Hispanic setting but were nonetheless added to the chronicle.²⁹⁶ This showed that the story of both contenders must be relevant to the development of the chronicle and/or to the ideological input behind. As will be seen in this chapter, moral depiction of emperors, an inheritance from the tradition of Vincent of Beauvais, was quite consistent on most occasions and, similarly to the French examples, offered a contraposition of vices and virtues that contributed to the final valuation of the rule of any given emperor. Usually the traits were clear, and the more vices as ruler had, the worse an emperor he was considered, whilst the more virtues highlighted, the more he contributed to the growth of the empire. The case of Julius Caesar is worth mentioning separately, as its complexity seems to have other reasons than just the stylistic.

Julius Caesar's account commenced in Chapter 80, when Pompey returned to Rome after defeating Sertorius and finishes in Chapter 122 with his death. This means that 42 out of the 371 chapters from the beginning of the chronicle to the end of the *Sennorío de Roma* are devoted to the figure of Julius Caesar. That is 10.78% of the chapters, and an even larger proportion when only the chapters of the Roman *Sennorío* are taken into account. This percentage, considering the long list of rulers/emperors depicted in this section of the chronicle, seems relevant and might be linked to the fact that Julius Caesar was the first ruler who, according to the *Estoria de Espanna*, held the title of Emperor of the Romans. These 42 chapters illustrated the importance of this character within the larger scheme of the chronicle and explained the digression from the Spanish account during the Civil War and later in the imperial section mentioned by Fraker.²⁹⁷ The reasons for the start of this conflict are stated in the text on more than one occasion, as a warning to the reader to avoid such negative behaviours. For instance, the chronicle states in Chapter 80 that the reason for the beginning of the war was,

²⁹⁶ See Chapter 4.3 "Rome, the culmination of the *Translatio Imperii*", pp. 96.

²⁹⁷ Fraker, 'Alfonso X, the Empire and the Primera Crónica', 97.

precisely, the discord between Julius Caesar and Pompey, resulting from jealousy and pride; furthermore, in Chapter 99, covetousness and pride are stated as the main causes for the war.

*E la discordia e la mal querencia
començada dantes entrellos. e encubierta fas
ta alli; daqui se començo a descubrir por que
ouieron despues a lidiar e a contecer entrellos
cuemo contaremos adelant. auiedo entre si
debdo por que non deuiera seer este mal ni este
desamor si no por enuidia e soberuia
que uencen
todas cosas o ellas an poder e bueluen tales
fechos cuemo este.:*

(EE 80, 28)

*E pues que se fueron connociendo
e uieron quamanno era el debdo entrellos. en
tendieron que aquella batalla cibdadana era e
mas que cibdadana. e que tal nemiga com
aquella
cibdadanos de roma la mouien con soberuia
e cobdicia. e ellos la farien.*

(EE 99, 31)

In terms of the composition of these fragments, the rewriting effort seems considerable: the passage from Chapter 80 was taken from Jiménez de Rada's *Historia Romana* (Chapter X), but also, as the analysis of the sources has pointed out, from Velleius Paterculus (II, 44); the text from Chapter 99 is noted in Menéndez Pidal's list as coming from Lucan's *Pharsalia* (IV, 130-205), which would be also used for Chapter 102 in which the chronicle states how Petreus and Afranius already considered that the causes of this war were rooted in covetousness and pride:

*E por tan grand
nemiga tienien ellos aquella guerra e la ba
talla que auien a fazer. por que era con cobdicia
e con soberuia. que se touieron por omnes de bu
ena uentura. en auer razon de non seer y.*

(EE 102, 47-48)

In all cases, the mention of these reasons and the emphasis on the origins of the conflict seemed to be an effort by the compilers to highlight the didactic character of the chronicle: jealousy, covetousness and pride are depicted as the main causes of the catastrophes of the Civil War, which, as

the chronicle highlighted in Chapter 92, led to a ‘decrease’ of the empire, as was explained in previous chapters.

E la contienda que Julio cesar auie con ponpeyo; con todos la ouo dalli adelant. por que depues ouieron a lidiar ell e ponpeyo en los campos de emacia. assi como diremos adelant. E fizieron se despues del los otras lides muchas por esta razon entre los cibdadanos de roma. assi cuemo lo cuentan las estorias. e fue por ello muy quebranta do e muy abaxado el sennorio dell Jmperio de Roma. ¶ Sobreste crescer e minguar dell Jmperio de Roma departe la estoria de orosio en este logar. e diz assi. Que ell estado dell Jmperio de Roma la forma troxo de la grand mar. que numqua queda de crecer e min guar. e que assi fizo ell Jmperio de Roma. que siempre crecio e mingó e numqua souo en un estado. E desto da orosio estos exiemplos e diz assi. Que quando tomo ponpeyo las espan nas. e el consul Lucollo e este ponpeyo a Asia. E Julio cesar las francias; que crecio ell Jmperio de Roma fasta los cabos de los terminos

de la tierra que muy pocol ende finco que no fue todo del so sennorio. Del miguar dize otro si que mingo mucho ell Jmperio de Roma quando mataron a Marco crasso en torquia echandol por la garganta ell oro retido. e dziendol. doró as set e oro beue. E otro si quando se fizieron las lides de Julio e de ponpeyo. e las de los otros cibdadanos despues daquellas. en que se perdieron tantas yentes; que no ouieron cuenta. e murio por ello ponpeyo; que era princep de tan alta guisa. e otros principes e omnes onrados de Roma e do tras muchas tierras del so sennorio. E de sta guisa crecio e mingó ell Jmperio ell ell Jmperio de roma. fasta que es uenido el so estado a aquello en que oy esta.

(EE 92 14-22)

This fragment is, in itself, proof of the use of the authority from the Classical authors in order to develop didactic argumentation; in this case, favourable or unfavourable actions towards the ‘growth’ of the empire and the consequences of such acts. According to the *Estoria de Espanna*, the Civil War between Julius Caesar and Pompey provoked a ‘decrease’ of the empire and, stating Orosius as main source, the chapter develops the idea of ‘increase’ and ‘decrease’ of the empire explained in previous chapters of this thesis, which constitutes a major effort of rewriting and addition by the compilers of the chronicle. This concept works, therefore, with a dual purpose: it not only shows the consequences of war, and especially civil conflicts, but also how the empire literally grows after the inclusion of new territories, up to its position during the rule of Alfonso X. Could it also mean that the crowning of the Learned King as Holy Roman Emperor, also in command of the Castilian-Leonese kingdom, and in a hegemonic position in the Iberian Peninsula,

would have resulted in an ‘increase’ of the empire and a return to its former glory under Roman control?

Nevertheless, the richness of ideological input in this fragment does not end there: it is also a lesson of government in the form of punishment, establishing that the fate of Pompey was the result of his actions, regardless of the many virtues he had as a ruler. This chapter highlights the importance of the addition of the digression on the Civil War, asserting the relevance of the didactic factor in the *Estoria de Espanna*. After this episode, this pedagogical character was systematised and clearly embedded in the text, in the form of the emperors’ moral depictions. The passage also hints at the complexity of the treatment of characters in this episode, as it mentions Pompey’s punishment but not that of Julius Caesar, which was only acknowledged later in the chronicle. Both contenders in the Civil War received a very particular treatment from which it is possible to infer a moral and a political lesson, also related to the aspirations of King Alfonso X.

Pompey, who was said to be punished in the previously mentioned fragment of the *Estoria de Espanna*, received a complex treatment in the chronicle. He is named emperor (EE 87, 9), but he is not totally considered the first emperor of the Roman *Sennorio*, since he was not part of the imperial *linna* essential for the transmission of the *imperium*. However, his presence in the chronicle, as well as his contraposition to Julius Caesar, who was considered the one to finally establish the empire in Rome, are essential in understanding the origins of the imperial institution. His successes after defeating Sertorius form the introduction to the section on the Civil War and the intervention of Julius Caesar. In fact, the character of Julius Caesar prior to his role as emperor is positioned as the antithesis to the actions and deeds of Pompey. Under the epithet of *El Grande* – the Great – Pompey was depicted in a positive way in several fragments of the *Estoria de Espanna*, only to be punished at the end of his life in Chapter 92. For example, in Chapters 82

and 92, Pompey is considered to be *de alta guisa* – well mannered – and in Chapter 84, his skills in war and strategy are praised; his efforts in pacifying the *Espannas* are worth mentioning in Chapters 80 (19) and 83 (27); and he was even said not to be covetous at all in Chapter 93 (8-10), contrasting with the depiction of Julius Caesar. But, as mentioned in the corresponding chapter, it was impossible for Pompey to assure the transfer of the *imperium* since he did not belong to the imperial *linna*, and the fact that he is finally defeated by Julius Caesar rendered Pompey a transitional character within the Alfonsine chronicle. His appearance in the *Estoria de Espanna* was essential, but mostly as a counterpoint to Julius Caesar, who was the true protagonist of the episode and who would settle the imperial institution in Rome once and for all. Having also been a participant and a cause of the Civil War, in spite of the positive considerations and his help towards the ‘growth’ of the *Sennorio de Roma*, the compilers of the chronicle thus deemed it necessary to punish Pompey, just as they did in later chapters with Julius Caesar.

The transitional nature of Pompey as a character is also shown in the fact that it is he against whom Julius Caesar grows his sinful characteristics:

*E Julio cesar ueyendo el recebimiento que
fazien a ponpeyo. e cuemo yua a el e a los
otros romanos much adelante en el poder del
Consulado; ouo ende grand enuidia e pesol ;
muy de coraçon. e andaua ya discordia e mal
querencia entrellos. pero encubierta aun. e
auien la començada pieça antes sobre tales
razones cuemo estas e non se podien soffrir
ya. Onde diz lucano en el libro que fizo desta
estoria. Destos dos principes non puede soffrir
ell uno all otro. Ni el Cesar a ponpeyo que fue
primero en el sennorio. Ni ponpeyo al Cesar
que era so par. E la discordia e la mal
querencia
començada dantes entrellos. e encubierta fas
ta alli; daqui se començo a descubrir por que
ouieron despues a lidiar e a contecer entrellos
cuemo contaremos adelant. auiendo entre si
debdo por que non deuiera seer este mal ni este
desamor si no por enuidia e soberuia
que uencen*

*todas cosas o ellas an poder e bueluen tales
fechos cuemo este.:*

(EE 80, 22-28)

*Ponpeyo
luego que este mandado llego las espannas de
xo las assessegadas cuemo lo auemos dicho con
sos fijos e sos cabdiellos e fuesse apriessa e pas
so a Asia. e de todas estas bien andanças de
ponpeyo crecie mas a Julio cesar la enuidia
e la braueza. de seer contra el.*

(EE 83, 27)

The depiction of Julius Caesar, as can be inferred from the fragments, was especially complex. As mentioned above, Caesar's story occupies a significant number of chapters in the Roman section, and it is possible to note an important difference in the depiction and consideration of the emperor between his role in the Roman Civil War and later, once he became emperor. In this first section of the account, Julius Caesar's personality is opposed to Pompey's, creating the image of a totally different ruler to the one seen in the imperial stage of his life. In fact, the two episodes – Caesar's ascension to the throne and his imperial rule – were very well differentiated, in two blocks. From Chapter 80 to Chapter 109, the *Estoria de Espanna* narrated the discord and conflict between both generals, whilst Chapters 115 to 121 were devoted to his rule as emperor. The separation between the two sections was emphasised by the interim created between Chapters 110 and 114, in which the new order of Rome and its institutions was developed.

In this sense the first section of Julius Caesar's account seemed to be marked by the presence of a particular sin, whose inclusion in the *Estoria de Espanna* is not exclusive to this passage but carries a particular weight within it: the *cobdicia*, encoded in terms of covetousness or greed. In general, the use of the term *cobdicia* and its related terms seemed to receive a very particular treatment in the *Estoria*.²⁹⁸ Out of the 97 mentions of the sin in the

²⁹⁸ For more information on this topic see Caetano Álvarez, 'La Cobdicia En La Estoria de Espanna: ¿Magister Principum et Vitae o Justificación?'

chronicle, 61 were contained in the *Sennorío de Roma*, resulting in a 62.88% of the mentions, and if only manuscript E₁ is taken in account, the percentage raises up to 98%. This already represents *cobdicia* as a particularly Roman feature in the chronicle, but it is also possible to see how these mentions were condensed in clusters across the narration. The cluster that comprises the chapters of the Civil War up to the imperial rule of Julius Caesar is one of the most visible, with 17 mentions between Chapters 80 and 109. The emperor was portrayed as a good general in this first section of his history, but his covetousness became his most defining feature, again in opposition to Pompey's virtues. It is even mentioned in Chapter 93 that the reason for Julius Caesar's demise would be, precisely, this *cobdicia*.

*E Julio cesar fue omne que quando enpaz esta
ua e no andaua en alguna guerra. e en algu
nos grandes bollicios o contiendas; non folga
ua nil cabie el coraçon en si. e era muy cobdj
cioso de sennorear. e la cobdicia a demas en un
tiempo o en otro. danno aduxo. e assi fizo a
el. ca por ello murio depues. assi cuemo con
taremos adelant.*

(EE 93, 8)

However, neither the *cobdicia* nor any other vice were mentioned in Chapter 121, which narrates the emperor's death. In fact, there were no mentions at all of Julius Caesar's vices in the section covering his imperial rule (EE 115-121), but several praises of his virtues. In this way, the final assessment of the emperor's rule was positive, in the sense that he was the founder and settler of the imperial government of Rome and the restorer of the *Translatio Imperii*. Here, then, the reader must deal with the contradiction between this final valuation of Caesar's rule, but also the covetousness that was depicted as characteristic prior to his coronation as emperor.

Regarding this juxtaposition, the connection between vice and punishment was clear in the first section and guided the reader/listener of the chronicle: this didactic element, although absent in the second section,

could be inferred from the first. However, the second lesson to be learnt from this fragment must be extracted from the relation between the two passages of Julius Caesar's presence in the *Estoria de Espanna*. This might be the moment in which History, acting as a *magistra vitae*, offered not only a lesson in ruling, but also a justification for the forgiveness of a particular sin or vice: Julius Caesar is shown to only have one vice, *cobdicia*, related to his position against Pompey and to his will to rule the entire Roman *Sennorio*. This sin was the cause of his death, as asserted in Chapter 93, but was forgotten in the final assessment of the emperor's rule. Julius Caesar's covetousness was highlighted only during the process of accession to the empire, and it was needed in order to restore the *imperium* and secure the *Translatio Imperii* by founding the Roman Empire. Therefore, whilst he deserved (divine) punishment for his sin, this feature should not be taken into account at the moment of evaluating his rule as emperor. One might infer from this lesson, displayed within the structure of the episode, that in this case covetousness could be equated to ambition, and this ambition was necessary for the 'growth' of the empire. Could this relate to the position of Alfonso X during his pursuit of the imperial crown? As discussed, the Learned King's efforts to gain the support of the Castilian-Leonese *Cortes* was one of the most difficult endeavours undertaken during the *Fecho del Imperio*.²⁹⁹ Considering that the chronicle's audience was not only princes but also the kingdom's subjects, other than the pedagogical purpose of the chronicle a justifying function can also be inferred.³⁰⁰ Accordingly, the *Estoria de Espanna* would use the dual depiction of Julius Caesar as a display of how covetousness, when encoded in terms of ambition, was sometimes a necessary quality in a ruler whilst still worthy of punishment. Both Julius Caesar and Alfonso needed to be ambitious – covetous – in order to conceive the restoration of the *imperium* during their respective rules.

²⁹⁹ See Chapter 1 "The Historical Events", pp. 19-22.

³⁰⁰ See Chapter 3.1 "History and Historiography", p. 56.

There is another similar case in the chronicle in which covetousness, one way or another, is dismissed in the assessment of an emperor's rule as it balanced his virtues and his function as restorer of the empire: Vespasian.

*dell Emperador Vespasiano. por que se des
cubriera por muy cobdicioso. e a grand
derecho fue reptada la cobdicia en el. por
que la recibio en si omne que era cumplido
de todas otras buenas costumbres. e en
qui no auie ninguna mala si no aquella
tan sola miente.*

[...] e tar

*daua ^{en} mucho de soltar los presos quier
fuessen en culpa quier sin culpa. e tenien
algunos que lo fazie con cobdicia de leuar
algo de todos*

(EE 188, 2-4, 8)

The inaugurator of the Flavian dynasty was attributed with the vice of *cobdicia* in Chapter 188. However, it was asserted that this was his only sin and that he had many other virtues. Contextually, Vespasian followed Nero to the throne of an empire in need of restoration after the great 'decrease' suffered during the rule of the last Julio-Claudian emperor. The covetousness of Vespasian is that of wealth, needed in this case to restore the empire's treasury, which had been diminished by Nero. In fact, the following fragment of Chapter 188 mentioned several fiscal reforms undertaken during Vespasian's rule in order to replenish the state coffers.

*E por esto que fazie dizien algu
nos que era escasso de natura. mas los
mas dizien que no. e que lo fazie con men
gua. por que no fallara tesoro ninguno
enell Jmperio. ca lo auien todo gastado
los otros emperadores en sus uandos.
e en sus guerras.*

(EE 188, 11)

In this way, Vespasian's *cobdicia* was justified by the need to restore the empire that Nero had weakened: his tax measures were thus necessary in order to restore the wealth of the empire. As in the case of Julius Caesar, this anomaly could also be extrapolated to fit Alfonso X's context: the need to restore the *imperium* within his person justified the ambition he was blamed

for. The same way Vespasian was permitted to collect vast amounts of wealth to restore the empire to its state before Nero's rule, Alfonso should be permitted to collect the necessary funding for his *ida al imperio*, which would work towards the 'growth' and reinforcement of the imperial institution.³⁰¹ The chronicle thus served not only as a guide of conduct, but also a way to justify certain behaviours in the practice of governance.

Vespasian's moral depiction in the *Estoria de Espanna* entered the previously systematised means of depicting emperors used by the compilers after the rules of Julius Caesar and Augustus, which draws directly from the aforementioned French influences led by Vincent of Beauvais. Accordingly, and emperor after emperor, the chronicle devoted some lines to each character in order to display and develop a moral depiction based on the *Speculum Historiale* in most cases, but also appealing to Diaconus and Orosius's texts. This last resort tended to occur when the *Belovacensis* failed to give a moral description, or when the chronicle is more focused on relating the account of deeds and anecdotes of the less relevant emperors included in the *Estoria de Espanna*. Nevertheless, as previously discussed, the later addition of Vincent of Beauvais' work to the composition, which is proved after the analysis of ms. H, is essential to evaluate the moral input of the chronicle.³⁰² The many reasons for the use of this new source should be discussed in further research, considering different parameters and research questions: the debate about the moment of entrance of the work onto the Iberian stage, which of the versions of the *Speculum Historiale* was present in Alfonso X's library at the time of composition of the *Estoria de Espanna*, and whether or not the work was known before the chronicle was conceptualised and written. Nonetheless, what can be asserted is that the inclusion of Vincent of Beauvais's text provided the chronicle, and

³⁰¹ See Chapter 1 "The Historical Events", p. 18.

³⁰² See Chapter 3.2 "The Use of Sources in the *Estoria de Espanna*", p. 70-71.

particularly the imperial section, with the moral and didactic character represented by ms. H. in the stage of composition.

The systematised use of such moral depictions, with Vincent of Beauvais as the main source, created within the chronicle a succession of portraits of the emperors. The narrative created an opposition of vices and virtues, resulting in a certain valuation of the rule of each emperor. These conceptions were often related to the reiterative idea of ‘increase’ and ‘decrease’ of the empire, constructing a sense of decay and decline up to the end of the Roman section, as the depictions become more succinct and the *Speculum Historiale* gradually fades into a marginal source. In the case of some emperors, this relation between ‘wrong’ values and the ‘decrease’ of the empire was more obvious than in others, whilst the tendency remained the same throughout the entire Roman section. In this way, characters like the emperors Caligula, Nero, or Domitian, amongst others, were portrayed as the paradigm of the bad ruler, since they were attributed a long series of vices, going from lust and gluttony to cruelty and pride. The more vices were highlighted in the moral depiction of an emperor, the worse the rule was considered, and the worthier of punishment they were.

Following this, emperors Caligula, Nero, Vitellius and Caracalla were accused of being lustful, and the chronicle gave in some cases a detailed account of their perversions:

E tan sin razon fue la luxuria de gayo que yogo con todas sus hermanas. e al cabo mato las diziendo les que se yazien con otros. e que eran en conseio de matar a el

EE, 169, 4 Caligula

E des que fue en Roma assessegado en el Jmperio diosse a grand luxuria e a toda crueza.

EE, 184, 24 Vitellius

Luego de comienço fue gloton. e de grand luxuria. e muy cobdicioso. mas iualo comencando poca poco e encubierta mentre. assi que cuyda uan los omnes que lo fazie con yerro de mancebia.

EE, 175, 32 Nero

E ala uestidura otrossi llamaron la Antoniana del nombre del. e fue omne de tan grand luxuria que tomo por mugier a Julia que fuera mugier de su Auuelo.

EE, 248, 5 Caracalla

Lust was one of the attributes often given to the worst considered emperors and those whose deaths were more extensively narrated. This is the case, for example, in the aforementioned death of Nero, to which the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* dedicated a complete chapter in order to emphasise the punishment for his many sins. However, lust did not seem to appear on its own when used to qualify an emperor; on most occasions lust was just one of the vices included in a list of flaws of said emperors. A common companion to lust was cruelty, which was frequent in the depictions of several emperors, even those whose rule was not considered as negative as those previously mentioned. Cruelty is attributed to Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Vitellius, Domitian, and Diocletian, amongst others, but their rules were not always considered negative in the final assessment, since in some few cases the balance between vices and virtues turned to be favourable.

*E a grandes e a chi
cos a todos semeiaua que era cruel por natura. e que auie grand sabor de matar omnes. e esto por que mato a Apio Silano su cossuegro.*

EE, 170, 21 Claudius

E fue este emperador muy piadoso a todos e bien quisto por sus fechos. Mas pero con tod aquello fue tan brauo e tan cruel castigador de la orden de la caualleria que fallamos que unas legiones de caualleros que se yuan aluoro çando entre si. todas entera mientras las despuso de la onra que an los caualleros.

EE, 257, 6-7 Alexander Severus

*fue muy mas brauo e mas cruo de lo que ante era. [...]
E bien cuemo auie grand la cru eza; bien assi auie grand arteria con ella por saber guisar de fazer mal aqui qui siesse.*

EE, 192, 7,9 Domitian

Mas era muy cruo; et cumplie muchas vezes su cru eza; en aquellos de qui auie embidia. ca mataua muchos dellos; et a muchos dellos tollie quant auien.

EE, 295, 4 Diocletian

In the case of Caligula and Nero, their cruelty only emphasised the unsavoury qualities of their rules, so much so that the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* devoted the beginning of Chapter 179 (1-13) to Nero's cruel actions and nature. For other emperors attributed with cruelty, besides other

vices, this characteristic is also used to emphasise their lack of those qualities necessary to rule. That is the case, for example, of Diocletian, who was depicted as cunning, jealous, and cruel (EE 295, 3-4), but his cruelty was also linked to the persecution of Christians (EE 306, 1-3). His actions were led by these sins, and to reiterate his bad habits, the chronicle also mentions that he was overly proud and wanted to be adored as a God (EE 301, 1-3). The combination of the cruelty and these other vices resulted in the punishment and demise of the emperor. However, in contrast, cruelty was not always the sign of a negative rule. Such was the case of Emperor Claudius, whose cruelty was balanced by his other virtues: he was said to be wise and merciful, and also humble since, according to the chronicle, he did not want to be called emperor (EE 170, 20). In this case, in spite of his cruelty, Claudius's rule was considered, in comparison to the governance of his predecessor – Caligula – and his successor – Nero – a breath of fresh air for the *imperium* and it was not assessed as negatively as his relative's rules. This shows that some vices are considered more negatively than others; gluttony, for example, also appears attributed to some emperors, but as a rule only qualifies as negative when related to other sins. In sum, in the *Estoria de Espanna* the accumulation of vices and sins was one of the more defining features of a bad rule.

However, if there is a sin committed by certain emperors that tarnished the image of their rule in spite of any other qualities, that is pride, referred to in the Alfonsine text as *braveza* and usually also linked to some kind of cruelty. The sin of pride is considered by most of the lists of deadly sins as the worst of the flaws, since Eve's original sin was that of pride and therefore it was the root of all others.³⁰³ In this sense, the *Estoria de Espanna* is systematic in attributing this sin to unworthy emperors and its opposite, humility, to emperors that deserved the imperial crown. Returning to the

³⁰³ Carrasco Manchado, 'Sentido del pecado y clasificación de los vicios', 61–62, 68.

previous example, in the comparison between Diocletian and Claudius regarding their cruelty, the defining difference was precisely the lack of pride of the latter, whilst the former was attributed with this sin. Pride was represented in the chronicle as the ultimate sign of a bad reign. Amongst the emperors attributed with this flaw, one might highlight the aforementioned Caligula, Nero, and Caracalla, whose lists of vices continue to grow, thereby furthering the depiction of their rules as a model to be avoided by future rulers; but there are also other rulers attributed with pride during the exercise of governance, such as Otto, Aurelian, Maximinus, Licinius, or even Constantine himself, after he converted to Arianism – which, as I will detail, caused his fall.³⁰⁴

Amongst these cases, that of Aurelian displays a particular element of pride that, whilst common in the general depiction of other emperors, was distinctly noticeable in the account of this ruler: the progressive corruption of his nature.

*E des que ouo ell emperador aureliano
uençudas estas dos batallas fuesse muy
loçano pora roma.*

(EE 282, 7)

*Mando ell Em
perador aureliano fazer
corona de oro much on
rada e pusosla en la cabeça. e uistios
se pannos labrados con oro e con pie
dras preciosas. que era cosa que numqua
ante ouieran acostumbrada en roma.
ni lo fiziera emperador que antel fuesse.*

(EE 284, 1)

According to the chronicle, the beginning of Aurelian's rule was characterised by his wisdom and skills in battle (EE 281, 2). However, after defeating Tetricus in France and Zenobia in Antioquia, Aurelian returned to Rome where he was welcomed with honour. The text mentioned that he

³⁰⁴ See Chapter 7.2 “God and the Empire in the *Estoria de Espanna*”, p. 210.

returned “*muy loçano*”, in the sense of pleased with himself, which was an addition to the Diaconus’s *Historia Miscella* (col. 898), the original text used by the compilers. This choice of words might have been anecdotal. However, it should be considered that the meaning of the word *loçano* in numerous texts of the 13th century, many of them from the Alfonsine *scriptorium*, also bear this connotation of pride or vanity.³⁰⁵ This particular meaning of the word was reinforced by Aurelian’s actions in Chapter 284, in which the emperor ordered the confection of a new crown, began to wear luxurious robes and decided to introduce a new festivity to honour the sun; but his change is definitely corroborated in Chapter 285, in which the text mentioned the switch from “*loçano*” to “*bravo*”, and the emperor became more proud and cruel.

*Tornosse ell emperador
Aureliano a Roma muy loçano e con
grand alegria cuemo aquel que auie recebi
do tod el sennorio doriente e todo el doc
cidente. e recibieron lo todos much on
rada mentre. e el con la grand loçania
començo a mostrar se por brauo e ma
to muchos de los nobles omnes de la cib
dat. e dio sentencia de muerte contra
muchos otros. e mato sus sobrinos. e*

³⁰⁵ See the references to loçano/lozano contained in Corominas (ed.) *Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana*, s.v. alazán: "h. 1280. Del ár. az'ar 'rojizo', 'alazán'; *alazar se cambiaría en alazán o alozano (forma antigua usual) según el modelo de la voz preexistente ruano o ruán, otro pelaje de caballo". In English, "alazar would change to alazán or alozano (common ancient form) according to the model of the preexisting term ruano or ruán, other horse bristle. and de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de La Lengua Castellana o Española de Sebastián de Covarrubias*, s.v. alazán: "Color de caballo que tira a dorado. Puede ser nombre griego, Αλαζωμ, ονοσ, superbus, arrogans, petulans, gloriosus, &c. Puédele cuadrar al caballo alazán este nombre, por ser fogoso, gallardo, soberbio, en razón de predominar en él la cólera, como lo muestra su pellejo. Y, según esto, «alazán» y «lozano» podrían tener un mesmo origen, porque Αλαζονια vale tanto como soberbia y altiveza." In English "Horse colour that tends to golden. Might be a Greek noun , Αλαζωμ, ονοσ, superbus, arrogans, petulans, gloriosus, &c. Alazán horses can be named like this for being feisty, dashing, proud, and for displaying fury, as their colour shows. And, according to this, "alazán" and "Lozano" could have a common origin, since Αλαζονια means pride and arrogance." and also some examples extracted from, 'Banco de Datos (CORDE) [En Línea]. Corpus Diacrónico Del Español' after the search "loçano" in works from the Alfonsine *scriptorium*:

132.- Non te muestres loçano mas omildoso ant'el rey (General Estoria, III, Libros de Salomón) "Do not appear loçano but humble in front of the King"
173.- reynar en pos ell començo a seer loçano & brauo & de mal talent & soberuio contra todos los otros donzellas del rey (General Estoria, II) "and ruling after him, he began to be loçano and bravo and of bad character and proud against all the King's men"
174.- e fue mancebo que salió muy loçano e muy soberuio (General Estoria, I) "and he was a young man that turned out to be very loçano and very proud"
198.- començo a seer muy mas loçano & mas soberuio (Estoria de Espanna, fol. 150v) "and he began to be very loçano and prouder"

fue mui cruel en matar las yentes.

(EE 285, 1-3)

In this case, the compilers developed and re-elaborated the Latin source (Diaconus, *Hist. Misc.*, col. 898-899), and created a lesson out of it by continuing the narration with the consequences of his behaviour. According to the same chapter of the chronicle, Aurelian lost the love and respect of his people, and after he was nearly struck by a symbolic bolt of lightning, a servant plotted against him and his actions and eventually ended the life of the emperor.

Other cases of change of behaviour and attitude are easily identified in the chronicle, for example, in the accounts of the ominous Caligula and Nero, who were said to have begun their rules wisely and in good manners in Chapters 168 and at the beginning of Chapter 175, respectively, but later changed their character and showed their flaws and vices.

*Aquell
anno començo el a seer muy manso e
muy franc e muy bueno. assi que se paga
uan las yentes del.*

(EE 168, 6 Caligula)

*Ouo Gayo
dexada la bondat que mostrara en el comi
enço de su regno. E salio omne muy luxu
rioso. e tan cruel contra los omnes. e tan
malo. que de todos los otros principes dan
te del no lo fue ninguno tanto. [...]
E faziesse alas
yentes aorar por dios. e llamauasse her
mano de Jupiter.*

(EE 169, 1-2, 6 Caligula)

*Mostrosse por muy
piadoso en el comienço del su Jmperio.
diziendo que no regnaua por si. mas por
mandado de claudio Agosto.*

(EE 175, 8 Nero)

*E uiniendo una uez de Grecia a Roma
entro en la cibdat en aquel carro mismo
en que Octauiano Augusto uenciera sus
batallas. e trayenlo caualllos blancos. e
el uistie unos pannos de porpola laurados
a estrellas doro. e traye en la cabeça una
corona tal cuemo la dell Jdolo de Jupiter.*

(EE 175, 25 Nero)

Caligula and Nero receive two of the most negative depictions in the *Estoria de Espanna* and became the *speculum* in which princes and new rulers should not see themselves reflected. Both Julio-Claudian emperors

displayed a long list of sins in which pride, as expected, holds a notable place. In both cases, the emperors emulated divinity, which is, probably, the worst exercise of pride a rule could feature. In the case of Nero, the change is very noticeable, as he is portrayed as humble, the opposite of proud, at the beginning of his reign. However, he was ruling after the example of Claudius, not after his own will: this is why his proof of humility was ephemeral. Humility is, therefore, used in the *Estoria de Espanna* in the opposite way that pride is included: to show worthiness in an emperor in spite of his possible flaws, whilst pride was used to prove the non-worthiness of a ruler despite his virtues. That is the case of the aforementioned Claudius, whose cruelty was balanced by his humble predisposition towards ruling, as he “*no querie quell llamasen emperador*” (EE 170, 20). In the same way, Augustus refused to be called *Sennor del mundo* (EE 147, 3), claiming himself to be *Sennor*, but only under the command of the true *Sennor del Mundo*, God.

*Quisieran lo llamar daquel
la uez sennor de todo el mundo. por que auie
assessegadas las espannas. e todas las
otras tierras so el so sennorio. mas el nolo
quiso consentir.[...]
mando pregonar por toda la cibdat que
qual quier que lo llamasse sennor del mundo
que aurie la su ira e perderie el cuerpo por ello.
mas quien assil quisiesse llamar. que llamas
se sennor en pos el sennor del mundo.*

(EE, 142, 6, 9)

This fragment proves, once again, how the compilers created their own ideological framework by adapting the sources of the chronicle. In this case, whilst following Orosius’s text (VI, 22^o, 4-6), the compilers completed the limited information given by the source and developed this new idea of the emperor ruling in the name of god and therefore, being the first link between the people and the divinity, as will be discussed in the following chapter. The counterpoint for this fragment is found in Domitian’s desire to be called

Sennor del Mundo (EE 192, 2), which was another form of proof that this emperor was unworthy of the throne.

This mechanism of representing humility as one of the main virtues of an emperor/king was repeated in the depiction of emperors whose rule was worth emulating, or who contributed to the establishment and ‘increase’ of the empire. This is the case for Tiberius, who is included in this first trio of emperors that restored and secured the empire, following the trend of refusing to be called by the title ‘emperor’ that had been created by Augustus.

*E de muchas onras
quel queren fazer las yentes; no recibie si
no muy pocas e muy pequennas. no querie
quel llamassen emperador. llamauan lo los
omnes padre de la tierra e deffendiege lo
el. no querie traer corona en la cabeça
cuemo emperador. ni querie oyr losenias
en ninguna guisa.*

(EE 159, 5)

The fragment has its source in the *Speculum Historiale* and even though it emulates the mention of the rejection of a crown, the passage strongly emphasises this fact and relates Tiberius’s rule to Augustus’s. The use of the expression “*ni querie oyr losenias*” is also notable, in which the term “*losenias*” seems to be related to the aforementioned “*loçano*”, meaning in this context that the emperor did not want to hear things that would make him proud of himself. The refusal of this feature only reinforces his humbleness.

However, humility was also presented in other ways in the chronicle. The manner in which the *Estoria de Espanna* introduces the figure of Hadrian is, in this sense, revealing. The Iberian emperor claimed he did not deserve the empire just as a result of his kin rights – which were also important – but also because of his merits, values and actions.

*E el dixo les. cumple de mi que reg
ne amidos; e lo no merezco. Demas el
sennorio nolo deue auer omne por lina
ge. mas por merecimientos. E sin prouecho*

*regna el que nasce rey e nolo merece. E no
dubdedes que no a amor de padre; el que car
ga sus fijos de cargas tan pesadas que las
no pueden leuar e se affogan con ellas.*

(EE, 199, 9)

With this assertion, the *Estoria de Espanna* exposed a controversial topic. Whilst in previous chapters the political message extracted from the chronicle was that lineage was essential for the *Translatio Imperii*, with this passage the compilers make explicit a new criterion to consider in the election of the emperor. Merits are essential to access the imperial throne, and kin-right should not be the only factor taken into account. The *Estoria de Espanna* created a complex system of succession, introduced in the previous chapter of this thesis, in which kin-right, merits and character, and divine predestination are combined to assess the suitability of a candidate for the empire. Extrapolating this system to Alfonso X's times, whilst the lineage factor is still essential and the centrepiece of his legitimisation, the Castilian-Leonese monarch exposed the need for a secondary method of election, by which the merits, character, and attitude of the candidate were also important in supporting his aspirations. In this way, Alfonso X belonged to the imperial *linna* but was not the closest relative to Frederick II – before him would be Conradin, who died in 1268, but also Manfred, the emperor's illegitimate son.³⁰⁶ This created the need to legitimate his candidacy to the empire by highlighting his virtues and positioning himself as the only sensible option for the imperial crown.

Chapter 199 is particularly revealing in its didactic content and shape. It does not only assert the importance of the personal traits of an emperor in balance with his lineage for a suitable election but also states, in narrative form, the importance of the education of emperors through the inclusion of a dialectic episode: the dialogue between Epictetus – *Segundo* in the chronicle – and Hadrian. This passage includes a conversation in which the emperor

³⁰⁶ See Chapter 1 “The Historical Events”, p. 16.

asks the philosopher questions about the nature of God and men, and life, amongst other topics, and the wise man writes the answers down for the Hadrian, as he refuses to speak to the emperor. This episode is taken from the *Vida del filósofo Segundo*, and whilst it comes from a Latin translation of an Arabic text, it shows how these influences were arriving from the Muslim territories of the Iberian Peninsula. This conversation is a narrative digression in the imperial account, and its only purpose is to establish the importance of the education of the emperor, and that curiosity and the will to learn are positive attributes in a candidate. By saying that an emperor needed to deserve his position in the empire, as well as belong to the *linna*, and following this assertion with the inclusion of the philosopher's dialogue, the chronicle highlights the features portrayed by Hadrian in his conversation with *Segundo* – that is to say, his will to know more – as ones that are desirable for an imperial candidate. Hadrian was said to be wise in the same way as other emperors in the chronicle, especially after this digression, such as Titus (EE 189, 12), Antoninus Pius (EE 204, 3), or Marcus Aurelius (EE214, 2), amongst others. Wisdom and the will to learn are considered features worth emulating in the *Estoria de Espanna*, a clear reference to the encyclopaedic predisposition of Alfonso X, the Learned King.

Following this thread, the chronicle discussed not only those traits to be avoided, but also the examples of emperors worthy of emulation in the most classical form of the genre of the *speculum principis*. Returning to the aforementioned trait of modesty, for instance, Vespasian was one of the characters with the best outcome after a close scrutiny of his personal traits. Amongst other virtues, the emperor showed humility in his figure, since he claimed not to be better than the people of his empire.

*En quanto el uisco siempre fue ensenna
do e piadoso. Numqua se fazie de mayor
linage de quanto era. Siempre dizie que
era de comunal. ni de muy alto ni de muy
baxo. e alas uezes dizie por los de comu*

nal que eran de meior que el.

(EE 185, 13)

E segund cuenta Suetonio. fue omne de buena uida. e de muy buenas costumbres. assi que en el tiempo de Nero se yendo uno de los companones de su casa; no podie soffrir las sus uilezas. e quando el cantaua e tannie sus estrumentos. o se adormecie. o yua su uia con enoio. e ouol por esto Nero grand sanna e grand desamor. deguisa que lo echo de su companna. e deffendiol que numqua apareciesse ant el.

(EE 185, 4-5)

As mentioned above, Vespasian acted in the *Estoria de Espanna* as the restorer of the empire Nero ‘decreased’. Such was the remembrance of this ruler that, after the demise of Vespasian, the people of Rome were afraid of the possibility that Titus would embody the same vices as the last Julio-Claudian emperor.

Encomienço ouieron las yentes sospecha del que serie cruo e luxurioso. cob dicioso e robador. por sennales que mostra ua ende segund ellos cuydauan. e alca bo nolo pudieron encobrir. e llamauan lo Nero. diziendo que tal serie cuemo el.

(EE, 186, 13)

However, the new Flavian emperor proved to be the opposite of Nero and displayed a great range of virtues that made him one of the archetypical ruling models in the *Estoria de Espanna*. According to the chronicle, Titus was blessed with a good heart and habits, war skills, but also wisdom and knowledge – as I laid out above, all of these features served to amplify the personal portrait of the emperor in the *Speculum Historiale*. Titus was depicted, then, as one of the very few undefiled emperors, an honour only accomplished by the paradigm of the Hispanic emperors: Trajan.

This thesis has already discussed the importance of this emperor in the account of the chronicle, but his moral depiction reinforced this notion and completed the idealisation of the Roman emperor. Trajan is first introduced after his connection with the Iberian Peninsula and his Trojan origin, and this depiction is continued with a presentation of the paragon of virtues attributed to his figure. Following loosely the account by Vincent of Beauvais (X, 46-48, 68), the compilers devote Chapter 195 not only to presenting the emperor, but also to overstating his good features in order to emphasise his relevance as role model and emperor to be emulated and/or admired by those who accessed the chronicle.

E fue traiano muy franque e muy companon a sus amigos. e amo mucho los caualleros. e fue muy manso contra los cibdadanos. e muy franque en soltar los pechos a las cibdades. assi que por el grand destruimientto que auie enell estado de Roma. e por cuemo lo el refazie e lo cobraua todo; te nien las gentes que por uertud de dios les era dado tal emperador. [...]

E entre muchas buenas palauras que Traiano dixo; cuentan del las estorias. que por que era tan bueno e tan mesurado e tan compannero de los omnes. e los affazie tan mucho assi; quel preguntaron un dia sus priuados e sus amigos por que lo fazie. e el dixo les. QVe tal emperador querie el seer a los que no auien dignidades ni sennorios; quales solie el querer al tiempo que las no auie; quel fuessen los otros Emperadores.

(EE, 195, 6, 47-48)

Chapter 195 presented an emperor that combined the virtues displayed in the moral portraits of other Roman emperors previously introduced. Trajan was, according to the chronicle, fair, *manso* – which indicates the opposite of *bravo* and *cruel* –, but also wise, and militarily skilled. The chronicle also introduces in this chapter a lesson imparted by the emperor himself: to rule the way one might want other rulers to rule over him, a perfect show of the genre of the *speculum principis*.

Trajan embodied all the desirable qualities of a “good” emperor, to such a degree that he was considered to have been sent by God. His Hispanic origin only connected his impressive moral depiction to the person that promoted the composition of this passage: Alfonso X proposed himself, in this way, as the new archetype of the Hispanic emperor in the 13th century. He linked his person to the Roman Empire and also assumed the role of the emperor sent by divinity. As will be discussed in the following chapter, if the king/emperor were sent by God, there was nothing the papacy could do to go against the divine decision.

Alfonso X managed to create a new set of values, based on Christian morals, that allowed him to shape all these historical characters in order to create different roles, some of which should be avoided and some other that should be emulated. By appropriating the doctrinal narrative, Alfonso X also secured his vision of the relations between the emperor, God, and the Christian Church, already discussed in his legislative works.³⁰⁷ As can be seen, the Alfonsine text is rich in didactical content: however, these lessons do not come from the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but from the *auctoritas* of classical authors and philosophers. In this way, Christian values were emancipated from the hands of the Christian church in an exercise of separation of powers that would find its maximum expression in the definition of the God-monarch-church relationship that will be the focus of the following chapter. This idea was even manifested in the chronicle after the way certain emperors treated Christians – not the Church – from the beginnings of the new religion, and up to the point when emperors are Christian themselves. Following the same trend, certain emperors’ assessments were less favourable when they led persecutions, like Nero, and more favourable when they protected Christians. One of the best examples of this latter group was Hadrian, who in Chapter 201 (18-22) was explicitly described as an emperor who did not want to hurt

³⁰⁷ See Chapter 2.3 “Alfonso X’s Imperial Ideology and the reinforcement of the royal power”, pp. 43-46.

the followers of the new religion. On the other hand, there were numerous persecutions during different stages of the Roman Empire. The first, and the one after which the others were numbered, was Nero's (EE 179), but those led by Decius (EE 268) and Valerian (EE 271) are also worth mention due to their particular virulence. Even during Trajan's rule there was a persecution against Christians, although the chronicle mentioned he acted against his will in committing this dreadful act (EE 197).

As the actions of the emperors towards the Christians were used as a didactic example of how an emperor should behave, so too were the attitudes of the emperors towards Christianity as a religion – again leaving aside the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which had a very particular function in the chronicle as the following chapter will explain. Starting from the fact that Roman antiquity was a pagan environment itself, milestones such as the conversion of certain emperors into Christianity also were used as a lesson.

Constantine was paradigmatic in this sense. Whilst his relationship with God will be further explained in the following chapter of this thesis, his conversion and subsequent healing was didactically revealing, as it was his mother who claimed:

*E tu fijo si
saneste de la gafedat sepas que fue por que
fuste tu el primero entre todos los empe
radores que diste cabo all yerro de los Jdolos.
e que proueste que ni eran ni deuien seer cre
idos por dios. Ca son ymagenes de omnes
malos; fechas de metal. que ni an almas
ni entendimiento ninguno.*

(EE 324, 6)

The chronicle showed, then, a direct correlation between the conversion and the healing, the same way it teaches that at the very moment the emperor turned his back to the true faith, he was condemned and received punishment in the shape of his fall:

*Auino assi. que los ereges Arrianos
andaron siguiendo all emperador Costan
tino tanto con sus falsas predicationes
que lo tornaron a su heregia. [...]
¶ E desi murio
ell Emperador auiedo recebido el bap
tismo de los hereges a sessaenta e seis
annos que naciera.*

(EE 335, 1,5)

This is just one example of how entangled the didactical purpose of the *Estoria de Espanna* was, with the claims made in the chronicle regarding the nature of the relationship between God and the king/emperor. As has been seen, the values portrayed as positive followed the Christian morals, and God was present throughout the process of transfer of the *imperium*. As a part of Alfonso X's royal appropriation of the doctrinal discourse, the Christian Church was set aside, and its reach and influence were diminished so it could not have any power of decision in the imperial choice. The weight of the *auctoritas*, in terms of trustworthiness, fell on the shoulders of classical authors – sometimes through their recompilation in the works of contemporary authors, like Vincent of Beauvais – instead of on the ecclesiastical hierarchy's. By joining this trend, the Castilian-Leonese kingdom also joined the European tradition of reinforcement of the monarchical power and the emancipation from the influence of the Christian Church, together with the assimilation of features characteristic in the didactic and sapiential literature that was arriving through al-Andalus, such as the aforementioned mechanism of the dialectic between a ruler and a philosopher.

The following chapter will address in greater detail some of what has been developed in this thesis so far, but from the perspective of the presence and relevance of the role of the divinity in the chronicle. This appropriation of the ideological and didactic discourse went hand in hand with the idea of God as overseer of the *Translatio Imperii* – since it was he who commanded some of the aforementioned punishments – and with the limited role of the

Christian Church in temporal affairs. The ecclesiastical institution existed on a secondary level, complementing the empire, but not as its equal. As the following pages will explain, the root of this new dynamic can be found in the nature of the relationship between the three entities: the Christian Church, the monarch/emperor, and God himself.

CHAPTER VII. – THE EMPIRE AND GOD: THE SACRALITY OF MONARCHY AND DIVINE PATRONAGE

*Et departen aqui
los sabios; que se entendie por esto que en
Roma auie a seer la cabeça de la cristiandat. que
se faze de crisma que es de balsamo e de
olio. e que dalli la recibrien las yentes pora
tod el mundo.
(EE 125, 2)*

Castile and Leon: sacral or secular kingdom?

The previous chapter concluded by introducing the divine factor explicit within many of the lessons taught by the *Estoria de Espanna*. In fact, the figure of God and the role of divinity in ruling matters has been, one way or another, mentioned in all chapters of this thesis. The previous two chapters, in this sense, have discussed the two systems of legitimation developed by the chronicle surrounding the idea of a rightful succession in order to assure the continuation of the process explained in the first chapter of this section: the *Translatio Imperii*. Whilst it was not difficult to identify the content surrounding these three heterogeneous ideas, the binding agent has always been the presence of divinity within the historical account that secured the transmission of the *imperium*. In this chapter, I will explain how this divine legitimisation worked hand in hand with the kin-right principle and the system of election based on the personal traits and merits of the candidate. The conjugation of these three mechanisms acting as one secured, according to the Alfonsine ideological framework, the progression of the *Translatio Imperii*. The figure of God thus worked as an overseeing agent who brought together each of these ideological premises and concepts, supporting the position of the Staufens, and by extension Alfonso X, on the imperial throne.

This final chapter of the core of this thesis will therefore explore the relationships established between divinity, the monarchs, and the Christian Church, with a particular focus on how these are represented in the *Estoria*

de Espanna. Following the same structure as the previous chapters, the first section will address the theory behind the practice, and will explore the idea of the sacrality of the monarchy in the Iberian Peninsula, which has provoked great controversy within the academic community: the aim of this first section will be to prove the existence of a sacral nature in the Castilian-Leonese monarchy of Alfonso X. By working through this scholarly dispute, I will be able to identify the level of sacrality surrounding the Iberian monarchies at the times of the Learned King, which will work as a canvas upon which it will be possible to analyse the ideological interactions of the Alfonsine chronicle. As was detailed at the end of the previous chapter, the following pages will address the relations between the Christian Church, which had claimed the monopoly of the connection with God for centuries; the monarchy, who needed to reclaim this link with divinity as a means of strengthening royal authority; and God himself, as creator and overseer of historical evolution. By addressing the interactions between the monarch and the other two institutions, the analysis of these relations will answer the main question of which entity ultimately had the power to nominate and elect the emperor and appoint the direction of the transmission of the *imperium*. As an abstract concept, defining such relations has been, as will be addressed, problematic for academics researching this topic, and conclusions had to be based on temporal manifestations of what one might identify as sacral rituals, such as coronations and anointing ceremonies. Thus, I will show how the sacral character of European monarchies might have been conferred by the Christian Church, or by God himself, with each of these options pointing towards diametrically opposed outcomes in terms of the distribution of power and entitlements. This affected the political dynamics between monarchies and the Christian Church, and of course, between the latter institution and the Holy Roman Empire. Under this light, and in line with his circumstances, Alfonso X needed, as a candidate to the Holy Roman Empire, to create an

ideological framework in which his right to hold the imperial title was not subjected to the will of the Pope.

Accordingly, this chapter will address how the particular circumstances of the Iberian kingdoms led to the creation of an ideological framework that supported the idea of the sacrality of the monarchy and differed profoundly from other European monarchies. The sacral character of these European kingdoms, specifically France and England, studied widely by Bloch and Kantorowicz, has been, traditionally, the starting point for many academics who study the idea of royal sacrality in the Iberian realms.³⁰⁸ In order to correctly explain the sacral nature of the Hispanic monarchies, and especially the particular situation in Castile and Leon, it will be necessary to discuss the historiographical debate surrounding these ideas. Since the approach given to this topic has been a comparative one – contrasting with the English and French contexts – it has been hard to represent the unique features of the Iberian situation: a different tradition which followed different precepts that were not comparable to other ideological frameworks. In this sense, the specific positions of scholars such as José Manuel Nieto Soria, Marina Kleine and Peter Linehan, amongst others, are revealing since they took different stances in defending or denying the existence of a sacral component in the Iberian monarchies which, when considered together, help to bring light on what this thesis believes was the sacral nature of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy inherited by Alfonso X.³⁰⁹

As mentioned above, the abstract sacral component linked to monarchies has been examined through the materialisations of these relationships in ceremonies and rituals of anointing and coronation. Accordingly, the act of the king/emperor being crowned/anointed by a member

³⁰⁸ Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*; Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*.

³⁰⁹ Nieto Soria, 'Principios teóricos y evolución de la política eclesiástica de Alfonso X'; Nieto Soria, 'Origen divino, espíritu laico y poder real en la Castilla del siglo XIII'; Nieto Soria, 'Imágenes religiosas del rey y del poder real en la Castilla de siglo XIII'; Kleine, 'Imágenes Del Poder Real En La Obra de Alfonso X (III)'; Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*.

of the ecclesiastical hierarchy has been definitive, since this ceremony meant the transfer of divine power from God to the ruler, but through the intervention of the Church. Such rituals established an elevated relation between God and the king/emperor, in which the Christian Church was an essential link as it was the Church who received the power from God and subsequently transferred it to the monarchs. This was the case in the French and English kingdoms, where sacralty has been widely studied within these parameters. On the other hand, there were kingdoms like the Iberian realms, where the lack of coronation and, crucially, anointment ceremonies has created a scission amongst academics, that will be explained thoroughly.

As Marina Kleine outlined in her article on the Christian character of the Alfonsine rule, this historiographical debate on the sacral character of those monarchies with no ritualisation, such as the Iberian, has produced numerous studies in the past few decades and is far from being resolved.³¹⁰ Thus, it is possible to identify two trends of thought: on the one hand, those academics that defend the absence of sacralty within the Iberian context due to the lack of anointing/coronation ceremonies in contraposition to the cases of France and England; and on the other those who propose that, in spite of the absence of these rituals, there exists a sense of sacralty that is achieved through other means.

Supporting the secular character of the Iberian royal power, authors such as Adeline Rucquoi, Joseph O'Callaghan, Teófilo Ruiz, and the aforementioned Peter Linehan have established the lack of sacralty in the nature of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy: Ruquoi asserts that the lack of sacral elements – anointment, coronation, and miraculous powers, amongst others – defined the cultural origin of the Iberian monarchies in contrast to France and England where all these features were portrayed.³¹¹ Further,

³¹⁰ Kleine, 'Imágenes del poder real en la obra de Alfonso X (I)'.
³¹¹ Rucquoi, 'De Los Reyes Que No Son Taumaturgos'.

O'Callaghan defends the secularisation of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy, which resulted from a process that started after the fall of the Visigoth period;³¹² Ruiz and Linehan, for their part, have supported this idea of lack of sacrality in the Castilian-Leonese monarchy, also based in the comparison with other European kingdoms in which, according to them, the sacral character of the monarchy was unquestionable.³¹³

Conversely, authors such as José Manuel Nieto Soria, Percy E. Schram and José Matoso have defended that, in spite of the comparison to other kingdoms such as England and France, the Iberian and particularly the Castilian-Leonese situation had acquired a sense of monarchical sacrality with time, but that it was defined under different terms to other Western European homologues.

As has been proposed above, a feature all these scholars – and particularly those from the first group – share in the analysis of the sacrality of European monarchies in general, and Castile and Leon in particular, is the absence of certain features that are considered essential: ritual anointing, the coronation and consecration of the monarch, and as will be discussed later, the thaumaturgical powers of the monarchy. This issue has been widely discussed by the previously mentioned authors and has served as a support for the position that defends the lack of sacral character of Iberian monarchies. The high degree of sacralisation noted in the French and English cases has been imperative in the definition of the parameters to be used for the rest of the monarchies in the terms of the relations between the monarchy and other institutions of society, especially the Christian Church.³¹⁴ The historiographical debate has, then, been centred upon the comparison of these

³¹² O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 72–76.

³¹³ Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*; Ruiz, 'Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages'.

³¹⁴ Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, 62–65; Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, Chapter III.

different traditions, and the Castilian-Leonese case has been studied under this comparative paradigm.

Therefore, the non-systematised existence of these coronations, consecrations or anointments left the Iberian case in the second tier in the terms of the sacralisation of Hispanic monarchies. However, as Nieto Soria highlights, the (non)existence of the rite of coronation/consecration/anointment was not necessarily bound to the divine character of kingship, as each monarchical context responded to certain circumstances by emphasising particular features to the detriment of others.³¹⁵ In this way, the Iberian case should not be compared to the French and English cases in which the ritual had been systematised very early in each country's history as the evolution of the imagined relationship between God, the monarch, and the Church had undergone a very different development.³¹⁶

In the Hispanic case, scholars who have analysed the importance of monarchical anointing during the Middle Ages have produced a prolific collection of studies that addresses this phenomenon from different perspectives. It is worth mentioning that not all the Iberian kingdoms should be addressed equally in this respect as there are differences in the evolution of each of their sacral ideas, as García Aracón broadly explains in her study on the sacrality of the Kingdom of Navarre.³¹⁷ In terms of the Castilian-Leonese situation, Teófilo Ruiz was the first to look at the issue and pointed to a Visigoth influence in late medieval coronations, after a process of de-ritualisation that took place during the reigns of Alfonso VII and Alfonso VIII and would define the circumstances under which Alfonso X was crowned in the 13th century.³¹⁸ According to Ruiz, this evolution in comparison to other

³¹⁵ Nieto Soria, 'Origen divino, espíritu laico y poder real en la Castilla del siglo XIII', 75–76.

³¹⁶ Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*, 61.

³¹⁷ García Aracón, 'Los Evreux ¿reyes taumaturgos de Navarra?'

³¹⁸ Ruiz, 'Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages"', 110–11, 115.

European realities might have led to the non-sacred and secular nature of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy, an assertion with which this thesis does not agree completely, as will be explained in the analysis of the text.

Nieto Soria also refers to the Visigothic anointing, in this case to assert that the existence of these rites was not a guarantee of the indisputability of royal power, given the instability of the Visigothic governments and, later, Alfonso X and other Castilian-Leonese monarchs' knowledge of this fact.³¹⁹ Therefore, in spite of the possible influence of these rituals, other symbolic acts like coronation and anointing proved not to be essential in a monarch's access to the throne. This has been considered by several authors as proof of a process of desacralisation of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy from the Visigothic period up to the end of the Middle Ages.³²⁰ However, the use of other sacralising features, such as the formula *Rex Dei Gratia* which is common in Castilian-Leonese documents from the times of Fernando I, proved the existence of a certain sacrality within the political imaginary of the Hispanic kingdoms, in spite of the absence of coronation and consecration rituals.³²¹

On the other hand, these ceremonies, whilst few, did exist in the Iberian kingdoms. It is true that the sources are succinct on this matter, and only few references have survived. Most of the royal chronicles, for example, do not even mention liturgical elements, a fact that has been used by authors like Linehan and Ruiz as a valid argument to prove the laicism of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy. Nevertheless, a close look at those 'exceptions' and at the legislative texts promoted and circulated in this kingdom – especially from the time of Alfonso X – might offer a different point of view that should be discussed in order to understand the sacral character of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy and how it was used in the composition of works

³¹⁹ Nieto Soria, 'Origen divino, espíritu laico y poder real en la Castilla del siglo XIII', 78.

³²⁰ Kleine, 'Imágenes del poder real en la obra de Alfonso X (I)', 3.

³²¹ Nieto Soria, 'Origen divino, espíritu laico y poder real en la Castilla del siglo XIII', 77.

such as the *Estoria de Espanna*. In this sense, opposing the systematised coronations/consecrations that took place in France and England, in the case of Castile and Leon contemporary chronicles report only two anointings: that of Alfonso VII in 1135 and that of Alfonso XI in 1332.³²²

The importance of the anointing of Alfonso VII resided in its propagandistic value. The emperor was crowned by Bishop Guido of Lescar, in the presence of Hispanic and Southern French authorities. In this case, the formality of the ceremony, along with the presence of this large group of dignitaries, proved the hegemonic role of Alfonso VII within the Iberian Peninsula. It is interesting to see how the ecclesiastical intervention in this coronation, whilst offering the hegemonic power that Alfonso VII was looking for, was subject to certain conditions. As stated in the chapters that set forth the ideological context of this thesis, the papacy did not grant the Leonese monarch the title of emperor, but “eminent and glorious king”, likely to separate him from the one true emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.³²³ This is an example of the symbiotic relationship between the monarchs and the Christian Church, as proved by the tussle between the two institutions. Within these circumstances, Alfonso VII benefited from the coronation as a means to consolidate his hegemonic position in the Peninsula while accepting the fact that the Pope did not consider him as ‘emperor’ in the same way as that of the Holy Roman Empire.

Furthermore, the case of the consecration of Alfonso XI (1311 – 1350) in 1332 showed how, despite the absence of systematised coronations/consecrations, the idea was indeed part of the Castilian-Leonese imaginary.³²⁴ The ceremony, described in the *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, meant the first anointing – and second coronation, after Sancho VI’s – since the

³²² Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*, 61; Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 428–29.

³²³ See Chapter 2.1 “The *Imperium Hispanicum* and the Iberian Legacy”, pp. 29.

³²⁴ Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*, 63.

coronation and anointing of Alfonso VII, and became the coronation ceremony with most contemporary depictions.³²⁵ After a convoluted period of regency following the death of Fernando IV (1285 – 1312), the rite of anointing represented, for Alfonso XI, the greatest opportunity to reaffirm his position as the true heir to the throne. This event was even the trigger for the composition of the *Libro de la Coronación de los Reyes de Castilla*, in what can be seen as an attempt to systematise this tradition.³²⁶ The purpose of this ceremony was, therefore, an eminently political statement that supported the rights of the young king against those who had coveted his throne during the long regency period.

Be that as it may, as has been mentioned, anointing was only reported in these two cases whilst other sources only describe extra ceremonies of coronation, which was more common in the Iberian kingdoms. This group of kings who were crowned but not explicitly anointed included Fernando III and Alfonso X, whose coronation accounts, according to Linehan, were modern inventions. In particular, the lavish coronation of Alfonso X, who crowned himself with the help of a mechanical statue of Saint James, seems to be a fictional description made by the *Marqués* of Mondéjar in the early 18th century.³²⁷ Nonetheless, to Nieto Soria, the issue of who performed the coronation was secondary in the Castilian-Leonese scenario. This brings me to the other mechanisms that supported the sacrality of the monarchy without depending on the ecclesiastical anointing ceremony: the monarchs were considered anointed by the divinity itself in what is considered a private act between the king and God, with the same effects as the anointing.³²⁸ Therefore, the recording of this ritual was not fundamentally necessary to prove the divine right and blessing of kingship. This explains why mentions

³²⁵ Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 430.

³²⁶ Carrero Santamaría, 'Por las huelgas los juglares', 144–45.

³²⁷ Ballesteros Beretta, Rodríguez Llopis, and Pérez-Prendes Muñoz de Arraco, *Alfonso X El Sabio*, 54; Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 426.

³²⁸ Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*, 62.

of coronation/anointing ceremonies were episodic and related to particular circumstances, as the case of Alfonso VII, who needed to demonstrate hegemony over the Iberian territory; or Alfonso XI, who needed to reinforce his inheritance after a long and turbulent regency.

These “invisible unctions”, in the words of Nieto Soria, were the Castilian-Leonese kings’ methods of claiming the divine origin of their power, which was not subject to the decisions of the Christian Church – a fact that was convenient for the rule of Alfonso X, whose dispute with the papacy in the attainment of the imperial title is one of the cornerstones of this thesis.³²⁹ However, there was a need to materialise the effects of these private rituals, and in this sense, legislation proved very useful. The best example is Alfonso X’s cultural and legislative production, which followed the endeavour started by Fernando III: both the *Siete Partidas* and the *Setenario* referred in their content to the anointing of monarchs.

The *Setenario* included a mention of the sacrament of the *crisma* (Leyes LXXXVIII – XCV), which Nieto Soria relates directly to the ritual of anointing.³³⁰ For his part, Linehan asserts that this sacrament is related to baptism and does not have a royal meaning, to which Nieto Soria responds by pointing out the several occasions in which these laws refer to the monarch:

Ca él [Christ] ouo en ssí dos vnçiones, la vna de rrey, la otra de sacerdote. Et porque cada vna dellas ha nombre por ssipsse – la de los rreyes, rreal; la de los ssacerdotes, spiritual[...] Que Ihesu Cristo ffué vntado por uerdadero rrey temporal muestra el ssu nonbre; que Ihesu Cristo en griego tanto quiere decir commo vntado. Et antiguamente todos aquellos que eran llamados para ser rreyes auyan a ser vntados.

Setenario, Ley LXXXVIII.

³²⁹ Nieto Soria, *Iglesia y poder real en Castilla*, 151–52.

³³⁰ Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*, 62.

Other authors, such as Kleine, also support Nieto Soria in the connection between the *crisma* and the anointing since, whilst contained in the section of the baptism, there does seem to be a clear difference between the two sacraments. All Christians were baptised whereas the *crisma* was only aimed at priests and kings, as the quotation above demonstrates. Kleine also points out that the inclusion of the *crisma* in the section of the baptism answers the need to keeping the number of sacraments at seven, to maintain the structural scheme of the *Setenario*.³³¹ On the other hand, Linehan pointed to the importance of the work “*antiguamente*”, which for the author is a clear sign that the rite was absent in the times of composition of the work. This is rebutted by Kleine by invoking a fragment from law LXXXIX:

*[...] que a los rreyes e a los ssaçerdotes ssolían
untar antiguamente con olio e con otros
ungüentos preçiados, et esto non tan solamente
gelo ffazían en la ffruenta e en las espallas,
como untan los de agora, mas de ssomo de la
cabeça ffasta ffoundón de las piernas.*

Ley LXXXIX

The mention of the kings “*de agora*” in contrast to the ones from “*antiguamente*” alluded to the existence of the anointing in the times of Alfonso X, at least. This fragment also proves that the ceremony was kept alive, since there are changes from antiquity to the rites “*de agora*”. This is developed in greater detail in the *Siete Partidas*:

*Vngir solian a los Reyes en la vieja Lei, con olio
bendito en las cabeças: mas en esta nuestra Ley
nueua les fazen unción en otra manera, por lo
que dixo Ysayas Profeta a nuestro Señor Jesu
Christo, que es Rey de los Cielos, e de la tierra: e
que su Imperio seria sobre su onmro. E esto se
cumplió quando le pusieron la Cruz sobre el
ombro diestro e gela fizieron leuar. [...] Por esso
los vngen [the kings] en este tiempo con olio
sagrado, en el ombro de la espalda del braço
diestro [...]*

Siete Partidas, Título IV, Ley XIII

³³¹ Kleine, ‘Imágenes del poder real en la obra de Alfonso X (I)’, 12–13.

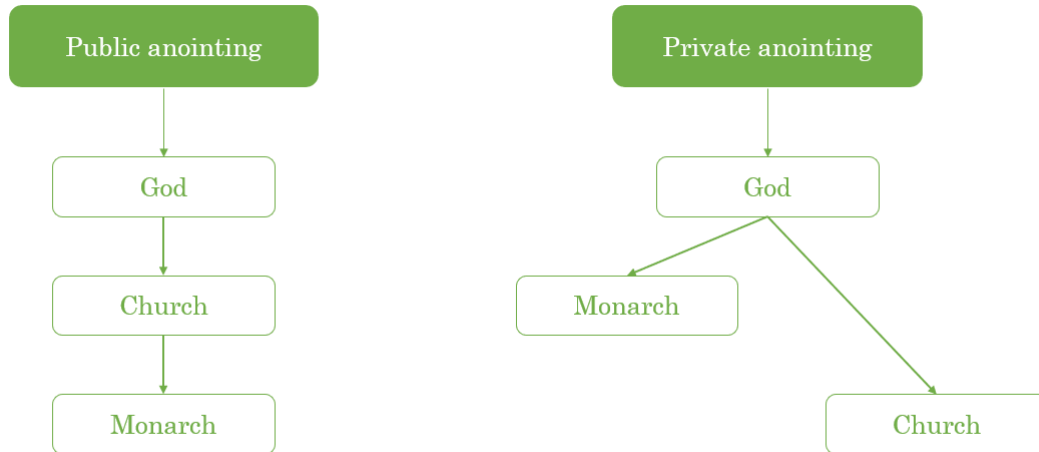
What these texts prove is that, even though there are not many records of anointings, these rituals were at least considered in legislation during the rule of Alfonso X. With all this information, Nieto Soria concludes that the effective (non)existence of the ceremonies was secondary, whilst the sacrality of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy was present in the common imaginary. This sacral nature was based on the close relationship between God and the Castilian-Leonese monarchs and, in spite of the absence of rituals, was not weaker than the one asserted by the French and English kings. In fact, the private character of the Castilian-Leonese anointing placed this monarchy in a position of superiority in comparison with its neighbours, who did not enjoy this particular private relation with the divinity. Under this light, the public anointing, the *crisma* in Castile and Leon, was a mere formality.³³²

The importance of this historiographical debate towards the aims of this thesis is the relations built between the Christian Church and the monarchies, according to the different form of anointing explained in the previous pages. The power dynamics in Castile and Leon between the royal and the religious powers were different to those in the kingdoms of France and England, precisely due to the nature of the private/public anointing of the monarch. When the anointing happened in a public ceremony, such as the case of France and England, the king was automatically placed in a position of submission towards the ecclesiastical hierarchy as it was a representative of the Church who performed the ritual, and acted as an intermediary between the king and God. In the Castilian-Leonese case, and especially under the rule of Alfonso X, this was not desirable, since the prerogative of the election of the emperor should be in God's hands and not the papacy's.³³³ According to the Learned King, and as will be seen in my analysis of the Alfonsine text, the role of the Pope in matters of the empire was limited to

³³² Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*, 62; Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, 428.

³³³ Nieto Soria, 'Origen divino, espíritu laico y poder real en la Castilla del siglo XIII', 267.

spiritual advice and the election of the emperor was due to his lineage, his personal traits and actions, and the decision of God.



The monarch presented himself as directly connected to divinity in the role of “*vicario de dios*”, a position that sometimes surpassed even the Church at the time of claiming the representation of divinity on Earth. The king ruled *Gratia Dei* and represented his power as was coded within Alfonso X’s legislative corpus. In this way, the *Siete Partidas* develop this concept in order to explain the role of the emperor:³³⁴

E otrosí dixieron los Sabios que el Emperador es Vicario de Dios en el Imperio para fazer justicia en lo temporal, bien assí como lo es el Papa en lo espiritual
Partida II, Título I, Ley I
Vicarios de Dios son los Reyes, cada vno en su Reyno, puestos sobre las gentes para mantenerlas en justicia e en verdad quanto en lo temporal, bien así como el Emperador en su Imperio

Partida II, Título I, Ley V

In doing so, the King established his direct connection to God with no intermediaries: his power came from the divinity and was, most definitely not

³³⁴ Kleine, ‘Imágenes del poder real en la obra de Alfonso X (I)’, 70.

given by the Church, and the titles of *Rex Dei Gratia* and *Vicario de Dios* were a reminder of the divine origin of the monarchy.³³⁵ The Castilian-Leonese monarchy, in sum, developed its own sense of sacrality totally independent from the other European trends, in order to reinforce its autonomy from any other institution, and particularly the Christian Church.

Whilst the other European monarchies built their legitimisation and sacrality on their relationship with the Church and the possession of thaumaturgical powers, as previously mentioned, the Castilian-Leonese kings developed their legitimisation after their sole submission to God, with whom they enjoyed a special relationship in which the Church did not have any role. Regarding this thaumaturgy, studied widely by Bloch, the French and the English monarchies enriched their affiliation with divinity – through the ecclesiastical conference of power – with a supernatural element that was not shared with the Castilian-Leonese monarchs, which has been another traditional argument for the lack of sacrality in the monarchies of medieval Iberia.³³⁶ These powers, which often included healing, first appeared in France during the 12th century – when the movement to reinforce royal power began³³⁷ – and could have been an attempt to emphasise a connection between the monarch and God in addition to ecclesiastical conferral. This was not necessary in the Castilian-Leonese case, since the non-existent role of the Church in the anointing of the kings already established this emancipation.

The private connection between God and the monarch inherent to the role of the king and his lineage were more than enough to develop this sense of sacral monarchy in the Castilian-Leonese scenario. Therefore, there was no need to use the existence of thaumaturgical powers in the hands of said rulers. However, what can be found is the idea, following the principle of the king as *Vicario de Dios*, of a certain miraculous character surrounding the

³³⁵ O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 46–47.

³³⁶ Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*.

³³⁷ See Chapter 6.1, “The pedagogical power of literature”, p. 144.

figure of the monarch since he acts as intermediary between the people and God. A good example of this can be found in the *Cantigas de Santa María*, a product of Alfonso X's *scriptorium*. In this work, the *Cantiga* 321 narrates how a mother was advised to seek King Alfonso's powers to heal her daughter, but the monarch asserted that he did not have such power and suggested that mother pray for the Virgin Mary's intervention. The first advice received by the mother is a clear reference to the thaumaturgical powers of the monarchy, likely a French or English influence. Alfonso X's denial, however, is particularly revealing as it reinforced the role of the king as *Vicario de Dios*, whilst also potentially ridiculing the magical pretensions of other monarchs.³³⁸ This idea would be in line with Nieto Soria's opinion on the sacral superiority of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy in opposition to the French and English cases. The Castilian-Leonese monarchs, in this case Alfonso X, did not need to prove any thaumaturgical abilities in order to sustain their connection to God, as it was inherent to the role of the king.

Therefore, the position of the ruler is that of submission and humility towards divinity – which, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was one of the most important characteristics of a king/emperor. The credit for miraculous events is given to God, or the Virgin – with the ruler acting as an intermediary – and the receiver of the miracle must also deserve it, as the definition of miracle in the *Siete Partidas* states:

La primera, que venga por el poder de Dios, e non por arte. La segunda, que el miraglo sea contra natura, ca de otra guisa non se marauillarían los omes dél. La tercera, que venga por merescimiento de santidad e de bondad que aya en sí aquél por quién Dios lo faze. La quarta, que aquel miraglo acaezca sobre cosa que sea sobre confirmación de la fe.

Partida I, Título IX, Ley LXVII

³³⁸ Ruiz, 'Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages', 128.

The fragment clearly establishes who performs the miracle and the fact that devotion was a requirement for its receipt. This is relevant as throughout the Alfonsine production, the receiver was in many cases the king/emperor, either by inspiration or protection. As Nieto Soria asserts, the monarch, *Vicario de Dios*, is never abandoned by God: he is inspired to take certain decisions or paths and he is protected under particular circumstances, as will be shown in the following section of this chapter.³³⁹ For instance, the *Cantigas de Santa María* mentioned on several occasions the healing of King Alfonso, since he was devoted to the figure of Virgin Mary. The case of the *Estoria de Espanna* is similar, and divine intercessions are common in the entire chronicle, including the Roman section, proving the sacrality of the imperial *linna* even before Christianity was crystallised.

In short, all these textual proofs demonstrate that, contrary to what several scholars claim, there is in the Hispanic, and more concretely the Castilian-Leonese case, a sense of sacrality in the monarchy that, put simply, developed differently to that of its European neighbours. The sacral nature of Castile and Leon was, in Nieto Soria's words "*una adaptación estricta del caso castellano a los modelos francés e inglés*".³⁴⁰ This differentiation is essential since it explains the dynamics between the Castilian-Leonese monarchy and the Christian Church that, as has been stated on several occasions in this study, were so important for the development of the Alfonsine imperial ideology. The private character of the relationship between God and the monarch left the ecclesiastical hierarchy to one side and proved that the Christian Church, and thus by extension the papacy, did not have any claims in the election of emperors – in this case of the Holy Roman Empire. This is, as will be developed in the following section, asserted clearly in the text of the *Estoria de Espanna*, in which the compilers made the effort to present God as the ultimate overseer of the *Translatio Imperii* by inspiring and protecting

³³⁹ Nieto Soria, 'Imágenes religiosas del rey y del poder real en la Castilla de siglo XIII', 66–67.

³⁴⁰ Nieto Soria, 'La Monarquía Bajomedieval castellana', 1237.

the successive emperors that belonged to the imperial *linna*, and also punishing those who threatened the rightful succession and ‘growth’ of the empire. It will be seen that, given this special relationship between the divinity and the emperors, the role of the Christian Church is very limited and worked only so long as it led to the conversion of the pagan emperors to Christianity. This is in line with the idea asserted in the *Siete Partidas* that the emperor should only obey the Pope in spiritual matters, and therefore did not have any power on the imperial election.³⁴¹ The following section will, then, explore the presentation of each of these ideas within the Alfonsine text and prove how the sacrality of the imperial *linna* is as old as the *linna* itself. God will be proven to be the mastermind behind the *Translatio Imperii* and, as has been advanced in previous chapters and will be further developed in the following pages, was in control of imperial succession from the beginning of time up to the aspirations of Alfonso X.

God and the empire in the Estoria de Espanna

Under the rule of Alfonso X, the sacrality of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy was manifested in several works from the Alfonsine *scriptorium*. I have already mentioned how the *Siete Partidas* and the *Setenario* contain the principles of the relationship between God and the king/monarch, and therefore the Christian Church. For their part, other works such as the *Cantigas de Santa María* have explored the relation between the monarch and the miracles, asserting the lack of thaumaturgy in the Iberian monarchy, but the existence of a special relationship with divinity linked to miracles of protection and inspiration. I have also shown how this sacrality, and the role of God in the Alfonsine ideology in general, were closely related to ideas discussed previously in this thesis such as the *Translatio Imperii* and the imperial *linna*: it was members of this special lineage and those with the

³⁴¹ See Chapter 2.3 “Alfonso X’s Imperial Ideology and the Reinforcement of the Royal Power”, p. 46.

merits to become emperors who enjoyed close relationships with God, since protective action from divinity and divine inspiration were only received by those who deserved such gifts. In this sense, this following section will explore how the *Estoria de Espanna* included this sacrality within its text, and how it worked to finally unify each of the different mechanisms of legitimisation used in the chronicle.

The divine input in Alfonsine historiography was, as will be seen, discernible in both content and of structure. Both the *Estoria de Espanna* and the *General Estoria* present a relationship between God and the imperial *linna* encoded in the idea that the imperial lineage has a divine origin. The members of the *linna* were the only ones to receive the *imperium* since they all come from the first man, created by God, and are related to characters of the same bloodline, such as Nemrod, Jupiter, Aeneas, Frederick I and Frederick II, and Alfonso X. God was the origin of their power, and as will be also explained, the power he granted could also be taken away if the emperor did not deserve it.³⁴²

It has been said on several occasions and will be developed further in this section that God acted in Alfonsine historiography, and especially in the *Estoria de Espanna*, as an overseer of the process of the *Translatio Imperii*. He ensured that all the aforementioned requirements for imperial succession were fulfilled and punished the emperors that succeeded without the right to do so, as I showed in previous chapters. In this way, in line with my explanation on previous pages, the relationship between God and the emperor was significantly more emphasised in the chronicle than the relationship between the ruler and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This supports the fact that power was given to the emperor by God and not through a representative of the Christian Church which, as will be explored in the coming pages, played

³⁴² Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 33–36, 39.

a very practical role in the *Estoria de Espanna* in terms of spiritual advice to the emperors.

An important factor to bear in mind is that, considering the length of the Roman section of the *Estoria de Espanna*, unlike other chronicles on which it is based, the weight of historical fact is definitely more important than the presence of religion. These references seem to be few, considering that the sources for this first part of the chronicle are, to a considerable extent, ecclesiastical: Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* is just one example of this phenomenon. Furthermore, and more importantly, the analysis of the text has shown that there is a significant imbalance between the mentions of the relationship between divinity – embodied by God or other characters in his command – and the ruler, and the presence of the papal institution in the chronicle, which seems to be anecdotal.

Therefore, given the magnitude of this topic – which affects almost every aspect of the chronicle – this section will address the presence of God and the papacy in the chronicle in terms of their connection to the *Translatio Imperii* by addressing the following: first, the inspiration and protection given by God to the members of the *linna* or to characters who established and reinforced the *imperium*, and secondly, how this protection could be reinforced or taken away as a result of the Christian (or anti-Christian) actions and attitude of certain emperors. Finally, this section will analyse the presence, or lack thereof, of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and particularly the papal successions within the imperial section of the *Estoria de Espanna*. By addressing these topics, I will be able to create an overview of the systemised depiction of the relationship between the king/emperor and God in the political project of Alfonso X, in which the presence of the papacy was a necessary evil.

The divine surveillance over the *Translatio Imperii* affected all aspects of ruling previously discussed in this thesis and was a constant within the

Alfonsine narrative. Thus, related to the first of the points to be discussed in this section, the first mention of the intervention of God in the *Estoria de Espanna* occurred during the account of Dido's escape from Tyre in Chapter 54 (36), which, according to the chronicle, was blessed by divinity. Whilst it is true that this first reference to divinity mentions the gods – probably the pagan deities Dido would have worshipped at the time – in the next chapter, the reference to God is clear:

*E ouieron
entrel y la reyna respuesta de sos dioses
que fiziessen amos aquella carrera e que serien
bien andantes e por esso yua con ella.*

(EE54, 36)

*E pues que se uio en
alta mar e alongada de la su
tierra. ouo muy grand alegria. e diol dios
buen tiempo. e alçaron las uelas assi que ar
ribaron much ayna en affrica en un logar
que fazie cuemo seno dela mar.*

(EE 55, 2)

It is worth mentioning that none of these mentions of God had a presence in Pompeius Trogus, the source for both fragments. Therefore, their inclusion must have been an editorial decision made by the compilers. In this way, in spite of Queen Dido praising false deities, she was blessed by God on her trip as she needed to complete the task of bringing Aeneas to the *Estoria de Espanna* and connecting the hero's history with the Iberian Peninsula. However, this mention was not unique to the narration of the story of Dido and the later account of Aeneas. Shortly after, in Chapter 57, the queen's advisor Carthon was guided by God to the city of Cartagena, a fact that was decisive in the ideological framework built by the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* as it assured the connection between the account of Dido and Aeneas and the Iberian Peninsula, allowing for the Trojan hero's introduction to the chronicle.³⁴³ In this case, it was mentioned that God instructed him to sail

³⁴³ See Chapter 4.2, "The Empire and the *Sennorío* in the *Estoria de Espanna*", pp. 91.

towards the *Espannas*. Regarding the *dios* mentioned in this fragment, it is not entirely clear whether the text refers to God or the aforementioned pagan deities Dido prayed to in the above fragment. What can be confirmed is that this fragment, looking at the sources – the *Historia Romana* by Jiménez de Rada, and Eusebio’s chronicle – was an addition made by the compilers. The use of the structure “*sos dios*” might be problematic for the reader/listener of the chronicle: whilst the term “*sos*” – his/their – might imply those pagan Gods to whom Dido prayed to before leaving Tyre, the mention of the singular “*dios*” could refer to the one Christian God.³⁴⁴ Another hypothesis is that the expression “*e carthon ouo respuesta de sos dios*” replicated the same structure as in Chapter 54 (36): the gods these characters prayed to were most likely pagan but the answers they receive from them come, as in the case of Dido sailing from Tyre, from the one true God. In any case, the invocation of divinity cannot be denied in this fragment and gave the foundation of Cartagena a sacral character that the sources lacked.

*E carthon ouo respuesta de sos dios
que fuesse a espanna e alli fallarie lo que
demandaua. E fizo lo assi. e luego que ouo
buen tiempo alço sus uelas e fuesse a aquel
puerto o fue depues poblada carthagen*

(EE 57, 11-12)

Aeneas was the next to receive guidance from God. As mentioned previously, God suggested in a dream that he marry Queen Dido before fulfilling his destiny:³⁴⁵

*En
esto adormeciosse e fuel dicho en suennos
que primero casarie con la reyna dido. e de
pues irie a aquel logar o el cobdiciaua.
E pues que desperto semeiol que esta uision fue
ra de dios e plogol mucho*

(EE 59, 7-8)

³⁴⁴ A further study on this matter, that analysed the use of the terminology in both the *Estoria de Espanna* and the *General Estoria*, as well as other works from the same period, could solve questions regarding the relevance and acceptance of the cult of pagan gods by these historical characters from the pre-Christian period.

³⁴⁵ See Chapter 4.2, “The Empire and the *Sennorio* in the *Estoria de Espanna*”, pp. 92.

This oneiric mechanism was a common means of communication for God and the members of the imperial *linna*, and was therefore not exclusive to this passage of the chronicle. The most remarkable case was likely that of Constantine, who was told in a dream how to reach sanctity, by converting into Christianity:

e des que fue passado aquel dia e uino la noche; echosse ell emperador Costantino a dormir. e aparecieron le en su ennos sant Pedro e sant Paulo los dos santos Apostolos. e dixieron le. Por que no quesiste derramar la sangre de los que eran sin culpa; nos enujo a ti nuestro sennor ihesu cristo. que te damos conseio que puedas cobrar tu sanidad. e por ende oynos e faz lo que te con seiaremos. E sepas que siluestre el papa por tal de desfoyr los sacrificios de los gentiles. e de no aorar los sus ydolos; fuxosse pora los montes. e esta escondido con sus clerigos en el monte serap tin. e enuialo tu llamar e faz lo uenir atj. e el te mostrara una albuhera de que te fazemos cierto que tanto que te el banne enella luego seras sano de la gafedat.

(EE, 322, 12-14)

In this chapter it was not God himself who gave the message, but Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The saints suggested that the emperor summon Saint Sylvester after an order given directly by Jesus Christ. Constantine would be reached by divinity on two other occasions in order to guide him to rebuild Constantinople – a sign of *Renovatio Imperii*. It was again Jesus Christ who sent the visions, but in this case the voice that gave guidance was that of Saint Sylvester, already deceased, who was the enactor of the emperor's conversion, as will be explained in greater detail in the following pages.

mas ayudol nuestro sennor ihesu cristo por la buena creencia que enel auie. e uencios todos [...] e morando y en una cibdat que auie nombre bisancio; auinol assi una noche. que el yaziendo durmiendo en su lecho uinol en uison quel parauan delante una muger ue

*gezuela muy fea e much enatia e mu
erta. e diziel sant Siluestre. Costanti
no faz oracion e ressuscitara esta muger.
[...] ¶ E des que ouo ayunado siete di
as un depos otro; Apareciol otra uez en
uision sant Siluestre e dixol. ¶ La uieia
que tu uiste es bisancio esta cipdat en que
estas. que uees que a ya los muros todos cay
dos de uegedat [...] e poro aquella sennal fuere.
mandaras fazer muros muy altos e
muy fuertes. e esta cibdat que es uieia.
tornar la as nueua. e poner las nombre
del tuyo. e sera enella muy loado el nom
bre del nuestro sennor ihesu cristo. e aura
y muchas yglesias a onra de todos los
santos. e regnaran enella tus fijos. e
tus nietos. e todos los que de ti uinieren.*

(EE 331, 2-3, 8, 11)

In the cases of both the story of Dido and Aeneas and Constantine's conversion, the objective of the divine messages was to provide guidance to members of the *linna* in the path towards the establishment – in the case of Aeneas – or *renovatio* – in the case of Constantine – of the empire. The close relationship between God and the rulers of the *linna* was emphasised by the concept of divine inspiration, by which the role of the monarch and emperor as a representative of God proved that the anointing ceremony was not necessary to forge a relationship with divinity.³⁴⁶ As seen in the cases of both Aeneas and Constantine, divine guidance ensured the fulfilment of their destiny, for God's will cannot be avoided. This idea was also employed in other cases in the *Estoria de Espanna*, such as in the moment when Julius Caesar defeated Pompey against all the odds:

*Et otrossi en
esta batalla de espanna. si los Ponpeyos fijos de
Ponpeyo el grand e sos cabdiellos ouiessen sa
budo ell estado a que fue aducho Julio cesar en
esta
batalla; uencieran ellos. e fuera Julio Cesar uen
çudo e desfecho en espanna el so poder pora
siem
pre. Mas lo que es ordenado por el poder de dios
nolo puede desfazer si no el quando quisiere.*

(EE 118, 8-9)

³⁴⁶ Nieto Soria, 'Imágenes religiosas del rey y del poder real en la Castilla de siglo XIII', 722–23.

This fragment showed how the divine protection of Julius Caesar was explicit in the chronicle and serves as proof of God's safeguarding and aid to the members of the imperial *linna* in the chronicle in general. Julius Caesar was the beneficiary of several of these divine interventions: for example, he defeated Petreus and Afranius in battle thanks to God's aid (EE 101,1), and even when he was defeated by Pompey, the chronicle asserted that he could defeat his enemies in the future with the assistance of God:

*E que assi cuemo fu
era uençudo aquel dia. assi podrie el
uencer otro si su uentura fuesse que
dios le ayudasse.*

(EE 106, 1-2)

In this passage, the analysis of sources – which for this chapter include Orosius and Diaconus – shows that the mention of divine aid seems to be an addition made by the compilers, precisely to reinforce this idea of God helping Julius Caesar in his deeds and therefore assuring the instalment of the Roman Empire. This protection of the transmission of the empire and the emperors who sat on its throne was common throughout the entire section. This is the case, for instance, of Honorius, whose empire and lineage were protected by the divinity against Stilicho's plot (EE 367, 5-6). Nevertheless, the case of Constantine again seems to be the most paradigmatic in this sense. The emperor was said to be protected by the symbol of the cross in Chapter 320, and divine intervention occurred, as usual, in the form of a dream.

*guiso ell Emperador
Costantino sus huestes por yr a Roma.
a lidiar con Maxencio. e en yendo por la
carrera pensando mucho enel fecho de la
batalla que auie de auer adormeciosse. e
uio ensuennos enel cielo la sennal de
la cruz que resplandecie a manera de
fuego. E uio los angeles quel estauan a
derredor e dizien le enel lenguaje Te
utónico. ¶ Costantin? por aquesta uen
çras tu. ¶ E segund cuenta Eusebio en
la ystoria eclesiastica. diz que el oyo yurar
a Costantino que medio dia era quandol*

*a el contescio aquello. e que toda la hues
te de los caualleros que yuan con el uie
ron aquella sennal. ¶ E el yendo cuydando
enaquel fecho que cosa podie seer; uino la
noche. e endurmiendo. apareciol el nu
estro sennor ihesu cristo con aquella misma
sennal que uiera enel cielo; e mandol que
fiziessse su senna daquella sennal e que
uencrie con ella todas las batallas.*

(EE 320, 2-6)

This narration is that of the famous motto “*in hoc signo vinces*” – in this sign thou shalt conquer – which is given in Castilian in this chronicle. In the first dream Constantine had before his battle against Maxentius, the givers of the message were angels sent by Jesus Christ, who told him that the symbol would protect him in battle. In the second dream, though, it was Jesus Christ himself who intervened and communicated to Constantine that, as long as he remained devoted to the cross, he would be invincible: in other words, that he would be protected, which seems also to be a warning towards the end of his rule. This is corroborated in Chapter 323, in which a jealous Licinius tried to hurt Constantine but was not able to do so, since the emperor was protected by the cross.

*Ca segund cuenta Eu
sebio en la estoria ecclesiastica; Licinio
que uio que ell Emperador Costantino era tan
amado que todas las gentes del mundo [...]
ouo ende grand pesar e grand
enuidia. [...] trabaiosse de lo engannar
a escuso si pudiesse por los priuados e
por los officiales de su casa. enuiando les
muchas donas e prometiendo les muy
grand algo por que lo matassen ol fiziessen
perder el sennorio e la cristiandat. mas
nolo pudo engannar por esta razon en
ninguna manera. Ca ell Emperador Costan
tino tenie toda su esperança en el nues
tro sennor ihesu cristo. e atodas las cosas
e a todos los periglos quel uinien; fазie
en su frente la sennal de la cruz quel
aparesciera en el cielo. e aquella era la pri
mera arma de que se el acorrie.*

(EE 323, 2-4)

The importance of Constantine and of his relationship with God in the chronicle was due to his position as the first officially Christian emperor.³⁴⁷ In this way, after his conversion, there is a paradigmatic change in the relationship between the emperors and God: before, it was sustained by a unilateral protection given from divinity to the emperor, but after the conversion, the faith and worship of the emperor played an important role of reciprocity. In this regard, the example set by Constantine again proved to be illustrative, as it showed how the change in the emperor's devotion led to his downfall.

The evolution of his devotion began with the account of his divine dream and subsequent conversion, when in Chapter 322 the emperor tried to seek healing for his sick body and was told that God could cure him. Constantine was again reminded of this in fragment 324:

*E tu fijo si
saneste de la gafedat sepas que fue por que
fuste tu el primero entre todos los empe
radores que diste cabo all yerro de los Jdolos.*

(EE 324, 6)

In this passage, the emperor's mother Helena mentioned that Constantine was the first emperor who embraced Christianity and pushed idols aside, downplaying the conversion of the Philip I and his son, explained in further pages of this thesis. Be that as it may, the close relationship Constantine enjoyed with divinity was rooted in his conversion to Christianity. However, as Inés Fernández-Ordóñez points out, what God gives he might also take away, and in Chapter 335 of the *Estoria de Espanna*, Constantine became ill and died after converting to Arianism:³⁴⁸

*Auino assi. que los ereges Arrianos
andaron siguiendo all emperador Costan
tino tanto con sus falsas predicationes
que lo tornaron a su heregia. e bateolo en en*

³⁴⁷ Philip the Arab and his son should not be forgotten since they were converted in chapter 265 of the *Estoria de Espanna*. However, their relevance and that of their conversion is relative in the chronicle.

³⁴⁸ Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 39.

*el postremero anno de su uida Eusebio O
bispo de Nicomedia que era cabeça de todos
los hereges arrianos. ¶ E alçosse le en
tonce tierra de persia. e el fuesse pora
Nicomedia e guisaua sus huestes por
yr sobrella. e enguisandosse e morando
alli adolescio de muy fuerte enferme
dat e des que uio que aurie de morir della;
Alço por emperadores a Costantino; e
a costancio e a Costante sus fijos. e di
oles por compannero e por equal enel
sennorio a Dalmacio cesar su sobrino
por las bondades que en si auie. e por que se
meiaua mucho a el. ¶ E desi murio
ell Emperador auiedo recebido el bap
tismo de los hereges a sessaenta e seis
annos que naciera..*

(EE 335, 1-5)

This fragment narrated the death of the emperor after his second baptism in which, according to the chronicle, he became Arian. The structure of the passage is revealing in terms of the importance given to the conversion, since the Arian baptism is mentioned before and after Constantine's passing. A close look at the sources also illustrates the relevance of the passages and how these were manipulated in conjunction with the ideological aim of the *Estoria de Espanna*. According to Menéndez Pidal, this chapter used the *Historia Miscella* by Diaconus, and the *Chronici Canones* by Eusebius as sources. Whilst the first of the works did not include this episode, the second offered a different perspective of the event:

*Constantinus extremo uitae suae tempore ab
Eusebio nicomedensi episcopo baptizatus in
arrianum dogma declinat.*

(Chronicorum, Eusebius-Hieronimus, 192)

This source mentioned that at the end of his life, Constantine declined the baptism offered by Bishop Eusebio, who was Arian. Even though one of the meanings of the verb *declinare* might be 'to incline', or to 'move aside' the joint use with the preposition *ab* and its syntagma build the meaning 'to

decline' of the verb.³⁴⁹ Therefore, in spite of an explicit mention of the refusal of the Arian baptism in the sources, the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* decided intentionally or – less likely – by mistake as a result of a wrong translation, to change the account of the end of Constantine's life in such an important manner. Given the emphasis the chronicle places on the act of the heretic baptism, which is mentioned twice, I do not think this turn in the discourse was the result of a mistake. If that was not the case, and the decision was premeditated, this would reinforce the idea set forth by Fernández-Ordóñez that God could revoke his protection when emperors showed they did not deserve it.

There were more instances in the *Estoria de Espanna* that showed how God revoked his divine protection to emperors due to their unchristian attitudes. That was the case, for example, of Valerian and Julianus, whose reigns began by supporting, or at least not condemning Christianity, but who were punished after they changed their attitude and began persecuting Christians. In the case of Valerian, Chapter 271 showed the emperor's positive attitude towards Christians up to the moment when, following bad influences, he started the eighth persecution of Christians after Nero:

Auino assi que Valeriano mostrosse por muy bueno e por muy manso contra los cristianos. segund cuenta Eusebio. e tan piadoso fue contra ellos. e de tan marauilloso acogimiento; que la su casa semeiaua iglesia. Mas uino a Roma un mal maestro que era cabdiello de los en cantadores de tierra de egypto; e torno lo de la fe. e fizol mouer persecucion contra los cristianos. e aquella fue la ochaua de pues de la de Nero. Et fue tan fuerte. e tan esquiua. que por la grand crueldat della ouo el nuestro sennor ihesu cristo a tomar grand uengança dell Jmperio de Roma.

(EE 271, 3-5)

³⁴⁹ Jasz-Berenyi, *Fax Nova Linguae Latinae, Etc. (A New Torch to the Latine Tongue)*, s.v. Declinare.

This fragment mentioned God's vengeance explicitly in this respect. That exact part of the episode had its source in Orosius (VII, 22^o, 3-4): however, in contrast to the first verses of the chapter, which were directly translated from Vincent of Beauvais, the mention of vengeance seemed heavily rewritten by the compiler. Again, the chronicle emphasised the withdrawal of God's blessing. This is corroborated in Valerian's case in Chapter 273, in which the consequences of his acts are shown.

*E por la uertud del nuestro sen
nor ihesu cristo que quiso tomar uengança
dell Emperador Valeriano por quanto
mal fiziera en los sus sieruos; fue uen
çudo en aquella lid pero que traye grandes
poderes. e leuo lo el Rey Sapor a Persia.
e cuemo quier que era Valeriano mance
bo alli enuegecio e murio en catiuo.*

(EE 273, 4)

This chapter continued the endeavour of Chapter 271 and exemplified the consequences of the emperor's actions. Again, the word vengeance was an addition to the Alfonsine manuscript, since the source for this fragment seemed to be the same as that of the previous citation (Orosius, VII, 22^o, 3-4), completed with details from the *Bellovacensis* (XI, 56), and none of them included this term in their text.

The case of Julianus is similar in the sense that his rule also began with a positive attitude towards Christianity – he was said to be Christian and he was even called “*monje*”, meaning monk – but his desire to be adored led him to abandon his faith and return to the Roman pagan cult, in which the possibility of his deification existed, and started persecuting Christians.

*E algunos ouo que quisieron dezir
mal del mas no fue con uerdat. ca era
comunal a todos e no muy cobdicioso
de allegar auer. mas cobdiciaua mucho
fazer cosas por que fuesse loado. ¶ Pero
con todo aquesto desque ouo dexada la cristian
dat e la mongia; tornosse all yerro de
los gentiles e adorar los Jdolos. e mouio
persecucion en los cristianos*

(EE 353, 4-5)

His actions were summarised and condemned in the following chapter, in which he was killed, apparently by Saint Mercury, who was already a martyr at the time of Julianus' rule.

*Començo ell Em
perador Juliano a tormentar los cristia
nos muy braua mientre. [...] Mas el nuestro sennor que guar
do siempre los sus amigos ordenolo do
tra guisa.[...] E en
yendo amos en uino a soora un
cauallero su escudo enbraçado e la lan
ca en la mano e dio grand ferida all Em
perador; e fue luego su uia que no pares
cio mas.
E Juliano con Malenconia
tomo de la sangre en su mano e comen
çola a derramar contral cielo cuemo si
diesse a alguno con ella en la cara. e
dixo contra nuestro señor. Ya uencis
te galileo ya uenciste. Ca siempre auie
el en costumbre de llamar a Jhesu cristo
Galileo. desi saliol luego ell alma del
cuerpo. E cuemo quier que las estorias
de los gentiles cuentan que este caualle
ro que a Juliano mato que fue de los de la
otra parte; fallamos nos escripto en*

*la uida de sant basilio Arçobispo de Ce
sarea; que este cauallero fue sant mer
curio el martir que era ya passado tiem
po auie deste mundo all otro. E sopusse
por cierto desta guisa. ¶ En la yglesia
do yazie el cuerpo de sant Mercurio por
razon que fuera cauallero; estaua su lan
ça e su escudo sobre su monumento. e
un dia el sacristan de la eglesia anda
ua requiriendo depues de uiesperas
la eglesia segund que lo auie en costum
bre. e no fallo la lança nj ell escudo.
sobrel sepulcro de sant Mercurio. e por
no caer mal por ello; mostro lo a todos
los clerigos del logar. E otro dia man
nana quando uinieron todos a ma
tines; fallaron ell escudo en su logar
e la lança sangrienta. E desi sopieron
por cierto que enaquel dia e en aquella
ora misma en que aquello conteciera.
fuera muerto Juliano ell Emperador.*

(EE 354 1, 4, 9-16)

This almost fantastic account supported the idea of divine intervention and the withdrawal of protection to the emperor, as it is God who ordered Julianus's sentence. This fragment has its sources in various authors: Orosius, Diaconus, Vincent of Beauvais and, according to Menéndez Pidal, Cassiodorus.³⁵⁰ Most of these accounts seemed to focus on the Persian war, and it is only Orosius (VII, 30^o, 6) who mentioned Julianus's death as payment for his impious decisions. This action is reversed in the *Estoria de Espanna*, where it is God who is the agent in commanding the emperor's punishment.

³⁵⁰ However, the analysis of the text has shown that this last work was probably not one of the sources for this episode, since the information that provides is just a repetition of the other sources, and its uses according to Menéndez Pidal is limited to this chapter.

The inversion of the agency in the sentence focuses the action on God's vengeance, not on Julianus's payment, as in Orosius's text.

*sic misericors Deus impia consilia impii morte
dissoluit.*

(Orosius VII, 30^o, 6)

The account of Saint Mercury's martyrdom was contained in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, in the account of the *mirabilia* that occurred during Julianus's rule. The resulting adaptation to the Alfonsine text was a simplified summary of the *Bellovacensis* but with a twist that represented the work of the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna*: there was a direct connection between Julianus's death and Saint Mercury, who was sent, according to the beginning of the chapter, by God to punish the emperor.

As the first two points of discussion, I aimed to cover in this section have been covered – divine inspiration and protection, and the revoking of such divine intervention – it can be seen how the protection and blessing of the emperor was, in the *Estoria de Espanna*, very much related to the relationship of these emperors with the divinity and to a lesser extent with Christianity. As Nieto Soria has written, the figure of the *Rex christianissimus* and the *Rex inspiratus* are intrinsically linked in the Alfonsine chronicle.³⁵¹ However, as has been seen in the previous examples of the role of God in the chronicle, with very few exceptions, God's intervention did not mean the Church's intervention: the emperors' connection with Christianity seemed to be characterised by their devotion and faith, and by their attitude towards the Christian community, not the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This leads to the third point to be discussed in this section, which is closely related to the relationship between the ruler and the Christian church that I discussed in the first pages of this chapter. The text demonstrates how, in spite of the abundant mentions of divinity made in the

³⁵¹ Nieto Soria, 'Imágenes religiosas del rey y del poder real en la Castilla de siglo XIII', 717, 722.

chronicle, mentions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy are lacking, which provides a contrast to the vast majority of works contemporary to the Alfonsine chronicle, as well as its sources, as several of these were ecclesiastical histories. This would create an imaginary unique to the Alfonsine historiography, in which the close relationship between God and the emperor was emphasised to the detriment of the relationship between the ruler and the Christian Church, making the aforementioned idea of the ecclesiastical and public anointment unnecessary in the Castilian-Leonese and imperial scenarios, since the Pope did not have any role in the conferral of power from divinity to the king/emperor.

In this light, the structure and content of the Alfonsine chronicle show that the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and particularly the evolution of the papal institution, played a marginal role in the imperial section of the chronicle, which reflected the (lack of) importance placed upon the relationship between the holder of the imperial crown and the Christian institution. Since the main relationship requiring emphasis in the historical account was that between God and the emperors, the relationship of the latter with the Pope was used only under very particular circumstances. In fact, the mere presence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was strictly limited in the chronicle. As Fernández-Ordóñez has asserted, the treatment of papal succession in the imperial section was very irregular, and whilst the change of the compiling criteria and the use of the sources might have been an important reason, Fernández-Ordóñez does not disregard some level of intentionality.³⁵² Nevertheless, a close look at the chronicle shows that any Pope is left behind in the account until the rule of Constantine, whilst there exists some sort of irregularity in the way this succession of Popes is expressed. The listed Popes are mentioned, not very consistently, at the end of some chapters and at the beginning of others, from the very emergence of the new religion up to the rule of

³⁵² Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las Estorias de Alfonso El Sabio*, 218–19.

Constantine. One detail that can be noted is that Popes were not normally listed at the beginning of the chapter when such chapter also included the election of a new emperor, which might have been an effort to separate both elections and the figure of the Pope from the imperial choice. Be that as it may, after Constantine the papal sequence is not mentioned again until the rule of Alaric II, in the Goth section of the chronicle, after whom the succession of Popes was again mentioned with some sort of regularity. As mentioned above, Fernández-Ordóñez indicates that this absence of papal news might be an interesting omission. It is true that whilst the imperial section of the *Estoria de Espanna* used the texts by Eusebius-Hieronymus and Vincent of Beauvais for the papal account, after Alaric II's rule Sigebert's *Chronographia* was the source chosen to list the Popes. This would fit with the change of compiling criteria and use of sources appointed by the scholar. However, Sigebert's *Chronographia* was previously used in the chronicle, particularly in the fragment between Constantine and Alaric, and even though the source mentioned the papal succession, the *Estoria de Espanna* omitted this information as the comparison of the following fragments show.³⁵³

*Anastasius Romanae aecclesiae
37us presidet. Sanctus Martinus
quosdam obiit hoc anno. Florebant in
aecclesia hoc tempore sane ti et docti
viri, Iohannes Crisostomus Constantinopolis
episcopus, sanctitate quidem
et scientia clarus, sed in facundia
sua severior et liberior iusto,
Donatus Epiri episcopus, qui ingentem
draconem expuens in ore eius
interfecit, quem octo iuga boum vix
trahere potuerunt ad cremandum; in
Hispania Orosius historiographus.*

(Sigebert, *Chron.* Year 399)

*E
la Era en quatrocientos e treynta e siete
Auie por todel mundo muchos omnes
buenos e sabios e muy santos. ¶ Assi co
mo sant Johan crisostono en Costantino
pla. ¶ E sant donato Obispo de ephiro
que escupio al dragon en la boca e lo fizo
morir luego. e era tan grand que apenas
lo podien leuar ocho yugos de bueys al
logar olo quemaron. ¶ E en Espanna paulo
orosio que escriuio las estorias.*

(EE 363, 1-4)

³⁵³ Fernández-Ordóñez, 219.

This comparison proves that the change of sources was not the sole, nor the main, reason for the absence of papal succession after Constantine. On the contrary, the change of compiling criteria draws still more questions: why the sudden disappearance of the papal institution in the chronicle? Was there an ideological reason behind the project of the imperial section of the *Estoria de Espanna* that did not fit completely with the rest of the chronicle?

As stated by Fernández-Ordóñez, the last emperor during whose rule a Pope is mentioned is Constantine, but it might be more important to answer the question of who was the last Pope included in the Roman *Sennorio*, and why. This Pontiff was Saint Sylvester, who sat on the Holy See during the rule of Constantine and was not only the last of the popes of the imperial section, but also the one who received the most extended treatment. Whilst the chronicle only dedicated a few words to most of the pontiffs, strictly related to their nomination, years of pontificate, and deaths, the case of Saint Sylvester signified an anomaly in the treatment of papal history. The reason for this digression was simple: Sylvester performed Constantine's baptism, and therefore, it was he who brought the empire to Christianity.

Sylvester was mentioned on several occasions in the *Estoria de Espanna*. The first time the chronicle referred to him was in Chapter 317, in which he received the title of Pope. In Chapter 319 the Pope was included in the dating account of the chapter, an anomaly in the compiling criteria that warns the reader/listener of the relevance of this character in the text. This same chapter also narrated his escape to Serapti during the persecution led by Maxentius, information whose source can be traced to the *Speculum Historiale* (XIII, 23-46). It can be noted that, although the translation was very close to the original, the connection between the emperor and exile was an addition made by the compilers. This information was repeated in Chapter 322 (14) as a sort of reintroduction of the character before one of his main appearances: the conversion of Constantine. The conversion itself was also a

marvellous episode as during the ceremony a lightning bolt illuminated the skies and created for the emperor a vision of Jesus Christ (EE 322, 20-21).³⁵⁴ Saint Sylvester baptised the emperor but had nothing to do with his ascension to the imperial throne, acting merely as his advisor in spiritual matters – imitating the *Siete Partidas*'s guidelines for how the Pope should act. There were several more miraculous events related to Saint Sylvester in the chronicle, and the Pope appeared to Constantine in dreams on two occasions (EE 324 and 331). Furthermore, in Chapter 324, which discusses the conflict between the Christians and the Jews (30-50), the Pope, following the will of Jesus Christ, defeated a dragon that was killing the people of Rome (55). In this case, the chronicle again summarised the account given in the *Speculum Historiale* (XIII, 50-53) and offered an explanation for his inclusion in the chronicle and his importance in the development of imperial history.³⁵⁵

There is no doubt that Saint Sylvester was a key character in the *Estoria de Espanna*, and it is also a fact that until his papacy, no Pope was omitted in the chronicle's timeline of papal succession. Why, then, did the compilers not consider it necessary to narrate the succession of Popes after Sylvester? Inés Fernández-Ordóñez proposes, as I have mentioned, that the disappearance of the account of pontiffs should respond to a change in the compiling system but does not discard further intentionality. The hypothesis of this study is that the succession of popes in the imperial section made sense whilst the emperors were pagans. The succession of the *apostoligos*, as they were referred to in the *Estoria de Espanna*, reflected the evolution of

³⁵⁴ The sources for this episode, according to Menéndez Pidal, were the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais (XIII, 47-49), Cassiodorus' *Historia ecclesiastica*, and the *Actas San Silvestri*. However, considering Vincent of Beauvais' texts followed for that fragment the *Actas San Silvestri*, these did not offer any additional information, and also were not used extensively in the chronicle. I believe that this last work was not part of the list of sources for the *Estoria de Espanna*, but the appearance of this episode – or not – in ms. H could give us more information about the use or not of this source.

³⁵⁵ As in the previous case, Menéndez Pidal also refers to the *Actas San Silvestri* as a source for this passage. However, my opinion remains the same, as the text by Vincent of Beauvais contains the same information and is used more regularly in the chronicle, whilst the *Actas* are only used in these two cases.

Christianity in spite of the ignorance of emperors who, up to the rule of Constantine, did not worship the one true God. This was supported by another anomaly in the chronicle, namely the indirect role of Pope Pontian in the conversion of Philip I and Philip II. The Pope was mentioned in Chapters 259 and 261 for his nomination and death, but Chapter 265 also explained his indirect connection to the conversion of the Philips in what constitutes one of the most interesting digressions of the chronicle: this chapter narrates the life of Saint Pontius, from the prophecy of his birth up to the conversion of the emperors, and how he was educated in Christianity by Pope Pontian. The intervention of the Pope was in some way necessary for the conversion of the emperors, even though this event did not have any significant repercussions in the chronicle as the conversion of Constantine did in later chapters.

This proved how, whilst the vast majority of Popes mentioned in the imperial section of the *Estoria de Espanna* received a brief mention of their nomination and/or demise, there are two cases in which the compilers decided to digress in some way from the historical and imperial discourse. The use of the *Speculum Historiale* for these two episodes is also revealing, as the French work also offered extensive information regarding other pontiffs mentioned in the chronicle, which was omitted by the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna*. Therefore, and returning to the questions of why Saint Sylvester was the last Pope mentioned in the chronicle and why Saint Pontian deserved the special treatment he was granted by its compilers, the answer must then be related to their role in the conversion of the emperors. The Christianisation of the empire – and of its emperors – became a priority in the chronicle’s historiographical discourse, and the presence of the Popes as representatives and enactors of the work of Saint Peter was required to bring various emperors to Christianity. In this way, the two digressions were necessary in order to emphasise the importance of these conversions: once Constantine had converted and inaugurated a trend of mostly Christian emperors, the

Popes' presence was no longer required. This aligned perfectly with Alfonso X's ideology and political programme as in cases where the pontiffs exercised their influence over the emperors, they appeared after the emperors had already ascended to the throne, thus showing that the Popes did not have any elective rights with regard to the imperial crown. Pontiffs did not have a role to play in coronations or in the transmission of power from God to the emperors. Furthermore, the moral and religious influence of the pontiffs over these emperors also reflected the idea explored in the *Siete Partidas* that the king/emperor only had to obey the Popes in spiritual matters (7P II, Título II, Ley I). The role of the Popes in the *Estoria de Espanna* is thus a practical one and led only to the emperors' realisation that they should embrace the new faith, forging their own connection with divinity in which the popes did not hold any influence.

In this light, the two strands of interactions between divinity and the earthly powers – the God-ruler-Church connection– worked in Alfonsine historiography as a reflection of the political programme designed by Alfonso X, and of the idea of sacrality of the monarchy developed in the kingdom of Castile and Leon in which the relationship between the monarch and divinity was personal and close, leaving aside the power of other institutions such as the Christian Church. These ideas, also demonstrated in other works from the Alfonsine *scriptorium* such as those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, were all related to the idea of the emancipation of the imperial election from the influence of the papacy, as the election of the new emperor should respond to other criteria: the blessing and protection of God, the personal traits of the candidate and, crucially, belonging to the imperial *linna*.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the relationship between the king/emperor and God was the root of the imperial legitimisation developed in this thesis. Ultimately, the mechanisms of succession established by men to assure the correct transmission of the *imperium* and the progression of the

Translatio Imperii – the imperial lineage and the moral depiction of emperors – were subjected to and came directly from divine prerogative. The *Translatio Imperii* was a process overseen by God at every moment, and the *Estoria de Espanna* even mentioned that the end of the *Sennorío de Roma* was a punishment for the moral decay of the last emperors.³⁵⁶ For its part, the imperial *linna* based its own rights in its divine origin, coming directly from Adam via Noah and his sons;³⁵⁷ and the entire chronicle, in its didactic dimension, showed that the actions of the emperors could lead to divine protection of the *imperium* and the ‘growth’ of the empire, or vice versa, to divine punishment and the ‘decrease’ of the imperial institution.

In this way, the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* developed an idea of sacrality markedly different to that developed in other Western European kingdoms such as France and England. The different historical and ideological evolution of the Iberian kingdoms, and in particular Castile and Leon, had led to an entirely different understanding of the relationship between divine power and the two earthly institutions. Rather than the monarch being granted spiritual powers through the ceremony of anointment, in the Iberian case, they created their own relation with God without the ecclesiastical presence. In my opinion this idea of sacrality, which has been traditionally diminished by most scholars through its comparison to the French and English cases, was one of the most important statements in the consolidation of the royal power that developed early in Castile and Leon and ultimately peaked in the 12th and 13th centuries. In conclusion, although Alfonso X strongly emphasised the emancipation of the royal/imperial power from the ecclesiastical institution, this idea was already present in the Iberian imaginary and needed only to be adjusted and magnified in the hands of the compilers of the Alfonsine *scriptorium*.

³⁵⁶ See Chapter 4.3, “Rome, the culmination of the *Translatio Imperii*”, p. 103.

³⁵⁷ See Chapter 5.2, “Alfonso X and the importance of the *linna*”, p. 119.

CONCLUSIONS: ALFONSO X AND THE (RE)WRITE OF THE EMPIRE

As has been discussed in this thesis, the problematics of the representation of Alfonso X's imperial ideology in his historiographical works, and specifically in the *Estoria de Espanna*, are complex and must be analysed within the context of the elaboration of the chronicles. Alfonso X's work acted, adapted, and reacted to and with certain circumstances surrounding his own life and political aspirations. Thus, as I outlined in the first section of this thesis, the complex political scenario resulting from the death of Frederick II created an unstable situation that affected all of Western Europe, with two epicentres in conflict: the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy. Once Alfonso X involved himself in this competition – due to his family connection to the Staufen emperors – this triggered a chain of events that ended with the papacy's total opposition and refusal of Alfonso X's imperial rights, and the loss of the support and approval of the Castilian-Leonese nobility.

However, the eagerness the Castilian monarch showed in pursuing the imperial dream also raised questions regarding his reasoning: why would a king such as Alfonso X so stubbornly engage in and insist upon an aspiration that the papacy had denied from its very inception? This drew the centre of attention to the Iberian Peninsula and the also complex situation in which the different kingdoms found themselves. In this context, Alfonso X was in a position to defend his hegemony in the Iberian Peninsula as a result of the unification of the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon, the succession of conquests against the Muslims, and the ongoing persistence of an imperial idea attached to the crown of the Leonese kingdom. The *Imperium Hispanicum*, which was embodied by monarchs such as Alfonso VII the Emperor, was brought back by Alfonso's father Fernando III, who attempted to be crowned emperor and was also met with papal refusal. Alfonso X received from his father – and from the kings before him – the task of assuring the Castilian-Leonese hegemony amongst the other Iberian realms. This was essential at the moment in which

Jaime I, King of Aragon – and Alfonso X's father-in-law – was rapidly expanding his kingdom across the Iberian East and the Mediterranean archipelago of the Balearic Islands. For Alfonso, turning to the *Imperium Hispanicum* was an easy way in which to proclaim his superiority over the rest of the Iberian monarchs, including Jaime I.

Given the circumstances, the arrival of the Pisan emissaries could not have been timelier. The coronation as Holy Roman Emperor, a position which the Pisan dignitaries proposed Alfonso X could fill, was the perfect excuse to claim his Iberian superiority. At this point, Alfonso X inherited two imperial strands that would come together in his imperial project: the idea of the *Imperium Hispanicum* inherited from Fernando III, and the fact of his belonging to the Staufen dynasty, which also signified his right to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor, inherited from his mother Beatriz of Swabia. This resulted in a concentrated effort to access the German imperial crown that has traditionally received the name of *Fecho del Imperio*, one of the most important – and likely most expensive – endeavours undertaken by Alfonso X. The aim of the project was to reinforce the power of his monarchy and assure the position of Castile and Leon as both the predominant force in the Iberian Peninsula and a realm to be taken seriously by other European monarchies. However, a task such as this required the support – both political and economic – of various institutions. From the very beginning of his endeavour, Alfonso X encountered the opposition of the Christian Church, embodied by the papacy, which was opposed to another Staufen in the Holy Roman Empire. Furthermore, in addition to this obstacle, the Learned King found that the Castilian nobles were not keen on spending any economic and/or personal resources on a quest that seemed not to offer them anything in return.

These difficulties required a strengthening of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy, which materialised in the elaboration of a vast political/cultural

collection of works that contributed, in one way or another, to the creation of a new conceptualisation of the monarchy/empire. In this sense, for instance, legislative works such as the *Siete Partidas* redefined the roles of all the states of the kingdom after the theory of the mystical body. In this understanding, the monarch was the head, and the nobles and other members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, were different parts of one body: all essential, but subject to the governance of the king/emperor. This work also established the independence of the monarch from the Christian Church in ruling matters, asserting that the Pope should assess monarchs/emperors in spiritual matters, but not affect their election.

The creation of this new ideological framework found a valuable ally in the historiographical genre, as I have shown in this thesis. Chronicles proved to be the perfect tool with which to exemplify how all these new paradigms of good governance should work together, and created an ideological statement on the role of the king/emperor – and also the papacy – throughout history and up to the rule of Alfonso X.

As demonstrated above, the Iberian focus and the language used in the *Estoria de Espanna* were each linked to the change of audience for the chronicle. When composing this work, the main goal was to ensure that the chronicle was widely understood, not only by the monarch and his closest circle – including the successor to the throne – but also by the Castilian-Leonese court and, by extension, those nobles who needed convincing of the appropriateness of the *Fecho del Imperio*. At the same time, the chronicle, most essentially in the first section – which runs up to the end of the Roman *Sennorio* – attempted to assert the royal power's independence from the Christian Church, led by the papacy, whilst still aligning the figure of the king/emperor to God. In general, as I have shown and will elaborate further in these concluding remarks, the *Estoria de Espanna* served as a legitimisation of the Alfonsine project that went beyond its failed end,

becoming after 1275 a justification of the efforts exhausted on the imperial attempt. The text of the *Estoria de Espanna* proved the Learned King's theoretical suitability for the German imperial throne, and his inclusion in the *linna* of the *Translatio Imperii* also positioned him as the predominant monarch of the Iberian Peninsula.

The main focus of this thesis has been to analyse the mechanisms by which the Roman history sections of the *Estoria de Espanna* became a political and ideological product in support of the imperial aspirations of King Alfonso X. In other words, this research has examined how language and compilation might have shaped the historiographical discourse in order to include the Castilian-Leonese king in the *Translatio Imperii*. The use and translation of sources has been proven to be unique in the *Estoria de Espanna* in comparison with contemporary works, so much so that both the Alfonsine *Estorias* created a new historiographical model that changed the way history was written in subsequent centuries. This process of inclusion and exclusion of sources in different chapters of the *Estorias* showed a certain intentionality in the construction of the ideological discourse associated with the chronicle and, thanks to the existence of other manuscripts such as ms. H, it is possible to infer the processes of addition of particular content in the service of concrete ideological goals. The comparison of H and the final product of the *Estoria de Espanna* as it stands nowadays showed, amongst other relevant features, the later addition of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale* which, as has been seen in this thesis, was essential for the moral configuration of the chronicle. This ms. H manuscript also proved to be an earlier stage of composition of the chronicle by showing a different treatment of the common sources: the texts extracted from different sources, for instance those of Orosius and Diaconus, seemed to be closer to the original in ms. H than in the *Estoria de Espanna*, which included many changes in the

discursivity of the sources and a good number of rewritings, *inventios*, and additions.

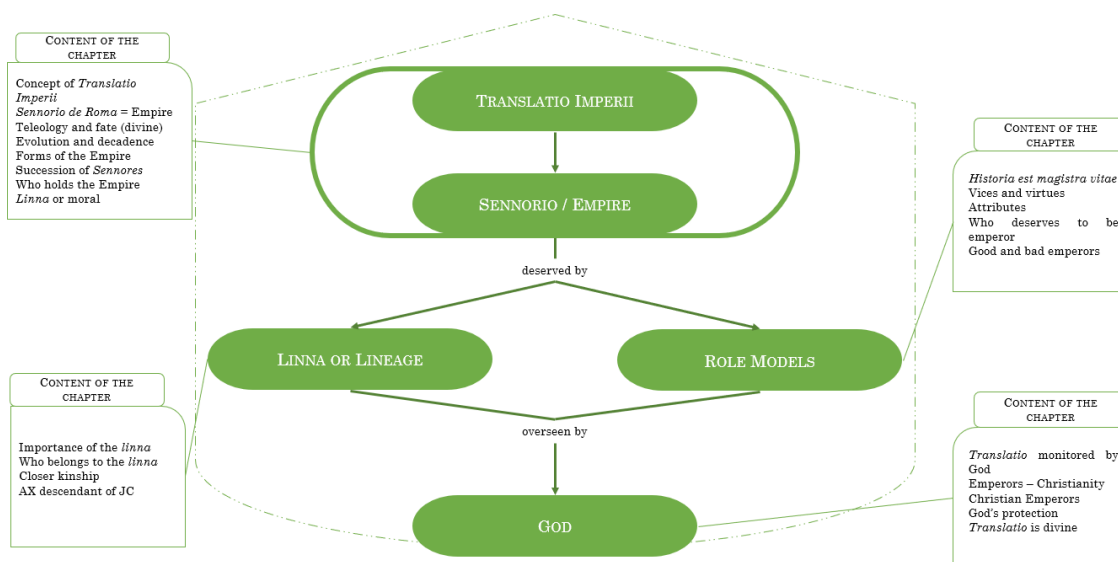
Furthermore, the *Estoria de Espanna* presented not only a particular use of these sources, but also an interesting treatment of and effort towards translation. The Alfonsine chronicle, due to its use of Castilian as a vehicular language, had to translate sources from Latin and adapt them to the text. The compilers undertook a great exercise in rewriting the sources into Castilian, but also added the historiographical discursive voice so characteristic to the Alfonsine *scriptorium*. In this process of translation and adaptation, the ideological message was embedded in the *Estoria de Espanna* in the shape of a brand-new historiographical tradition. As has been seen in previous chapters of this thesis, the selection of particular words to translate different concepts was essential in the configuration of the Alfonsine historiographical reality. Such was the case, for example, in Chapter 124 of the chronicle, in which the *Estoria de Espanna* uses the word “*sobrino*” – nephew – whilst the chapter’s other sources – Orosius and Diaconus – referred to the Latin term “*avunculus, i*”, and “*nepos, i*”, as a way to present a closer kinship between Julius Caesar and Augustus.³⁵⁸ In other cases, the changes in the sources were less subtle than just these wording or translation choices, and the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* resorted to *inventio* to create a new historical reality that suited the Alfonso X’s ideological programme. A very clear example of this mechanism was the inclusion of Aeneas in the chronicle through the figure of Dido, who in this work was linked to the Iberian Peninsula since she was the founder of the city of Cartagena.³⁵⁹ The Alfonsine text was, therefore, rooted and based in its various sources, but it was the originality of its composition that made these chronicles the pioneers of the new historiographical tradition. These additions, changes, and rewrites gave

³⁵⁸ See Chapter 5.2, “Alfonso X and the importance of the *linna*”, p. 124.

³⁵⁹ See Chapter 4.2, “*The Empire and the Sennorío in the Estoria de Espanna*”, pp. 91.

the *Estorias* not only a different discursive voice, but also a different meaning; one distinctly more political and imbued with the ideological premises developed by Alfonso X.

Based on this premise, this thesis has explored how imperial ideology was embedded in the text and structure of the *Estoria de Espanna* in order to promote Alfonso X's place within the long-lasting strand of the *Translatio Imperii*. In order to achieve this goal, my approach in this research has been an analysis and discussion rooted in the theme-based structure presented in the introduction of this study.



In so doing, the previous chapters of this thesis have shown how each of these four topics were intimately related and worked towards the same ideological purpose. This research has proved how imperial ideology is asserted in the *Estoria de Espanna* through the use of different mechanisms of legitimisation associated with the aforementioned four topics. These reinforced Alfonso X's monarchical/imperial authority and supported his belonging to the imperial *linna* that was destined to rule the Roman Empire.

The first of these chapters addressed the notion of empire and how the concept of *Translatio Imperii* has been present and affected the imaginary created by national monarchies during the Middle Ages. In this sense, I have shown how the idea of *Translatio* was used as a means of legitimisation in order to connect medieval monarchies to the Ancient Roman Empire, the most noteworthy case being that of the Holy Roman Empire, for which Bishop Otto of Freising materialised an ideological framework in the shape of his *Historia de Duabus Civitatibus*. It was precisely this connection to the Holy Roman Empire from which Alfonso absorbed this legitimising thread and assumed the principle of the *Translatio Imperii* for his personal political project. As detailed in the corresponding chapter, the similarities in the conception of both the *Historia de Duabus Civitatibus* and the Alfonsine chronicles, especially the *Estoria de Espanna*, indicate a certain level of influence of the German tradition in the Castilian *scriptorium*. Otto of Freising's work must have been known in the Castilian-Leonese court, mostly after the presence of Beatriz of Swabia, who was raised under the wing of Frederick II and educated in the imperial German court. In this kin connection with the Staufen family, and the already developed idea of the *Translatio Imperii* associated with the emperors of this family, Alfonso X found the perfect vehicle for his ideological purposes. Therefore, the evolution and transfer of the empire was constant in the text of the *Estoria de Espanna*, and even the structure of the chronicle reflected the succession of these so-called *sennoríos*. This would be essential for the legitimisation of the imperial idea and the hegemonic position of Castile and Leon, but also for the support of the Castilian-Leonese nobility for the new reinforced kingship that Alfonso X was developing.

The main principle used in the *Estoria de Espanna* for the reinforcement of the *Translatio Imperii* was the same as that employed by Otto of Freising in his chronicle: Daniel's prophecy of the four empires, of

which Rome would be the last ruling empire. In this sense, there was quite an emphasis on how the *imperium* was transferred to Rome and how the Roman Empire was instituted and evolved. It is for this reason that the aforementioned act of *inventio* in the story of Dido and Aeneas was necessary, since Aeneas was representative of the *imperium* and needed a presence in the *Estoria de Espanna* in order to link Rome to Troy through Carthage, and thus continue the process of the *Translatio*. In the same way, the Roman section held an immense importance within the larger scheme of the chronicle, and the roles of its founders were narrated in detail: this is why characters like Julius Caesar or Augustus were treated and portrayed in the *Estoria de Espanna* with a special depth, as they were the performers of the transfer and assured the birth of the last of the empires. After the establishment of the empire, the compilers of the chronicle appealed to different mechanisms to repeatedly remind the reader/listener of the notion of *Translatio Imperii*, for instance by mentioning that Trajan received his name from the city of Troy, which is an addition of the Alfonsine text.

The importance of the *Translatio Imperii* was also reflected in the dating system used in the chronicle, from the rule of Augustus onwards. Accordingly, it is particularly revealing that after the end of the *Sennorío de Roma*, the chronicle continued to use the year of the Eastern Roman emperor up to the rule of Charlemagne. The *imperium* was, then, brought back to the West by the Franks of whom, according to Otto of Freising, the Germans were a branch. From this moment, the *Estoria de Espanna* continued to date the chronicle after the Holy Roman Emperor and created a sense of *Translatio Imperii*'s continuity that would last until the rule of Frederick II. Following Daniel's prophecy, the Empire of the *Translatio Imperii* followed its own journey, in the same way the sun rises in the East and dies in the West: in empire was destined to be, and thus ended in, the hands of the Staufens. This positioned Beatriz of Swabia's son within the thread of the transfer of the

imperium through his lineage. Birth right, hand-in-hand with this idea of predestination, then became one of the main features required as a candidate to the imperial crown, since that was the natural way of transferring the *imperium* so desired by Alfonso X.

This principle of lineage was the focus of the following chapter of this thesis, and challenged the elective character of the Holy Roman Empire, the candidate to whose throne was supposed to be chosen by a series of electors. This was, as mentioned on several occasions, the ecclesiastical hierarchy's direct influence. As was established in the contextual chapters, the elective system of the empire was substituted by the Staufen dynasty for a sort of hereditary system, based on the German kin right. In this way, lineage became essential for the imperial election. For the case of Alfonso X, in the context of the Great Interregnum and after the death of Conrad IV and Conradine, the Castilian-Leonese monarch was the closest legitimate candidate to the Staufen imperial lineage – Manfred was not considered since he was not a legitimate son of Frederick II. This was an advantage the Learned King needed to exploit in order to defend his pretension to the imperial crown and thus, linked to the aforementioned *Translatio Imperii*, the lineage or *linna* became a constant within the Alfonsine cultural production and historiography.

The *Estorias* developed a sense of kin continuity based on the idea of the transfer of the *imperium* under the shape of an imperial lineage destined to rule the Empire. Thus, Alfonsine historiography became the perfect example of the use of lineage in the historiographical discourse. The *Estorias* explored the idea of the imperial *linna* that began with Nimrod and Jupiter, followed by Aeneas, the Roman emperors up to Frederick II, and therefore Alfonso X. All these connections were closely linked to the idea of *Translatio Imperii*, and the kin relations were frequently asserted within the text to reinforce this idea. In this way, there exists a series of mechanisms that

proved effective in the creation of this sense of imperial lineage. In the first place, there were direct connections that reminded the reader/listener that the emperors of the *Estoria de Espanna* were linked to this imperial family dating back to Aeneas and beyond: Julius Caesar was mentioned to come from Aeneas's *linna*, and it is written that Trajan is named after the Trojan lineage, which is to say Aeneas's lineage. There were other direct connections between Ancient Roman emperors and Alfonso X's present day, which included him in the imperial *linna*. One of the most relevant is the direct line drawn between Julius Caesar and Alfonso X through the son of the Castilian-Leonese king in Chapter 115 of the *Estoria de Espanna*, in which Julius Caesar is linked to Fernando de la Cerda after the supposed presence of a bristle of hair on both characters at the moment of birth. What might seem merely an anecdotic connection nonetheless directly linked Julius Caesar and Alfonso X as members of the same family, the imperial *linna*.

Once the existence and continuity of this imperial lineage was established, the *Estorias* also asserted how these emperors were linked to the *linna*. The reinforcement of the imperial legacy was necessary as through time emperors did not belong to the same family. In order to give coherence to this succession of rulers, the representation of a closer kinship than that portrayed in the sources was common in the *Estoria de Espanna*. This was, for instance, the case of the succession of Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, and Trajan, amongst others. In all these cases there was an inferred closer kinship – usually the uncle/nephew structure – between the emperor and his successor than the one stated in the sources. These assumptions were made through an interesting use of the translation, or in some cases, such as the Tiberius-Caligula succession, a new addition to the Alfonsine text. This created a sense of the lineage's continuity with a wider meaning of the *agnatio* that included not only first-degree relatives, but also supported the search for the right candidate within the imperial *linna*.

The wider extent of the imperial family was not only transmitted by the paternal line. As demonstrated in this thesis, the *Estoria de Espanna* proved the importance of the maternal inheritance and the female *agnatio*; that is to say, that the emperor could receive the *imperium* from his mother's lineage. Augustus, for instance, was said to be Julius Caesar's successor through his mother – Julius Caesar's sister according to the chronicle – in the same way that Alfonso claimed to be Frederick II's heir through Beatriz of Swabia. In so doing, the *Estoria de Espanna* created the perfect legitimisation for Alfonso X's claims to the Holy Roman Empire, since he was a member of the Staufen family even though it was not through a first-degree kin relationship.

The extension of the range of the Alfonsine family *agnatio* in the chronicle also raised the matter of election within the kin. The aforementioned elective character of the empire was, then, subject to this lineage, but was still imperative to elect the right emperor within the family.

The third chapter of the core of this thesis addressed this issue in detail. Other than lineage, the merits and vices of the candidates should also be considered in order to elect the emperor. In this sense, the election amongst members of the *linna* was essential to assure that the proposed candidate would promote the growth of the empire and not its decline. In this way, the *Estoria de Espanna* worked as a lesson for the readers/listeners of the chronicle, in the way that emperors acted as embodiments of vices and virtues and their actions had direct consequences for the state of the empire. The didactic character of the Alfonsine chronicle was a later addition to the text, as demonstrated by the existence of ms. H, and aided in the creation of the political and ideological framework that suited Alfonso X's aspirations³⁶⁰. The sapiential tradition inherited by Alfonso X drew from two main strands: the

³⁶⁰ See Chapter 3.2 "The Use of Sources in the *Estoria de Espanna*", pp. 69-73.

French, led by Vincent of Beauvais, whose *Speculum Historiale* was one of the main sources of the Alfonsine chronicle; and the didactic texts that arrived in the Castilian-Leonese court from Al-Andalus, which served as the inspiration for the wide use of the *exempla* and the philosopher-ruler relationship. This collision of traditions resulted in a vast *corpus* of didactic literature in which historiography played a relevant role.

The *Estoria de Espanna*, then, asserted its didactic character from the prologue of the chronicle and warned the reader/listener of the need to learn from history. The chronicle acted as a *magister principum* or *speculum principis*, by showing the good deeds and virtues of emperors and justifying certain conducts, and showed which behaviours and vices caused the ‘decrease’ of the empire. The compilers used a wide range of *exempla* to show how the successive emperors’ rules were considered positive or negative depending on their virtues, vices, actions, and attitude towards Christians and God. The structure of presenting each emperor with his vices and virtues became the norm after Julius Caesar and up to the end of the *Sennorio de Roma* and used the *Speculum Historiale* as a main source whilst also following the texts by Orosius and Diaconus. The succession of emperors appears to be a cascade of depictions of vices and virtues: some rulers, such as Nero, were known to be sinful and cruel against their people and the Christians and therefore received a punishment that led to the end of their empire. In some cases, special attention was given to the narration of their deaths; in others, emperors like Trajan were considered the epitome of the good ruler, their virtues and actions were profusely narrated, and the consequences to the growth of the empire listed.

The rule seemed simple: the more virtues portrayed by these emperors, the more the empire ‘grew’ under their rule, and *vice versa*, the more sins and vices, also reflected in their actions towards Christians, the worse the consequences for the empire. The *Estoria de Espanna* was constant in

presenting these connections between good deeds and the growth of the empire, but also presented the idea that the further from the imperial *linna*, the worse the rule of any given emperor. Belonging to this lineage appeared to be essential in guaranteeing an appropriate succession: however, as I have stated in previous pages, the wider extent of imperial choice within the *linna* meant that the election required support in the form of additional criteria.

The emperor had to be elected, therefore, from within the members of the *linna*, but attention also had to be paid to the personal traits of the future ruler. The case of the succession between Titus and Domitian is illustrative: although Domitian was the closest in kin to Titus, the emperor knew of his brother's flaws and, even then, allowed him to be his successor. The consequences for the empire were negative, as expected, since Domitian's election followed the *linna* principle but did not pay attention to the emperor's character.

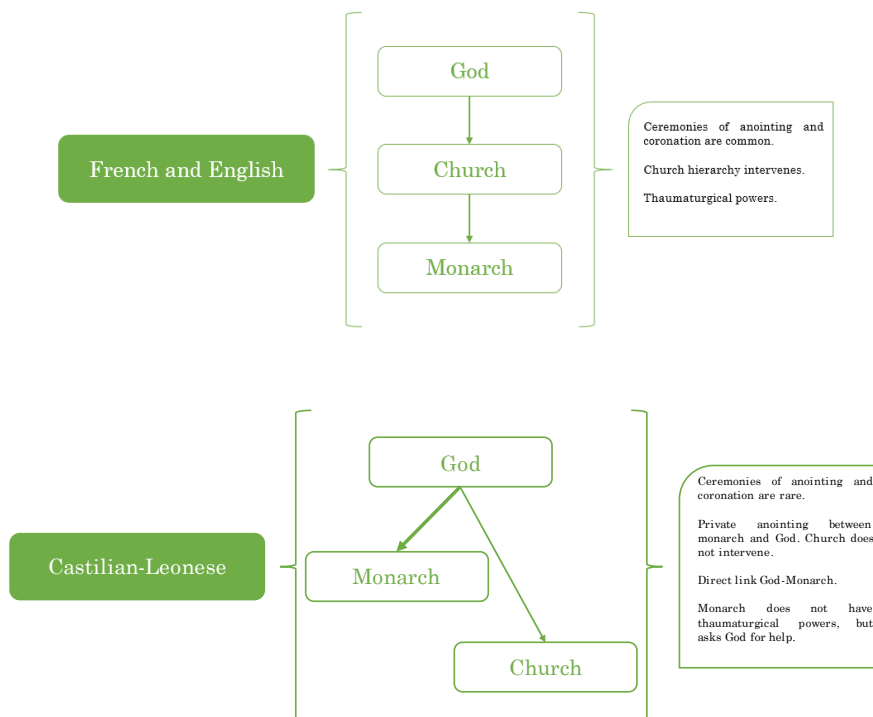
The set of morals created by Alfonso X's *scriptorium* were based on Christian values and most of the vices found in the *Estoria de Espanna* answer to the list of capital sins of the Christian religion. The moment an emperor showed a predisposition towards any of these sins, it would lead to a period of 'decrease' of the empire, and the longer the list of sins and vices of the emperor, the worse the consequences. There was an exception, however. Covetousness, or *cobdicia*, was shown as a sin: however, as was developed in the corresponding chapter, there were exceptions to the norm regarding this vice. When covetousness/greed was associated with other vices, the final assessment of the emperor's rule was negative, but that was not completely the case when covetousness was the only sin of an emperor. The textual analysis made for this thesis has shown striking data regarding the presence of covetousness in the rules of Julius Caesar and Vespasian, since the final valuation of their reigns seemed to be fairly positive. Julius Caesar's *cobdicia* appeared to be related to ambition and, in one way or another, this feature

was necessary during the times of the war against Pompey since the final goal was the establishment of the Roman empire. The case of Vespasian was similar: after the death of Nero, Vespasian showed *cobdicia* of wealth, and carried out a series of fiscal reforms that led to the restoration of the state coffers after the expenditure of his forerunner. In both cases, covetousness, as the sole vice of the emperors, was read as ambition and was necessary to install or restore the empire. In the same way, Alfonso X's aspirations to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, whilst still a sin and deserving of a punishment, were necessary to restore the empire and secure its continuation. In this case, the *speculum principis* worked as a justification of the traits of Alfonso X.

The Castilian-Leonese monarch, by appropriating the didactic narrative – which was previously in the hands of the Christian Church – was able to shape the Christian morals displayed in his chronicle in a way that aligned with his political and ideological aspirations. In doing so, the Learned King created an elective system that, although subject to the kin principle, based the suitability of the candidate to the empire on Christian morals that were now shaped by the king himself. Whilst these values and the emperor's actions towards Christians were those considered for imperial election, the Christian institution seemed to be marginal and did not take any action in the election of emperors. Alfonso X built a wall between the kin/emperor and the Christian Church and established that the ruler must not obey the papacy's rules, as the king/emperor should only follow the commands of God. This is how God established as the final elector of the imperial crown.

The role of God in the *Estoria de Espanna* was the main focus of the last chapter of this thesis's core and engaged with all the four presented topics, as explained in the introduction of this thesis and through the structure diagram. As has been seen, the figure of divinity was present in one way or another in all the chapters of this thesis, as a sort of overseer of the *Translatio*

Imperii and the process of the imperial election. As this thesis has demonstrated, the focus on the figure of God was set in the relationships between divinity, the monarch/emperor, and the Pope, which reflected Alfonso X's ideology on the matter. Whilst the chapter introduced the problems inherent in the studies of the sacralty of the Iberian monarchies, the position I take in this thesis is that of the existence of a sense of royal sacralty in the Iberian situation, and particularly in Castile and Leon, that has been dismissed by scholars for decades in comparison to the French and English cases. The origins of both traditions are different, since the political needs in each scenario also differ. As explained in the corresponding chapter, the absence of a public anointing ceremony did not mean the lack of sacralty of the monarchy and in fact might imply a closer relationship between the king/emperor and God. The following diagram sums up the sacral relationships in both political/ideological environments:



Within the Castilian-Leonese monarchy, then, the connection between God and the royal power resulted in an intimate relationship in which the Christian Church did not have the power to crown the king/emperor or, therefore, elect him. This is the model reflected in the *Estoria de Espanna*: the chronicle was very clear in establishing the limits of the Christian Church and the influence it had on the emperors. As mentioned in the contextual chapters, Alfonso X had already established that the role of the Pope was to assess the king/emperor in spiritual matters (*Siete Partidas*, II, Título II, Ley I), and this is the representation of the Church seen in the chronicle. Therefore, there were two main trends to be explored in relation to this topic: on the one hand, the surveillance and intervention of God in the *Translatio Imperii*; and on the other, the God/Emperor/Pope relationship.

With regard to the first trend, as has been explained, the process of the transfer of the *imperium*, the continuity of the imperial lineage, and the traits of the ruler were, in one way or another, linked to the figure of divinity or his command. The *Translatio Imperii* was assured, for instance, in the cases of Dido and particularly Aeneas, who were sent dreams that led them towards their destinies; this was also the case for Constantine, who was approached several times in dreams by certain figures sent by God, such as Jesus Christ or Pope Sylvester. These oneiric apparitions were common in the chronicle, working as a form of guidance in the path of those who had to perform a role in the establishment, restoration, or growth of the empire. Furthermore, God also acted directly by protecting the members of the imperial lineage from their enemies, such as in the case of Julius Caesar, regarding whom the compilers added new information in the chronicle surrounding this issue: he was protected in his fight against Petreus and Afranius, as well as at other stages in his life. However, this protection was also linked to punishment and to unworthy emperors who, due to their origin or deeds, suffered the consequences of the revocation of this divine protection. The figure of

Constantine was paradigmatic in this sense. After having been protected by God from the very beginning of his rule, and especially after his conversion to Christianity, he was punished after choosing the Arian faith which then caused his death. In this case, the compilers made another effort to emphasise the consequences of the Arian conversion, as it is mentioned before and after his death, and seems to be a quite free translation from the sources. The *Estoria de Espanna* thus set a precedent with this and other examples, creating a didactic lesson within the historiographical text in which the actions of the emperors directly affected their relationship with divinity.

On the second issue, the relationship between the three – powers, divine, temporal, and spiritual on Earth – the chronicle established very clearly the importance of each. The role of the papacy seemed to be marginal in the *Estoria de Espanna* and, whilst the actions of the emperors towards Christianity as a religion were taken in account, the relationship between the Pope and the emperor was not a main issue in the chronicle. In fact, the presence of Popes in the work is very revealing. The succession of Popes was mentioned from the beginning of Christianity up to the rule of Constantine in a consistent manner, and after there is a long *lacuna* in the mention of Popes up to the rule of Alaric II. However, as mentioned in the corresponding chapter, Pope Sylvester was particularly relevant in the chronicle, as it is he who performs the act of Constantine's conversion. Therefore, after the empire became Christian, the presence of the papacy was no longer necessarily required in the chronicle. Other than in this case and in the instance of Pope Pontian – due to his relationship with the Philips – Popes were merely names in a list and had no power whatsoever in the imperial election. In this way, the *Estoria de Espanna* joins the other works of the Alfonsine *scriptorium*, such as the *Siete Partidas* and the *Cantigas de Santa María*, in defining the sacral character of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy embodied by Alfonso X,

who belonged to the imperial *linna*, and the role of the Christian Church (particularly the pontiffs) within the scheme of power.

The figure of divinity is what gave coherence to the imperial discourse designed by Alfonso X. By legitimising his aspirations through concepts such as the *Translatio Imperii* and the imperial *linna* – boasting a divine origin and a predestination to rule – and the morals developed by Christianity, the Learned King created a foundation that would support his pretensions and give meaning and purpose to his imperial aspirations. Furthermore, this chronicle, written to be read or listened to by members of the Castilian-Leonese court who were not entirely convinced of the Alfonsine imperial dream, created a framework within which the *Fecho del Imperio* made sense, and was worth the investment, even though its ultimate purpose was to justify the efforts spent on an enterprise that almost drained the Castilian-Leonese coffers. Alfonso X's political project, in spite of its universal projection after the Pisan proposal, was centred on the position of the Kingdom of Castile and Leon, and more concretely its king, amongst the different political forces of the moment: in the wider sense, other European kingdoms' respect towards Alfonso X's monarchy; in the closer diplomatic scenario, the hegemony of Castile and Leon in the Iberian Peninsula; and lastly, in the Castilian-Leonese setting, the legitimisation of his new model of kingship, which included the total support of the nobility in the king's aspirations, including the financial support of the *Fecho del Imperio*. All of this was endowed with the only support any other monarch or noble could not challenge: the divine predestination of Alfonso X to be part of the *Translatio Imperii*, which also aided in the emancipation of the imperial election from the hands of the papacy.

In my examination of the chronicle, then, I have demonstrated that the compilers of the *Estoria de Espanna* did not hesitate in creating this new ideological framework, freely using and translating the sources, adding or

omitting information, and inventing some passages that gave sense to the project planned by King Alfonso X. The analysis of the sources and text of the *Estoria de Espanna* from an interdisciplinary point of view such as that offered in this research has demonstrated how important the analysis of the political discourse is, both textually and within its wider context. In analysing how the sources of the chronicle were manipulated and adapted, it has been possible to infer the different ideological layers of the text. It is true that the *Estoria de Espanna* is one of the Iberian chronicles that has received most attention during the past century: however, as this thesis has shown, more research could – and should – be carried out on the use of sources and the composition of the text of the *Estoria de Espanna* and other works from the Alfonsine *scriptorium*, and their relationship with the intellectual panorama of their time, particularly the connections with Al-Andalus and the other monarchies in Western Europe. In this sense, Inés Fernández-Ordóñez's recent approach to this complex topic of the *imperium* and its relation to Alfonso X's historiography demonstrates the current interest in this field of study³⁶¹. More could thus be written on topics such as those introduced in this thesis: for example, the influence of Otto of Freising in the intellectual tradition of the 13th century and in the theory of the empire, or the relevance of the texts written by Vincent of Beauvais within the Iberian scenario, the study of which could lead to the identification of some of the main intellectual networks of the medieval western Europe.

The source analysis created for the aims of this thesis has not only updated Menéndez Pidal's list of sources of the *Estoria de Espanna* up to the end of the Roman *Sennorío* – which should be continued for the entire chronicle – but has also opened the door to the research of the main ideas and concepts shared by many of the works used for the composition of the first section of the *Estoria de Espanna*. Topics such as the *Translatio Imperii*, the

³⁶¹ Fernández-Ordóñez, 'The Imperium in Alfonso X's Historiography'.

importance of lineage, the construction of a moral archetype, and the omnipresence of God in all spheres of power were present in one way or another in all these works, each adapted to the particular contexts of its composition but linked with each other in content, structure, or influence. This research has led me to reflect on the creation of these intellectual networks and how they worked and evolved during the medieval centuries. In this context, I find that the works promoted by Alfonso X were a very particular point of connection between all these traditions, bringing together Al-Andalusian influences and Western European threads of thought, some of which are reflected in the *Estoria de Espanna*. Whilst I have approached this idea, further research is required in order to comprehend the extent of these intellectual networks. What this thesis has proved is that all these ideas did not originate in the Iberian – and particularly Castilian-Leonese – kingdoms but were concepts that circulated during the Middle Ages and were adapted to particular needs that influenced their evolution: in this way, for instance, the *Tranlatio Imperii* received by Otto of Freising was adapted to his context, and the result of this adaptation was received by Alfonso X, who again shaped the notion to his own needs.

As mentioned in the introduction, and in these concluding thoughts, Alfonso X, as widely studied as he has been, still presents scholars with enigmas that require answers. However, as this thesis has proved the scholarship surrounding the figure of the Learned King is far from complete and is still yet to understand the true extent of his project, and more broadly the historiographical panorama of the 13th century. Following this research, then, I believe that the next step is an attempt to comprehend how the sources used in the Alfonsine *scriptorium* – and the ideas contained within – were connected and influenced each other towards the creation of a particular imaginary, in this case imperial. Alfonso X was just one actor of many in a very complex network of intellectuals who, by sharing influences, constructed

the ideas that ruled the Middle Ages and influenced the centuries to come. This thesis has demonstrated that literary and ideological traditions do not evolve on their own but rather are connected to their own contexts and, more importantly, to other traditions that reacted in their own way to their own particular circumstances. It is in these connections that we can find the seed of the European Medieval imaginary, for it is within these flows of information that ideas adapted, changed, and evolved. Ultimately, would Alfonso have been able to defend his Empire without the help of Otto of Freising, Vincent of Beauvais, Orosius, or Diaconus?

This and many other questions continue to surround the figure of Alfonso X, and their answers will bring us closer to resolving the enigma of his actions. Whilst this thesis has presented a strong hypothesis on the topic, there is still work to be done so that we may one day fully comprehend why Alfonso X defended, so vehemently, *“la yda al imperio, que es lo más”*.³⁶²

³⁶² *“The journey to the empire, which is the most important thing”*.

APPENDIX I - TRANSLATIONS

| <i>Page</i> | Original | English Translation |
|-------------|---|---|
| 16 | <p>“Como la comunidad de Pisa, toda Italia y casi todo el mundo os consideran extraordinario, invencible y victorioso señor Alfonso, rey por la gracia de Dios de Castilla, Toledo, León, Galicia, Sevilla, Murcia y Jaén, como el más distinguido de todos los reyes que viven o que vale la pena recordar... y además saben que Vos amáis sobre todo la paz, la verdad, la piedad y la justicia, que vos sois el más cristiano y más fiel... sabiendo que descendéis de la sangre de los duques de Suabia, una casa a la que pertenece el Imperio con derecho y dignidad por decisión de los príncipes y por entrega de los papas de la Iglesia...”</p> | <p>As the Pisan community, all of Italy and almost the entire world consider you the most extraordinary, invincible and victorious lord Alfonso, king of Castile, Toledo, Leon, Galicia, Seville, Murcia, and Jaen by the grace of God, the most distinguished of living monarchs or of those worth remembering... and furthermore they know your majesty loves peace, truth, piety, and justice, that you are the most Christian and the most faithful... that you descend from the blood of the Duchy of Swabia, a house to which the empire rightfully belongs by decision of the princes and of the popes of the Church.</p> |
| 17 | <p>“Capítulo XVII. De cómo vino la emperatriz a la corte del rey a demandar al rey don Alfonso <que le diese ayuda para quitar a su marido el enperador que estaua captiuo>. (...) e contóles [la emperatriz] cómo le aconteciera con el rey don Alfonso. E todos quantos lo oyeron presciaban mucho este rey de Castilla. E sallió este enperador de catiuo e pedricaua la bondat e nobleza del rey don Alfonso. Et sonada esta boz por todas las tierras, acaesció que murió el enperador de Alemanna e ayuntáronse los esleedores para acordar a quién fiziesen enperador, e algunos dellos esleyeron por enperador en discordia al rey don Alfonso e acordaron de enbiar por él et que viniese a resçebir el imperio. E como quier que esto fue grant su buena fama del rey don Alfonso en las otras tierras, pero esto e otras cosas atales que este rey fizo troxieron gran enpobreçimiento</p> | <p>Chapter XVII. On how the empress arrived in the court to ask King Alfonso for help to rescue her husband, who was being held captive. (...) and the empress told King Alfonso how it had happened, and all those who listened cherished the King of Castile. And when the emperor was freed, he preached of the goodness and grandeur of King Alfonso. And once this voice sounded through all lands, the German emperor perished, and the electors gathered to decide who would be the next emperor, and some of them chose King Alfonso, and send him missives encouraging him to come and receive the empire. And made King Alfonso famous in other lands, but for this reason, and other decisions made by the monarch, he brought great impoverishment to the kingdoms of Castile and Leon (Crónica de Alfonso X, 48)</p> |

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| | en los regnos de Castilla e de León” (Crónica de Alfonso X, 48) | |
| 20 | “Esto es el fuero e el pro de la tierra que ellos syempre quisieron. Agora lo podedes entender en esto, ca todas las cosas por que me yo movía a fazer lo que ellos querían, tíranlas, ende, señaladamente la yda al Inperio, que es lo más” (Crónica de Alfonso X, 52) | This is the charter of the land that they had always wanted. Now you can understand it, for all the things that I was moved to do were after what they had wanted, including the journey to the Empire, which was the most important. (Crónica de Alfonso X, 52) |
| 30 | “In curia Romana talem petitionem proposuit rex Castelle Fernandus, quod nomen imperatoris et benedictionem volebat habere, sicut habuerunt quidam antecessores eius” (Chronica Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium, 936) | In the Roman curia, King Fernando of Castile proposed such a petition, desiring the title and the blessing of an emperor, just as his predecessors had before him (Chronica Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium, 936) |
| 31 | “En razón del enperio, [don Fernando] quisiera que fuese así llamado su señorío et non regno, e que fuese el coronado por enperador segunt lo fueron otros de su linage” (Setenario, Introducción, 7) | On the basis of empire, [King Fernando] wanted his lordship to be called after it, and not kingdom, and wanted to be crowned emperor, the same way others from his lineage had been before him (Setenario, Introducción, 7) |
| 33 | “Anno Domini 1219. Filia regis Philippi tradita fuit nuotui regi Hyspaniae et traducta” “Erat autem tunc in Alemania puella nobilissima, pulcra vale moribus et honestis ut in tali estate honesta, filia scilicet Philipi, regis Alemanie, electi in imperatore Romanum, filii Frederici magni Romanorum imperatoris. Mater vero predictae puellae filia fuerat Ysaac imperatoris Constantinopolitano; et sic ipsa neptis erat duprum imperatorum qui maiores et preclariones habentur in universo mundo” (Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla. 59) | In the year of the Lord 1219. The daughter of King Philip was handed over to the King of Hispania. There was at that time in Germany a very noble, beautiful maiden, honest and of good manners. She was the natural daughter of Philip, king of Germany, elected Roman emperor, son of Frederic the Great the Roman emperor, and her mother was the daughter of the emperor Isaac of Constantinople. Thus, she was the granddaughter of the two emperors who had the greatest claims over the world (Crónica Latina de los Reyes de Castilla, 59) |
| 44 | “Nuestro señor Dios puso otro poder temporal en la tierra (...) por la mano de los emperadores e de los reyes. E éstas son las dos espadas por las que se mantiene el mundo: la primera, espiritual; e la otra, temporal. La espiritual taja los males escondidos, e la | Our Lord God placed another temporal power on Earth (...) in the hands of emperors and kings. And these are the two swords by which world is sustained: the first spiritual; and the second temporal. The spiritual power tackles the hidden woes, and the temporal power the |

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| | temporal los males manifiestos.” (Siete Partidas, II, Prólogo) | manifest ones. (Siete Partidas, II, Prólogo) |
| 51 | e por que las artes de las sciencias e los otros saberes que fueron fal lados pora pro de los omnes fuessen guarda dos en escripto por que non cayessen en oluido [...] dell ar te de geometria que es de medir [...] esopieron los atrono mianos con grandacucia [...] Ca si por las escripturas non fuesse; qual sabidu ria o engenno de omne se podrie menbrar de todas las cosas passadas aun que no las fallas sen de nueuo que es cosa muy mas grieue (EE 1, 7-9) | And since the arts, and sciences, and other wisdoms were discussed in favour of men, these were kept in writing so they would not be forgotten [...]. From the art of geometry, which is that of measure [...] And the astronomers knew with great diligence [...] Since if it were not for the scriptures, how would the wisdom and wit of men remember all past things, even if they were not to face them again, which is a much more serious thing. (EE1, 7-9) |
| 52 | Los sabios antigos que fueron en los tiempos primeros e fallaron los saberes e las otras cosas; touieron que men guarien en sos fechos e en su lealtad. si tan bien nolo quisiessen pora los que auien de uenir; como pora si mis mos. o pora los otros que eranen so tiempo. E entendiendo por los fechos de dios que son espiritales. que los saberes se perderien murien do aquellos que lo sabien e no dexando remen brança. por que no cayessen en oluido (EE 1, 1-2) | The old wise men that lived in ancient times and founded our knowledge and the other things, decided that it would diminish their deeds and loyalty if they did not leave that knowledge for those to come, as well as for themselves and for others who lived in their time. And understanding the deeds of God, which are spiritual, that wisdom would then be lost when those who understood it died without leaving behind a memory of them so that they would not be forgotten. (EE1, 1-2) |
| 52 | Onde, porque el saber del tiempo que fue es cierto e non de los otros dos tiempos, assi como dixiemos, trabaiaron se los sabios omnes de meter en escripto los fechos que son passados por auer remembrança dellos como si estonçes fuessen, e quelo sopiessen los que auien de uenir | Where, since the knowledge of times past is certain and that of other times is not, as we said, sage men worked to write down events from the past so that there would be memory of them, and that they would be remembered and understood by those generations to come as well as by themselves. And for this reason they wrote numerous |

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| | <p>assi como ellos. Et fizieron desto muchos libros que son llamados estorias e gestas [...] E dizieron la uerdad en todas las cosas e non quisieron nada encobrir. (GE I, p3a)</p> | <p>books called histories and deeds [...] And they spoke truth in all things and did not want to conceal anything. (GE I, p3a)</p> |
| 54 | <p>E esto es. que quando a ellos falleciesse dauer Rey de su linage; entonce nascie cristo. el messias que ellos esperauan. e assi fue ca en tiempo dest emperador nascio cue mo uos adelante contaremos. (EE 132, 5)</p> | <p>And when they failed to produce a king from their lineage [Judea], then Christ would be born. The messiah they all were waiting for. And this is how he was born in the times of this emperor [Augustus], as we will narrate to you all. (EE 132, 5)</p> |
| 55 | <p>E otrossi sabet que aquel anno fueron ciertos los de Roma del cosso de la luna que andauan buscando grand tiem po auie (EE 133, 3)</p> | <p>And know that in that year, those from Rome learnt the track of the moon, which was something they had long been looking for. (EE 133, 3)</p> |
| 55 | <p>E desta batalla que uencio alli lo llamaron emperador primera mientras bien cuemo fizieron a Ponpeyo por los granados fechos que fiziera cuemo desuso oyes tes.: (EE 135, 7)</p> | <p>And after he [Octavianus] won this battle, he was called emperor, the same way they called Pompey emperor after his great deeds, as you heard before. (EE 135, 7)</p> |
| 59 | <p>e tomamos de la cronica dell arçobispo don Rodrigo que fizo por mandado del Rey don Fernando nuestro padre. e de la de Maestre luchas obispo de Tuy. (EE 1, 20)</p> | <p>And we took the chronicle written by archbishop Don Rodrigo, composed on the command of King Fernando, my father; and also the chronicle written by Master Lucas, Bishop of Tuy. (EE 1, 20)</p> |
| 60 | <p>e de paulo orosio e del lucano. e de sant Esidro el primero. e de sant Alffonsso. e de sant esidro el mancebo. e de Idacio obispo de Gallizia. e de Sulpicio obispo de gasconna. e de los otros escriptos de los concilios de Toledo. e de don Jordan chancellor del sancto palacio. ¶ e de claudio Tho</p> | <p>And from Paulus Orosius, and Lucan. And from Saint Isidore the Young of Seville. And from Hydatius, bishop of Seville, and from Sulpitius, bishop of Gascony, and from other writings from the councils of Toledo. And from Don Jordán, chancellor of the Holy Palace. And from Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote on the frames of land better than any other sage men until his time. And from Dion, who wrote the true history of the Goths. And from Pompeius Trogus, and from other histories of Rome, some of</p> |

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| | <p>lomeo que departio del cerco de la tierra me ior que otro sabio fasta la su sazón. e de dion que es criuio uerdadera la estoria de los Godos. e de Pon peyo trogo. e dotras estorias de Roma. las que pudimos auer que contassen algunas cosas del fecho despanna.¶ e compusimos este li bro de todos los fechos que fallar se pudieron del la (EE 1, 20-21)</p> | <p>which wrote about <i>Espanna</i>. And we composed this book of all the events that happened in <i>Espanna</i>. (EE 1, 20-21)</p> |
| 61 | <p>en la ar te de la melezina segund cuenta eusebio en las sus ystorias. (EE 210, 11)</p> | <p>In the art of medicine, according to what Eusebius describes in his histories. (EE 210, 11)</p> |
| 61 | <p>E segund cuenta Eusebio en la ystoria eclesiastica. diz que el oyo yurar a Costantino que medio dia era quandol a el contescio aquello. (EE 320, 5)</p> | <p>And according to what Eusebius records in his ecclesiastical history, Constantine was heard swearing that it was midday when this happened. (EE 320, 5)</p> |
| 61 | <p>Ca segund cuenta Eusebio en la estoria eclesiastica; Licinio que uio que ell Emperador Costantino era tan amado que todas las gentes del mundo lo tenien por padre. (EE 323, 2)</p> | <p>According to what Eusebius writes in the ecclesiastical history, Licinius saw that Emperor Constantine was so loved by all the people that he was considered their father. (EE 323, 2)</p> |
| 61 | <p>Auino assi segund cuenta sant Eusebio Obispo de Cesarea la de palestina en un su libro que a nombre la estoria eclesiastica. (EE 325, 1)</p> | <p>And it happened the way that Bishop Saint Eusebius of Cesarea, from Palestine, had written in his book named Ecclesiastical History. (EE 325, 1)</p> |
| 62 | <p>E segund dize la estoria de paulo orosio poblo lo hercules. (EE 76, 25)</p> | <p>And, according to what was said in the history written by Paulus Orosius, it was populated by Hercules. (EE 76, 25)</p> |
| 62 | <p>E dize Orosio que esta onra dio el Cesar ala batalla de los de</p> | <p>And Orosius says that the Caesar gave this honour to those who battled in Cantabria, because it was strong,</p> |

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| | cantabria. por que fue muy fuerte e de grand nombre e la uencieron los suyos. (EE 139, 12) | and of great name, and it was defeated by his people. (EE 139, 12) |
| 62 | Sobrete crescer e minguar dell Jmperio de Roma departe la estoria de orosio en este logar. e diz assi. (EE 92, 16) | About this increase and decrease of the Empire of Rome, the history written by Orosius discussed, and describes as it follows. (EE 92, 16) |
| 62 | que dize del paulo orosio en la su hystoria. ell emperador Comodo nombre de prouechoso dannoso fue a todos. (EE 224, 9) | Paulus Orosius writes in his history that Emperor Commodus was an opportunist, and harmful to everyone. (EE 224, 9) |
| 63 | e dio sentencia de muerte contra muchos otros. e mato sus sobrinos. e fue mui cruel en matar las yentes. assi que lo desamaron todos. e desi sallio de la cibdat. e fue a andar por la tierra. e un dia ell yendo por el camino. cayo un rayo cerca del e de sus caualleros. (EE 285, 3-4) | And [Aurelian] gave the death sentence to many others, and killed his nephews, and was very cruel in killing people. And therefore, when he was disarmed and went out of the city to walk the land, one day, on his way, a lightning bolt struck close to him and his knights. (EE 285, 3-4) |
| 63-64 | [...] saevus et sanguinarius, ac necessarius magis in quibusdam, in nullo amabilis imperator, trux omni tempore, etiam filio sororis interfecto [...] Iste cum persecutionem aqi adversus Christianos nonus a nerone decerneret, fulme ante eum magno pavore circumstantium ruit; ac non multo post in itinerer occiditur servi sui fraude, qui ad quosdam militares viros amicos ipsius nomina pertulit annotata, falso manum ejus imitatus, tanquam Aurelianus ipsos pararet occidere. (Historia Miscella col. 898-899) | [...] cruel and bloothirsty, and more so than was necessary in some cases, the emperor was pitiless at all times, he even killed his sister's son [...] It was he who led the ninth persecution against the Christians after Nero. In front of him, a bolt of lightning caused great fear rushing the events; and not much further on in the journey he was assassinated through the treachery of one of his servants who carried to certain military men a list of the friends of Aurelian, who wrote their own names in the emperor's hand, in order to claim that Aurelius had commanded their death. (Historia Miscella, col. 898-899) |
| 63 | Aurelianus cum aduersum nos persecutionem mouisset, fulmen iuxta eum coitesque eius ruit. (Chronici Canones. 185) | Aurelianus, who led persecution against us [Christians], had a lightning bolt strike next to him, which provoked his fall. (Chronici Canones, 185) |

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| 64 | <p>Occiditur servi sui fraude, qui ad quosdam militares viros, amicos ipsius, nomina pertulit adnotata, falso manum eius imitatus, tamquam Aurelianus ipsos pararet occidere; itaque ut praeveniretur, ab isdem interfectus est in itineris medio, (Brevarium IX, 15^o)</p> | <p>he was assassinated through the treachery of one of his servants who carried to certain military men a list of the friends of Aurelian, who wrote their own names in the emperor's hand, in order to claim that Aurelius had commanded their death; in order to prevent an attack in the middle of the journey. (Brevarium IX, 15^o)</p> |
| 64-65 | <p>Luego que fue costantino apoderado en Roma aquel año. cuemo era omne fecho a su guisa. e que se rabaiaua de complir much ayna que qui er que el coraçon le diesse; con sabor que auie de seer sennor de tod el mundo. fue lidiar con Licinio su cunnado marido de Costantancia su hermana. e ouo con ell. la primera batalla en Pannonia e uen cio lo. e fuxo Licinio e guiso de cabo sus huestes de muy grand guisamiento a marauilla. e lidio otra uez Costantino con el en un logar que a nombre Cibalas. e fue uencido Licinio much ayna. ¶ E gano daquela uez costantino Dardania e Moesia e Macedonia. e muchas otras prouincias. ¶ E aquell año en que aquesto contescio; moraua diocleciano el que fue ra emperador enell aldea de que a desuso con tado la estoria que era acerca de Salon. (EE 320, 23-25)</p> | <p>After Constantine took power in Rome that year, since he was a man made of manners, he strived to fulfil the desire in his heart to become emperor of the world. He battled Licinius, his brother-in-law, husband of his sister Constantia, and the first battle took place in Pannonia, where he was victorious. And Licinius rearranged his armies marvellously, and battled Constantine again in a place named Cibalas, where Licinius was defeated again. And after this Constantine won Moesia, Macedonia, and many other provinces. And in that year in which all this occurred, Diocletian, who was emperor, resided in a village that history has told was close to Salon. (EE 320, 23-25)</p> |
| 65 | <p>Constantinus tamen, vir ingens et omnia efficere nitens, quae animo praeparasset, simul principatum</p> | <p>Constantine, nevertheless, a man of great accomplishments, whose will aspired to the sovereignty of the</p> |

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| | <p>totius orbis adfectans, Licinio bellum intulit, quamquam necessitudo et adfinitas cum eo esset; nam soror Constantia nupta Licinio erat. Ac primo eum in Pannonia secunda ingenti apparatu bellum apud Cibalas instruentem repentinus oppressit omnique Dardania, Moesia, Macedonia potitus numerosas provincias occupavit. (Brevarium X, 5)</p> | <p>entire world, led the war on Licinius, although they were connected by kinship: his sister, Constantia, was married to Licinius. And first in Pannonia, secondly in Cibalas with a vast military apparatus, suddenly overpowered all Dardania, Moesia, Macedonia, and conquest and occupied numerous provinces. (Brevarium, X, 5)</p> |
| 65 | <p>Constantinus vir ingens, et omnia effucere nitens quae animo proeparasset, simul principatum totiu orbis affectans, Licinio bellum intulit, quanquam in cessitudo et affinitas cum eo esset, ac primo eum in Panonia vicit, secundo apud Cibalas juxta palude Hiulcam nomin, Constantino castra Licinii nocte interumpente, Licinius fugam petiit, Byzantiumque fug volucris pervenit, ubi Martinianum officiorum magistrum Caesarem erat. Constantinus omni Dardania, Moesia, Macedonia potitus, numerosas provincias occupavit. (Historia Miscella col. 908-909)</p> | <p>Constantine, nevertheless, a man of great accomplishments, whose will aspired to the sovereignty of the entire world, led the war on Licinius, although they were connected by kinship. And first he won in Pannonia, later in Cibalas, close to the swamp of name Hiulcam. Constantine irrupted at night in Licinius' camp, Licinius fled to Byzantium, where Martinianum, the Caesar's magister officer, was. Constantine occupied all Dardania, Moesia, Macedonia, and numerous provinces. (Historia Miscella col. 908-909)</p> |
| 67 | <p>e esto fasta aqui cuenta Suetonio. e daqui adelanta dize en la su estoria. Que fue julio cesar uno de los meiores caualleros del mundo. (EE 119, 53)</p> | <p>And here ends the account of Suetonius. And from this point he mentions in his history that Julius Caesar was one of the greatest knights of the world. (EE 119, 53)</p> |
| 67 | <p>E uini eron aquell anno muchas pestilencias e enfermedades de muchas guisas sobre los gentiles de todo el sennorio de Roma. ca segund cuenta hugo el de floriano el Jmperio de Roma que solie ante seer mucho onrado. (EE 269, 2)</p> | <p>And during that year many pestilences and illnesses of many kinds plagued all the <i>Sennorio de Roma</i> as, according to Huges of Fleury, the Roman Empire used to be more prosperous in the past. (EE 269, 2)</p> |
| 67 | <p>E segund cuentan Josepho e Egi</p> | <p>And according to Josephus and Hegessipus the deaths during that</p> |

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| | sippo. fueron por todos los que murieron en toda aquella cerca de la cibdat de Iherusalem; mil uezes cient mil. E los catiuos fue ron nouaenta e siete uezes mil. (EE 186, 79) | siege of Jerusalem were a thousand times hundred thousand; and the captives, ninety-seven thousand. (EE 186, 79) |
| 67 | E segund cuenta Suetonio en el quinto libro de las sus estorias. Luego que ell Emperador Claudio ouo bien affirmado el su regno. perdono por siempre a todos quantos le fizieran algun mal. o dixieran alguna cosa contra el. (EE 170, 17-18) | And according to Suetonius, in the fifth book of his histories, after Emperor Claudius was confirmed in his reign, he forgave all those who harmed him in any way or said anything negative about him. (EE 170, 17-18) |
| 67 | En essa ora segund cuenta Jose pho; sintieron los sacerdotes que se mouie la tierra e tremie. e oyeron una uoz como de campana que salie daquella camara apartada del santuario del templo (EE 164, 12) | At that time, according to Josephus, priests felt that the earth was moving and trembling, and heard a voice like a bell, which came from that remote chamber of the temple. (EE164, 12) |
| 67 | E segund cuenta Cassiodoro dalli adelante la sen na de la cruz en que fuera tornada la del labaro; fue mas preciada que todas las otras. por que yua siempre antell Empera dor. e aorauan la los caualleros. (EE 320, 19) | And according to what Cassiodorus told, from that moment onwards, the symbol of the cross was adopted and became the most precious, because it would always precede the emperor and it was adored by the knights. (EE 320, 19) |
| 77 | Despues unieron los Emperadores con los Cesares. Et en estos dos principados de los Cesares e de los emperadores des que ellos començaron; duro el sennorio del Jmperio de Roma fastal nuestro tiempo. EE (110, 40) | And after, the emperors and the Caesars arrived. And under these two principalities of the Caesars and the Emperors, the <i>Sennorio</i> of the Roman Empire lasted to our times. EE (110, 40) |
| 86-87 | Qvatro son las partes del mundo; segund los sabios antiguos | Four are the parts of the world, according to the ancient sage men |

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| | <p>las nombraron. ¶ Orient. ¶ Occident. ¶ Septentrion. ¶ Medio dia. E segund aquesto fueron quatro los emperios que sennorearon el mundo. ¶ El primero de babilonia aparte dorient. en el tiempo del Rey nino. ¶ El segundo aparte de medio dia en affrica en Carthago la grand en tiempo dela Reyna dido. ¶ El tercero en Macedonia aparte de septentrion enel ti empo dalexandre. ¶ El quarto en Roma aparte doccident en tiempo de Julio Cezar. (EE, 17, 1-6)</p> |
| <p>87³⁶³</p> | <p>Some, however, including the kingdom of the Persians as well as that of the Medes and the Chaldeans with the Babylonians, have put the African kingdom in second place among the four chief empires of the world. Thus, they locate the four kingdoms of the world according to the four points of the compass: the Babylonian in the East, the African in the South, the Macedonian in the North, and the Roman in the West. (CHDC, Liber II, Capitulum XIII)</p> |
| <p>88</p> | <p>In Latin they say <i>parare</i> for <i>appareiar</i>. And this word <i>parare</i> according to Hugutius is composed with the prefix <i>-in</i>, saying then <i>Imperare</i>. And this <i>Imperare</i> means in our language to rule over others and <i>ensennorear</i> [to have dominion]. And from this <i>Imperare</i> also comes the word <i>Imperator</i>, which means emperor, since the emperor is who rules and <i>ensennorear</i> over others and over kings. (EE, 113, 1-3)</p> |

³⁶³ Translated by Mierrow in Evans and Knapp edition of Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*.

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| 91 | <p>En esto adormeciosse e fuel dicho en suennos que primero casarie con la reyna dido. e de pues irie a aquel logar o el cobdiciaua. E pues que despertó semeiol que esta uision fue ra de dios e plogol mucho. E guisosse lue go por yr a ueella. (EE 59, 7-9)</p> | <p>And [Aeneas] had fallen asleep when he was told in his dreams that first, he would marry Queen Dido, and after he would depart towards that place that he coveted. And after awakening, it seemed to him that this vision had been sent by God, and he felt pleased. And he prepared to go see her [Dido]. (EE 59, 7-9)</p> |
| 96-97 | <p>Sobre las Razones desta conquista de las espannas se començo a descubrir el fecho. poro fueron des pues a tiempo mudadas las maneras del sen norio de Roma. e los Regnos todos ayuntados en uno. e los sennorios en un sennor solo. E el fecho poro esto uino descubriosse en este ponpeyo el grand. e cumpliosse en Julio Cesar. e firmos se en Cesar augusto. Agora por que fueron las es pannels de amos estos principes. por sos tiempos departidosablaremos aqui algun poco de los fechos dellos. contando las estorias de las espannas en sos logares o uinieren. E depar tiremos de los nombres del sennorio de Roma sobrestas razones. e los nombres que llamaron a los sennores quel ouieron. E cuemo sennorearon las espannas departiendo de cada unos por sos tiempos.: (EE 79, 35-39)</p> | <p>On the topic of the reasons for the conquest of the <i>Spains</i>, the fact became known that after some time, the manners of the <i>Sennorio</i> of Rome changed, and all the kingdoms became assembled as one, and the <i>sennorios</i> under just one <i>sennor</i>. And this was seen in Pompey the Great, achieved by Julius Caesar, and confirmed under the reign of Caesar Augustus. Now, because the <i>Spains</i> in their times were owned by these princes during each of their times, we will recount some of their deeds and tell the stories of the <i>Spains</i> in the places where they arrived. And we will write about the names of the <i>Sennorio</i> of Rome, and the names of the <i>sennores</i> that rule over it, and how they <i>ensennorearon</i> the <i>Spains</i>, writing about each one in their time (EE 79, 35-39)</p> |
| 98 | <p>mas a ninguno non dieron poder dalli adelant que fuesse egual con el de Julio Cesar. Et el por razon del sennorio</p> | <p>And from this moment, all [emperors] were granted the same power that Julius Caesar had. And he increased very much the <i>sennorio del imperio</i>, and for this reason he was called</p> |

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| | <p>Caesar Augustus, and with him all the titles of the principalities in the Roman court, even the cavalries finished. And with him, the manners of the <i>sennorio del imperio</i> changed, instead of prince, and he was called Caesar Augustus. And after this name, all the emperors that came after him were called Caesar Augustus. (EE 109, 3-6)</p> |
| <p>98</p> <p>dell Jmperio que auie todo. yl acrecio mucho; llamosse Cesar augusto. e en el quedaron e se acabaron todos los nombres de los principa dos que en la corte de Roma ouiera fasta alli de las ordenes de las cauallerias. e en el se mudo la manera del sennorio dell Jmperio. e el nombre del princep. Et llamaron a el Cesar Augusto. E del nombre deste to maron los emperadores que enpos el unieron; Cesares Augustos (EE 109, 3-6)</p> <p>¶ Sobreste crescer e minguar dell Jmperio de Roma departe la estoria de orosio en este logar. e diz assi. Que ell estado dell Jmperio de Roma la forma troxo de la grand mar. que numqua queda de crecer e min guar. e que assi fizo ell Jmperio de Roma. que siempre crecio e mingo e numqua souo en un estado. (EE 92, 16-17)</p> | <p>About this increase and decrease of the empire of Rome, Orosius' history asserts the following: That the estate of the empire of Rome takes its shape from the great sea, which never stops increasing and decreasing, and that is what the Roman Empire did, always increased and decreased and never remained the same. (EE 92, 16-17)</p> |
| <p>99</p> <p>Et por que acrecento siempre en ell Jmperio; llamaron le augusto. que quier tanto dezir cuemo acrecentador. Et este Julio cesar fue Emperador de Roma e sennor del mundo. por que todas estas razones que son aqui dichas del. pueden seer uerdaderas. Et deste nombre cesar que llamaron a Julio; dixieron dalli adelante Cesares a todos los otros que regnaron enpos el en ell Jmperio de Roma. cuemo des</p> | <p>And because he always increased the empire, he was called Augustus, which means the increaser. And this Julius Caesar was emperor of Rome and <i>Sennor</i> of the world, because all these reasons mentioned here are true. And after this name Caesar that was given to Julius, all those who reigned after him in the Roman empire were called Caesars, as they were called Augustus, for increasers. (EE 115, 15-17)</p> |

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| | pues augustos por acrecentadores. (EE 115, 15-17) | |
| 104 | E daquj adelant dexa la estoria el cuento por los Emperadores de Constantinopla; e trael por los Reys de Francia que regnaron en Alemana e en Francia. (EE 625, 22) | And from now on, the <i>Estoria</i> abandons the historical account after the emperors of Constantinople, and brought it back to the kings of France, who ruled over Germany and France. (EE 625, 22) |
| 105 | E de esta guisa crecio e mengo el Imperio de roma. fasta que es uenido el so estado a aquello en que oy esta. (EE 92, 22) | And in this manner the empire increased and decreased, until it reached the estate in which it is nowadays. (EE 92, 22) |
| 105 | Depues de la muerte de Theodosio el Emperador; fueron Archadio e Honorio amos sus fijos alçados por Emperadores. E partieron el Imperio entressi de guisa que archadio ouo tierra de Oriente. E honorio tierra de Occidente. (EE 362, 1) | After the demise of Theodosius, the emperor, his sons Arcadius and Honorius were crowned emperors. And they divided the empire between them, Arcadius having the Eastern land and Honorius the West. (EE 362, 1) |
| 108 | E por que roma fue depues poblada de los que descendieron del linaje de enneas. punnaron ellos e los que depues uinieron de fazer aquella cibdat de roma atal que no fallassen otra que fuesse egual della. (EE 71, 3) | And because Rome was populated by the descendants of Aeneas's lineage, they and their successors strived to make that city so great that no one could find another alike. (EE 71, 3) |
| 118 | “E del linaje deste rrey [Nemrod] vinieron los rreyes de Francia e los emperadores de Rroma e de los emperadores de Rroma e de los rreyes de Francia por linna vino la muy noble señora rreyna doña Beatriz, mujer que fue del muy noble e muy alto señor e sancto don Fernando, rrey de castilla e de Leon e padre e madre que fueron del muy noble e alto rrey don | And from the lineage of this king [Nemrod] the kings of France and the emperors of Rome were descended. And from the emperors of Rome and the kings of France descended the noble Doña Beatriz, spouse of the very noble and high <i>Sennor</i> , and Saint, Don Fernando, king of Castile and Leon. And they were the father and the mother of the noble and high king Don Alfonso, who commanded |

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| | Alphonso, que fuzo fazer estas historias e muchas otras” (Ms. Omega, f. 236r) | the composition of this and other <i>Estorias</i> . (Ms. Omega, f236r) |
| 119 | por que roma fue depues poblada de los que descendieron del linage de eneas. punnaron ellos e los que depues uinieron de fazer aquella cibdat de roma atal que no fallassen otra que fuesse egual della. (EE 71, 3) | And because Rome was populated by the descendants of Aeneas’s lineage, they and their successors strived to make that city so great that no one could find another alike. (EE 71, 3) |
| 119 | ¶ E dixieron le Traiano por que era del linage de Troya que uinieron poblar a aquella tierra. ca el Vlpio trinito auie nombre. e por sobre nombre Traiano. (EE 195, 4) | ¶ And they said that Trajan came from the lineage of Troy, which inhabited that land, and therefore, the Ulpian had Trajan for given name. (EE 195, 4) |
| 120 | Quando quier que los huessos de Capis fueren descubiertos. mataran sus parientes a uno que descendra del linage de Julo e sera uengado por muchas pestilencias que uernan a tierra de ytalia. e esto se entendie bien que fuera dicho por iulio cesar quedescendie del linage de Julo el fijo de Eneas. (EE 121, 7) | When Capis’s bones were discovered, his relatives killed someone who descended from the lineage of Julo [Ascanius] and who would be revenged by many pestilences that would come to the land of Italy. And it was understood to be said after Julius Caesar, who descended from the lineage of Julo, Aeneas’s son. (EE 121, 7) |
| 121 | La segunda razon dizen que este ninno salio de luego con cabellos. e con una uedija apartada mientras mas luenga que todos los otros cabellos. Et en latin dizen Cesares por uedija. o por cabelladura. o por cerda de cabellos. Onde fue tomado desta palabra Cesaries este nombre Cesar. e llama do a aquel ninno por aquella cerda con que nascio. E segund esto cesar tanto quiere dezir cuemo | For the second reason [for his name], they say that this child was born with hair, and with a strand of hair longer than the rest. And in Latin they say <i>Cesares</i> for a strand of hair, or hair, or bristles of hair. And from this word <i>Cesaries</i> the name Caesar was taken and given to that child for the bristle of hair he was born with. And according to this, Caesar means the one with the hair or the bristle of hair. And for these reasons, he is called <i>Cesaries</i> . (EE 115, 5-7) |

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| | <p>el de la uedija o el de la cerda. o el de la crin. ca por tod esto es dicho cesaries. (EE 115, 5-7)</p> | |
| 123 | <p>Pves que Julio cesar fue muerto assi cuemo auedes oydo; por que non dexo fijo ninguno que heredasse el sen norio depos el; alçaron los Romanos en so logar por sennor de roma e de todas las otras tierras quel obedecien; a Octauiano que era so sobrino fijo de su hermana. (EE 124, 1)</p> | <p>After Julius Caesar died, as you have heard, as he did not leave a son to inherit the <i>sennorío</i> after him, the Romans raised Octavian in his place as <i>Sennor</i> of Rome and all the lands, for he was his nephew, son of his sister. (EE 124, 1)</p> |
| 123 | <p>Anno ab urbe condita DCCX interfecto Iulio Caesare Octauianus, qui testamento Iuli Caesaris auunculi et hereditatem et nomen adumpserat idemque, qui postea rerum potitus Augustus est dictus, simul ut Romam adulescens admodum uenit, indolemsuam bellis ciuilibus uouit. (Orosius VI, 18º, 1)</p> | <p>In the year of the foundation of Rome DCCX, Julius Caesar was murdered and Octavian, according to his uncle/great-uncle Julius Caesar's will, became his heir and assumed his name. After he conquered and controlled the Roman affairs he was named Augustus. At the same time, for the certain growth of Rome that shaped its character, he consecrated the civil wars. (Orosius VI, 18º, 1)</p> |
| 123 | <p>Et cum his Octavius, adolescens annos decem et septem, patre Octavio senator genitus, maternum genus ab Aenea per Juliam familiam sortitus, Caesaris nepos, Acciae sororis ejus filius, quem ille testamento haeredem reliqueram et nomen suum ferre jusserat. (Diaconus col. 849-850)</p> | <p>And with these things [said], Octavian, an adolescent of seventeen years, whose father was of the senatorial class of Octavius, and whose mother was descended from Aeneas through the Julian line, was the grandson/nephew of Caesar, whose sister's son was of his sister Acciae, whose heritage he allegedly left behind and ordered them to take up his name. (Diaconus col. 849-850)</p> |
| 125 | <p>LVego que Adriano fue muer to; finco por Emperador de Roma Tito Antonino que era su yerno. e que auie el porfijado. e dexado por heredero dell Jmperio. (EE 204, 1)</p> | <p>After Hadrian died, Titus Antoninus was crowned emperor, for he was Hadrian's son-in-law, and had been adopted and made heir to the empire. (EE 204, 1)</p> |
| 12 | <p>Antoninus Pius, erat vir pijssimus, & natura benignus, qui ab Adriano in filium adoptatus fuerat (Speculum Historiale X, 91)</p> | <p>Antoninus Pius was an immensely pious man of good nature, who was adopted by Hadrian. (Speculum Historiale X, 91)</p> |
| 126 | <p>E yaziendo herodes pre</p> | <p>When Herodes was prisoner, Emperor Tiberius fell ill in the city</p> |

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| <p>so adolecio ell emperador Tiberio en la cibdat de capreas. e por que uio que morrie enuio por todos los nobles omnes de Roma. e por tiberio so nieto. e por Gayo su sobrino. [...] e Gayo el sobrino fu esse grand mannana poral tio. ¶ E quando lo uio ell Emperador pesol mucho. mas encubriolo e dixol. fijo tu eres emperador pero Tiberio auie mayor derecho de lo seer mas yo se la uoluntad de los dioses. e se que eres tu meior pora ello. E desi llamo todos los ricos omnes e diogelo por sennor. (EE 167, 8-11)</p> | <p>of Capreas, and seeing is death close, he summoned the nobles of Rome, his grandson Tiberius, and his nephew Caius. [...] And Caius arrived in the morning to his unclé's and when he saw the emperor it weighted on him. But the emperor embraced him and said: 'Son, whist Tiberius has more rights, you will be emperor. For I know the will of the gods, and I know you will be better for it'. And the emperor summoned all the nobles and wealthy men, and claim his nephew as <i>sennor</i>. (EE 167, 8-11)</p> |
| <p>126 [Tiberius], videns autem se moritutum conuocatis nobiles imperii sui, et duobus Nepotibus suis, Caio & Tiberio, [...] Fili [Gaius] tu succeeds mihi in imperio, quod potius debebatur Tiberio quasi haereditario iure tanquam filio filii. Sed ego video te vtilem imperio, noui mentes Deorum, conuocatis nobiles denunciabit eum Imperatorem. (Speculum Historiale VII, 128)</p> | <p>[Tiberius] also seeing he was dying, summoned the nobles of the empire and two relatives, Caius and Tiberius [...] 'Gaius, son, you will succeed me in the empire, even though Tiberius would have, since he is son of my son. But I can see your utility in the empire, for I know the minds of the Gods'. And he summoned the nobles and announced Caius's imperium. (Speculum Historiale VII, 128)</p> |
| <p>127- 128 Desde hercules ouo conquista toda esperia e tornada en su sennorio ouo sabor dir andar por el mundo por las otras tierras. e prouar los grandes fechos que y fallasse. empero non quiso que fincasse la tierra sin omnes de so linage. en manera que por los que el y dexasse. fuesse sabudo que el la ganara. e por esso la poblo daquellas yentes que troxiera consigo que eran de grecia. e puso en cada logar omnes de so linage. e sobre</p> | <p>Since Hercules had conquered all <i>Esperia</i> and brought it under his <i>sennorio</i>, he desired to travel the world and prove the great deeds he could achieve. But he did not want to leave his lands without the presence of men from his lineage, since it was thanks to them that he had won those lands. Therefore, he populated the lands with people he brought from Greece and established someone from his lineage in each place, and above them all, he made his nephew <i>sennor</i>. His name was <i>Espan</i>. He decided this as his nephew had proven to be dedicated and</p> |

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| | <p>todos fizo sennor un so sobrino que criara de pe quenno que auie nombre espan. y esto fizo el por quel prouara por much esforçado e de buen seso. e por amor del camio el nombre ala tierra que ante dizien esperia. e pusol nombre espanna. (EE 9, 5)</p> | <p>intelligent, and for the love he had for the land that was called <i>Esperia</i> before, he gave it the name of <i>Espanna</i>. (EE 9, 5)</p> |
| 128 | <p>[...] dimissoque eis Hispano quodam nobili, qui secum ad adolescentia fuera conversatus ab eius nomine Hesperiam Hispaniam nominavit. (Historia de Rebus Hispaniae, I, 5, p.10)</p> | <p>He [Hercules] left Hispan [as ruler], who was a noble man he raised from adolescence, and he changed the name Hesperia for Hispania. (Historia de Rebus Hispaniae, I, 5, p.10)</p> |
| 128 | <p>Depues de la muerte de Traiano ell Emperador finco en su logar Adriano fijo de su sobrina que era senador e adelantado de Roma. [...] E sabet que est Empe rador adriano fue natural despanna bien cuemo traiano su tio. (EE 199, 1,4)</p> | <p>After the death of the Emperor Trajan, Hadrian, son of his niece, who was senator in Rome, remained in his place [...] And know that this emperor Hadrian was born in Spain, as his uncle was. (EE 199, 1, 4)</p> |
| 130 | <p>Et fue est emperador diocleciano natural de tierra de dalmatia. e omne de tan uil logar que numqua se pudo saber por cierto quien fuera so padre. ca los u nos lo tenien por afforrado de Anolino el Senador; et los otros que fuera fijo de un escriuano. e assi fue la uerdat. Ca era fijo de escriuano e afforrado de Ano lino. (EE 295, 2)</p> | <p>And this emperor Diocletian was born in the land of Dalmatia, such a vile place that it was never possible to know who his father was. Some believe he was adopted by Anolino the senator; and others that he was son of a scribe. And this was the truth; he was the son of a scribe and adopted by Anolino. (EE 295, 2)</p> |
| 131 | <p>E fue este Licinio omne much escasso e muy cobdicioso. e muy duro e much aspero. e</p> | <p>And Licinius was not a bright man and he was very covetous, and very tough and rough and proud and elusive, and not very devoted. And</p> |

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| | <p>brauo y esquiuo. e no soffrido en ningu na cosa. E era muy luxurioso. e querie grand mal la letradura. e esto era por que lo el no podie aprender. [...] prouechoso alos aldeanos e alos labradores. por que dizie que del linage dellos unie el. (EE 327, 4-6)</p> |
| <p>132 E costancio era nieto dell emperador claudio fijo de su fija. [...] fizieron a Costantio dexar amj dos a Elena su mugier en qui auie por fijo a Costantino que fue depues emperador e casaron lo con Teodora annada dell emperador herculio maximiano et ouo en ella seys fijos hermanos de costantino (EE 299, 3,5)</p> | <p>And Constantius was the emperor Claudius's grandson, son of his daughter. [...] and they made Constantius abandon his wife Elena, with whom he had his son Constantine, who later became emperor. And he was made to marry Teodora, adopted daughter of Maximianus, and had six children with her, who are Constantine's sblings. (EE 299, 3,5)</p> |
| <p>132 E acabo de los seys meses. uno que auie y que dizien Julia no. omne poderoso e lleno de toda nemiga que era sennor de lees; guiso cuemo matoron a Helio ell emperador enel palacio del Capitolino. ¶ E depues de la muerte de Helyo cuemo era aquel Juliano muy poderoso e auie muchos de su parte; metiosse a tomar ell Jmperio por fuerça. e apoderosse del lo mas que pudo. siete meses. mas por que lo tomaua sin grado de los senadores e del pueblo de Roma non fue contado en la linna de los emperadores. nin fue</p> | <p>And after six months, someone named Julianus, a powerful and malicious man, well-versed in law, plotted the murder of emperor Helius in the Capitoline Palace. ¶ And after Helius' death, as this Julianus was very powerful and had many allies, he seized the Empire by force and took it over for as long as he could, seven months. Since he took power without the blessing of the Senate and against the people of Rome, he was not counted in the <i>linna</i> of emperors, or called emperor, but they raised someone named Severus, who was also very powerful. (EE 133, 5-6)</p> |

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| | <p>llamado emperador. mas alçaron otro que auie nombre seuero que era muy poderoso otrossi. (EE 133, 5-6)</p> | |
| 133 | <p>E [Macrinus and his son] ouieron ell Jmperio cuemo por fuerça mas a pesar que a plazer de los romanos. e por esta razon regnaron poco e non touieron ningunos con ellos. E por ende non pudieron fazer ningunos fechos granados que de contar fuessen (EE 252, 4-5)</p> | <p>And [Macrinus and his son] took the empire by force against the will of the people of Rome. And for this reason, they ruled for a short time and without allies and, therefore, they did not achieve any great deeds worth recounting. (EE 252, 4-5)</p> |
| 134 | <p>cumplio ell emperador Claudio sessaenta e quatro annos que nasciera. e adolecio en Roma en sus palacios. e era tan enpoder de su mugier Agripina e de sus afforradados; que no fazie ninguna cosa si no lo que ellos querien e mandauan. ¶ E por ende por conseio de su mugier de seredo de todo ell Jmperio de Roma a britanico su fijo. E establecio por heredero e por Emperador a Nero que era marido de Octauja su fija. e assi fue adelantado ell yerno al fijo lo que no deuie seer de derecho. ¶ E des que est ordenamiento fue fecho; murio ell Emperador claudio. e finco Nero en su lo gar. (EE 174, 1-5)</p> | <p>Emperor Claudius turned sixty-four years old. And suffered illness in his palace in Rome. His wife Agrippina was in power together with his adopted sons, to such an extent that he would do nothing without their acquiescence. ¶ and due to his wife's council, his son Britannicus was disinherited and he established Nero as heir, who was his daughter Octavia's husband. And this way the son-in-law surpassed the son, who was the rightful heir. ¶ and after this decision, Emperor Claudius died and Nero remained as emperor in his place. (EE 174, 1-5)</p> |
| 136 | <p>Ell emperador Tito auie un hermano menor que el aqui fazie mucho dalgo. e a</p> | <p>Emperor Titus had a younger brother who committed many misdeeds, named Domitian. And every chance Domitian had, he plotted against his brother in order to murder him, and</p> |

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| | <p>uie nombre domiciano. e el andaua quan to podie guisando cuemol matasse. e por castigar quel fiziessen; numqua quedaua de punnar enello quanto podie. e Tito sabie lo muy bien. pero numqual quiso matar por ello. ni partir de su companna. ni quiso que fuesse menos onrado que el. mas bien cue mo el primer dia de su Jmperio lo fizo egual de si en el sennorio; bien assi mando que lo fuesse dalli adelante. e rogaua muchas uezes adios enporidat llorando. que el mudasse el coraçon a su hermano en guisa quel quisiessse bien. (EE 190, 2-5)</p> |
| <p>139</p> | <p>Los sabios antiguos que fueron en los tiempos primeros e fallaron los saberes e las otras cosas; touieron que men guarien en sos fechos e en su lealtad. si tan bien nolo quisiessen pora los que auien de uenir; como pora si mis mos. o pora los otros que eranen so tiempo. (EE 1, 1)</p> |
| <p>154</p> | <p>The old sage men, who lived in the first times and founded philosophy and other things, decided that it would diminish their deeds and loyalty if they did not leave that knowledge for those to come, as well as for themselves and for others who lived in their time. (EE 1, 1)</p> |

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| 155 | <p>e escriuieron otrossi las gestas de los principes. tan bien de los que fizieron mal; cuemo de los que fizieron bien. por que los que des ^{ca} pues uiniessen por los fechos de los buenos punnassen en fazer bien. e por los de los malos que se castigassen. de fazer mal. e por esto fue endereçado el curso del mundo de ca da una cosa en su orden</p> <p>(EE 1, 11)</p> | <p>And in that way, they [the sage men] wrote about the deeds of princes, both wrongdoers and those who did right, so those coming after them strived to do their best after the deeds of these good princes, and were punished if they did wrong. And after this the course of the world was established, each thing in order.</p> <p>(EE 1, 11)</p> |
| 156 | <p>Mas agora contaremos de los fechos que amos estos principes fizieron daqui adelant sobre que ouieron guerra e lidiaron muchas uezes. ellos e los otros cibdadanos de Roma por las razones dellos. e de los fechos que ellos fizieron por las otras tierras; diremos ende algunos. Lo uno por que fueron amos sennores de las espannas pero que en senno tiempos. Lo al por que uienen y razones en que puede aprender quien quisiere exiemplos de castigos E en tod esto departiremos de los fechos de las espannas en sos logares o acaecieren.</p> <p>(EE 81, 5-8)</p> | <p>However, we will recount now the deeds of these princes, about the numerous wars they fought in, about themselves, and the citizens of Rome and their motives, and about these men's deeds in other lands. On one hand, we will present some of them, since they were <i>sennores</i> of the <i>Espannas</i>, each in their time. On the other, examples of punishments and the reasons for which they were given. And to discuss all this we will talk about these events in both the <i>Espannaas</i>, and other places.</p> <p>(EE, 81, 5-8)</p> |
| 157 | <p>E la discordia e la mal querencia començada dantes entrellos. e encubierta fas ta alli; daqui se començo a descubrir por que ouieron despues a lidiar e a contecer entrellos cuemo contaremos adelant. auiendo entre si debdo por que non deuiera seer este mal ni este</p> | <p>And the discord and dislike that began between them that had been concealed, came to light from this moment, and the reasons for their fights were unravelled, as will be told. There was a debt between them that did not come from dislike, but from jealousy and pride, which defeat everything and have the power to cause events such as this one.</p> <p>(EE 80, 28)</p> |

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| | <p>desamor si no por enuidia e soberuia que uencen todas cosas o ellas an poder e bueluen tales fechos cuemo este.: (EE 80, 28)</p> | |
| 157 | <p>E pues que se fueron connociendo e uieron quamanno era el debdo entrellos. en tendieron que aquella batalla cibdadana era e mas que cibdadana. e que tal nemiga com aquella cibdadanos de roma la mouien con soberuia e cobdicia. e ellos la farien. (EE 99, 31)</p> | <p>And after they began knowing each other, they saw the debt between them, and understood that that civil war was more than civil, and that Roman citizens were moved by pride and covetousness, as they were. (EE 99, 31)</p> |
| 158 | <p>E por tan grand nemiga tenien ellos aquella guerra e la ba talla que auien a fazer. por que era con cobdicia e con soberuia. que se touieron por omnes de bu ena uentura. en auer razon de non seer y. (EE 102, 47-48)</p> | <p>And so much resentment had they [Petreus and Affranus] against this war that they had to battle, because it was caused by covetousness and pride, and as they considered themselves good men, they did not have a reason to be there. (EE 102, 47-48)</p> |
| 159 | <p>E la contienda que Julio cesar auie con ponpeyo; con todos la ouo dalli adelant. por que depues ouieron a lidiar ell e ponpeyo en los campos de emacia. assi como diremos adelant. E fizieron se despues del los otras lides muchas por esta razon entre los cibdadanos de roma. assi cuemo lo cuen tan las estorias. e fue por ello muy quebranta do e muy abaxado el sennorio dell Jmperio de Roma. ¶ Sobreste crescer e minguar dell Jmperio de Roma departe la estoria de orosio en este lugar. e diz assi. Que ell estado dell Jmperio de Roma la forma troxo de la</p> | <p>And the conflict that Julius Caesar had against Pompey, he had against everyone from that moment, and he and Pompey had battled in the fields of <i>Emacia</i> [maybe Lérída], as will be told in this chronicle. They had later many other combats for this same reason, as histories account. And for that reason, the <i>sennorio del Imperio</i> of Rome transgressed and decreased. On that increase and decrease of the Empire of Rome, Orosius's history says that the estate of the Empire of Rome had the shape of the great sea, which never stops growing and diminishing, and in that way, the Roman empire always grew and decreased, and never stayed the same. And Orosius gave examples of this and said that when Pompey conquered the <i>Espannas</i>, and this Pompey and consul Lucullus took over Asia; and Julius Caesar conquered France, that the Empire of Rome increased and there was very little land that was not under its</p> |

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| <p>grand mar. que numqua queda de crecer e min guar. e que assi fizo ell Jmperio de Roma. que siempre crecio e mingo e numqua souo en un estado. E desto da orosio estos exiemplos e diz assi. Que quando tomo ponpeyo las espan nas. e el consul Lucollo e este ponpeyo a Asia. E Julio cesar las francias; que crecio ell Jm perio de Roma fasta los cabos de los terminos de la tierra que muy pocol ende finco que no fue todo del so sennorio. Del miguar dize otro si que mingo mucho ell Jmperio de Roma quando mataron a Marco crasso en torquia echandol por la garganta ell oro retido. e di ziendol. doro as set e oro beue. E otro si quando se fizieron las lides de Julio e de ponpeyo. e las de los otros cibdadanos despues daquellas. en que se perdieron tantas yentes; que no oui eron cuenta. e murio por ello ponpeyo; que era princep de tan alta guisa. e otros principes e omnes onrados de Roma e do tras muchas tierras del so sennorio. E de sta guisa crecio e mingo ell Jmperio ell ell Jmperio de roma. fasta que es uenido el so estado a aquello en que oy esta.</p> <p>(EE 92 14-22)</p> | <p><i>sennorio</i>. On the decrease, Orosius says that the Empire of Rome diminished gravely when Crassus was killed in Turkey with melted gold poured in his throat and it was said that since he was thirsty of gold, gold he would drink. Also, when Julius Caesar and Pompey battled and the citizens followed, wars in which so many were lost that they could not even count them. And for this reason, Pompey died, who was a man of great manners, the same way as other princes and honoured men from many lands of his <i>sennorio</i>. And in this way the empire increased and decreased until it reached the state in which it is nowadays. (EE 92, 22)</p> |
| <p>162 161- E Julio cesar ueyendo el recebimiento que</p> | <p>And Julius Caesar, seeing the welcome that they [the people of Rome] gave to Pompey, and how he</p> |

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| <p>fazien a ponpeyo. e cuemo yua a el e a los otros romanos much adelante en el poder del Consulado; ouo ende grand enuidia e pesol ; muy de coraçon. e andaua ya discordia e mal querencia entrellos. pero encubierta aun. e auien la començada pieça antes sobre tales razones cuemo estas e non se podien soffrir ya. Onde diz lucano en el libro que fizo desta estoria. Destos dos principes non puede soffrir ell uno all otro. Ni el Cesar a ponpeyo que fue primero en el sennorio. Ni ponpeyo al Cesar que era so par. E la discordia e la mal querencia començada dantes entrellos. e encubierta fass ta alli; daqui se començo a descubrir por que ouieron despues a lidiar e a contecer entrellos cuemo contaremos adelant. auiendo entre si debdo por que non deuiera seer este mal ni este desamor si no por enuidia e soberuia que uencen todas cosas o ellas an poder e bueluen tales fechos cuemo este.: (EE 80, 22-28)</p> | <p>moved forwards in the power of the consulate, had great jealousy and it weighed greatly on him, and there was already some discord and dislike between them, but it was underhanded. And this chronicle had already discussed these reasons, and how these could not be over, since as Lucan in his book asserted, these two princes cannot defeat each other. Nor Caesar to Pompey, who was the first in the <i>sennorio</i>; nor Pompey to Caesar, who was his equal. And the discord and dislike between them both was concealed until this moment, when it started to be revealed, and this caused the later dispute between them, as will be told. This was caused by none other than jealousy and pride, which defeat all things and cause events such as this one. (EE 80, 22-28)</p> |
| <p>162 Ponpeyo luego que este mandado lleo las espannas de xo las assessegadas cuemo lo auemos dicho con sos fijos e sos cabdiellos e fuesse apriessa e passo a Asia. e de todas estas bien andanças de ponpeyo crecie mas a Julio cesar la enuidia e la braueza. de seer contra el. (EE 83, 27)</p> | <p>Pompey arrived to the <i>Espannas</i> and left them in peace, as has been told, with his sons, and his knights, and went rapidly to Asia. And all these deeds carried out by Pompey caused the increase of the jealousy and pride of Julius Caesar, who came after him. (EE 83, 27)</p> |

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| 163 | <p>E Julio cesar fue omne que quando enpaz esta ua e no andaua en alguna guerra. e en algu nos grandes bollicios o contiendas; non folga ua nil cabie el coraçon en si. e era muy cobdj cioso de sennorear. e la cobdicia a demas en un tiempo o en otro. danno aduxo. e assi fizo a el. ca por ello murio depues. assi cuemo con taremos adelant. (EE 93, 8)</p> | <p>And Julius Caesar was the kind of man who, when he was at peace and was not involved in any war, or battle, did not rest and his heart could not fit in his chest, because he was very covetous of <i>ensennorear</i>, and his covetousness caused harm to him, and in this way, he died later because of it, as will be told further. (EE 93, 8)</p> |
| 165 | <p>dell Emperador Vespasiano. por que se des cubriera por muy cobdicioso. e a grand derecho fue reptada la cobdicia en el. por que la recibio en si omne que era complido de todas otras buenas costumbres. e en qui no auie ninguna mala si no aquella tan sola mientre. [...] e tar daua ^{en} mucho de soltar los presos quier fuessen en culpa quier sin culpa. e tenien algunos que lo fazie con cobdicia de leuar algo de todos (EE 188, 2-4, 8)</p> | <p>Of Emperor Vespasian it was discovered that he was very covetous, and in him covetousness was well-received, since all his other manners were good, and did not have any other vice but that one. [...] And he delayed the release of prisoners, whether they were guilty or not, and some thought that it was with covetousness, the desire of getting something from them. (EE 188, 2-4, 8)</p> |
| 166 | <p>E por esto que fazie dizien algunos que era escasso de natura. mas los mas dizien que no. e que lo fazie con men gua. por que no fallara tesoro ninguno enell Jmperio. ca lo auien todo gastado los otros emperadores en sus uandos. e en sus guerras. (EE 188, 11)</p> | <p>And on this habit, some thought that he was not very bright by nature. However, others said that what he did, he did with intelligence, for the empire's treasury was empty as it had been wasted by other emperors in their affairs and wars. (EE 188, 11)</p> |
| 168 | <p>E tan sin razon fue la luxuria de gayo</p> | <p>And such was Caligula's lust that he laid with all his sisters, and then</p> |

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| | <p>que yogo con todas sus hermanas. e al cabo mato las diziendo les que se yazien con otros. e que eran en conseio de matar a el (EE 169, 4)</p> | <p>killed them saying they were laying with others, and that they had been told to kill him. (EE 169, 4)</p> |
| 168 | <p>E des que fue en Roma assessegado en el Jmperio diosse a grand luxuria e a toda crueza. (EE 184, 24)</p> | <p>And since the Roman Empire was in peace, he [Vitellius] fell into lust and cruelty. (EE 184, 24)</p> |
| 168 | <p>Luego de comien ço fue gloton. e de grand luxuria. e muy cobdicioso. mas iualo comencando poca poco e encubierta mientre. assi que cuyda uan los omnes que lo fazie con yerro de mancebia. (EE 175, 32)</p> | <p>And after his reign began, he showed gluttony and great lust, and he was very covetous, but he was revealing this slowly, so people thought they were errors from his youth. (EE 175, 32)</p> |
| 168 | <p>E ala uestidura otrossi llamaron la Antoniana del nombre del. e fue omne de tan grand luxuria que tomo por mugier a Julia que fuera mu gier de su Auuelo. (EE 248, 5)</p> | <p>And this vesture was called Antoninan after his name, and he was a man of such lust that he took Julia, who was the wife of his grandfather, for his own wife. (EE 248, 5)</p> |
| 169 | <p>E a grandes e a chi cos a todos semeiaua que era cruel por natu ra. e que auie grand sabor de matar omnes. e esto por que mato a Apio Silano su cossue gro. (EE 170, 21)</p> | <p>And the young and the elders thought he was cruel by nature, and that he had great taste for killing men, and for this he killed Appius Silanus, who was his son's father-in-law. (EE 170, 21)</p> |
| 169 | <p>E fue este emperador muy piadoso a todos e bien quisto por sus fechos. Mas pero con tod aquello fue tan brauo e tan cruel castigador de la orden de la caualleria que fallamos que unas le giones de caualleros que se yuan aluoro</p> | <p>And this emperor [Severus] was very pious and well-loved for his deeds, but he was also proud and cruelly punished the order of the knights, and we found that some legions of knights had rebelled and he stripped them entirely of all the honour that knights had. (EE 257, 6-7)</p> |

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| | <p>çando entre si. todas entera mientras las despuso de la onra que an los caualleros.</p> | |
| 169 | <p>fue muy mas brauo e mas cruo de lo que ante era. [...] E bien cuemo auie grand la cru eza; bien assi auie grand arteria con ella por saber guisar de fazer mal aqui qui siesse. (EE 192, 7,9)</p> | <p>He [Domitian] was far prouder and crueller that he had been before [...] And as he had great cruelty, he also was also very artful with it, so he knew how to do wrong to whomever he wanted. (EE 192, 7,9)</p> |
| 169 | <p>Mas era muy cruo; et cumplie muchas ue zes su crueza; en aquellos de qui auie embidia. ca mataua muchos dellos; et a muchos dellos tollie quant aiuen. (EE 295, 4)</p> | <p>However, he was very cruel, and acted cruelly many times against those he was jealous of; he killed many of them, and also many others. (EE 295, 4)</p> |
| 171 | <p>E des que ouo ell emperador aureliano uençudas estas dos batallas fuesse muy loçano pora roma. (EE 282, 7)</p> | <p>And since Emperor Aurelian won these two battles, he returned to Rome very <i>proud</i>. (EE 282, 7)</p> |
| 171 | <p>Mando ell Em perador aureliano fazer corona de oro much on rada e pusosla en la cabeça. e uistios se pannos labrados con oro e con pie dras preciosas. que era cosa que numqua ante ouieran acostumbrada en roma. ni lo fiziera emperador que antel fuesse. (EE 284, 1)</p> | <p>Emperor Aurelian ordered the creation of a very lavish golden crown and put it on his head, and wore luxurious fabrics, embellished with gemstones, something that was not the custom in Rome, nor was done by any emperor before. (EE 284, 1)</p> |
| 172 | <p>Tornosse ell emperador Aureliano a Roma muy loçano e con grand alegria cuemo aquel que auie recebi do tod el sennorio doriente e todo el doc</p> | <p>Emperor Aurelian returned very <i>proudly</i> to the city of Rome and with joy, since he had received the <i>sennorío</i> of the West and the East, he was received with honours. And he started to show his great <i>pride</i> and condemned many noble men of the</p> |

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| | <p>cidente. e recibieron lo todos much on rada mientras. e el con la grand loçania començo a mostrar se por brauo e ma to muchos de los nobles omnes de la cib dat. e dio sentencia de muerte contra muchos otros. e mato sus sobrinos. e fue mui cruel en matar las yentes. (EE 285, 1-3)</p> | <p>city to death, and their nephews, and was very cruel in killing people. (EE 285, 1-3)</p> |
| 173 | <p>Aquell anno començo el a seer muy manso e muy franc e muy bueno. assi que se paga uan las yentes del. (EE 168, 6)</p> | <p>In that year he [Caligula] began his reign being very gentle and good, and the people loved him. (EE 168, 6)</p> |
| 173 | <p>Ouo Gayo dexada la bondat que mostrara en el comi enço de su regno. E salio omne muy luxu rioso. e tan cruel contra los omnes. e tan malo. que de todos los otros principes dan te del no lo fue ninguno tanto. [...] E faziessse alas yentes aorar por dios. e llamauasse her mano de Jupiter. (EE 169, 1-2, 6)</p> | <p>And Gaius abandoned the goodness he had shown at the beginning of his reign, and became very lustful and cruel against other men, and so vile that none of the successive emperors could match him [...] And he made people worship him as a God and claimed to be Jupiter's brother. (EE 169, 1-2, 6)</p> |
| 173 | <p>Mostrosse por muy piadoso en el comienço del su Jmperio. diziendo que no regnaua por si. mas por mandado de claudio Agosto. (EE 175, 8)</p> | <p>He [Nero] seemed to be very pious at the beginning of his reign, saying that he was not ruling for himself, but following the work done by Claudius. (EE 175, 8)</p> |
| 173 | <p>E uiniendo una uez de Grecia a Roma entro en la cibdat en aquel carro mismo en que Octauiano Augusto uenciera sus batallas. e trayenlo cauillos blancos. e el uistie unos pannos de porpola laurados</p> | <p>And coming back from Greece to Rome, he [Nero] entered the city riding in the same carriage that had helped Augustus win his battles, with white horses, and wearing purple robes with embroidered golden stars, and on his head he wore a crown just like the one from Jupiter's statue. (EE 175, 25)</p> |

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| | <p>a estrellas doro. e traye en la cabeça una corona tal cuemo la dell Jdolo de Jupiter. (EE, 175, 25)</p> | |
| 174 | <p>Quisieran lo llamar daquel la uez sennor de todo el mundo. por que auie assessegadas las espannas. e todas las otras tierras so el so sennorio. mas el nolo quiso consentir.[...] mando pregonar por toda la cibdat que qual quier que lo llamasse sennor del mundo que aurie la su ira e perderie el cuerpo por ello. mas quien assil quisiesse llamar. que llamas se sennor en pos el sennor del mundo. (EE, 142, 6, 9)</p> | <p>And they wanted to call him lord of the world from then, for he had pacified the <i>Espannas</i> and all the lands in his <i>sennorío</i>, but he did not accepted the title [...] And he announced in the city that anyone that called him lord of the world would face his rage and would die for it. And that who wanted to call him that, they would call him lord after the Lord of the world. (EE 142, 6, 9)</p> |
| 174 | <p>E de muchas onras quel querien fazer las yentes; no recibie si no muy pocas e muy pequennas. no querie quel llamassen emperador. llamauan lo los omnes padre de la tierra e deffendiege lo el. no querie traer corona en la cabeça cuemo emperador. ni querie oyr losenias en ninguna guisa. (EE 159, 5)</p> | <p>And of the many honours that the people wanted to give him [Augustus], he did not want to receive any but some modest few, and he did not want to be called emperor, or as men called him, father of the land, and he defended that he did not want to carry a crown on his head as emperor, nor did he want any kind of honours. (EE 159, 5)</p> |
| 175 | <p>E el dixo les. cumple de mi que regne amidos; e lo no merezco. Demas el sennorio nolo deue auer omne por lina ge. mas por merecimientos. E sin prouecho regna el que nasce rey e nolo merece. E no dubdedes que no a amor de padre; el que carga sus fijos de cargas tan pesadas que las</p> | <p>And he [Hadrian] told them: even though it is my reign, I do not deserve it. The <i>sennorío</i> should not belong to a man for his lineage, but he should deserve it. And unfruitfully rules he who only has the birth right, and do not doubt that the father who gives these burdens to his sons does not love them, since they cannot carry them and they suffocate under their weight. (EE 199, 9)</p> |

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| | no pueden leuar e se affogan con ellas. (EE 199, 9) | |
| 176 | En quanto el uisco siempre fue ensenna do e piadoso. Numqua se fazie de mayor linage de quanto era. Siempre dizie que era de comunal. ni de muy alto ni de muy baxo. e alas uezes dizie por los de comunal que eran de meior que el. (EE 185, 13) | About him [Vespasian], he was always cultivated and pious. He never pretended to have a better lineage than the one he came from, and always said he was part of the people, not higher, or lower, and sometimes he said that the people were better than him. (EE 185, 13) |
| 176 | E segund cuenta Suetonio. fue omne de buena uida. e de muy buenas costumbres. assi que en el tiempo de Nero se yendo uno de los companones de su casa; no podie soffrir las sus uilezas. e quando el cantaua e tannie sus estrumentos. o se adormecie. o yua su uia con enoio. e ouol por esto Nero grand sanna e grand desamor. deguisa que lo echo de su companna. e deffendiol que numqua apareciesse ant el. (EE 185, 4-5) | And according to Suetonius, he [Vespasian] was a man of good habits. And during the times of Nero one of the companions was in his house, and this companion did not suffer his villainies, and when Nero sang or played instruments, he would fall asleep or leave with irritation, and for this reason Nero was furious with him and disliked him deeply. In this way, Nero excluded him from his company and told him to never come back to his presence. (EE 185, 4-5) |
| 177 | Encomienço ouieron las yentes sospecha del que serie cruo e luxurioso. cob dicioso e robador. por sennales que mostra ua ende segund ellos cuydauan. e alca bo nolo pudieron encobrir. e llamauan lo Nero. diziendo que tal serie cuemo el. (EE 186, 13) | At the beginning, the people had the suspicion that he [Vespasian] would be cruel and lustful, and corrupt from the signals that he was showing and they called him Nero, thinking he would be the same. (EE 186, 13) |
| 178 | 177- E fue traiano muy franque e muy companon a sus amigos. e amo mucho los caualleros. | And Trajan was very frank and a good companion to his friends and professed deep love to the knights and was very gentle with the citizens, and very frank in opening the city gates. So, considering the great |

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| <p>e fue muy manso contra los cibdadanos. e muy franque en soltar los pechos a las cibdades. assi que por el grand destruimi ento que auie enell estado de Roma. e por cuemo lo el refazie e lo cobraua todo; te nien las gentes que por uertud de dios les era dado tal emperador. [...] E entre muchas buenas palauras que Traiano dixo; cuando entan del las estorias. que por que era tan bueno no es tan mesurado e tan compañero de los omnes. e los affazie tan mucho assi; quel preguntaron un dia sus priuados e sus amigos por que lo fazie. e el dixo les. QVe tal emperador querie el seer a los que no auien dignidades ni sennorios; quales solie el querer al tiempo que las no auie; quel fuessen los otros Emperadores. (EE, 195, 6, 47-48)</p> | <p>destruction of the state of the Roman Empire, and since he rebuilt and collected everything, people believed he had been sent by the virtue of God. [...] And amongst the many good words said by Trajan, the stories say that he was so measured and a good companion to his men that one day his close friends asked him why he acted like that. And he said to them that he wanted to be such emperor to those that did not have titles or <i>sennorios</i>, the same way that he wanted the emperors to be when he still was one of the people. (EE 195, 6, 47-48)</p> |
| <p>181 E tu hijo si saneste de la gafedat sepas que fue por que fuste tu el primero entre todos los emperadores que diste cabo all yerro de los Jdolos. e que proueste que ni eran ni deuien seer creidos por dios. Ca son ymagenes de omnes malos; fechas de metal. que ni an almas ni entendimiento ninguno. (EE 324, 6)</p> | <p>And if you [Constantine], son, healed from your illness, you should know it was because you were the first of the emperors that put an end to the error of the idols, and who proved that they were not and should not be believed to be God, since they are images of bad men, made in metal, without soul or understanding. (EE 324, 6)</p> |
| <p>182 Auino assi. que los ereges Arrianos andaron siguiendo all emperador Costan</p> | <p>And it happened that the Arian heretics chased Emperor Constantine with their false predications and converted him into their heresy.</p> |

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| | <p>tino tanto con sus falsas predicationes que lo tornaron a su heregia. [...]</p> <p>¶ E desi murio ell Emperador auiedo recebido el bap tismo de los hereges a sessaenta e seis annos que naciera. (EE 335, 1,5)</p> | <p>And, in this way, the emperor died sixty-six years after he was born, after receiving the heretic baptism. (EE 355, 1, 5)</p> |
| 183 | <p>Et departen aqui los sabios; que se entendie por esto que en Roma auie a seer la cabeça de la cristiandat. que se faze de crisma que es de balsamo e de olio. e que dalli la recibrien las yentes pora tod el mundo. (EE 125, 2)</p> | <p>And the sage men discuss here, that it was understood that Rome was the head of all Christianity, anointed with oil that would be received by the people of the world. (EE 125, 2)</p> |
| 192 | <p>Ca él [Christ] ouo en ssí dos vnçiones, la vna de rrey, la otra de sacerdote. Et porque cada vna dellas ha nombre por ssipsse – la de los rreyes, rreal; la de los ssacerdotes, spiritual... Que Ihesu Cristo ffué vntado por uerdadero rrey tenporal muestra el ssu nonbre; que Ihesu Cristo en griego tanto quiere decir commo vntado. Et antiguamente todos aquellos que eran llamados para ser rreyes auyan a ser vntados. (Setenario, Ley LXXXVIII.)</p> | <p>For He [Christ] had two anointments, one as a king, and the other as priest. And each of them has a name, that of the kings, royal, and that of the priests, spiritual [...]</p> <p>Jesus Christ was anointed as true temporal king, as his name proves: because Jesus Christ means in Greek “anointed”, and in ancient times, all kings had to be anointed. (Setenario, Ley LXXXVIII)</p> |
| 193 ³⁶⁴ | <p>[...] que a los rreyes e a los ssaçerdotes ssolían vntar antiguamente con olio e con otros vngüentos preçiados, et esto non tan solamente gelo ffazían en la ffruenta e en las espallas, como vntan los de agora, mas de ssomo de la cabeça ffasta ffoundón de las piernas. Ley LXXXIX</p> | <p>[...] that kings and priests used to be anointed in the ancient times with oil and other precious ointments, and this was not only done in the forehead and the back, as nowadays, but from the top of the head to the bottom of the legs. Ley LXXXIX</p> |
| 193 | <p>Vngir solian a los Reyes en la vieja Lei, con olio bendito en las cabeças: mas en esta nuestra Ley nueva les fazen vnción en otra manera, por lo que dixo Ysayas Profeta a nuestro Señor Jesu</p> | <p>They anointed kings with holy oil on the head, but, according to our new religion they are anointed in another way, in accordance with what the prophet Isaiah said concerning Our Lord Jesus Christ, namely that he is</p> |

³⁶⁴ All references from this work are translated by Burns his edition of Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*.

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| | <p>Christo, que es Rey de los Cielos, e de la tierra: e que su Imperio seria sobre su onmro. E esto se cumplió quando le pusieron la Cruz sobre el ombro diestro e gela fizieron leuar. [...] Por esso los vnigen [the kings] en este tiempo con olio sagrado, en el ombro de la espalda del braço diestro [...]</p> <p>Partida I, Título IV, Ley XIII</p> | <p>to be king of heaven and earth, and that his empire will rest upon his shoulder. And this was accomplished when they placed the cross upon his left shoulder and compelled him to carry it there [...] Therefore, in these times they anoint them with holy oil on the back part of the shoulder of the right arm [...]</p> |
| 195 | <p>E otrosí dixieron los Sabios que el Emperador es Vicario de Dios en el Imperio para fazer justicia en lo temporal, bien assí como lo es el Papa en lo espiritual</p> <p>Partida II, Título I, Ley I</p> | <p>Moreover, wise men declared that the emperor is the vicar of God in the empire, in order to dispense justice in temporal matters, just as the Pope does in those which are spiritual.</p> <p>Partida II, Title I, Law I</p> |
| 195 | <p>Vicarios de Dios son los Reyes, cada vno en su Reyno, puestos sobtr las gentes para mantenerlas en justicia e en verdad quanto en lo temporal, bien así como el Emperador en su Imperio</p> <p>Partida II, Título I, Ley V</p> | <p>Kings, each one in his kingdom, are the vicars of God, appointed over people to maintain them in justice and in truth in temporal matters, just as an emperor does in his empire.</p> <p>Partida II, Título I, Ley V</p> |
| 198 | <p>197- La primera, que venga por el poder de Dios, e non por arte. La segunda, que el miraglo sea contra natura, ca de otra guisa non se marauillarían los omes dél. La tercera, que venga por merescimiento de santidad e de bondad que aya en sí aquél por quién Dios lo faze. La quarta, que aquel miraglo acaezca sobre cosa que sea sobre confirmación de la fe.</p> <p>Partida I, Título IV, Ley LXVIII</p> | <p>First, it must come through the power of God, and not through craft; second, the miracle must be contrary to the laws of Nature, for under other circumstances men would not marvel at it; third, it must be produced by reason of the merits of the sanctity and excellence of him by whose instrumentality God performs it; fourth, the miracle must relate to something which may tend to the confirmation of the Faith.</p> <p>Partida I, Title IV, Law LXVIII</p> |
| 202 | <p>E ouieron entrel y la reyna respuesta de sos dioses que fiziessen amos aquella carrera e que serien bien andantes e por esso yua con ella.</p> <p>(EE54, 36)</p> | <p>And [the Bishop of Tyre] and Queen Dido had answers from their gods who told them to leave, since they would be fortunate, and for that reason he went with her.</p> <p>(EE 54, 36)</p> |
| 202 | <p>E pues que se uio en alta mar e alongada de la su tierra. ouo muy grand alegria. e diol dios buen tiempo. e alçaron las uelas assi que arribaron much ayna en affrica en un logar que fazie cuemo seno dela mar.</p> | <p>And when she found herself in the middle of the sea and far from her land, she felt great joy, and thanked God for the weather. And they set the sails and arrived on the African shore.</p> <p>(EE 55, 2)</p> |

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| 203 | <p>(EE 55, 2)</p> <p>E carthon ouo respuesta de sos dios que fuesse a espanna e alli fallarie lo que demandaua. E fizo lo assi. e luego que ouo buen tiempo alço sus uelas e fuesse a aquel puerto o fue depues poblada carthagena (EE 57, 11-12)</p> | <p>And Carthon had an answer from his God, who told him to go to <i>Espanna</i>, where he would find what he was looking for. And so he did, and when the weather was propitious, he set sails and went towards that port where later they would found <i>Carthagena</i>. (EE 57, 11-12)</p> |
| 204 | <p>En esto adormeciosse e fuel dicho en suennos que primero casarie con la reyna dido. e de pues irie a aquel logar o el cobdiciaua. E pues que despertó semeiol que esta uision fue ra de dios e plogol mucho (EE 59, 7-8)</p> | <p>And [Aeneas] had fallen asleep, when he was told within his dreams that first, he would marry Queen Dido, and after he would be able to depart towards that place that he coveted. And after awakening, it seemed to him that this vision had been sent by God, and he felt pleased. (EE 59, 7-8)</p> |
| 204 | <p>e des que fue passado aquel dia e uino la noche; echosse ell emperador Costantino a dormir. e aparecieron le en su ennos sant Pedro e sant Paulo los dos santos Apostolos. e dixieron le. Por que no quesiste derramar la sangre de los que eran sin culpa; nos enujo a ti nuestro sennor ihesu cristo. que te damos conseio que puedas cobrar tu sani dat. e por ende oynos e faz lo que te con seiaremos. E sepas que siluestre el papa por tal de desfoyr los sacrificios de los gentiles. e de no aorar los sus ydolos; fuxosse pora los montes. e esta escondido con sus clerigos en el monte serap tin. e enuialo tu llamar e faz lo ue</p> | <p>And after the day passed and the night arrived, Emperor Constantine lay down to sleep, and in a dream he saw Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the apostles, who told him: As you did not want to spill the blood of the innocents, Jesus Christ, our Lord, sent us to tell you how to recover your health, and for this reason, hear us and do what we command. You should know that Pope Sylvester, for banishing the pagan sacrifices, and not preaching to their idols, went to the hills and is hidden with his clerics in Mount <i>Serap tin</i>. Summon him and make him come before you, for he will show you a pond where you should bath, and you will recover from your illness. (EE 322, 12-14)</p> |

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| <p>nir atj. e el te mostrara una albuhe ra de que te fazemos cierto que tanto que te el banne enella luego seras sano de la gafedat. (EE 322, 12-14)</p> | |
| <p>mas ayudol nuestro sennor ihesu cristo por la buena creencia que enel auie. e uenci olos todos [...] e morando y en una cibdat que auie nombre bisan cio; auinol assi una noche. que el yazien do durmiendo en su lecho uinol en uisi on quel parauan delante una muger ue gezuela muy fea e much enatia e mu erta. e diziel sant Siluestre. Costanti no faz oracion e ressuscitara esta muger. [...] ¶ E des que ouo ayunado siete di as un depos otro; Apareciol otra uez en uision sant Siluestre e dixol. ¶ La uieia que tu uiste es bisancio esta cipdat en que estas. que uees que a ya los muros todos cay dos de uegedat [...] e poro aquella sennal fuere. mandarás fazer muros muy altos e muy fuertes. e esta cibdat que es uieia. tornar la as nueva. e poner las nombre del tuyo. e sera enella muy loado el nombre del nuestro sennor ihesu cristo. e aura y muchas yglesias a onra de todos los santos. e regnaran enella tus fijos. e</p> | <p>Our Lord, Jesus Christ, helped him because he believed in his cause, and in this way, he defeated them all [...] and living in the city with the name of Byzantium, one night when he was sleeping on his bed, he had a vision in which an old, ugly, and dead lady appeared in front of him. And Saint Sylvester told him: Constantine, pray and resurrect this woman. [...] ¶ And after he fasted for seven days, he had another vision of Saint Sylvester, who told him: ¶ The old woman that you saw was Byzantium, the city which you are in, whose walls are fallen of old age [...] and this was a signal. You will command the construction of new very high and strong walls, and this city, which is old, you will make it new, and you will give it your name. And this city will honour our Lord, Jesus Christ, and there will be many churches to honour all the saints, and your sons will also rule over it, and your grandchildren, and all those who will come after you. (EE 331, 2-3, 8, 11)</p> |

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| | tus nietos. e todos los que de ti uinieren. (EE 331, 2-3, 8, 11) | |
| 206 | Et otrossi en esta batalla de espanna. si los Ponpeyos fijos de Ponpeyo el grand e sos cabdiellos ouiessen sa budo ell estado a que fue aducho Julio cesar en esta batalla; uencieran ellos. e fuera Julio Cesar uen çudo e desfecho en espanna el so poder pora siem pre. Mas lo que es ordenado por el poder de dios nolo puede desfazer si no el quando quisiere. (EE 118, 8-9) | And in this way, in the battle of <i>Espanna</i> , if the sons of Pompey the Great and their knights knew the state in which Julius Caesar was fighting, they would have won, and Julius Caesar would have been defeated and his power in <i>Espanna</i> destroyed forever. However, that which is commanded by the power of God cannot be undone, unless he wanted it so. (EE 118, 8-9) |
| 206 | E que assi cuemo fu era uençudo aquel dia. assi podrie el uencer otro si su uentura fuesse que dios le ayudasse. (EE 106, 1-2) | And this was how [Julius Caesar] was defeated that day but could win other day with the help of God. (EE 106, 1-2) |
| 207 | guiso ell Emperador Costantino sus huestes por yr a Roma. a lidiar con Maxencio. e en yendo por la carrera pensando mucho enel fecho de la batalla que auie de auer adormeciosse. e uio ensuennos enel cielo la sennal de la cruz que resplandecie a manera de fuego. E uio los angeles quel estauan a derredor e dizien le enel language Te utonico. ¶ Costantin? por aquesta uen çras tu. ¶ E segund cuenta Eusebio en la ystoria eclesiastica. diz que el oyo yurar a Costantino que medio dia era quandol a el contescio aquello. e que toda la hues | And Emperor Constantine wanted his men to go to Rome to fight Maxentius, and on their way, thinking gravely of the battle, he fell asleep, and saw in his dreams the sign of the cross glowing like fire. And he saw the angels that were around it, saying in Teutonic language: ¶ Constantine? For this one you will win. ¶ And according to Eusebius' <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , he says he heard Constantine swear that it was midday when this happened, and that all the men with him saw the sign. ¶ and that he thought on what that could have meant until night arrived. And when he was sleeping, Jesus Christ appeared to him in the same way in the sky, and told him to make that sign his distinctive mark, for with it, he would win all battles. (EE 320, 2-6) |

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| <p>te de los caualleros que yuan con el uie ron aquella sennal. ¶ E el yendo cuydando enaquel fecho que cosa podie seer; uino la noche. e endurmiendo. apareciol el nu estro sennor ihesu cristo con aquella misma sennal que uiera enel cielo; e mandol que fiziesse su senna daquella sennal e que uencie con ella todas las batallas. (EE 320, 2-6)</p> | |
| <p>208 Ca segund cuenta Eu sebio en la estoria ecclesiastica; Licinio que uio que ell Emperador Costantino era tan amado que todas las gentes del mundo [...] ouo ende grand pesar e grand enuidia. [...] trabaiosse de lo engannar a escuso si pudiesse por los priuados e por los officiales de su casa. enuiando les muchas donas e prometiendo les muy grand algo por que lo matassen ol fiziessen perder el sennorio e la cristiandat. mas nolo pudo engannar por esta razon en ninguna manera. Ca ell Emperador Costan tino tenie toda su esperança en el nues tro sennor ihesu cristo. e atodas las cosas e a todos los periglos quel uinien; fazie en su frunte la sennal de la cruz quel aparesciera en el cielo. e aquella era la pri mera arma de que se el acorrie. (EE 323, 2-4)</p> | <p>And according to Eusebius' <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>, when Licinius saw that Emperor Costantine was so loved by all the peoples in the world [...] had great sorrow and jealousy [...] and put efforts in deceiving him and convincing the officers of his house by sending women and promising wealth to kill him, and take from him the <i>sennorio</i> of Christianity. But he could not deceive him in any way, since Emperor Constantine placed all his hopes in our Lord Jesus Christ, and against all the dangers that came towards him, he made the sign of the cross that had appeared to him in the sky, and that was always his first appeal. (EE 323, 2-4)</p> |

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| 209 | <p>E tu fijo si saneste de la gafedat sepas que fue por que fuste tu el primero entre todos los emperadores que diste cabo all yerro de los Jdolos. (EE 324, 6)</p> | <p>And if you [Constantine], son, healed from your illness, you should know it was because you were the first of the emperors that put an end to the error of the idols. (EE 324, 6)</p> |
| 209 | <p>Auino assi. que los ereges Arrianos andaron siguiendo all emperador Costantino tanto con sus falsas predicationes que lo tornaron a su heregia. e bateolo en en el postremero anno de su uida Eusebio O bispo de Nicomedia que era cabeça de todos los hereges arrianos. ¶ E alçosse le en tonce tierra de persia. e el fuesse pora Nicomedia e guisaua sus huestes por yr sobrella. e enguisandosse e morando alli adolescio de muy fuerte enfermedad. e des que uio que aurie de morir della; [...] ¶ E desi murio ell Emperador auiedo recebido el bap tismo de los hereges a sessaenta e seis annos que naciera. (EE 335, 1-5)</p> | <p>And it happened that the Arian heretics chased Emperor Constantine with their false predicationes and converted him into their heresy. And he was baptised in the last year of his life by Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was the head of all the Arian heretics. ¶ And then, the lands of Persia rebelled against him, and he went to Nicomedia, and he led his men there, and in that place, he suffered from illness, and saw he would die of it [...]. ¶ And, in this way, the emperor died sixty-six years after he was born, after receiving the heretic baptism. (EE 335, 1-5)</p> |
| 210 | <p>Constantinus extremo uitae suae tempore ab Eusebio nicomedensi episcopo baptizatus in arrianum dogma declinat. (Chronicorum, Eusebius-Hieronimus, 192)</p> | <p>Constantine, at the end of his life, declined the baptism by the Arian bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia. (Chronicorum, Eusebius-Hieronimus, 192)</p> |
| 211 | <p>Auino assi que Valeriano mostrosse por muy bueno e por muy manso contra los cristianos. segund cuenta Eusebio. e tan piadoso fue contra ellos. e de tan</p> | <p>And it happend that Valerian showed goodness and kindness towards Christians, according to Eusebius, and was very pious to them, and so welcoming that his house seemed like a church. Nevertheless, an evil master, who was a knight, arrived in Rome, and changed his faith, and</p> |

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| <p>marauilloso acogimiento; que la su casa semeiaua iglesia. Mas uino a Roma un mal maestro que era cabdiello de los en cantadores de tierra de egypto; e torno lo de la fe. e fizol mouer persecucion con tra los cristianos. e aquella fue la ochaua de pues de la de Nero. Et fue tan fuerte. e tan esquiua. que por la grand crueldat della ouo el nuestro sennor ihesu cristo a tomar grand uengança dell Jmperio de Roma. (EE 271, 3-5)</p> | <p>made him to promote a persecution against Christians, the eighth after Nero's. And it was so harsh and cruel that our Lord Jesus Christ had to take revenge on the Roman Empire. (EE 271, 3-5)</p> |
| <p>211 E por la uertud del nuestro sennor ihesu cristo que quiso tomar uengança dell Emperador Valeriano por quanto mal fiziera en los sus sieruos; fue uen çudo en aquella lid pero que traye grandes poderes. e leuo lo el Rey Sapor a Persia. e cuemo quier que era Valeriano mance bo alli enuegecio e murio en catiuo. (EE 273, 4)</p> | <p>And by virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ, who wanted to take revenge on Emperor Valerian for the harm he inflicted to his servants, the emperor was defeated in that battle, and taken by King Sapor of Persia, and Valerian, who was young at that time, grew old there and died in captivity. (EE 273, 4)</p> |
| <p>212 E algunos ouo que quisieron dezir mal del mas no fue con uerdat. ca era comunal a todos e no muy cobdicioso de allegar auer. mas cobdiciaua mucho fazer cosas por que fuesse loado. ¶ Pero con todo aquesto desque ouo dexada la cristian dat e la mongia; tornosse all yerro de los gentiles e adorar los Jdolos. e mouio</p> | <p>And there were some who wanted to say negative things about him that were not true, since he was very generous and not covetous of wealth, but he coveted dearly being praised. ¶ Since he stopped being a monk and a Christian, he returned to the mistake of praising idols, and led a persecution against Christians. (EE 353, 4-5)</p> |

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| <p>persecucion en los cristianos (EE 353, 4-5)</p> | |
| <p>Començo ell Em perador Juliano a tormentar los cristia nos muy braua mientre. [...] Mas el nuestro sennor que guar do siempre los sus amigos ordenolo do tra guisa.[...] E en yendo amos en uino a soora un cauallero su escudo enbraçado e la lan ca en la mano e dio grand ferida all Em perador; e fue luego su uia que no pares cio mas. E Juliano con Malenconia tomo de la sangre en su mano e comen çola a derramar contral cielo cuemo si diesse a alguno con ella en la cara. e dixo contra nuestro señor. Ya uencis te galileo ya uenciste. Ca siempre auie el en costumbre de llamar a Jhesu cristo Galileo. desi saliol luego ell alma del cuerpo. E cuemo quier que las estorias de los gentiles cuenten que este caualle ro que a Juliano mato que fue de los de la otra parte; fallamos nos escripto en la uida de sant basilio Arçobispo de Ce sarea; que este cauallero fue sant mer curio el martir que era ya passado tiem po auie deste mundo all otro. E soposse por cierto desta guisa. ¶ En la yglesia</p> | <p>And Emperor Julian began to torment the Christians with great pride [...] However, our Lord always protected his friends, and commanded other ways [...] And when they [Julian and someone from Parthia], were on their way, they encountered a knight with an engraved shield and a spear in his hand, who harmed the emperor and disappeared. And Julian, with gloom, took some blood from his wound and threw it towards the sky and said against our Lord Jesus Christ: “You won, Galilean, you won already”, for he always called Jesus Christ Galilean. And in this way, his soul left his body. And regarding the knight who killed Julian, the stories from the pagans say it was one of the Parthians, but we have found in writings by Archbishop Saint Basileus of Cesarea, that this knight was Saint Mercury, martyr who left this world long ago. And this was considered true. ¶ And in the church the remains of Saint Mercury were kept, for he was a knight, his shield and spear were on his monument. And one day, the sacristan of the church, praying after vespers as was his custom, he could not find the shield nor the spear on Saint Mercury’s sepulchre, and he showed this to all the clerics in the place. And another day in the morning, when they all gathered for matins, they found in their place the shield and the spear covered in blood. And in that way, they knew that it was true what happened that day and that resulted in the death of Emperor Julian. (EE 354, 1, 4, 9-16)</p> |

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| <p>do yazie el cuerpo de sant Mercurio por razon que fuera cauallero; estaua su lança e su escudo sobre su monumento. e un dia el sacristan de la iglesia anda ua requiriendo depues de uiesperas la iglesia segund que lo auie en costum bre. e no fallo la lança nj ell escudo. sobrel sepulcro de sant Mercurio. e por no caer mal por ello; mostro lo a todos los clerigos del logar. E otro dia manana quando uinieron todos a matines; fallaron ell escudo en su logar e la lança sangrienta. E desiosopieron por cierto que enaquel dia e en aquella ora misma en que aquello conteciera. fuera muerto Juliano ell Emperador. (EE 354 1, 4, 9-16)</p> | | |
| <p>213</p> | <p>sic misericors Deus impia consilia impii morte dissoluit. (Orosius VII, 30°, 6)</p> | <p>In that way, God with mercy, decided on an impious death for such impious reasons. (Orosius VII, 30°, 6)</p> |
| <p>216</p> <p>Anastasius Romanae aecclesiae 37us presidet. Sanctus Martinus quosdam obiit hoc anno. Florebant in aecclesia hoc tempore sane ti et docti viri, Iohannes Crisostomus Constantinopolis episcopus, sanctitate quidem et scientia clarus, sed in facundia sua severior et liberior iusto,</p> | <p>Anastasius was the 37th to preside over the Church of Rome, after Saint Martin, who died in said year. At that time, healthy and wise men flourished in the Church: Bishop Johannes Crisotomous of Constantinople, with moral virtue and clarity in matter of science, but with eloquence, he was strict, and unimpeded, and just; Bishop Donatus of Epirus, who killed an enormous, and spit on its mouth, which eight oxen could hardly bring it to where they cremated it; in Hispania, Orosius the chronicler. (Sigebert, Chron. Year 399)</p> | |

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| <p>Donatus Epiri episcopus, qui ingentem draconem expuens in ore eius interfecit, quem octo iuga boum vix trahere potuerunt ad cremandum; in Hispania Orosius historiographus. (Sigebert, Chron. Year 399)</p> | |
| <p>216 E la Era en quatrocientos e treyn ta e siete Auie por todel mundo muchos omnes buenos e sabios e muy santos. ¶ Assi co mo sant Johan crisostono en Costantino pla. ¶ E sant donato Obispo de ephiro que escupio al dragon en la boca e lo fizo morir luego. e era tan grand que apenas lo podien leuar ocho yugos de bueys al logar olo quemaron. ¶ E en España paulo orosio que escriuio las estorias. (EE 363, 1-4)</p> | <p>In the <i>Era</i> 437, there were around the world many wise and saintly men, ¶ such as Saint Johannes Crisotono in Constantinople; ¶ and Saint Donatus, bishop of Epirus, who spit on a dragon's mouth, and killed him. And the dragon was so big that hardly eight oxen were able to bring it to where it was cremated; ¶ and in <i>Espanna</i> Paulus Orosius, who wrote the <i>estorias</i>. (EE 363, 1-4)</p> |

APPENDIX II: SOURCES OF THE *ESTORIA DE ESPANNA* (CH. 1-371)

| MP | EE | EE Title | Location | Topic | Source | Pidal's Notes | Check | Notes on Pidal |
|---------|----|---|---------------------------|---|--|---|-------|--|
| Prólogo | 1 | Prólogo | 3, a3 - 4, a20 / 1, 1-18 | Razón de escribir la historia | Rod. Tol. , <i>Rebus, Praef.</i> 1-3 | | Ok | Parts of the text directly translated. Extended. |
| | | | 4, a21-26 / 1, 18 | Título grande de Alfonso X | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 4, a26 - b7 / 1, 18-21 | Fuentes utilizadas | Rod. Tol. , <i>Rebus, Praef.</i> 3-4 | Añadidos los autores arzobispo don Rodrigo, Lucas obispo de Tuy, Paulo Orosio y Lucano | Ok | Translated directly from <i>De Rebus</i> . |
| | | | 4, b7-20 / 1, 21 | Vencimiento de los godos y reconquista cristiana | Compilador | | | |
| 1 | 2 | | 4, b23 - 5, a2 / 2, 1-7 | Desde la creación hasta la dispersión del género humano | Rod. Tol. , <i>De Rebus Hispaniae</i> , I, 1, p. 5 | | Ok | |
| 2 | 3 | De cuemo los sabios las tierras | 5, a6-14 / 3, 1-2 | División del mundo | Orosio , <i>Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII</i> , I, 2º, 1 | | Ok | |
| | | | 5, a14-46 / 3, 3-8 | Los hijos de Noé se reparten la tierra | Rod. Tol. , I, 1, p. 5-6 | | Ok | |
| 3 | 4 | De como fue Europa poblada de los hijos de Japhet | 5, a47 - 6, b32 / 4, 1-41 | Primeros pobladores de Europa | Rod. Tol. , I, 2-3, p. 6-8 | Menciona la isla Tile siguiendo al código Complutense y añadidas las islas de Patmos. Ponto y Curfo | Ok | |
| | | | | | Hugutio , <i>Etym.</i> , <i>sub voce</i> 'pono' | Considera el Ponto una isla | Ok | |

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| | | | 6, b32 - 7, a17 / 4, 41-49 | Distribución de los pueblos bárbaros en la Península Ibérica | Rod. Tol., Hunnorum, Vandalarum, Suevorum, Alanorum et Silinguorum historia , 5-6, p. 233-234 | Añadidos algunos detalles tales como la explicación sobre los Pirineos, la fundación de Álava por los alanos, Oporto por los galeses y Lucena por los Lusios, y los límites de las regiones pobladas por los diferentes pueblos. | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., Chronicon Mundi , 40 | | Ok | |
| 4 | 5 | | 7, a22 - b2 / 5, 1-9 | Época en que vivió Hércules y cronología | Rod. Tol., Rebus , I, 3, p.8 | La muerte de Hércules en tiempo de Gedeón deducida quizás de Rod.Tol., I, 13, p.18 | Ok / Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, Chronici canones 1866 , 125 | Quizás incluye duración de la monarquía romana en la del consulado, y añadidas la época de Escipión el Grande. | No | |
| | | | | | Pelayo de Oviedo, Noticias históricas de Toledo, Zaragoza, León y Oviedo (Risco, España Sagrada, Madrid, XXXVIII, 1793, p.373) | Etimología de Toledo | Ok | |
| | | | 7, b3-9 / 5, 10-11 | Primer Hércules | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 25 | | Ok | Deduction from source. Very elaborated |
| | | | | | Pompeyo Trogo, Epitoma historiarum philippicarum, X XI, 4º, 5 | Origen griego | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac. II, 54 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | S. Isidoro, Etym. XIV, 4º, 11 | | Ok | |
| | | | 7, b9-24 / 5, 12-14 | Segundo Hércules | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 28-29, 30-35 | Etimología de Fenicia, fuentes desconocidas | Ok | |
| | | | | | Plinio , X, 2 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | S. Isidoro, Etym. XIV, 3º, 18 y 4º, 11 | Pormenores de Agenor y sus hijos | Ok | |

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| | | | 7, b25-37 / 5, 15-19 | Los sabios de Greca conocen de antemano el nacimiento de Hércules el Grande | DESCONOCIDA | | | |
| | | | 7, b38-41 / 5, 19 | Etimología de Hércules | Hugutio , <i>Etym., sub voce 'cleos'</i> | | Ok | |
| | | | 7, b41-44 / 5, 20 | Linaje de Hércules | Gil de Zamora , <i>De praeconiis Hispaniae</i> (Ms. 1348, f 168v BNE) | | tbc | |
| | | | 7, b44 - 8, a43 / 5, 21-39 | Educación y trabajos de Hércules | Ovidio , <i>Heroida IX</i> | Citado por la <i>Crónica de 1344</i> | | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo , <i>passim</i> | Completa | Ok | |
| 5 | 6 | De cuemo Hercules ponlo a Caliz e de las cosas que y fizio | 8, a48 - b16 / 6, 1-6 | Fuentes utilizadas | Rod. Tol. , <i>Rebus</i> , I, 4, p.8-9 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Historia Pseudoisidoriana (del siglo X al XI) Mommsen, <i>Chronica Minora</i> (1894, II, p.378), 1 | Existencia de un ídolo o estatua. La descripción que la Crónica trae de la estatua es análoga a la que consigna Al-Makkari , <i>The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain</i> , transl by Pascual de Gayanos, London 1840-43, I, 5-6 | Ok | |
| | | | 8, b16-35 / 6, 7-14 | Hércules quiere fundar Sevilla | Probablemente deducción Compilador | Rod. Tol. , <i>Rebus</i> , I, 5, p.9 atribuye a Hércules la fundación de Hispalis. Comp. Gil de Zamora . | Ok / Ok | |
| 6 | 7 | De cuemo Julio Cesar poblo Seuilla por las cosas que y fallo que fiziera hercules | 8, b40-48 / 7, 1-2 | Estatua de piedra sobre seis pilares | DESCONOCIDA | Rasis , I, 35 menciona | | |
| | | | 8, b48 - 9, a15 / 7, 3-8 | Desavenencia de César y Pompeyo | Lucano , <i>Pharsalia, passim</i> | Recuerdo de. Añadido el plazo de 5 años. | Ok | Also Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist Rom</i> |
| | | | 9, a15-30 / 7, 9-11 | Fundación de Sevilla por César | Rod. Tol. , <i>Rebus</i> , I, 5, p.9 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | DESCONOCIDA | Lo relativo a la primera fundación por Hércules y cambio de lugar | | |

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| | | | 9, a 30-55 / 7, 12-17 | Palabras de César ante la estatua de Alejandro y su sueño de grandeza | Belovac. , VI, 36 de Suetonio | La crónica cita equivocadamente a Lucano. Éste y otros muchos pasajes de Suetonio a través de Belovac. | Ok | |
| 7 | 8 | De cuemo hercules lidio con | 9, b4 - 10, b19 / 8, 1-25 | Hercules mata a Gerión y a Caco | Rod. Tol. , <i>Rebus</i> , I, 4-6, p.9-11 | Traducido libremente y con adiciones considerables, procedentes probablemente de fuente árabe, relativas principalmente a la fundación de Lisboa, Coruña y Cartagena | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud. , 13 | Fundacion de Lisboa por Ulises. Atribúyense 7 cabezas y otros tantos reinos a Gerión en vez de 3 (Rod. Tol.) y se deyllan las vejaciones de Gerión a los espñoles | Ok | |
| 8 | 9 | De las uillas qe poblo hercules en espanna | 10, b24 - 11, a7 / 9, 1-5 | Fundación de Tarazona, Urgel y Barcelona y designación de Espán para gobernar España | Rod. Tol. , <i>Rebus</i> , I, 5, p.10 | | Ok | Extended. EE adds kin relation with Hercules (nephew) |
| 9 | 10 | De los fehos que fuzo el rey espan en espanna e decuemo | 11, a12-34 / 10, 1-5 | Reconstrucción de España, fundación de Segovia y erección de obras monumentales por Esán | Rod. Tol. , <i>Rebus</i> , I, 7, p.11-12 | | Ok | Ampliado |
| | | | | | DESCONOCIDA | Construcción de un gran espejo en la Torre de Hércules de Coruña. | | |
| | | | 11, a34-46 / 10, 6-8 | Gobierno paternal de Espán y elección de Cádiz para morada | DESCONOCIDA | | | |
| 10 | 11 | | | | | | | |

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| | | De cuemo fue ponlada la ysla de Caliz. e cercada. e fecha la puete e las calça | 11, a51 - 12, a55 / 11, 1-23 | Población de Cádiz y matrimonio de la hija de Espán | | | Ok | Vague relation. It mentions the daughter and her wit, but does not specify. |
| 11 | 12 | De cuemo poblo pirus a Ossuna e a granada. e del Rey Rocas | 12, b4 - 13, a25 / 12, 1-14 | Pirus funda alunas ciudades, y Rocas recorre el mundo, y escribe sobre mármol el ombre de Rom en el lugar que luego ocupó esta ciudad | DESCONOCIDA | Árabe probablemente. J-H sugiere la identificación de Rocas con Procas de Orosio , II, 2º, 3-9 | Ok | |
| 12 | 13 | Cuomo rocas estaba en la cueua e delo quel acaecio con tar | 13, a31 - b36 / 13, 1-16 | Rocas viene a España y mora en una cueua de Toledo donde le encuentra Tarco que le ofrece la mano de su hija única | DESCONOCIDA | Árabe probablemente | | |
| 13 | 14 | Cuemo se fue rocas con tarcus .e dela | 13, b42 - 14, a54 / 14, 1-13 | Hijos de Rocas, la gran sequiía de ventiséis años y repoblación de España | DESCONOCIDA | Árabe probablemente | | |
| | | | | | Al- Makkari, I, 1, p.23-24 | Describe la sequía | | |
| 14 | 15 | De cuemos los almuiuces ganaron Espanna e fueron sennores della | 14, b6 - 15, a32 / 15, 1-18 | Los almujeces procedentes de Caldea conquistan Escandinavia, construyen una marina, se apoderan de Inglaterra e invaden España, donde se establecen | DESCONOCIDA | Árabe probablemente. Almujeces (al majus, los magos) e el nombres que los árabes aplican a los paganos, especialmente normandos. | | Vague relation. It mentions the daughter and her wit, but does not specify. |
| 15 | 16 | De cuemo los de flandes e dingla terra destruyeron a espanna | 15, a37-54 / 16, 1-4 | Nueva invasión de España por gentes de Flades e Inglaterra | DESCONOCIDA | Árabe probablemente | | |
| 16 | 17 | Cuemo entro el sennorio delos daffrica en espanna | 15, b6-21 / 17, 1-8 | Los cuatro grandes imperios del mundo | Orosio, II, 1º, 5-6; 2º, 1; III, 16º, 1 | | Ok | In Orosius, <i>potestas universas</i> , in EE <i>imperio</i> . |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 61 y 137 | Completa Dido y César | Ok | |
| | | | 15, b21 - 16, a18 / 17, 9-22 | Invasión cartaginesa de España | Pompeyo Trogo, XLIV, 5º, 1-4 | | | Extended |

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| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 14 | Completan la fundación de Cartago, Cambiado 'Charchedo' por 'Carthon' y amplificada la narración | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 60-61 | | Ok | |
| 17 | 18 | Dela muerte dell emperador Amilcar | 16, a22-46 / 18, 1-5 | Amilcar cerca Sigüenza y muere por estratagema de los cercados | Pompeyo Trogo, XLIV, 5º, 4 Diodoro de Sicilia, Bibliotheca Historica, XXV, 10 Polibio, Historias, II, 1 | Completan. Cambiado el nombre de la ciudad | Ok Ok | Checked in translation, not Greek |
| 18 | 19 | De los fechos que fizo Amilcar | 16, a51 - b 3 / 19, 1-2 | Campañas de Amílcar en Italia | Orosio, IV, 8º, 6-7 y 16 | Habla de la campaña de Sicilia que la Crónica no especifica | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Historia Miscella, col. 777 | Trata de la campaña de Cerdeña y de la violación de la paz | Ok | |
| | | | | | Compilador | Añade las campañas de Tarento y Apulia | | |
| | | | 16, b4-8 / 19, 3-6 | Hijos de Amílcar | Orosio, IV, 14º, 1, 3; 16º, 20; 18º, 1, 17 | Mal interpretado el último pasaje | Ok | |
| | | | | | Pompeyo Trogo, XLIV, 5º, 5 | Detalles de la hija y el yerno | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol., Historia Romanorum, 7, p.218 | | Ok | |
| 16, b17-50 / 19, 10-18 | Asdrúbal en España | Pompeyo Trogo, XLIV, 5º, 5 | Muy ampliado | Ok | | | | |
| 19 | 20 | De cuemo ell emperador Anibal paso a espanna e destruxo Sigüenza | 16, b55 - 17, a29 / 20, 1-12 | Cerco y destrucción de Sagunto | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 7, p.218 Orosio, IV, 14º, 1-3 Eutropio, Breviarium historia romae, III, 7º, 2-3 | Completan detalles | Ok No | Sigüenza instead Sagunto. Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 779 |
| 20 | 21 | Du na marauilla que acaecio en Sigüenza | 17, a20-41 / 21, 1-3 | Prodigio ocurrido en Sagunto | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 779 | | Ok | |
| 21 | 22 | Delo que fizo Annibal en | 17, a46 - b24 / 22, 1-10 | | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 7, p.217 -218 | | Ok | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|--|-------------------------------|---|---|--|----|--|
| | | | | Aníbal toma Sagunto, somete a España y sale para Italia | Orosio , IV, 13º, 16 ; 14º, 1, 9 Pompeyo Trogo , XLIV, 5º, 6 | Combinados, muy ampliados y corregida cronología | Ok | |
| 22 | 23 | De las batallas que ouo Annibal con los espannoles e con los romanos fasta que torno a Affrica | 17, b30 - 18, a50 / 23, 1-24 | Batallas de Aníbal en España, Francia e Italia | Orosio , IV, 14º, 1, 3, 6-8; 15º, 3-6, 16º, 1, 3-6, 11, 16-17; 18º, 3-4, 6, 8, 18 | Cambiadas algunas cifras | Ok | |
| | 24 | | NOT PIDAL / 24, 1-89 | | | | | Index beginning of Roman Sennorio |
| 23 | 25 | De cuemo el poder de los Romanos entro en Espanna | 18, b7-22 / 25, 1-3 | Causas de la extensión del imperio romano | San Agustín , <i>La Ciudad de Dios</i> , V, 12, 15 | Habla de ellas bajo el aspecto religioso; la Crónica las considera bajo el aspecto humano | Ok | |
| | | | 18, b22-49 / 25, 4-10 | Linaje de los Escipiones y hazañas de Escipión el Africano siendo joven | Orosio , IV, 14º, 3, 9; 16º, 6, 13; 17º, 12 | La Crónica, por errónea interpretación de la fuente, admite dos hermanos de P. Cornelio Escipión, que sólo tenía uno | Ok | |
| | | | 18, b49 - 19, a11 / 25, 11-14 | P. Cornelio Escipión se dirige con tropas a España | Eutropio , III, 8º, 1, 3, 9; 16º, 11, 13-14 | Muy ampliado | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 780, 785. Pidal says extended, because is Diaconus . |
| | | | 18, a11-15 / 25, 15 | Vienen a España los dos hermanos Escipiones | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 8, p.219 | Interpretado según error cometido anteriormente | Ok | |
| 24 | 26 | De los fechos que fizieron aquellos dos hermanos Scipiones | 19, a20-41 / 26, 1-6 | Los Escipiones atraviesan Francia y los Pirineos y penetran en España | Orosio , IV, 14º, 3, 9; 16º, 11, 13-14 | Muy ampliado | Ok | EE does not mention <i>celtíberos</i> , but talks about <i>yentes fuertes</i> . |

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|----|----|---|------------------------------|--|--|--|----|--|
| 25 | 27 | De cuemo lidiaron los Cipiones con Ma gon hermano de Annibal e cuemol prisieron | 19, a46 - b12 / 27, 1-4 | Los Escipiones hacen prisiionero a Magón | Orosio , IV, 14°, 9; 16°, 14 | Muy ampliado. Segunda fuente para detalle de Celtiberia | Ok | |
| 26 | 28 | De cuemo Asdrubal lidio con los Roma nos e fue uençudo | 19, b17-43 / 28, 1-8 | Los romanos vencen a Asdrúbal y extienden su dominación por España | Orosio , IV, 16°, 13-14 | Muy ampliado | Ok | |
| 27 | 29 | De cuemo fueron desbaratados los romanos e muertos amos los cipiones | 19, b48 - 20, a50 / 29, 1-12 | Derrota y muerte de los Escipiones por Asdrúbal, que extiende luego su dominio en España | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 8, p.219 | Muy ampliado | Ok | |
| | | | | | Floro , <i>Epitome de Tito Livio</i> , I, 22°, 36 | Completan. Deducida la libertad de Magón | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio , III, 11°, 5; 14°, 2 | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 783-784 |
| 28 | 30 | Del conseio que dio Scipion el mancebo a los romanos | 20, a42 - 21, a43 / 30, 1-29 | Escipión el Africano, después de la batalla de Cannas, contiene la desmoralización de los romanos, que hacen frente a cinco guerras simultáneas, y se ofrece para venir a España | Orosio , IV, 16°, 1-3, 6-9, 19-20; 17°, 12-14; 18°, 1; 21°, 1 | Última fuente para detalle de Escipión destinado primeramente a macedonia, tomado erróneamente | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 8, p.218 | Completa para las guerras sostenidas, añadido el nombre de Magón, combinados los pasajes en diverso orden y atribuidas las medidas militares adoptadas | Ok | |
| 29 | 31 | Cuemo Cipion desbarato la flota de Annibal | 21, a48 - b28 / 31, 1-10 | Escipión desbarata la flota de Aníbal | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 8, p.219 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , IV, 18°, 1 | Botín recogido | Ok | |
| 30 | 32 | De cuemo Scipion entro en espanna e de lo que y | 21, b33 - 22, a32 / 32, 1-16 | Toma de Cartagena | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 8, p.219 | Narración redactada a base de estas fuentes combinadas | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , IV, 16°, 14; 18°, 1, 7 | | Ok | |

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|----|----|---|------------------------------|---|--|---|-----|--|
| | | | | | Eutropio, III, 15°, 3-5 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 786 |
| | | | | | Floro, I, 22°, 39 - 40 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 786 | | Ok | Diaconus, not Eutropius |
| | | | a31-54 / 32, 17-22 | Libertad otorgada a una bella prisionera | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 786 | | Ok | |
| 31 | 33 | De cuemo Asdrubal lidio con Scipion e fue uençudo | 22, b4-28 / 33, 1-6 | Derrota de Asdrúbal por Escipión | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 8, p.219 | Combinados y ampliados | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, III, 15°, 5 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 783 |
| 32 | 34 | De cuemo Asdrubal fue pora so hermano Annibal. e fico Cipion por sennor des | 22, b33 - 23, a46 / 34, 1-15 | Asdrúbal lucha en vano contra Escipión y se dirige a Italia | Orosio, IV, 18°, 1, 6-9, 17 | Muy ampliado | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 8-9, p.219 | Luchas de España y mandato cartaginés | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, III 16°, 3; 18°, 1 | Lo relativo a 'Lucio' y al llamamiento de Asdrúbal por Aníbal | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 785, 787 |
| 33 | 35 | De cuemo los romanos salieron ala carre ra a asdrubal e lidiaron con el yl mata | 23, a51 - 24, a4 / 35, 1-14 | Los romanos salen al encuentro de Asdrúbal, que es derrotado y muerto | Orosio, IV, 18°, 9 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 787 | | Ok | |
| 34 | 36 | De lo que fi zo scipion en espanna despues que asdrubal fue | 24, a9-46 / 36, 1-8 | Pacificación de España por Escipión | Eutropio, III, 17° | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 788 |
| | | | | | Orosio, IV, 18°, 17 | Completan. Extensión de España. | Ok? | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 788 | | Ok | Extended. Diaconus source, not Eutropius |
| 35 | 37 | De cuemo Scipion salio despanna e fue a Roma | 24,a51 - b17 / 37, 14 | Escipión sale de España y llega a Roma | Eutropio, III, 18°, 3 | Las palabras de la Crónica 'fue tan bien recibido... que serie grieve cosa de contar' pueden ser traducción libre de 'cum ingenti gloria de Eutropio o de 'cum triumpho' de Rod. Tol. | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 787 |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 8, p.219 | | Ok | |

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|----|----|--|------------------------------|---|---|--|----|--|
| 36 | 38 | De cuemo Scipion passo a affrica e de los fechos que y fizo | 24, b22 - 25, a30 / 38, 1-19 | Paso de Escipión a África y sus primeros triunfos | Orosio, IV, 18°, 17-21 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, III, 20°, 3 | Completa con el número muertos en Útica | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 788. EE adds King of Numidia |
| 37 | 39 | Cuemo Annibal se torno a affrica e delo | 25, a35 - b18 / 39, 1-9 | Aníbal acude en auxilio de su patria | Orosio, IV, 19°, 1-2 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 9, p.219 | | Ok | |
| 38 | 40 | Cuemo lidio Annibal con Cipion e fue annj | 25, b23 - 26, b31 / 40, 1-31 | Demandas de paz y derrota de Cartago | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 792-793 | Siguiendo la variante del código A, para lo relativo a Manisia, y añadidas las obras de Terencio | Ok | Extended |
| 39 | 41 | Cuemo los despanna se alçaron a roma pues que Scipion se par | 26, b36 - 27, a14 / 41, 1-8 | España se alza contra Roma | Orosio, VI, 20°, 16, 19-20, 23-24 | | Ok | EE simplifies locations |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 792-793 | | Ok | |
| 40 | 42 | De la muer te de Scipion ell affricano e de Annibal | 27, a19-51 / 42, 1-9 | Muerte de Escipión y Aníbal | Orosio, IV, 20°, 27 , 29 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 793 | | Ok | |
| 41 | 43 | De las grandes contiendas que ouieron los despanna con los romanos | 27, b4 - 28, a14 / 43, 1-13 | Victorias de Sempronio Graco y derrota de Galba en España | Orosio, IV, 20°, 32-33; 21°, 1-4 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 794, 796 | Traducido 'barbarus' por 'uno que passo de Babaria' y cambiado el número de castillos tomados | Ok | |
| 42 | 44 | De la traycion que fi zo Sergio galba alos de luzenna | 28, a19-41 / 44, 1-5 | Traición de Galba a los lusitanos | Orosio, IV, 21°, 10 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 796 | | Ok | |
| 43 | 45 | De cuemo se le uanto el ladron uiriato | 28, a45 - b41 / 45, 1-12 | Triunfos de Viriato | Orosio, V, 3° , 1 ; 4°, 1-5, 12 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 800-801 | Aumentada la cifra de romanos muertos | Ok | |

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|----|----|---|------------------------------|---|--|---|----|---|
| 44 | 46 | De cuemo se leuanto Çamora contra los romanos e dela muerte de | 28, b46 - 29, a6 / 46, 1-3 | Primeras luchas de Numancia y muerte de Viriato | Orosio, V, 4º, 13-14 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 801 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 58 57 | Identificada 'Çamora' con 'Numancia' aquí y en capítulos siguientes. Cambia nombre cónsul | Ok | Only for the identification Numancia/Zamora |
| 45 | 47 | De cuemo los de Çamora se alçaron otra uez contra los romanos | 29, a11-47 / 47, 1-13 | Guerra de Numancia | Orosio, V, 4º, 20-21; 5º, 1-4 | | Ok | |
| 46 | 48 | De cuemo bruto uino de roma e destruyo galizia | 29, a52 - b14 / 48, 1-3 | Bruto derrota a los gallegos | Orosio, V, 5º, 12 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 802 | | Ok | |
| 47 | 49 | De cuemo los de Çamora se alçaron otra uez contra los romanos por que fueron destroydos | 29, b20 - 30, b27 / 49, 1-28 | Destrucción de Numancia por Escipión | Orosio, V, 7º | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 802 | | Ok | |
| 48 | 50 | De cuemo fizo Scipion en Espanna pues que ouo destroyda Çamora e cuemos torno a roma e fue y muerto | 30, b33 - 31, a3 / 50, 1-7 | Pacificación de España por Escipión | Orosio, V, 8º, 1-2 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 805 | | Ok | |
| | | | 31, a3-14 / 50, 8-10 | Valor y sobrenombre de Escipión | Eutropio, IV, 12º | | No | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 793 |
| 49 | 51 | De cuemo la ciudad de Tiro fue poblada. e dela traicion | 31, a20-39 / 51, 1-6 | Origen de Fenicia y del nombre de 'Europa' dado a una parte del mundo | Luc. Tud., 12 | Combinados, con ciertas discrepancias y adiciones. | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 32-33 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol., <i>Rebus</i> , 3, p.6-7 | | Ok | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|--|-------------------------------|---|---|--|----|--|
| | | que fizieron los sier | 31, a39 - b55 / 51, 7-23 | Fundación de Tiro, Sidón y Útica | Pompeyo Trogo , XVIII, 3º, 2-6; 5º, 12 | Muy ampliado . Útica | Ok | |
| | | | | | S. Isidoro , <i>Etym.</i> , XV, 1º, 28 | Probablemente completa fundación de Útica y explicación del nombre | Ok | |
| | | | | | Hugucio , <i>Etym. Lat. Sub voce 'Tiro'</i> | | Ok | |
| 50 | 52 | Cuemo los sieruos de tiro mataron a | 32, a4 - 33, a, 18 / 52, 1-41 | Sublevación de los siervos de Tiro contra sus señores y castigo de aquéllos por Alejandro | Pompeyo Trogo , XVIII, 3º, 6-9 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Quinto Curcio , <i>De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni</i> , 1841, IV, p.183 | Construcción de un castillo en el puerto de Tiro y suerte final de sus habitantes. Citado como 'estoria' de Alejandro por la Crónica | Ok | |
| 51 | 53 | Cuemo elisa dido caso con so tio acerua e cuemol mararomol mataron por coneio del rey so hermano | 33, a24 - b11 / 53, 1-11 | Dido casa con su tío Acerba, que es muerto por coneho de Pigmalión | Pompeyo Trogo , XVIII, 4º, 3-9 | Cambiado el nombre de 'Muton' por 'Carton' | Ok | Reasons for the marriage added. Acerva was a good man, bishop and wealthy. His lineage was sufficient for the union. |
| 52 | 54 | De cue mo dido e partio de tiro e se fue pora Affrica | 33, b16 - 34, b35 / 54, 1-42 | Dido huye de Tiro | Pompeyo Trogo , XVIII, 4º, 9-15; 5º, 1-2, 6-7 | | Ok | |
| 53 | 55 | Cuemo la reyna Dido arribo a Affrica e de las cosas que y fizo | 34, b40 - 35, a54 / 55, 1-19 | Llega Dido a África y funda Birsa | Pompeyo Trogo , XVIII, 5º, 8-9 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , IV, 22º | Etimología de Birsa | Ok | |
| | | | | | DESCONOCIDA | Nombre de Tibirsa aplicado a Birsa. | | |
| | | | | | Silio , <i>Punica</i> , 2, 363 | Menciona Tyria Byrsa. Quizás fuente? | Ok | |
| 54 | 56 | De cue mo fue mudado aquel | 35, b4 - 36, a36 / 56, 1-23 | Fundación definitiva de Cartago | Pompeyo Trogo , XVIII, 5º, 10-17 | Muy ampliado y aplicado a Birsa el nombre Tibirsa | | Amplifies meaning of the omens. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|--|--|--|---|--|----|---|
| | | nombre a tibirsas e llamaron le carthago | 36, a36-45 / 23-24 / 56, 24 | Etimología de Cartago | Hugucio , <i>Etym. Lat.</i> <i>Sub voce</i> 'careo' | | Ok | |
| 55 | 57 | De cuemo esta Reyna dido poplo Carthagenas en Espanna | 36, a50 - 37, a39 / 57, 1-27 | Dido funda Cartagena | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 2, p.212 | Probablemente deducción por el Compiler muy ampliada de la combinación de los pasajes | Ok | Compiler |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 60-61, 72-73 | | Ok | |
| 56 | 58 | De cuemo murio la reyna dido segund que algunas estorias cuentan | 37, a44 - 38, a49 / 58, 1-31 | Dido rechaza la propuesta de matrimonio y se suicida | Pompeyo Trogo , 5º, 1-2; 6º, 1-8 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , IV, 23º, 4 | Completa con el templo de Esculapio | Ok | |
| | | | | | Ovidio , <i>Heroidas</i> , VII, 192-196 | Combustión y sepultura de Dido. Eneas | Ok | |
| 57 | 59 | De cuemo eneas arribo en affrica e caso con la Reyna Elisa dido | 38, a54 - b52 / 59, 1-18 | Matrimonio de Eneas con Dido | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 2, p.211 | | Ok | Doesn't mention marriage |
| 58 | 60 | De cuemo fuxo eneas daffrica. e edexo la Reyna dido | 39, a4 - b29 / 60, 1-25 | Eneas abandona África | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 2, p.211-212 | | Ok | Amplifies the Aeneas' sorrow in leaving Dido, in spite of his duty. |
| 59 | 61 | De la carta que enuio la reyna dido a Eneas | 39, b34-40 / 61, 1 39, b41, 43, b54 / 61, 2-118 | Dido escribe a Eneas Carta de Dido | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 2, p.212 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Ovidio , <i>Heroidas</i> , VII | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Pompeyo Trogo , XVIII, 4º, 6º | Completa detalles, como la identificación Siqueo-Acerba | Ok | |
| 60 | 62 | De cuemo murio la reyna dido | 44, a3-24 / 62, 1-5 | Muerte de Dido | Pompeyo Trogo , XVIII, 6º, 5-7 | Combinados | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 2, p.212 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Ovidio , <i>Heroidas</i> , VII, 195-196 | | Ok | |

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|----|----|---|------------------------------|---|--|---|--------------------|--|
| | | | | | Orosio, IV, 22º, 6 | Detalle de Birsá | Ok | |
| 61 | 63 | De cuemo fizieron los de carthago depues de la muerte de la reyna dido | 44, a29 - b14 / 63, 1-10 | Sucesores de Dido | Ovidio, Heroidas, VII, 191-196 | Combinados y ampliados. Cambiado 'Magon' por 'Pago' | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol., Hist, Rom., 7, p.218 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Pompeyo Trego, XVIII, 5º, 15-16; 6º, 8-12; 7º, 2, 19 | | No | |
| | | | | Orosio, IV, 23º, 4 | Detalle de 'Esculapio' y etimología de 'paganos' | Ok | | |
| | | | 44, b14 - 45, b27 / 63-11-38 | Resumen de las guerras entre Roma y Cartago | Orosio, IV, 7º, 1; 10º, 8; 11º, 1-3; 13º, 1; 16º, 5; 19º, 22º, 1-2; 23º, 9-10 | Resumido en ocasiones y otras veces ampliado, cambiados los nombres de los cónsules al comenzar la 2ª guerra y modificada la cronología | Ok | |
| 62 | 64 | Del conseio que ouieron los de carthago como fiziessen contra los romanos | 45, b32 - 47, a21 / 64, 1-40 | Tratos de Cartago con Roma | Orosio, IV, 22º, 4, 7 | Floro completa. Muy ampliadas ambas fuentes. | Ok | Also Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 797 |
| | | | | | Floro, I, 31º, 4-10 | | Ok | |
| 63 | 65 | De cuemo los romanos cercaron a carthago e cuemo se partieron ende. | 47, a26 - b13 / 65, 1-8 | Los romanos cercan Cartago | Orosio, IV, 22º, 4, 7 | Completa | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 797 | | Ok | |
| | | | | 47, b16-22 / 65, 8-9 | Ayuda de España y África a Cartago | Compilador | Suposición posible | |
| 64 | 66 | De cuemo los romanos se partieron de carthago e se fue Scipion a roma | 47, b27 - 48, a36 / 66, 1-13 | Los romanos levantan el cerco de Cartago y vuelven a Roma | Orosio, IV, 22º, 7, 9 | Combinados | Ok | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 797 |
| | | | | | Eutropio, IV, 11º | | Ok | |

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|----|----|---|------------------------------|--|---|--|----|--|
| 65 | 67 | De cuemo Scipion se fue cercar a Carthago | 48, a40 - b40 / 67, 1-17 | Descripción de Cartago | Orosio , VI, 22º, 1, 4-6 | Ampliado | Ok | |
| 66 | 68 | Cuemo Carthago fue destroida la postremera uez | 48, b45 - 50, b15 / 68, 1-44 | Destrucción de Cartago | Orosio , IV, 23º, 1-7; ¿V, 24º, 9-10? | Completan | Ok | V, 24º, 9-10 not clear |
| | | | | | Eutropio , IV, 12º | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 798 |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist Rom.</i> , 9, p.220 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Floro , I, 31º, 12-18 | | Ok | |
| 67 | 69 | De cuemo departieron los que fizieron las estorias; en qual tiempo fue poblada Carthago | 50, b21-34 / 69, 1-3 | Fecha de la fundación de Cartago | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 50-51 | | Ok | Deduction by Compiler |
| | | | 50, b34-47 / 69, 3-7 | Su relación con diversas eras | Compilador | | Ok | |
| 68 | 70 | Del tiempo en que fue destroida Carthago | 50, b51-53 / 70, 1 | Duración de Cartago | Orosio , IV, 23º, 6 | | Ok | |
| | | | 50, b51-53 / 70, 2 | Sincronismos | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 50-51 | Aunque los hechos citaos son sincrónicos con la fundación de Cartago, no con su destrucción como afirma la Crónica | Ok | |
| 69 | 71 | De las razones que mostraron los sabios por que fue destroida Carthago | 51, a13 - b33 / 71, 1-14 | Razones para la destrucción de Cartago | Orosio , IV, 23º, 8-10 | Combinados | Ok | Heavily rewritten |
| | | | | | Floro , I, 31º, 3-7 | | Ok | |
| 70 | 72 | De cuemo fue Scipion a Roma des pues que destruxo Carthago e dend a Espanna e | 51, b39 - 52, a1 / 72, 1-4 | Escipión distribuye el botín acumulado por Cartago | Eutropio , IV, 12º, 2-4 | | No | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 798 | Completa con la venta de cautivos | Ok | Only Diaconus |
| | | | 52, a1-54 / 72, 5-14 | Escipión destruye Numancia y muere en Roma | Orosio , V, 7º; 8º, 1; 10º, 9-10 | Muy resumido. En la primera ref, añadida la fecha de la muerte y cambiados, por errónea | Ok | |

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| | | cuemo murio despues | | | | lectura quizá, algunos datos sobre Sempronia | | |
| 71 | 73 | Del fuego del mont ethn. e del fecho de la ysla Lipare en el con sulado de los consules Marco emilio e lucio | 52, b5-30 / 73, 1-6 | Erupción del Etna y del Lípari | Orosio, V, 10º, 11 | Completada la cronología | Ok | Adds location in Lombardy |
| 72 | 74 | De la muchedumbre de la lagosta que ouo en el consulado de Marcio plaucio e de Marco fuluio flaco | 52, b36 - 53, a22 / 74, 1-11 | Plaga de langosta en la costa norte de África | Orosio, V, 11º, 1-5 | Añadida la fecha y cambiadas algunas cifras | Ok | |
| 73 | 75 | Dell auenimien to que acaecio alos Romanos en el consulado de Lucio cecilio Matello. e de quinto tito | 53, a28-48 / 75, 1-5 | Repoblación de Cartago | Orosio, V, 12º, 1-2 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, IV, 21º | Completa con los pobladores | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 808 |
| 74 | 76 | De las armas de Numidia | 53, a51 - 54, b24 / 76, 1-55 | Guerra contra Yugurta | Orosio, V, 15º, 1, 3-8 | Alterada la fecha, cambiados los nombres de los cónsules 'P. Escipión Nasica y L. Calpurnio Bestia' por ' Matello' y 'Gayo Mario' de la Crónica y equivocado el parentesco de A. Postumio | Ok | |

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| 75 | 77 | De la marauilla dun rayo que contecio otrossi en el consulado destos consules | 54, 29-56 / 77, 1-6 | Maravilla de un rayo | Orosio, V, 15º, 20-21 | | Ok | |
| 76 | 78 | Dunnos signos que contecieron en el consulado de sexto Julio César e de Lucio Marcho | 55, a4 - b6 / 78, 1-15 | Señales maravillosas acaecidas y hechos de armas de los romanos | Orosio, V, 18º, 1, 3-6, 9-12, 14 | Traducido 'Marsi' por 'los de Marsia' y 'vestini' por 'avestinos' | Ok | |
| 77 | 79 | De la guerra de Sertorio e de ponpeyo el grand | 55, b11-56, a7 / 79, 1-14 55, b11 - 56, b10 / 79, 1-34 | Guerra de Sertorio en España | Orosio, V, 23º, 1-15 | Traducido 'Manulius' por 'Manilo', cambiado el número de jinetes de Pompeyo, adelantada la muerte de Perpena, con leves adiciones | Ok | Heavily rewritten |
| | | | | | Hugucio, <i>Etym. Lat. Sub voce 'lego'</i> | Composición de la legión romana (ver Solalinde, <i>Las legiones romanas según la PCG</i> , en <i>Hispanic Review</i> , 1938, VI, 1-3) | Ok | |
| | | | | | 56, a7-b27 / 79, 15-39 56, b10-27 / 79, 35-39 | Cambio político de Roma, como consecuencia de la conquista de España | Rod. Tol, Hist. Rom. 10, 220-221 | |
| 78 | 80 | De cuemo fue recebido Ponpeyo en Roma e de la grand enuidia que ouo ende Julio Cesar | 56, b33-49 / 80, 1-7 | Sometida España, Pompeyo va a Roma | Rod. Tol, <i>Hist. Rom.</i> 10, 220-223 | | Ok | |
| | | | 56, b49 - 57, a13 / 80, 7-11 | Costumbre del triunfo y anomales que figuraron en el de Pompeyo | Plinio, VIII, <i>passim</i> , X, 2 | | Ok | Only about the phoenix (80, 10) 7-9, 11 must be Compiler |
| | | | 57, a13-32 / 80, 12-15 | Construcción de anfiteatros | San Isidoro, <i>Etym.</i> , XV, 2º, 34-35 ; XVIII, 42º, 1 | | Ok | Source semicircular theatre and circular amphitheatre |

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| | | | 57, a32 - b3 / 80, 16-19 | Triunfo de Pompeyo | Eutropio, VI, 5º, 2 Veleyo Patérculo, II, 30º, 1 2 Plinio, VII, 26 Rod. Tol, <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 10, 220 | Hay algún detalle extraño a las fuentes citadas, como el sobrenombre de 'batallador' dado a Pompeyo | No Ok Ok Ok | Sources heavily elaborated. Pidal's references do not seem to offer the data needed for EE |
| | | | 57, b3-11 / 80, 20-21 | Primer Triunvirato y rasgos distintivos de los triunviros | Floro, II, 13º, 8-12 Veleyo Patérculo, II, 33, 41, 44, 46 | | Ok Ok | |
| | | | 57, b11-32 / 80, 22-28 | Discordia entre César y Pompeyo | Rod. Tol, <i>Hist. Rom.</i> 10, 220-221 | | Ok | Also, Veleyo Patérculo, II, 44 on each one's <i>cobdicia</i> |
| 79 | 81 | Del debdo que auie entre Ponpeyo e Julio Cesar | 57, b37 - 58, a13 / 81, 1-8 | Parentesco y poderío entre César y Pompeyo | Lucano, I, 109-114 Rod. Tol, <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 10, 220-21 | | ?? Ok | Relation not clear The fragment about punishments seems to be added by Compiler . |
| 80 | 82 | De os malfechores ques leuantaron por las tierras e cuemo los quebranto Pon | 58, a18 - b2 / 82, 1-9 | Guerra contra los piratas | Orosio, VI, 4º, 1 Floro, I, 41º, 9 | Completa con la participación de España | Ok Ok | |
| 81 | 83 | Consul Lucollo contral rey Mitridates | 58, b7 - 59, a45 / 83, 1-26 | Guerra contra Mitriádes | Orosio, VI, 2º, 1-19; 4º, 3 Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.821 Eutropio, V, 5º, 1 Hugucio, <i>Etym. Lat. Sub voce</i> 'pono' San Isidoro, <i>Etym.</i> , XIV, 6º, 17 | Uno de los dos. Para el determinativo 'menor' aplicado a 'Armenia' No aplica el nombre de 'Pontus' a otra tierra qu a una isla situada en el mar del Ponto | Ok No Ok Ok | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.821 |

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|----|----|---|-------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|-----|---------------------------------------|
| | | | | | <i>San Isidoro, Mapa-Mundi, 45</i> | Falsa atribución a San Isidoro. Consideran a 'Ábidos' isla en Europa, cuando es ciudad de Asia Menor; reducción de pasos a leguas no concuerda con equivalencia Hugucio ni con Jordanes. | tbc | |
| | | | 59, a45-54 / 83, 26-28 | Marcha de Pompeyo a Oriente suscita la envidia de César | Rod. Tol , Hist. Rom. 10, 220 | | Ok | |
| 82 | 84 | De cuemo Ponpeyo passo a Asia contra Mitridates | 59, b4-53 / 84, 1-12 | Encuentro de Pompeyo con Mitridates | Orosio , VI, 4°, 3 | Muy ampliado | Ok | |
| 83 | 85 | De cuemo uencio Ponpeyo a Mitridates q por qual auenimiento | 60, a4 - b17 / 85, 1-26 | Pompeyo vence a Mitridates | Orosio , VI, 4°, 4-9 | Con ligeras variantes y adiciones estudiadas por Jonxis-Henkemans. Las palabras pronunciadas por Pompeyo podrían basarse en la palabra 'commilitans' de Floro , I, 40°, 23, y los detalles sobre el Eúfrates en Orosio , I, 2°, 23-24; 'Tigrán rey de Tigrano' fundado quizá en Orosio , VI, 3°, 6; traducido 'Pontus' por 'ysla de Ponto' como en cap. 81, y 'Colchos' por 'isla de Colcos' y confundida la Iberia de Oriente con España. | Ok | Adds information to the other sources |
| | | | | | Floro , I, 40°, 23 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , I, 2°, 23-24 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , VI, 3°, 6 | | Ok | |
| 84 | 86 | De las conquistas de Ponpeyo en espanna. E de | 60, b22-39 / 86, 1-5 | El rey Atraz se subleva en España | Orosio , VI, 4°, 8 | Aplicado a España lo relativo a la Iberia de Oriente | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , VI, 5°-6° | Comentado ampliamente | Ok | |

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|----|----|---|------------------------------|---|--|---|----|--|
| | | la muerte del Rey Mitridades | 60, b39 - 61, a14 / 86, 6-14 | Muerte de Mitridates y su elogio | Eutropio , VI, 12º, 3 | Detalle duración del reinado | Ok | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 834 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 834 | Elogio del rey | Ok | |
| | | | 61, a14-35 / 86, 15-24 | Sumisión de los pueblos de Asia Menor, Siria y Arabia | Eutropio , VI, 13º, 14º | Trastocado el orden | No | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 834-833 | Nombre de Damasco, traducido 'Colchi' por 'isla de Colcos' | Ok | |
| | | 61, a35 - b8 / 86, 25-33 | Otras conquistas en Oriente | Orosio , VI, 6º, 1-4 | Antepuesto Ircano al nombre de 'Johan', y traducido 'Syriam | Ok | | |
| | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 834 | Coelen' por 'ell otra Siria, et a Colen' erróneamente por seguir a Diácono , col. 834 | Ok | | |
| 85 | 87 | De cuemo se fue Ponpeyo pora Roma; e plogo mucho a los Romanos con el | 61, b13-45 / 87, 1-8 | Triunfo y discurso de Pompeyo | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 834 | | Ok | Heavily rewritten |
| | | | 61, b45-50 / 87, 9-10 | Título de emperador otorgado a Pompeyo | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 135 | | Ok | |
| | | | 61, b50 - 62, a3 / 87, 10-12 | Paz en España y tema siguiente | Plinio , VII, 26 | Arreglo del Compilador | | Ok |
| 86 | 88 | De las conquistas de Julio e de Ponpeyo | 62, a7-21 / 86, 1-5 | César trata de estorbar los planes de Pompeyo | Rod. Tol , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 10, 221 | | Ok | |
| | | | 62, a21-54 / 6-19 | Provincias otorgadas a César y a Pompeyo | Orosio , VI, 7º, 1 y 15º, 1 | Añade equivocada explicación de Illirico | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 10 | Detale del peligro que amenazaba a Roma | Ok | |
| | | | | | Hugucio , <i>Etym. Lat sub voce</i> 'como' | Etimología de 'Comada' | Ok | |
| 87 | 89 | De cuemo fizo Julio Cesar en aquellas tierras | 62, b6 - 63, b21 / 89, 1-61 | Conquistas de César en las Galias | Orosio , VI, 7º, 3-16; 8º, 6-23 | Con algunas divergencias en los nombres y las cifras, como 'Tiber' por 'Rodano' quizá por errónea lectura (J-H). Añadida la intervención de ariovisto en la batalla | Ok | Confusion Tiber/Rhône appears several times in Orosius, maybe not a reading mistake. |

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|----|----|--|------------------------------|---|--|---|----|--|
| | | | | | | contra b3lgicos y alemanes | | |
| 88 | 90 | De cuemo enuiaron los Romanos a publio crasso alas espannas que eras alçadas | 63, b26-28 / 90, 1 | Sincronismo consular | Orosio , VI, 7°, 1 | | Ok | |
| | | | 63, b28-34 / 90, 1-2 | Los romano exigen 'los derechos de la tierra' | C3esar , <i>De Bello Gallico</i> , III, 7 | | Ok | |
| | | | 63, b34 - 64, a16 / 90, 2-14 | Craso lucha en Aquitania | Orosio , VI, 8°, 19-22 C3esar , <i>De Bello Gallico</i> , III, 7-8 completa | Traducido 'Sontiates' por 'Aux' y 'citeriore Hispania' por 'Espa1a la mayor'; se identifica Aquitania con Gascu1a y se la considera como parte de Espa1a | Ok | |
| 89 | 91 | De las conquistas que fizo Julio cesar e de es | 64, a21 - 65, a34 / 91, 1-37 | Conquistas de C3esar en las galias: | Orosio , VI, 8°, 23 - 12°, 1 | Muy resumida la segunda mitad; alterada la cifra de germanos muertos en la batalla y alguna otra cifra; identificada 'Triunvirant' con 'Londres'; Traducido 'Cassouellaunum' por 'Uerulam' y considerada la provinci de Narbona como inclu1da en Espa1a | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist.Rom.</i> , 10. 221 | Detalle de hacer 'a los bretones pecheros de Roma'. Reducidas las dos legiones a una cifra que no concuerda con la anterior descripci3n de legi3n (Solalinde) | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud. , 26 | | Ok | |
| 90 | 92 | | 65, a41-49 / 92, 1 | Incendio de Roma | Orosio , VI, 14°, 5 | | Ok | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|---|------------------------------|--|--|--|-----------|--|---|
| | | De cuemo Julio cesar demando a los romas quel diessen ell otro consulado que tenie ponpeyo e del fuego que se encencio en la cibdat de roma | 65, a49 - b17 / 2-3 | César, vuelto de las Galias, siente envidia de Pompeyo y ambiciona el mando supremo | Rod. Tol., <i>Hist. Rom.</i>, 10, 221 | | Ok | | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VI, 15°, 1-4 completa | | Ok | | |
| | | | | 65, b17 - 66, a10 / 92, 4-15 | Discusión violenta en el senado y principio de la guerra civil | Orosio, VI, 15°, 1-4 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | | Lucano, I, 291-293 | Completan | Ok | |
| | | | | | | Rod. Tol., <i>Hist. Rom.</i>, 10, 221 | | | Ok |
| | | | | 66, a10-36 / 92, 16-22 | Alternativas del poderío romano | Orosio, VI, 14°, 1-4 | | Ok | <i>The concept of crecimiento and decrecimiento of the empire and the influence of the Civil War seems to be an addition by the Compiler.</i> |
| | | | Luc. Tud., 26 | | | Añadido el nombre de 'M. Crasso' y su muerte | Ok | | |
| | | | 66, 36-47 / 92, 23-24 | Paz en España y tema siguiente | Deducción del Compilador | | | | |
| 91 | 93 | De cuemo se descubrio Julio cesar al desamor que auie contra ponpeyo | 66, a52 - b12 / 93, 1-4 | Cronología y cónsules | Compilador | | | <i>Also Orosio, VI, 13°,1 y 15°, 2-3</i> | |
| | | | 66, b12 - 67, a20 / 93, 5-16 | Retratos de César, Pompeyo, Julia y Craso; los partidarios de César son expulsados de Roma | Orosio, VI, 13°,1 y 15°, 2-3 | Algunas variaciones anotadas por J-H | Ok | Just mentions the characters and the relation between them | |
| | | | | | Lucano, I, 70-150 | | Ok | Heavily rewritten. Emphasises Caesar's <i>cobdicia</i> . | |
| 92 | 94 | De la ymagen que parecio a Julio cesar e de la su yda a roma | 67, a25 - 68, a4 / 94, 1-19 | César pasa el Rubicón y toma Rímimi | Orosio, VI, 15°, 2-3 guía | Se mezclan los episodios arbitrariamente por lo que se coloca erróneamente la travesía de los Alpes o Apeninos entre la salida de Ravena y el paso del Rubicón. Ligeras variantes estudiadas por J-H | Ok | | |
| | | | | | Lucano, I, 183-247 | | Ok | | |
| 93 | 95 | De las yentes que unieron | 68, a9-16 / 95, 1-2 | César reúne fuerzas | Lucano, I, 392-395 | | Ok | | |

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|----|----|---|------------------------------|---|--|---|----|---|
| | | en ayuda de Julio cesar | | | Orosio , VI, 15°, 4 | | Ok | |
| | | | 68, a16 - b10 / 95, 3-7 | Pueblos que acuden en ayuda de César | Lucano , I, 396-465 | Añadidas algunas breves explicaciones geográficas, muchas discrepancias en la lectura de los nombres propios, y utilizados los comentaristas de Lucano para identificar a 'Mercurio' con 'Teutanes', 'Marte' con 'Eso' y 'Júpiter' con 'Tamaris'(Solalinde y J-H) | Ok | |
| 94 | 96 | De cuemo se fue Julio Cesar a roma e tomo todel thesoro que y estaua llegado de grandes tiempos | 68, b16-44 / 95, 1-7 | César se dirige a Roma y huyen los contrarios | Lucano , I, 466-522 | | Ok | |
| | | | 68, b44 - 69, a2 / 8-9 | Los pompeyanos se retiran a Campania, de lo cual se lamenta César, que saquea el erario público | Lucano , II, 392-393, 443-444; III, 49-50,154-168 | | Ok | Heavily rewritten. Relation not totally clear |
| | | | | | Orosio , VI, 15°, 4 completa | | Ok | |
| 95 | 97 | De cuemo salio Julio cesar de roma e se fue alas espannas e cuemo gano Marsiella | 69, a8 - b17 / 97, 1-16 | César decide venir a España y conquista Marsella | Lucano , III, 298-762 | | Ok | |
| 96 | 98 | De la guerra de Julio Cesar e de Affranio e petreo en Lerida | 69, b22 - 70 a10 / 98, 1-8 | Táctica de Cesar para granjearse el ánimo de los españoles, la cual contrasta con la que adoptó en otras partes | Lucano , IV, 1-3; I, 143-147 | Combinados ambos pasajes y muy amplificado el primero | Ok | |
| | | | 70, a11 - 71, a40 / 98, 9-31 | Encuentro de los ejércitos pompeyanos y de César en Lérida | Lucano , IV, 4-47, 171; I, 1 | Quizás también sus comentaristas | Ok | |

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|-----|-----|--|-------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|--|----|--|
| 97 | 99 | Del temporal que hizo a Julio cesar en Lerida. E cuemo se fueron ende petreo e affranio | 71, a46 - b8 / 99, 1-5 | Inundación en Lérida | Lucano, IV, 48-103 | Muy resumido | Ok | |
| | | | 71, b8 - 73, a21 / 99, 1-41 | Los pompeyanos comienzan a huir y las tropas de César los alcanzan | Lucano, IV, 130-205 | Y sus comentaristas | Ok | Lacks the source for the fragment on the doubts of the soldiers in regards to the Civil War after seeing their families. |
| 98 | 100 | De cuemo Petro departio a los Romanos que estauan en sus solazes; e les hizo començar la batalla | 73, a27 - 74, b14 / 100, 1-33 | Petreyo prepara a los soldados de ambos ejércitos contendientes, que confraternizaban, y arenga a los suyos, que atacan a los contrarios | Lucano, IV, 205-254 | Muy ampliado generalmente y no siempre bien interpretado | Ok | Heavily rewritten |
| 99 | 101 | De cuemo petreo e Affranjo cometieron de | 74, b19 - 76, a11 / 101, 1-41 | Cerco de pompeyanos, que desfallecen de sed | Lucano, IV 254-308, 313-336 | Muy amplificado ordinariamente y completado con sus comentaristas | Ok | |
| 100 | 102 | De cuemo se dieron petreo e Affranio a Julio cesar | 76, a16 - 77, b13 / 102, 1-48 | Petreyo y Afranio se rinden a César | Lucano, IV, 337-401 | Muy ampliado y completado con sus comentaristas | Ok | |
| 101 | 103 | De cuemo Julio cesar fue conrra ponpeo pora li | 77, b18 - 78, a30 / 103, 1-20 | César va contra Pompeyo | Orosio, VI, 15°, 6-7 | Según relato anterior o posterior a Orosio. La cifra de soldados a que reduce la crónica las dos legiones de Varrón no concuerda con el cap. 77, pues por error de copistas se omitió 'trescientos' (Solalinde | Ok | |
| | | | | | Arreglo del Compilador | | | |
| 102 | 104 | De las yentes que ouo Ponpeyo en su ayuda contra Julio Cesar | 78, a30 - 79, a27 / 104, 1-21 | Pueblos que ayudaron a Pompeyo contra César | Lucano, III, 169-297 | Y sus comentaristas. Divergencias considerables en los nombres, anotadas por J-H y Solalinde | Ok | |

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|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|---|----|---|
| | | | | | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., I, 13, 18 | Detalle de Thamiris | Ok | |
| 103 | 105 | De la primera batalla de Pompeyo el grand e Julio Cesar | 79, a32-b23 / 105, 1-15 | Primeros hechos de armas entre César y Pompeyo | Orosio, VI, 15°, 18-20 | | Ok | Also Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.846 |
| | | | | | Hugucio, Etym. Lat. Sub voce 'lego' | Añade composición del ejército | Ok | |
| | | | 79, b23-54 / 105,16-28 | Batalla de Duracio | Eutropio, VI, 20°, 3 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.846 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.846 | | Ok | |
| Orosio, VI, 15°, 21 | | Ok | | | | | | |
| 104 | 106 | De la segunda batalla de Julio Cesar e de Pompeyo. E de la muerte de Pompeyo | 80, a4 - b23 / 106, 1-18 | Fuerzas ue concurren en la batalla de Farsalia y descripción de la misma | Orosio, VI, 15°, 22-26 | Combinados, traducido 'cohortes' por 'legiones', indicados los hombres de cada legión (Hugucio) y leído 'ferri' por 'feri' | Ok | Sources do not mention God. Probably Compiler. |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.846-847 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VI, 20°-21° | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Hugucio, Etym. Lat. Sub voce 'lego' | | Ok | |
| | | | 80, b23 - 81, a18 / 106, 19-29 | Otra descripción de la batalla | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 10, 221 | Muy apliado | Ok | |
| | | | 81, a18-41 42 / 106, 29-31 | Desastre y huida de Pompeyo | Orosio, VI, 15°, 27-28 | Completan a Orosio. Difiere la crónica en el número de muertos de la batalla.Explicación de 'centuriones' por Hugucio. Leído 'Penetamnis' por 'Penei amnis' | Ok | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.847 |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 10, 221 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.847 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VI, 21° | | No | |
| | | | Hugucio, Etym. Lat. Sub voce 'centum' | Ok | | | | |
| 81, a42 - b5 / 106, 32-36 | Tolomeo medita dar muerte a Pompeyo | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 10, 221-222 | | Ok | | | | |
| 81, b5-42 / 106, 37-44 | Muerte de Pompeyo | Lucano, VIII, 472-711 | Muy resumido | Ok | | | | |

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|-----|-----|--|-------------------------------|--|--|---|----|---|
| | | | | | Orosio , VI, 15°, 29 | Completa detalle del anillo | Ok | |
| | | | | | César , <i>De bello civili</i> , 1837, III, 108 | Probablemente calificativos de 'castrados' y 'mayorales dellos' | Ok | |
| | | | 81, b42 - 82, a1 / 106, 45-47 | Tolomeo intenta traicionar a César | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 10, 222 | Probablemente | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , VI, 15°, 29 | | No | |
| | | | 82, a1-12 / 106, 48-50 | Huyen los familiares de Pompeyo | Orosio , VI, 15°, 28 | | Ok | Also en Rod. Tol. 10 |
| | | | 82, a12-22 / 106, 51-52 | Anuncio del tema siguiente | Compilador | | | |
| 105 | 107 | De la alabança que cuenta plinio de Ponpeyo el grand | 82, a27 - b14 / 107, 1-9 | Alabanza de Pompeyo | Plinio , VII, 26 | La frase 'et tod esto dexo ell en escripto' quizá pretenda ser traducción de las palabras de Plinio, VII, 27, 'hos retulit patriae titulos' | Ok | |
| | | | | Conquista de Asia por Líbero | Orosio , I, 9°, 4 | Quizás | Ok | |
| | | | 82, b14-24 / 107, 10-12 | Elogio de Orosio a Pompeyo | Orosio , VI, 5°, 13 | | Ok | |
| 106 | 108 | De cuemo Julio Cesar uino a Alezandria la de egipto. E mayo al rey que decabeçara a Ponpeyo. E dio la tierra ala reyna cleopatra | 82, b30 - 84, a54 / 108, 1-37 | César va a Alejandría y coloca en el trono a Cleopatra | Orosio , VI, 15°, 29 - 16°, 3 | Difiere en lo relativo al paradero de la biblioteca de Alejandría | Ok | |
| | | | | | Lucano , IX, 1000-1108 | Completa deralles relativos ak viaje de César a Alejandría y el presente de Tolomeo | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio , VI, 21°,3 | Idea de 'criado' | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.847 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.847 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 10, 222 | Excusas de Tolomeo por la muerte de Pompeyo y los medios para seducir a César | Ok | |

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|---|---|---|-----------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|----|---------------------------------------|
| 107 | 109 | De cuemo fizo Julio cesar en Asia | 84, b3-15 / 109, 1-4 | César pacifica el Asia romana y vuelve a Roma, donde es reelegido cónsul y aclamado | Orosio, VI, 16°, 3 | Para 'ysla de Ponto' ver cap 81/83 | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.848 | Completan a Orosio, con el detalle de 'Farnaz hijo de Mitridates' | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VI, 22°, 3 | | No | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.848 |
| | | | | | Veleyo Patérculo, II, 56°, 2 | Para el triunfo de César. | Ok | |
| | | | | | Floro, II, 13°, 88 | | Ok | |
| | | | 84, b15-39 / 109, 4-8 | Advenimiento del mando único de Roma | Orosio, VI, 17°, 1 | Narración redactada de datos repartidos | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VI, 25° | | No | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.849 |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.849 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 137 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Floro, II, 13°, 90-91 | | Ok | |
| Hugucio, <i>Etym. Lat. sub vocibus</i> 'cedo' y 'augeo' | Sobrenombre de Augusto aplicado a César | Ok | | | | | | |
| 108 | 110 | De los nombres de los principes e principados de Roma | 84, b44-50 / 110, 1-2 | Cronología | Arreglo del Compilador | | | |
| | | | 84, b50 - 58, a1 / 110, 3-4 | Nombres de Roma y su fundación por Rómulo | Graphia Aurae Urbis Romae, 156 | | Ok | Valentia = Valencia. |
| | | | 85, a1-12 / 110, 5 | Rocas escribe el nombre de Roma sobre dos mármoles | UNKNOWN | Aunque Orosio, II, 2°, 3-5 parece insinuar el hecho hablando de Procas como fundador de Roma, y la Crónica cita como fuentes 'las estrias antiguas de Espanna' | Ok | |
| | | | 85, a12-42 / 110, 6-12 | Rómulo crea el senado y la milicia | Rod. Tol., Hist. Rom., 5, 215 | | Ok | |

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|-----|-----|--|--------------------------------|---|--|--|----|--|
| | | | | | Hugucio, Etym. Lat. sub vocibus 'sentio' y 'moles' | Para la explicación de las palabras. La palabra árabe que corresponde a la latina 'senes' pudiera ser 'jeque' | Ok | |
| | | | 85, a42 - 86, b30 / 110, 12-39 | Caída de la monarquía e instituciones que la sustituyen | Eutropio, I, 8^o, 9^o, 13^o, 18^o; II, 1^o, 3^o | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.750-751, 755, 757 |
| | | | 86, b30-44 / 110, 40-42 | Evolución política de Roma y auncio del tema siguiente | Hugucio, Etym. Lat. sub vocibus 'sileo', 'dico', 'magnus' y 'tris' | Explicación de las palabras | Ok | |
| | | | 86, b30-44 / 110, 40-42 | Evolución política de Roma y auncio del tema siguiente | Arreglo del Compilador | | | |
| 109 | 111 | Dell ordenamiento de los cabdiellos de Roma | 86, b49 - 87, a33 / 111, 1-15 | Cronología de las instituciones enseñadas anteriormente | Eutropio, I, 8^o, 18^o; II, 1^o | La Crónica difiere en la fecha e la creación de los 'tribunos mayores' y añade la fecha de la fundación de Roma según la era de la creación del mundo | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.751-757. Confussion in dates. |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.751-757 | | Ok | |
| | | | 87, a33 - b48 / 111, 15-35 | Instituciones secundarias | S. Isidoro, Etym., IX, 3^o | Redacción del compilador usando estas obras y otros glosarios (J-H) | Ok | |
| | | | | | Hugutio, Etym. Lat. | | Ok | |
| 110 | 112 | De los primeros Reyes de Roma pues que la cibdat ouo este nombre | 87, b53 - 88, a13 / 112, 1-3 | Cronología de los reyes de Roma | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.748-751 | Con ligeras discrepancias en las cifras, gerealmente siguiendo a Diácono. La duración de la monarquía, aunque dice tomarla de la 'Estoria de os príncipes de Roma', que parece ser Eutropio, coincide con la fecha que anota en primer lugar | Ok | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.748-751 |
| | | | | | Eutropio, I, 2^o-8^o | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 101 | No | |
| 111 | 113 | De los consules del primer anno | 88, a17-31 / 113, 1-4 | Asunto y fuentes | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 88, a31 - b7 / 113, 5-14 | Cónsules del primer año | Eutropio, I, 9^o-10^o | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.751 |

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|-----|-----|---|-------------------------------------|---|--|---|----|---|
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.751 | | Ok | |
| 112 | 114 | De los consues e de los otros principes de Roma pos sos nombres cuemo uinieron en el sennorio unos empos otros | 88, b13-17 / 114, 1 | Cónsules del primer año y otros magistrados romanos | Eutropio, I, 9º-12º Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.751 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.751 |
| | | | 88, b17 - 89, b10 / 114, 1-2 | Lista de cónsules y otros magistrados romanos | Orosio, passim | Incluidos muchos que Orosio no cita como tales, confundidos en uno varios personjes y algunas divergencias en nombres (J-H) | Ok | |
| | | | 89, b10-16 / 114, 2-4 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 89, b16-22 / 114, 4-5 | Césares de la 5ª edad | Luc. Tud., 14 18 | | Ok | Only mentions Caesar and Augustus. |
| | | | 89, b22- 23 33/ 114, 6-8 | Tema siguiente | Arreglo del Compilador | | | |
| 113 | 115 | Este nombre Cesar de que palauras es tomado. E por quales razones. E aquienle llamaron primera mientre e a quales despues e que quier dezir | 89, b40 - 90, b4 / 115, 1-17 | Diversas acepciones de la palabra 'César' y a quiénes se aplicó | Hugucio, Etym. Lat.sub vocibus 'cedo' y 'augeo' | César era considerado en la Edad Media como el primer emperador, según Graf. | Ok | |
| | | | | | Elio Esparciano, Aelius Versus, 1845, 2 | | Ok | |
| 114 | 116 | Dond fue tomado este nombre emperador e que quiere dezir | 90, b9-29 / 116, 1-6 | Origen y acepciones de la palabra 'emperador' | Hugucio, Etym. Lat. Sub voce 'paro' | | Ok | |
| | | | | | S. Isidoro, Etym., IX, 3º, 14 | | No | I don't think this is the source. I think is a disgression made by the compiler on Hugutio |

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| 115 | 117 | | 90, b35 - 91, a21 / 117, 1-13 | Victoria de César en África | Orosio , VI, 16°, 3-6 | Eutropio y Diácono completan el ninaje de Escipión. Disminuida la cifra de elefantes, leído 'Pater eius' por 'Petreius' y traducido siguiendo a Tol. 'a Faustra et a Silla' en lugar de 'a Fausto Sila' | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio , VI, 23°, 2 | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.848 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col.848 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 10, 223 | | Ok | |
| | | | 91, a21 - b6 / 117, 13-21 | Palabras dirigidas a César en su cuarto triunfo para humillar su vanidad y que luego se hacen rituales en todos los triunfos | Compilador | Ver <i>Gesta Romanorum</i> von Hermann Oesterley, Berlín, 1872, 328 | | |
| 116 | 118 | | 91, b14-38 / 118, 1-6 | César combate en España contra los hijos de Pompeyo y sus partidarios | Orosio , VI, 16°, 6-7 | Traducido 'Labieno' por 'Labio' | Ok | |
| | | | 91, b38 - 92, a4 / 118, 7-9 | Causa del desastre de los pompeyanos en Munda | Comentario del compilador | | | |
| | | | 92, a4-11 / 118, 9-10 | Fecha de la batalla indicada | Orosio , VI, 16°, 8 | | Ok | |
| | | | 92, a11-24 / 118, 11-14 | Obras y construcciones de César en España | Luc. Tud. , 26 | | Ok | Also duration of war |
| | | | 92, a24-29 / 118, 15 | Duración de la guerra civil | Orosio , VI, 16°, 8 | | Ok | |
| | | | 92, a29-36 / 118, 16 | Tema siguiente | Compilador | | | |
| 117 | 119 | Dell imperio de Julio cesar e de que fayçones e de que costumbres | 92, a41 - b40 / 119, 1-19 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 92, b40 - 94, a36 / 119, 20-53 | Retrato físico y moral de César | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , VI VII, 38-39 | La crónica cita a Suetonio pero siempre lo sige mediante la Belovacense | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tol. , <i>Hist. Rom.</i> , 10, 222 | Detalle Medinaceli y Sigüenza. Traducido 'Oppius' por 'Opimio' | Ok | |

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| | | | 94, a36 - b34 / 119, 53-64 | El niño tracio hundido en el Ebro | César, Opera , II, 343 | Leído 'Trabs' por 'Thrax'. Diácono copia sin atribución alguna el epigrama, que es atribuido diversamente a Germánico César, Julio César o Augusto (Ver MGH, <i>Poetae latini aevi Carolini</i> , I, pars prior, Berolini, 1880, 50) | Ok | In MGH |
| 118 | 120 | De como julio Cesar puso nombre del suyo al mes de Julio. E de las razones por que son los otros meses nombrados. Daquellos nombres que an cada unos | 94, b41 - 95, a2 / 120, 1-2 | Nombre dado por César al mes de julio | Hugucio, Etym. Lat. Sub voce 'Julus' | Añadidas las batallas ganadas por César en dicho mes | Ok | |
| | | | 95, a2-27 / 120, 3-11 | Nombres de los días de la semana | San Isidoro, Etym. , V, 30°, 5-12 | Resumido | Ok | |
| | | | 95, a27-48 / 120, 12-16 | División del año en meses y sus nombres | San Isidoro, Etym. , V, 33°, 2-11; 36°, 3; III, 71°, 23-32 | Mal traducido 'consecraverunt' | Ok | |
| | | | | | Hugucio, Etym. Lat. sub vocibus 'jam', 'februa', 'mas', 'afros', 'magnus', 'julus', 'augeo' | Para los ocho primeros meses | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 82-83 | Reforma de Numa Pompilio | Ok | |
| 119 | 121 | De las sennales que acaecieron por el mundo a la sazón que mataron a Julio cesar | 95, b53 - 96, a3 / 121, 1-3 | Cronología | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 136-137 | Con ligera discrepancia | Ok | |
| | | | 96, a3 - b5 / 121, 4-15 | Prodigios que presagiaban la muerte de César | Belovac., Spec. Hist. , VI, 41 Suet | Combinados. Equivocado el día correspondiente a los idus de marzo y | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud. , 26 | | Ok | |

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|---------------------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------|--|---|---|----|------------------------------|
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.850 | traducido 'colonia Capua' por 'tierra de Colonna' | Ok | |
| 120 | 122 | De como Julio Cesar fue muerto a traycion en el Capitolio.cion en el capitolio | 96, b10-21 / 122, 1-4 | Entregan a César una carta anunciándole su muerte | Belovac., Spec. Hist., VI, 41 Suet | | Ok | Adds the fact of her old age |
| | | | 96, b22-43 / 122, 4-7 | Muerte de César | Belovac., Spec. Hist., VI, 42 Suet | | Ok | |
| | | | 96, b43-45 / 122, 8 | Cronología | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 136-137 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 26 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., VI, 42 Suet | | Ok | |
| | | | 96, b45-50 / 122, 8, 8.1 | Enojo del pueblo | Orosio, VI, 17º, 2 | | Ok | |
| | | | 96, b50 - 97, a8 / 122, 8.1 | Fin que tuvieron los asesinos y hallazgo de la carta sin abrir | Belovac., Spec. Hist., VI, 42 Suet | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 26 | | Ok | |
| | | | 97, a8-18 / 122, 9-11 | Incineración y sepultura de César | Orosio, VI, 17º, 3 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 26 | | Ok | |
| Graphia-Aurae Urbis Romae, 161 | Combinados y completados para el detalle 'aguja de Roma' | No | | | | | | |
| 97, a18-29 / 122, 12-13 | Tema siguiente | Compilador | | | | | | |
| 121 | 123 | De los nombres de los emperadores de Roma | 97, a34-50 / 123, 1 | Lista de los emperadores romanos | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 136-199 | Seguido fielmente hasta Diocleciano | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 28-37 | Continúan | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col.900-963 | | Ok | |

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| 122 | 124 | Dell jmerio de Octauiano sobrino de Julio Cesar, e luego de los fechos que acaecieron en el primer anno | 97, b 5-26 / 124, 1-3 | Advenimiento de Octavio | Orosio, VI, 18°, 1 | | Ok | Follows essentially Diaconus. Also Rod.Tol. Hist. Rom. X, 10-11 , literal translation | |
| | | | | | Diacono, <i>Hist.misc.</i> , col. 849-850-851, completa detalles | | Ok | | |
| | | | 97, b 26-41 / 124, 4-5 | Aparición de un círculo celeste | Orosio, VI, 20°, 5 | | Ok | | |
| | | | 97, b 41 - 98, a 8 / 124, 6-8 | Tres soles se juntan y su simbolismo | Luc. Tud. 26 | | Ok | | |
| | | | 98, a 8-18 / 124, 9-10 | Buey que habla | Belovac. <i>Spec. Hist.</i> VI, 41, sigue a Coméstor | | Ok | | También Eusebio-Jeronimo, 137 |
| | | | 98, a 18-37 / 124, 11-16 | Guerras civiles que sostuvo Augusto | Orosio, VI, 18°, 1-2 | añadida su significación | Ok | | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VII, 2°, 1, 3°, 4° completa las causas | añadida la intención de Octavio de venir a Occidente | No | | Diacono, <i>Hist.misc.</i> , col. 851 |
| Diacono, <i>Hist.misc.</i> , col. 851, completa las causas | traducido 'Actiacum' por 'en Atica' y añadida su situación | Ok | | | | | | | |
| 98, a 37-43 / 124, 17-18 | Otros hechos del primer año | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 139 | | Ok | | | | | |
| 123 | 125 | De los fechos del segundo anno dell Jmperio de Octauiano cesar, en que uencio a Antonio e Amigo con el, e diol su hermana por muger | 98, a 50 - b 11 / 125, 1-3 | Fuente de aceite | Orosio, VI, 18°, 34, 20°, 6-7 | | Ok | | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 139 | | Ok | | |
| | | | 98, b 11-31 / 125, 3-6 | Guerras contra Antonio y contra Bruto y Casio | Orosio, VI, 18°, 3-16 17 | Muy resumido | Ok | | |
| | | | | | Floro, II, 14°, 4 - 15° | | Ok | | |
| | | Veleyo Patérculo, II, 78°, 1, detalle Egipto, matrimonio Antonio | Antonio + hermana de Octavio en vez de Octavio + hermana de Antonio (Orosio y Pablo Díascono) | Ok | | | | | |
| 124 | 126 | | 98, b 35-45 / 126, 1-4 | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 139 | | Ok | | |

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| | | De lo fechos del anno tercero | | Guerra entre Antonio y Octavio | Floro, II, 21° 4 | Completado erróneamente para el lugar de batalla | Ok | |
| 125 | 127 | De lo fechos del quarto Anno dell Jmperio de Octauiano CesaR | 98, b 50 - 99, a 32 / 127, 1-7 | Censo ordenado por Augusto | Luc. Tud., 28 | | Ok | |
| | | | 99, a 32 - b 2 / 127, 8-12 | Origen de la moneda y sus nombres | Hugucio, Etym. Lat., sub vocibus 'Numa' y 'deca' | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Rod. Tod., Hist. Rom., 5, 126? , sobre los 'numos', primera moneda acuñada por el rey Numa | Sobre los 'numos', primera moneda acuñada por el rey Numa | Ok | |
| | | | 99, b 2-23 / 127, 13-15 | Nombres monedas castellanas y destino del tributo | | Adicción del Compilador | Ok | |
| | | | 99, b 23-27 / 127, 16 | Personas que hacían el censo | Luc. Tud., 28 | | Ok | |
| 99, b 27-57 / 127, 17-21 | La Era y el modo de hacer el censo | Luc. Tud., 27-28 | Ok | | | | | |
| | | Hugucio, Etym. Lat., sub vocibus 'es' y 'scribo', completa | Ok | | | | | |
| 126 | 128 | De los fechos del quinto | 100, a 29-40 / 128, 1-4 | Lucha Octavio contra Menegrad, caudillo pompeyano | Orosio, VI, 18°, 21-22 | | Ok | |
| 127 | 129 | De los fechos del sexto Anno | 100, a 44 - b 6 / 129, 1-4 | Guerras en Oriente | Orosio, VI, 18°, 23-24 | | Ok | |
| 128 | 130 | De los fechos dell anno Sete | 100, b 10-19 / 130, 1-4 | Triunfo de los pompeyanos contra Octavio en Tauromeno | Orosio, VI, 18°, 27 | | Ok | |
| 129 | 131 | De los fechos dell ochauo anno | 100, b 23 - 101, a 2 / 131, 1-8 | Octavio derrota a Lépido en Sicilia | Orosio, VI, 18°, 28-34 | Aumentada la cifra de caballeros desarmados | Ok | Confusion in the number of legions, 44/48 |
| | | | 101, a 2-8 / 131, 9 | Muerte de Salustio | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 139 | | Ok | Source only mentions. EE describes the character. |
| 130 | 132 | | 101, a 12-34 / 132, 1-5 | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 138-139 | | Ok | |

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| | | De los fechos del dezeno Anno | | Muerte de Antígono, a quien sucede Herodes Ascalonita | Sulpicio Severo , <i>Chronica</i> , 1866, II, 27, Herodes y profecía S. Isidoro , <i>Chronica</i> , 1894, 236-237, terminación dinastía judáica | | Ok | |
| 131 | 133 | De lo que contecio en ell Onzeno Anno | 101, a 38-49 / 133, 1-2 | Octavio se prepara para venir a España | Veleyo Patérculo , II, 78º, 2-3, 90º, 4 Jordanes , <i>De summa temporum</i> , 1882, 241, 249, 254-255 Luc. Tud. , 27 - 28 | Interpretación probable o deducción de los pasajes | Ok | Heavily rewritten. Deducted from the source. |
| | | | 101, a 50-53 / 133, 3 | Se descubre el curso de la luna | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 139 | | Ok | |
| 132 | 134 | De los fechos del Ann dozeno | 101, b 3-15 / 134, 1-4 | Guerras con los de Illirico y Panonia | Orosio , VI, 19º, 3 | La intención de venir a España, ver pasajes citados cap 131/133 | Ok | |
| 133 | 135 | De lo que contecio en ell trezeno Anno | 101, b 19-50 / 135, 1-7 | Combate naval de Accio | Orosio , VI, 19º, 4-14 Eusebio-Jerónimo , 140-141, completado, Arabia entregada a Cleopatra | Orosio muy resumido. La intención de venir a España, ver pasajes citados cap 131/133; 'Emperador primieramente' no concuerda con 'sexto imperator' de Orosio | Ok | |
| 134 | 136 | De los fechos del Catorzeno Anno | 101, b 54 - 102, a 8 / 136, 1-3 | Nueva lucha entre Octavio y Antonio | Orosio , VI, 19º 16 | Muy ampliado | Ok | |
| 135 | 137 | De lo que conrecio en ell anno quizenno | 102, a 12- 51 56 / 137, 1-9 | Octavio persigue a Antonio y Cleopatra e intenta salvar a ésta de los efectos de la mordedura del áspid | Orosio , VI, 19º, 16-19 | | Ok | |

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| | | | | <p>Luc. Tud., 27, completa, áspid en pechos</p> <p>Hugucio, <i>Etym. Lat.</i>, <i>sub voce</i> 'psilli', encantadores de serpientes</p> <p>Eusebio-Jerónimo, 140-141, completa, reducción de Egipto a provincia romana</p> <p>Veleyo Patérculo, II, 87º, 1, completa con trad. '<i>expers muliebris metus</i>', 'e ella fuera siempre de muy grand coraçon'</p> | | Ok | | |
| | | | | | | Ok | | |
| | | | | | | Ok | | |
| | | | | | | Ok | | |
| | | | 102, a 56 - 103, a 24 / 137, 10-20 | Conquistas en Oriente, triunfo de Octavio en Roma e institucion del imperio | <p>Orosio, VI, 19º, 21 y 20º, 1-4</p> <p>Hugucio, <i>Etym. Lat.</i>, <i>sub vocibus</i> 'augeo' y 'cedo', explicación de Augusto y nombre de César</p> | La intención de venir a España, ver pasajes citados cap 131/133; Equivocado día del triunfo | Ok | Heavily rewritten. Lacks the mention to Jano's gates |
| | | | | | | Ok | | |
| | | | 103, a 24-35 / 137, 21-22 | Cambio del nombre del mes de Agosto | <p>Eusebio-Jerónimo, 140-141</p> <p>Hugucio, <i>Etym. Lat.</i>, <i>sub voce</i> 'augeo', completa</p> | | Ok | |
| | | | 103, a 35-41 / 137, 22 | Se quita un día a Febrero y se añade a Agosto | Durando , <i>Rationale divinatorum officiorum</i> , VIII, 4º, 13 -(probab) | | Ok | Mentions distribution of the months, but heavily rewritten... Another source possible. |
| | | | 103, a 41-49 / 137, 22-24 | Otros hechos del año quince | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 140-141 | Cambiada cifra del censo | Ok | Doesn't mention Espannas |

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| 136 | 138 | De los fechos del anno seseno | 103, a 53 - 104, a 45 / 138, 1-16 | Guerra de Cantabria | Orosio, VI, 21°, 1-9 | Muy ampliado; añadida la identificación de 'Medullium' con 'Mondoñedo'; equivocada la cifra e a medida del foso que rodeaba dicha población | Ok | Also Floro, II, 33°, 46-50. Bellum Cantabricum et Asturicum. |
| 137 | 139 | De lo que contecio en el Anno dizeseteno | 104, a 49 - 105, a 10 / 139, 1-13 | Continúa la guerra de Cantabria | Orosio, VI, 21°, 9-11 | Muy ampliado; consignado 'monte Astura' por 'río Astura' | Ok | Also Floro, II, 33°, 54-60. Bellum Cantabricum et Asturicum. |
| | | | | | Hugucio, Etym. Lat., sub vocibus 'lego' y 'barba', explicación de legión y bárbaros | | Ok | |
| 138 | 140 | De lo que contecio en el dizeochauo anno | 105, a 14-17 / 140, 1-2 | Cronología y pacificación España | Arreglo del Complilador | | | |
| | | | 105, a 17-28 / 140, 2 | Conquistas de Octavio | Orosio, VI, 21°, 12-18 | Muy resumido | ok | |
| | | | 105, a 28 - b 3 / 140, 2-12 | Pueblos de la India y Egitia envían legados a Octavio a Tarragona | Orosio, VI 21°, 19-20 | Muy ampliado; añadidos nombres de pueblos por errónea interpretación de la fuente | Ok | Also Floro, II, 33°, 51-52. About Octavius arriving to Tarragona. |
| 139 | 141 | De los fechos del anno dizenoueno | 105, b 7-17 / 141, 1-4 | Otros hechos de Augusto | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 141-143, España y leyes dadas por Augusto a los romanos. Galacia provincia. Calabria y Francia. | | Ok | Eusebius only on the tributr from Calabria and Gaul, and Cantabrian defeat. |
| | | | | | Belovac. Spec. Hist. VI, 43, base de Eusebio | | Ok | On laws to the Romans |
| | | | | | Pompeyo Trogo, XLIV, 5°, 8, base de Eusebio | | Ok | |
| 140 | 142 | De lo que constescio en el anno Veynteno | 105, b 21-37 / 142, 1-5 | Sometida España, Augusto va a Roma | Orosio, VI, 21°, 21 | Muy amplificado; añadida la duración de la paz | Ok | |
| | | | 105, b 37-40 / 142, 5 | Fundación de Lyon por Augusto | Orosio, VI, 21°, 22 | Interpretación probable del Compilador | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 141 | | Ok | Not Augustus |

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| | | | 105, b 41 - 106, a 22 / 142, 5-11 | Augusto rechaza el apelativo de señor | Orosio , VI, 22º, 4-6 | Comentada la frase 'ut homo' | Ok | Summarised. Does not mention the reason why he's called Sennor, the cantiga, nor the denomination 'sennor en pos del sennor del mundo' (7P) Compiler . | |
| 141 | 143 | De lo que contecio alos veynte e quatro Annos | 106, a 27-39 / 143, 1-3 | Sumisión de Armenia | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 143 | Muy ampliado | Ok | | |
| 142 | 144 | De lo que Auino alos Veyticinco annos | 106, a 43 - b 13 / 144, 1-6 | Muerte de Virgilio y otros sucesos | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 142-143 | | Ok | | |
| 143 | 145 | De los fecho que contecieron alos treynta annos | 106, b 18-39 / 145, 1-6 | Revisión de la Eneida y otros hechos | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 142-143 | Atribuida a Augusto la orden de revisión | Ok | | |
| 144 | 146 | De los fechos que contecieron alos treynta e dos annos | 106, b 44 - 107, a 3 / 146, 1-3 | Conquista del Bósforo | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 26-27, 142-143 | | Ok | | |
| | | | | | Hugucio , <i>Etym. Lat.</i> , <i>sub voce</i> 'bos', completa, etimología Bósforo | | Ok | | |
| | | | | | Tolomeo , III, 11, explicaciones geográficas | | Ok | | Possible, but could be other source. Very vague. |
| | | | | | Eutropio , VII, 9º, completa geografia | | No | | |
| 145 | 147 | De lo que contecio alos treynta e tres annos | 107, a 8-24 / 147, 1-4 | Augusto es llamado pontífice máximo por el senado y Herodes puebla Cesarea | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 142-143 | Curiosa interpretación de 'Pontifex Maximus' | Ok | Added the fact that he did not want to ne called sennor del mundo. Potifex Maximus = Grand Obispo. Lacks the mention to Herodes. | |
| | | | | Construcción del Ara Pacis | Luc. Tud. , 29 | | Ok | hasta que para virgen | |

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| | | | 107, a 24-47 / 147, 5-8 | | Hugucio , <i>Etym. Lat., sub vocibus</i> 'luceo', 'dian', 'creos' (o 'ceros') y 'delfos' 'delos', para 'luna', 'Ceres' y 'templo de Dios' | | Ok | Delphos only in ms Aragón, not in Portugal. Creos in ms Aragon, whilst Portugal has Ceros. Probable use = ms Aragón. |
| 146 | 148 | De lo que contecio a los treynta e quatro annos | 107, a 52 - b 11 / 148, 1-6 | Sumisión de Panonia | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 145 | Comentado | Ok | |
| 147 | 149 | De lo que contecio a los treynta e cinco annos | 107, b 16-22 / 149, 1-2 | Muerte de Horacio | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 145 | | Ok | |
| 148 | 150 | De lo que contecio a los treynta e seys annos | 107, b 27-45 / 150, 1-4 | Sumisión de Germania | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 145 | | Ok | Heavily rewritten |
| | | | | | Veleyo Patérculo , II, 121°, completa | | Ok | |
| 149 | 151 | De lo que contecio a los treynta e .ix. Annos | 107, b 50 - 108, a 5 / 151, 1-2 | Augusto destierra a su hija Julia | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 144-145 | | Ok | |
| 150 | 152 | De lo que contecio a los quarenta e un anno | 108, a 10-16 / 152, 1-4 | Matanzas de Herodes | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 144-145 | | Ok | |
| | | | 108 a 16-25 / 152, 5-7 | Concepción de san Juan Bautista | San Lucas , <i>Evangelio</i> , I, 5 11 -20 | Muy resumido | Ok | |
| 151 | 153 | De los fechos que contecieron alo quarenta e dos Annos | 108, a 30 - b 3 / 153, 1-8 | Pax Augusta | Orosio , VI, 22°, 1-3 | Comentadas las palabras 'disciplinae morem' | Ok | |
| | | | | | Jordanes , <i>De summa temporum</i> , 257, duración de la paz | | Ok | |
| | | | 108, b 3-9 / 153, 9 | Nacimiento san Juan Bautista | San Lucas , <i>Evangelio</i> , I, 57 y 64 | Resumidos; fecha Belovacense mal expresada. | Ok | |
| | | | | | San Mateo , <i>Evangelio</i> , II, 1-2 | | Ok | |
| 108, b 9-29 / 153, 10-14 | Encarnación y nacimiento de Jesucristo y señales que anuncian al mundo dicho nacimiento | | | | | | | |

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| | | | | | Belovac. Spec. Hist. VI, 77-78, sigue a Coméstor, añade día | | Ok | |
| | | | 108, b 29-40 / 153, 15-16 | Otras señales | Luc. Tud., 29 | Comparar con <i>Cronicón Cordubense</i> | Ok | |
| | | | 108, b 40-51 / 153, 17-18 | Simbolismo de la nube brillante sobre España | DESCONOCIDO | DESCONOCIDO - Compilador? | Ok | |
| | | | 108, b 51 - 109, a 32 / 153, 19-26 | Edades del mundo | Luc. Tud., passim, S. Isidoro, Chronica, 1-237 | Redactado por el Compilador en base a estas fuentes | Ok | |
| | | | 109, a 32-49 / 153, 27-31 | Opiniones sobre el comienzo de la sexta edad | Luc. Tud., 27 | | Ok | |
| | | | 109, a 49 - b 19 / 153, 31-39 | Cronología y pacificación España | Compilador | | | |
| 152 | 154 | De lo que contecio a los quarenta e tres annos | 109, b 24-54 / 154, 1-9 | Adoración de los Magos | Luc. Tud., 29 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac. Spec. Hist. VI, 91, sigue a Coméstor, completa | | Ok | |
| 153 | 155 | De lo que contecio a los quarenta e cinco Anos | 110, a 4-26 / 155, 1-6 | Degollación de los inocentes | Luc. Tud., 29 | | Ok | |
| 154 | 156 | De lo que contecio a los quarenta e siete annos | 110, a 31-53 / 156, 1-7 | Muerte de Herodes. Sus sucesores | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 144-147 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 29-30, completa | | Ok | |
| 155 | 157 | De lo que contecio a los cinquenta e quatro annos | 110, b 4-15 / 157, 1-4 | Censo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 146-147 | | Ok | |
| 156 | 158 | De lo que contecio a los cinquenta e seys annos | 110, b 20-43 / 158, 1-7 | Destierro de Arquelao y muerte de Augusto | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 146-147 | Cambiado 'Atellae' por 'Capua' | Ok | August's death not in source, check another edition. |
| 157 | 159 | Dell Jmperio de Tiberio | 110, b48-53 / 159, 1-2 | Sucesión de Augusto | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 862-863 | | Ok | Added kin relation with Octavius |

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| | | Cesar. e luego de los fechos que acaecieron en el primer Anno | 110, b53 - 111, a9 / 159, 2-3 | Tiberio asociado a Octavio en el Imperio y cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 110, 9a - 112, a36 / 159, 4-30 | Retrato moral y físico de Tiberio | Belovac, Spec. Hist., VII, 1-3 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 863 | Detalle de Tiberio caballero. Traducido 'praesides' y 'praefectura' por 'adelantados', así como 'miles praetorianus' como 'caballero del linaje de los pretores' | Ok | |
| | | | 112, a36-41 / 159, 31 | Avaricia de Tiberio | Luc. Tud., 30-31 | | Ok | |
| | | | 112, a41-45 / 159, 32 | Cambio de nombre a Mazaca | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 147 | | Ok | Also Belovac, Spec. Hist., VI, 4 |
| | | | 112, a46, 52 / 160, 1-2 | Carencia de acontecimientos | Deducción del Compilador | | | |
| | | | 112, a52 - b1 / 160, 2 | Designación de Caifás | Luc. Tud., 30 | Traducido 'sacerdos' por 'obispo' | Ok | |
| | | | 112, b1-6 / 160, 3-4 | Nombramiento de Pilatos y fundación de Tiberia | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 146,149 | | NO | Luc. Tud., 30 |
| | | | 112, b6-26 / 160, 5-10 | Suerte del orfebre Lucilo | Luc. Tud., 31 | | Ok | |
| | | | 112, b26 - 113, a42 / 160, 11-21 | Matrona seducida bajo el disfraz del dios Anubis | Belovac, Spec. Hist., VII, 4 (procede de Josefo) | <i>Pseudo-Egesipo</i> reduce dracmas a maravedies | Ok | |
| 113, a42-47 / 160, 22 | Disgregación de algunas provincias | Luc. Tud., 30-31 | | Ok | | | | |
| | | San Isidoro, Chronica, 238 | | tbc | | | | |
| 158 | 161 | De lo que conteció al diezisexeno anno | 113, 51 - b18 / 161, 1-5 | Bautismo de Jesucristo | San Marcos, Evangelio, I, 4-11 | Resumido | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 148-149 | Detalle del comienzo del Nuevo Testamento | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., VII, 7 (sigue a Coméstor) | | Ok | |

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| 159 | 162 | De lo que conteció a dieziseveno anno | 113, b22-35 / 162, 1-3 | Boda de Caná | San Juan, Evangelio , II, 1-10 | Muy resumido | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist. , VII, 7 (sigue a Coméstor) | Precisa día | Ok | |
| 160 | 163 | De lo que contecio al dizeseno Anno | 113, b39-45 / 163, 1-3 | Milagros de Jesucristo | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 148-149 | | Ok | |
| | | | 113, b46-51 / 163, 4-5 | Degollación de San Juan | Luc. Tud. , 31 | | Ok | |
| 161 | 164 | De lo que contecio al diezeochauo Anno | 114, a3-16 / 164, 1-4 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 114, a16-43 / 164, 5-10 | La Virgen cubre la desnudez el Crucificado | Desconocida | | | |
| | | | 114, a43-50 / 164, 11 | Se rasga el velo del templo | San Mateo, Evangelio , XXVII, 51 y otros evangelistas | | Ok | |
| | | | 114, a50 - b1 / 164, 12 | Temblor de tierra y voz que sale del templo | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 148-149 | | Ok | |
| | | | 114, b1-7 / 164, 13 | Resucitan muchos santos | San Mateo, Evangelio , XXVII, 52-53 | | Ok | |
| | | | 114, b7-12 / 164, 14 | Se oscurece el sol | Orosio , VII, 4º, 14-15 | | Ok | |
| | | | 114, b12-24 / 164, 15-17 | Dionisio Areopagina barrunta la muerte del Creador y se convierte | Belovac., Spec. Hist. , VII; VIII, 98, X, 16 | Resumido y con ligera adición | Ok | |
| 162 | 165 | De lo que contecio ell anno dizinoueno | 114, b25-43 / 165, 1-3 | Santiago el Menor primer obispo de Jerusalén | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 149- 150 , 154 -155 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud. , 33 | Detalle 'hijo de Alfeo' | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Rufino, Historia ecclesiastica , II, 23 (de Egesipo) | Dato de que entraba en el 'Sancta Sanctorum' | Ok | |
| 163 | 166 | De lo que contecio a los Veint e un anno | 114, b47 - 115, a20 / 166, 1-8 | Herodes Agripa y Pilatos caen en desgracia de Tiberio | Luc. Tud. , 31 | | Ok | |
| 164 | 167 | De lo que contecio a los ueynt e tres annos | 115, a25 - b20 / 167, 1-14 | Herodes Agripa es encarcelado en Roma y Gayo Calígula sucede a Tiberio | Belovac., Sepc. Hist. , VII, 126-128 (de Coméstor) | Resumido, añadida la nacionalidad griega del agorero y deducida la paz en España | Ok | |

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| 165 | 168 | Dell Jmperio de Gayo gallicula. e luego de los fechos que contecieron en el primer anno de su reg | 115, b26-35 / 168, 1-2 | Honores póstimos tributados a Tiberio y libertad y cargos otorgados a Herodes Agripa | Belovac., <i>Sepc. Hist.</i>, VII, 128 (de Coméstor) | Traducido 'Lisaniae' por 'Lisias' | Ok | |
| | | | 115, b36-42 / 168, 3-4 | Cronologia | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 115, b42 - 116, a39 / 168, 5-16 | Elogio y retrato físico de Gayo | Belovac., <i>Sepc. Hist.</i>, VII, 129 (de Suetonio) | | Ok | |
| | | | 116, a39-48 / 168, 17-18 | Hechos del primer año de Gayo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 150-153 San Lucas, <i>Hechos de los Apóstoles</i>, VIII, 9-24 | Probablemente lo relativo a Simón Mago | Ok | |
| 166 | 169 | De lo que conteio el quarto anno. | 116, a52 - b14 / 169, 1-2 | Crueldad de Gayo | Orosio, VII, 5º, 1-4 | Añadida, por deducción la paz de España | Ok | |
| | | | 116, b14-15 / 169, 3 | Mateo escribe su evangelio | Luc. Tud., 32 | | Ok | |
| | | | 116, b16 118, a43 / 169, 4-45 | Perversidad de Gayo | Belovac., <i>Sepc. Hist.</i>, VII, 132-136 (de Suetonio) | Mal traducido 'alteri Gladius alteri Pugio index erat' por mala lectura | Ok | |
| 167 | 170 | Dell Jmperio de Claudio. e luego de los fechos que acontecieron en el primer Anno | 118, a48 - b34 / 170, 1-11 | Claudio emperador | Belovac., <i>Sepc. Hist.</i>, VIII, 1 (de Coméstor) | | Ok | |
| | | | 118, b34-40 / 170, 12 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 118, b40 - 119, b47 / 170, 13-40 | Hechos del primer año de Claudio | Belovac., <i>Sepc. Hist.</i>, VIII, 1-3 (de Coméstor y Suetonio) | | Ok | |
| 168 | 171 | De lo que contecio el segundo anno del so | 119, b52 - 120, a23 / 171, 1-6 | Hechos del segundo año de Claudio | Belovac., <i>Sepc. Hist.</i>, VIII, 4 (de Coméstor) | | Ok | |
| | | | 120, a24-28 / 171, 7 | Predicación de San Marcos | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 152-153 | | Ok | |
| 169 | 172 | De los fechos del quarto Anno | 120, a32 - b41 / 172, 1-13 | Hechos del cuarto año de Claudio | Belovac., <i>Sepc. Hist.</i>, VIII, 4 (de Coméstor) | Añadida la nacionalidad griega del agorero | Ok | |
| | | | 120, b41 - 121, a1 / 172, 14-15 | Concilio apostolico en Jerusalén | Belovac., <i>Sepc. Hist.</i>, VIII, 4, 11-12 | Extractado y cambiado 'Jerusalén' por 'Roma' | Ok | |
| | | | 121, a1-11 / 172, 16-18 | Otros hechos del mismo año | Eusebio-Jeronimo, 152-153 | | Ok | |

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| | | | | | Martín Polono, <i>Chronicon</i> , 1872, p. 408-409 | Cambiado 'Evodius' por 'Ovidio' | Ok | |
| 170 | 173 | De lo que contecio el quinto Anno | 121, a15-54 / 173, 1-10 | Agripa gobernador de Galatida | Belovac. <i>Spec hist.</i>, VIII, 95 | | Ok | |
| 171 | 174 | De lo que contecio en el catorceno anno | 121, b3-25 / 174, 1-6 | Muere Claudio y le sucede Nerón | Belovac. <i>Spec hist.</i>, IX, 1 | Deducida la paz de España | Ok | |
| 172 | 175 | Dell Jmperio de Nero. e luego de los fechos que contecieron en el primer anno de su regnado | 121, b21-40 / 175, 1-2 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 121, b40 - 123, b54 / 175, 3-57 | Retratofísico y moral de Nerón | Belovac., <i>Sepe. Hist.</i>, IX, 1, 6-8 (de Suetonio) | Traducido 'obesa' por 'delgada' y 'qua nota etiam numum percusit' por 'et por quel porfazo dello un joglar una uez, firio lo muy mal'. Quizá errónea lectura. | Ok | |
| 173 | 176 | De los fechos del tercero Anno | 124, a3 - b18 / 176, 1-15 | Sublevación de España, resistencia de Córdoba a causa de los sabios y filósofos que allí había y traslado de ellos a Roma | Belovac., <i>Sepe. Hist.</i>, IX, 1, 118 (de Suetonio) San Adelmo, <i>De Septenario et de re grammatica ac metrica.</i> 529 | Atribuye verso transcrito a Lucano | tbc | |
| | | | 124, b18-21 / 176, 15-18 | Terremoto y eclipse | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 155 | | Ok | |
| 174 | 177 | Delo que contescio en el quarto anno | 124, b25-36 / 177, 1-4 | Nerón se hace llamar dios; su lujo y crueldad | Luc. Tud., 33 Belovac., <i>Sepe. Hist.</i>, IX, 17 (de Suetonio) | Completa detalles. | Ok | |
| | | | | Nerón mata a su madre | Belovac., <i>Sepe. Hist.</i>, IX, 8 (de Suetonio) | Añadido el detalle de mayor perversidad | Ok | |
| | | | 125, a2-7 / 177, 9-11 | Otros hechos del cuarto año de Nerón | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 154-155, 157 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 33 | Completa detalle de la hermana de Nerón y malentendido el parentesco con Agripina | Ok | |

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| | | | 125, a8-9 / 177, 12-13 | Matanza de senadores y separación e provincias | Luc. Tud., 33 | | Ok | |
| | | | 125, a10-16 / 177, 14-15 | Hechos posteriores | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 154-155 | | Ok | |
| 175 | 178 | De lo que contecio en ell anno dezeno | 125, a20-39 / 178, 1-4 | Incendio de Roma | Belovac., <i>Sepe. Hist.</i>, IX, 8 (de Suetonio) | | Ok | |
| | | | 125, a39 - b2 / 178, 5-8 | Simón Mago discute con S. Pedro y S. Pablo | Luc. Tud., 33 | | Ok | Also Belovac., <i>Spec. Hist.</i>, IX, 78 |
| 176 | 179 | De los fechos del dozeno Anno | 125, b6 - 126, a8 / 179, 1-13 | Prodigalidad y crueldad de Nerón | Belovac., <i>Sepe. Hist.</i>, IX, 78 (de Suetonio) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 156-157 | Completa | Ok | |
| 177 | 180 | De lo que contecio en ell Anno trezeno | 126, a12-30 / 180, 1-4 | Prisión de San Pablo | Luc. Tud., 33 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., <i>Sepe. Hist.</i>, IX, 9 (de Suetonio) | Completa causas de la prisión y correspondencia con Séneca | Ok | |
| | | | 126, a30-39 / 180, 4-6 | Otras crueldades de Nerón | Belovac., <i>Sepe. Hist.</i>, IX, 8 (de Suetonio) | | Ok | |
| | | | 126, a40-45 / 180, 7 | Sublevación de los judíos | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 156-157 | | Ok | |
| | | | 126, a45, b7 / 180, 8-11 | Ridícula preparación de expedición bélica y codicia de fama | Belovac., <i>Sepe. Hist.</i>, IX, 1, 118 (de Suetonio) | | Ok | |
| 178 | 181 | De lo que contecio en ell Anno catrozeno | 126, b11-40 / 181, 1-8 | Martirio de S. Pedro y de S. Pablo | Luc. Tud., 33 | | Ok | |
| | | | 126, b40-43 / 181, 9 | Primera persecución de la iglesia | Belovac. <i>Spec. Hist.</i>, IX, 11 | | Ok | |
| | | | 126, b43 - 127, a13 / 181, 10-16 | Se sublevan varias provicias | Belovac. <i>Spec. Hist.</i>, IX, 118 | | Ok | |
| | | | 127, a13-28 / 181, 16-19 | Galba es enviado a España donde es muy bien recibido | Compilador | Deducción a partir de Belovac. <i>Spec. Hist.</i>, IX, 120 | Ok | |
| | | | 127, a29-46 / 181, 20-23 | Justicia de Galba en España | Belovac. <i>Spec. Hist.</i>, IX, 120 (de Suetonio) | | Ok | |
| | | | 127, a46 - b8 / 181, 24-27 | Galba aclamado emperador en España | Compilador | Deducción a partir de Belovac. <i>Spec. Hist.</i>, IX, 120 | Ok | |

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| | | | 127, b8 - 128, b40 / 181, 28-67 | Nerón, reocupado por la sublevación de España y de otras provincias y abandonado por sus íntimos, huye y se muere | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , IX, 118-119 (de Suetonio, Fleury y E-J) | Mal traducido 'ferrum iugulo adegit' por 'metiosselo por el coraçon' y 'Numentanam viam' por 'la que ua a Numancia' | Ok | |
| | | | 127, b40-49 / 181, 68-70 | Mártires del tiempo de Nerón | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , IX, 41-117, <i>passim</i> . | | Ok | |
| 179 | 182 | De galba ell Emperador | 129, a13 - b34 / 182, 1-22 | Galba emperador | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , IX, 120-121 (de Suetonio, Fleury y E-J) | Per publicum' por 'por el mercado' | Ok | |
| | | | 129, b34-40 / 182, 23 | Renovación de las luchas civiles en Roma | Orosio , VII, 8º, 2-4 | | Ok | |
| 180 | 183 | De Oto ell Emperador | 129, b44-46 / 183, 1 | Muerto Galba se alzan varios con el mando | Orosio , VII, 8º, 3 | | Ok | |
| | | | 129, b46 - 130, b5 / 183, 2-23 | Otón emperador | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , IX, 120-121 (de Suetonio y Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , VII, 8º, 6 | | Ok | |
| 181 | 184 | De Vitelio ell Emperador | 130, b9-13 / 184, 1 | Vitelio reconocido como emperador en Roma | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , IX, 127 | | Ok | Amplified |
| | | | 130, b13 - 132, a13 / 184, 2-37 | Retrato moral de Vitelio; Vespasiano emperador en Oriente | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , IX, 127-128 (de Suetonio y Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | 132, a13-15 / 184, 37 | Tito adelantado en Siria | Orosio , VII, 9º, 3 | | Ok | |
| | | | 132, a15-19 / 184, 38 | Gula de Vitelio | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , IX, 127-128 (de Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | 132, a25 - b12 / 184, 39-48 | Derrota de los vitelianos y muerte de Vitelio | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , IX, 128 (de Suetonio y Fleury) | | Ok | |
| 182 | 185 | Dell Jmperio de Vespasiano ell Emperador E luego de lo que contecio en el primer anno | 132, b17-27 / 185, 1-3 | Vespasiano emperador | Orosio , VII, 9º, 1 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , X, 1 (de Suetonio y Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | 132, b27 - 133, a26 / 185, 4-18 | Retrato moral de Vespasiano | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , X, 1 (de Suetonio) | Suscepta censura' por 'e luego que fue emperador' | Ok | |
| | | | 133, a26-36 / 185, 19-20 | NOT IN PIDAL | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , X, 1 (de Suetonio) | | xxxx | |

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| | | | 133, a36-39 / 185, 21 | Tito combate en Judea | Orosio , VII, 9º, 4 | | Ok | |
| 183 | 186 | De los fechos del segundo Anno | 133, a43 - 136, b15 / 186, 1-79 | Guerra judaica | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , X, 3-6 (de Pseudo-Esegipo y Fleury) | Añadida la explicación de 'arietes'; traducido por errónea lectura 'etsi non meremini' por 'si no todos morredes' y equivocada la cifra de muertos | Ok | Also Eusebio-Jerónimo , 158-159 |
| | | | 136, b15-19 / 186, 66 | Motivo de reunirse tantos judíos en Jerusalén | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 158-159 | | No | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , X, 3-6 (de Pseudo-Esegipo y Fleury) |
| | | | 136, b19-21 / 186, 67 | Incendio y destrucción de Jerusalén | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , X, 6 (de Pseudo-Esegipo) Orosio , VII, 9º, 6 | Completa con las destrucción. Identificado 'Gorpeius' con 'Abril' | Ok Ok | |
| | | | 136, b21-28 / 186, 67-84 | Razón de la época de la destrucción judaica | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 158-159 | | Ok | |
| 184 | 187 | Delos fechos del anno tercero | 136, b36-48 / 187, 1-3 | Triunfo que siguió a la guerra judaica | Orosio , VII, 9º, 8 | | Ok | |
| | | | 136, b48-53 / 187, 4 | Traslado de las cosas santas de Jerusalén a Roma | Luc. Tud. , 33 | | Ok | |
| | | | 136, b53 - 137, a8 / 187, 5-7 | Sumisión de las nuevas provincias | Orosio , VII, 9º, 10 | | Ok | |
| | | | 137, a8-16 / 187, 8-9 | Paz en el imperio en los años sucesivos | Compilador | | | |
| 185 | 188 | Deloque contescio en ell anno noueno | 137, a20 - b47 / 188, 1-23 | Codicia, labor cultural y muerte de Vespasiano | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , X, 8 (de Suetonio y Fleury) | | Ok | Lacks source for the fragment of the prisoners, and the cobdicia to obtain something from them. |
| | | | | | Orosio , VII, 9º, 12 | Lugar de la muerte | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , X, 7 | Martirio de San Apolinar | Ok | |
| 186 | 189 | Dell Jmperio de Tito ell Emperador Et luego de lo que contescio en el primer | 137, b53 - 138, a20 / 189, 1-8 | Comienza a gobernar Tito. Su retrato | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , X, 9 (de Suetonio) | | Ok | EE Onzeno libro |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 159 | Bondad te Tito | Ok | Adds information on his kindness |
| | | | 138, a20-29 / 189, 9-11 | Su destreza en las armas y su erudicción | Luc. Tud. , 33 | | Ok | |

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| | | anno del su regnado | 138, a29 - b17 / 189, 12-22 | Otras cualidades de Tito | Belovac. Spec. Hist., X, 9 (de Suetonio) | | Ok | |
| | | | 138, b17-23 / 189, 23-24 | Generosidad de Tito | Luc. Tud., 33 | | Ok | |
| | | | 138, b23-29 / 189, 25 | Construcción de un anfiteatro en Roma | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 159 | | Ok | |
| 187 | 190 | Delos fechos del trece | 138, b33-38 / 190, 1-2 | Domiciano hermano de Tito | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 156-159 161 | | Ok | |
| | | | 138, 38 - 139, a15 / 190, 3-10 | Hechos del tercer año del imperio de Tito | Belovac. Spec. Hist., X, 9 (de Suetonio) | | Ok | |
| | | | 139, a15-22 / 190, 11-12 | Paz en España | Compilador | | Ok | |
| 188 | 191 | Dell Jmperio de Domiciano ell Emperador Et luego de lo que contescio en el primer anno | 139, a28 - 140, a25 / 191, 1-31 | Comienzos y retrato de Domiciano | Belovac. Spec. Hist., X, 10-11 (de Suetonio y Fleury) | Traduce 'discipulum Paridis pantomimi' por 'Pantonio, discípulo de Paris'; 'Paeti Thraseae' por 'Poticrases'; y 'Sttura procera' por'noble por natura' | Ok | |
| | | | 140, a25-39 / 191, 32-36 | Hechos ocurridos bajo su imperio | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 160-161 | | Ok | |
| 189 | 192 | De los fechos del quizenno anno | 140, a43 - 141, a42 / 192, 1-28 | Soberbia, crueldad, codicia y muerte de Domiciano | Belovac. Spec. Hist., X, 11, 37 (de Suetonio, Fleury y E-J) | Añadido el detalle de 'Parthenio' | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 878 | | Ok | |
| | | | 141, a42-46 / 192, 29-30 | Mártires bajo Domiciano | Eutropio, VIII, 1º | Ok | | |
| 190 | 193 | Dell jmperio de Nerua ell Emperador Et luego delo que contescio en ell anno primero del su Regnado | 141, a52 - b15 / 193, 1-5 | Nerva emperador | Orosio, VII, 11º, 1 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 1º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 789 |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 33 | Completa duración del imperio y nacionalidad española | Ok | |
| | | | 141, b15-17 / 193, 6 | Retrato de Nerva | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 789 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 789 |

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| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 1º | | Ok | Also Belovac., Spec.Hist., X, 38 |
| | | | 141, b17-29 / 193, 7-9 | Levanta el destierro de los condenados por Domiciano | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 162-163 | | Ok | Also Luc. Tud., 33 para detalle San Juan |
| | | | 141, b29 - 142, a4 / 193, 10-17 | Los cuatro evangelios | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 39 (sigue a Mileto) | Completa San Juan | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 33-34 | Añadida la nota sobresaliente de cada Evangelio y su relación con los animales con que se representa a los evangelistas | Ok | |
| 191 | 194 | Delo que contescio en el segundo anno | 142, a8-24 / 194, 1-7 | Hechos del segundo año del imperio de Nerva | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 45 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo) | Deducida la paz en España | Ok | Heavily rewritten |
| | | | 142, a24-29 / 194, 8-9 | Mártires del tiempo de Nerva | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 38, 45 | | Ok | |
| 192 | 195 | Dell jperio de Traiano el Emperador Et luego de lo que contescio en el prime ro Anno del su Regnado | 142, a35-42 / 195, 1-2 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 142, a41-43 / 195, 3 | Patria de trajano | Desconocida | | | |
| | | | 142, a44-47 / 195, 4 | Sus nombres | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 880 | | Ok | Does not mention Troy (Compiler) |
| | | | 142, a47 - 143, b43 / 194, 5-48 | Hechos del primer año del imperio de Trajano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 46-48, 68 (sigue a Fleury, Elinando y Eutropio) | | Ok | |
| | | | 143, b44-50 / 194, 49-50 | Otros hechos de Trajano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 49-50, 52 | Equivocada la fecha de San Juan | Ok | |
| | | | 143, b50-52 / 194, 50 | Evaristo Papa | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 160, 163 | | Ok | |
| 193 | 196 | Delos fechos dell an no seteno | 144, a3-25 / 195, 1-7 | Sumisión de varias provincias | Eutropio, VIII, 2º, 2; 3º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 880 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 880 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 162-163 | Completa región de 'Sicia' y confundida Iberia de Oriente con España | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 34 | | Ok | |

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|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|--|--|---|----|--|
| | | | 144, a25 - b25 / 195, 8-17 | Obras de Trajano en España, noticias sobre los apóstoles y varones apostólicos y persecución de los cristianos | Belovac., Spec. Hist., IX, 11, 49; X, 51 | Para el detalle de San Tito, discípulo de San Pablo, tercera persecución y pormenores sobre San Simón. Equivocada edad último | Ok | |
| 194 | 197 | Delos fe chos del dizesseteno anno | 144, b29-53 / 197, 1-6 | Hechos del año decimoséptimo del imperio de Trajano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 68 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo) | | Ok | |
| 195 | 198 | Delos fechos dell Anno dize noueno | 145, a3-8 / 198, 1 | Terremotos en diferenes regiones | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 162-165 | | Ok | |
| | | | 145, a8-43 / 198, 2-8 | Muerte, sepultura y salvación de Trajano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 68 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo y Elinando) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 5º, 2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 882 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 882 | | Ok | |
| | | | 145, a43-47 / 198, 9 | Testimonio de la salvación de Trajano | Desconocida | | | |
| 145, a47-53 / 198, 10-11 | Mártires del tiempo de Trajano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 51-56, 62 | Añadido 'Sant Março' | Ok | | | | |
| 196 | 199 | Dell Jmperio e Adrianeo. Et luego de lo que contescio en ell Anno primero | 145, b4-27 / 199, 1-5 | Patria y Cultura de Adriano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 69 (sigue a Fleury, Elinando y Eutropio) | | Ok | |
| | | | 145, b27-29 / 199, 6 | Prenombre de 'Elio' otorgado por el Senado a Adriano | Desconocida | | | Mentioned the title in Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 69 |
| | | | 145, b29-33 / 199, 6-8 | Título de Augusta dado a su mujer | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 167 | Añadida la costumbre de aplicar el título a emperatrices | Ok | |
| | | | 145, a33 - 147, b15 / 199, 9-77 | Hechos del primer año del imperio de Adriano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 69 70-71 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo y Elinando) | También <i>Vida del filósofo Segundo</i> . Mal traducido 'incontemplabilis' y 'parvi' | Ok | |
| 197 | 200 | | 147, b19-23 / 200, 1-2 | Alejandro papa sucede a San Sixto | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 73-75 | Muy resumido | Ok | Also Eusebio-Jerónimo, 167 |

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| | | Delo qe contescio ell anno tercero | 147, b23-32 / 200, 3-4 | Águila y Basíldes | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 90 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo y Fleury) | Ver cap. 81 para 'Ysla de Ponto' | Ok | |
| | | | 147, b32-40 / 200, 5-6 | Buen gobierno de Adriano en Roma y paz en todo el Imperio | Martín Polono, Chronicon, 446 | | | |
| 198 | 201 | Delos fechos dell anno trezeno | 147, b44 - 148, a6 / 201, 1-4 | Martirio del papa San Sixto y gobierno de su sucesor | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 75, 90 | | Ok | Also Eusebio-Jerónimo, 167 |
| | | | 148, a6-19 / 201, 5-7 | Adriano en Atenas | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 166-167 | | Ok | |
| | | | 148, a19 - b28 / 201, 8-22 | Libros escritos por Cuadrado y Aristides en favor de los cristianos y entregados a Adriano, y la carta de éste sobre los cristianos | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 72 | | Ok | |
| 199 | 202 | Delo que contescio en el diezeochauo | 148, b32 - 149, a21 / 202, 1-11 | Destrucción de Jerusalén | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 90 (sigue a Coméstor, Eusebio-Jerónimo y Elinando) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 883 | Detalle 'no dexo piedra sobre piedra' | Ok | |
| | | | | | Daniel, IX, 27 | Añade profecía. Mal raducido 'ut ait Hieronymus contra Ruffinum' | Ok | |
| | | | 149, a22-29 / 202, 12 | Paz en el imperio | Eutropio, VIII, 7º, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 883 |
| 200 | 203 | Delo que contescio alos Veynt y uni anno | 149, a34 - b6 / 203, 1-7 | Hechos el último año de Adriano y muerte | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 90 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo y Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | 149, b6-16 / 203, 8-9 | Mártires del tiempo de Adriano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 73-79, 82-83 | Añadidos algunos nombres (Jetulio, Segundo... Maura...) | Ok | |
| 201 | 204 | Delo Jmperio de Antonino pio Et luego delos fechos | 149, b21-46 / 204, 1-6 | Comienzo del imperio de Antonino Pío | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 91 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo y Fleury) | | Ok | |

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| | | dell anno primero | | | | | | |
| 202 | 205 | Deo del .ij. Anno | 149, b50 150, a2 / 205, 1-2 | Hechos el segundo año de Antonino Pío | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 168-169 | | Ok | |
| 203 | 206 | Delo del tercero Anno | 150, a5-9 / 206, 1 | Hechos del tercer año | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 169 | | Ok | |
| 204 | 207 | Delo que contescio en el .iiij. Anno | 150, a14 - b23 / 207, 1-14 | San Justino | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , X, 94 | Equivocado el número de libros de la obra de Pompeyo Trogo | Ok | |
| 205 | 208 | Delo que contescio el .V. Anno | 150, b27 - 151, a5 / 208, 1-9 | Hechos del quinto año | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , X, 91 | | Ok | |
| 206 | 209 | Dell anno vjo. | 151, a9-19 / 209. 1-3 | Hechos del año sexto al noveno | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 168-169 | | Ok | |
| 207 | 210 | Delos fechos dell anno .x. | 151, a23 - b31 / 210, 1-14 | Hechos del año décimo | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , X, 92 | | Ok | |
| 208 | 211 | Delos fechos del dizeseteno Anno | 151, b35-48 / 211, 1-4 | Hechos del año diecisiete | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 170-171 | | Ok | |
| | | | 151, b48-51 / 211, 4 | Muerte del papa Pío | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , X, 91 | | Ok | |
| | | | 151, b52 - 152, a2 / 211, 4-5 | Poliarpo en Roma | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 170-171 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , X, 93 | | Ok | |
| 209 | 212 | Delo que contescio en el xciiij. Anno | 152, a6-36 / 212, 1-10 | Hechos del año dieciocho y siguientes | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 170-173 | Aquí hay una transposición de hechos, pues todos, excepto el último, corresponden al tiempo de los sucesores de Antonino Pío | Ok | |
| 210 | 213 | Delos fechos que contescieron alos Veynt y dos annos | 152, a41 - b24 / 213, 1-10 | Bondad y muerte de Antonino Pío | Eutropio , VIII, 8 ^o | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 884-886 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 884-886 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , X, 94 | Completa con los honores póstumos tributados. Deducida paz en España. | Ok | |

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| 211 | 214 | Del imperio de Marcho Aurelio Antonino uero. Et de Lucio Aureljo como do Et luego delos fechos que acaescieron en el primero Anno del su regnado | 152, b36-49 / 214, 1 | Sucesores de Antonino Pío | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 94 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 171 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 887-888 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 34 | Detalle de que eran hermanos y duración | Ok | |
| | | | 152, b49 - 153, a1 / 214, 2-6 | Dos emperadores a la vez | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 171 | | Ok | Clearer in Diácono, Hist. Misc. col. 886 |
| | | | 153, a1-7 / 214, 8-9 | Carácter y erudicción de Marco Aurelio | Eutropio, VIII, 11^o, 1; 12^o, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 887 |
| | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 887 | | Ok | | | | |
| | | 153, a7-20 / 214, 10-11 | Liberalidad de ambos emperadores | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 172 171-173 | | Ok | | |
| 212 | 215 | Del segundo anno | 153, a24-28 / 215, 1-2 | Maravilla ocurrida a Cómodo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 170-171 | | Ok | |
| 213 | 216 | De lo que contescio en el tercero Anno | 153, a32-39 / 216, 1-3 | Sublevarción el Vologeso | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 170-171 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 886 | Completa detalle de las regiones devastadas por el insurrecto | Ok | |
| 214 | 217 | De lo que contescio en el quarto anno | 153, a42 - b7 / 217, 1-6 | Hechos del cuarto año de los dos emperadores | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 170-171 | | Ok | |
| 215 | 218 | Delo que contescio en el sexto. Anno | 153, b11-21 / 218, 1-3 | Hechos del sexto año | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 170-171 | | Ok | |
| 216 | 219 | Delos fechos del | 153, b25-41 / 218, 1-3 | Castigo a los romanos como consecuencia de la persecución a los cristianos | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 887 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 111 | | Ok | |
| 217 | 220 | Delo que contescio en ell anno viijo. | 153, b45 - 154, a28 / 220, 1-4 | Guerras sostenidas por Roma | Eutropio, VIII, 13^o | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 887-888 |
| | | | 154, a28 - b8 / 220, 5-15 | Milagro en favor de los romanos | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 172-173 | Combinados entre sí | Ok | |

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| | | | | | Belovac., <i>Spec. Hist.</i>, X, 111 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 15°, 7-11 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i>, col. 888 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Julio Capitolino, <i>M. Antoninus Philosophus</i>, 1845, 24 | | Ok | Only about the lightning |
| | | | | | Dion Casio, <i>Rerum romanorum a Pompeio Magno ad Alexandrum Mamaeae filium epitome</i>, M. Antoninus | | Ok | |
| | | | 154, b8-16 / 220, 16-17 | Restitución de los tesoros requisados para financiar las guerras | Eutropio, VIII, 13° | | No | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i>, col. 888 |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i>, col. 888 | | Ok | |
| | | | 154, b16-20 / 220, 18 | Otros hechos | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 170-171 | | Ok | |
| 218 | 221 | Delos fechos del | 154, b24-38 / 221, 1-5 | Hechos del año noveno | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 171-173 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., <i>Spec. Hist.</i>, X, 113 | Explicación de la apoplejía | Ok | |
| 219 | 222 | Delos fechos del dezeno Anno | 154, b42 - 155, a19 / 222, 1-9 | Hechos de los años décimo y siguientes | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 172-173 | Con ligeras adiciones | Ok | |
| 220 | 223 | De lo que contescio a los dizinuef Annos | 155, a23-34 / 223, 1-3 | Venida de Marco Antonino a España | Julio Capitolino, <i>M. Antoninus Philosophus</i>, 11, 21-22 | Quizás basado en | Ok | |
| | | | 155, a34 - b8 / 223, 4-11 | Liberalidad, bondad y muerte de M. Antonino | Eutropio, VIII, 11°, 12°, 13°, 14° | | No | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i>, col. 887-888 |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i>, col. 887-888 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Julio Capitolino, <i>M. Antoninus Philosophus</i>, <i>passim</i>. | Completa ligeramente | Ok | |
| 221 | 224 | Dell jmerio de Lucio | 155, b27-29 / 224, 1 | Cómo emperador | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i>, col. 889 | | Ok | |

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| | | Aurelio Comodo Et luego delo que contescio el primero anno del su regnado | 155, b29-33 / 224, 2-3 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 155, b33-35 / 224, 4 | Juliano, obispo de Antioquía | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 172-173 | | Ok | |
| | | | 155, b35-46 / 224, 5-7 | Retrato moral de Cómodo | Eutropio, VIII, 15º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 889. Also Luc. Tud., 34, Belovac., X, 114 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 889 | | Ok | |
| | | | 155, b47-50 / 224, 7 | Afición al toreo | Compilador | Deducción errónea quizás basada en Elio Lampridio, Commodus Antoninus, 1845, 13 | | |
| | | | 155, b50 - 156, a1 / 224, 8 | Sobrenombre de Cómodo | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 156, a1-5 / 224, 9 | Mal proceder de cómodo | Dion Casio, Commodus. | Combinados | Ok | |
| | | Orosio, VII, 16º, 4 | | | Ok | | | |
| 222 | 225 | Delo que contescio en ell anno segundo | 156, a9-16 / 225, 1-3 | Incendio del templo de Serapis en Alejandría | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 172-173 | Añadidas las circunstancias del incendio | Ok | |
| 223 | 226 | Delo del tercero anno. | 156, a20-29 / 226, 1-3 | Hechos del año tercero de Cómodo | Luc. Tud., 34 | | Ok | |
| 224 | 227 | Delo que contescio en el quarto anno | 156, a33-45 / 226, 1-3 | Hechos del año cuarto | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 172-173 | Comentado | Ok | |
| 225 | 228 | Delo que contescio en el quinto anno | 156, a49-54 / 228, 1-2 | Causa de las calamidades públicas | Orosio, VII, 16º, 3 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 889 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 125 | | Ok | |
| | | | 156, a49 54 - b9 / 228, 3-4 | Hechos del año quinto | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 172-175 | Equivocada cifra dada | Ok | |
| 226 | 229 | Del Sexto Anno | 156, b213-20 / 229, 1-2 | Hechos del sexto año | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 174-175 | Ampliado ligeramente | Ok | |
| 227 | 230 | Delo del seteno Anno | 156, b24-28 / 230, 1-2 | Hechos del séptimo año | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 174-175 | | Ok | |

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| 228 | 231 | De lo que contescio en el Ochauo anno | 156, a32-34 / 231, 1 | Serapio obispo de Antioquía | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 174-175 | | Ok | |
| | | | 156, 34-45 / 231, 2-4 | Maldad de Cómodo | Orosio, VII, 16º, 2 | Ampliado ligeramente | Ok | |
| 229 | 232 | Delos fechos del trezeno anno | 156, b49 - 157, a5 / 232, 1-4 | Hechos del último año de Cómodo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 174-175 | | Ok | |
| | | | 157, a5-8 / 232, 5 | Muerte de Cómodo | Martín Polono, Chronicon, 447 | | tbc | |
| | | | 157, a8-12 / 232, 6 | Paz en España | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 157, a12-19 / 232, 7-9 | Mártires del tiempo de cómodo | Belovac., Spec. Hist., X, 120-123 | | Ok | |
| 230 | 233 | Dell Emperador Helyo pertinax. E de los fechos que contescieron en el su jmperio | 157, a24 - b14 / 233, 1-9 | El emperador Helio Pertinax | Orosio, VII, 16º, 5-6 | Añade detalle del Capitolio | Ok | Sources do not mention Pertinax' humility, nor the fact that Julianus' was not included in the linna (Compiler) |
| | | | | | Belovac, Spec. Hist., X, 125 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, XXX 174-175 | | Ok | |
| 231 | 234 | Dell Jmperio de Seuro el Emperador et luego delo del primero anno de su Regnado | 157, b20-32 / 234, 1-2 | El emperador Severo: su origen | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 890 | | Ok | Also Belovac., XI, 1 |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 18º, 1 | | No | |
| | | | 157, b32-37 / 234, 3-4 | Sobrenombre que tomó y crueldad de su carácter | Orosio, VII, 17º, 1-2 | | Ok | Also Belovac., XI, 1. |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 17º, 2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 890 |
| | | | 157, b37-43 / 234, 4-5 | Su ascensión política | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 890 | | Ok | |
| | | | 157, b43-44 / 234, 5 | Su difícil gobierno | Orosio, VII, 17º, 2 | | Ok | Also Belovac., XI, 1 |
| 157, b44-48 / 234, 6-7 | Su cultura | Eutropio, VIII, 19º, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 | | | |
| | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 | | Ok | Also Belovac., XI, 1 | | | |
| 232 | 235 | Delo del segundo anno | 157, b52 - 158, a11 / 235, 1-3 | Hechos de los años segundo al cuarto de Severo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 172-175 174-177 | | | |
| | | | | | Belovac, Spec. Hist., X, 95-96, 126; XI, 16, 19 | Añade detalles | Ok | Also Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 |

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| 233 | 236 | Delo del quinto anno | 158, a16-30 / 236, 1-4 | Concilio sobre la celebración de la Pascua | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 | | Ok | |
| 234 | 237 | Delo que contescio en el sexto Anno | 158, a34-39 / 237, 1-3 158, a39-44 / 237, 3-4 | Guerra contra los judíos y samaritanos | Belovac, <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 1 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | | Guerra en Egipto y Siria | Eutropio, VIII, 18°, 4 | | Ok | |
| 235 | 238 | Delo que contescio en el seteno anno | 158, a48 - b3 / 238, 1 | Rebelión de partos, árabes y adiabenos | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 | | Ok | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 890 for Eutropius // Added the detail that they did not want to obey Rome. (Compiler) |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 18°, 4 | | No | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 890 | | Ok | |
| 236 | 239 | Delo | 158, b7-20 / 239, 1-4 | Victoria contra los pueblos rebeldes | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 | | Ok | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 890 |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 18°, 4 | | No | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 890 | | Ok | |
| 237 | 240 | Delo que contescio en el Dezeno anno | 158, b24-34 / 240, 1-2 | Hechos del año décimo de Severo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 176-177 | Equivocada la cifra de la duración del gobierno de S. Ceferino | Ok | |
| 238 | 241 | Delo que contescio en el onzeno anno | 158, b38-49 / 241, 1-4 | Hechos del año undécimo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 176-177 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac, <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 1 | Añade detalles | Ok | |
| 239 | 242 | Delo que contescio en el trezenno | 158, b52 - 159, a6 / 242, 1-3 | Hechos del año trece | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 176-177 | | Ok | |
| 240 | 243 | Del catorzeno | 159, a10-13 / 243, 1 | Musano escritor | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 176-177 | | Ok | |
| 241 | 244 | Delo que contescio | 159, a18-27 / 244, 1-4 | Sublevación de Claudio Albino | Eutropio, VIII, 18°, 4 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 890 |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 890 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 | | Ok | |
| 242 | 245 | Delos fechos dell anno dizeseyno | 159, a31-41 / 245, 1-4 | Guerra de Bretaña | Eutropio, VIII, 19°, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 891 |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 891 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 | | Ok | |

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| 243 | 246 | Delo que contescio en el diezseteno anno | 159, a46-52 / 246, 1-2 | Muralla de separación entre los bretones y los bárbaros | Eutropio, VIII, 19º, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 | Equivocada cifra dada | No | |
| 244 | 247 | Delo que contescio en | 159, b4-16 / 247, 1-3 | Hechos del último año de Severo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 176-177 | | Ok | Maybe another source?? Noraco = Eburaci?. |
| | | | 159, b17-18 / 247, 3 | Hijos de Severo | Eutropio, VIII, 19º, 2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 | | Ok | Eburaco, not Noraco |
| | | | | | Belovac, Spec. Hist., XI, 17 | | Ok | Eburacum, not Noraco |
| 159, b18-27 / 247, 4-7 | Mártires del tiempo de Severo | Belovac, Spec. Hist., XI, 1,3,6 | Añadidos los dos últimos y compañeros | Ok | | | | |
| 245 | 248 | Dell Jmperio de Antonino Caracalla. Que fue nombrado Basiano e luego delo que contescio en el primero anno | 159, b33-38 / 248, 1 | Caracalla emperador y muerte de Geta | Eutropio, VIII, 19º, 2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 |
| | | | 159, b38-44 / 248, 2-3 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 159, b45 - 160, a1 / 248, 4-5 | Sobrenombre y lujuria de Caracalla | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 | | Ok | Also Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 and Belovac., XI, 17 |
| | | | 160, a1-4 / 248, 6-7 | Malas costumbres de Caracalla | Eutropio, VIII, 20º, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 |
| Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891 | | Ok | | | Also Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 and Orosio, 18º, 2 | | | |
| 246 | 249 | Delo que contescio en el tercero anno | 160, a8-14 / 249, 1-2 | Hechos del tercer año de Caracalla | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 176-177 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac, Spec. Hist., XI, 19 (sigue a Rufino) | Para el detalle de la vejez | Ok | |
| 247 | 250 | Delo que contescio en el quarto Anno | 160, a18-25 / 250, 1-3 | Termas antonianas | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 | | Ok | |
| 248 | 251 | | 160, a29-43 / 251, 1-4 | Muerte de Caracalla | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 177 | | Ok | |

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| | | Delo que contescio en el sexto Anno | | | Orosio, VII, 18º, 2 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 20º, 2 | Completa detalle sepultura | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 891-892 |
| 249 | 252 | Dell Jmperio del Emperador Macrino | 160, a47 - b11 / 252, 1-6 | Imperio de Macrino | Eutropio, VIII, 21º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 892 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 892 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac, Spec. Hist., XI, 20 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 18º, 3 | | Ok | |
| 250 | 253 | Dell jmperio de Marcho Aurelio Antonio e luego delos fechos del primer anno | 160, b23-39 / 253, 1-6 | Marco Aurelio emperador | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 179 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 22º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 892 |
| | | | | | Belovac, Spec. Hist., XI, 20 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 18º, 4-5 | | Ok | |
| 251 | 254 | Delo que | 160, b43-46 / 254, 1 | El papa Calixto | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 179 | Cambiada la cifra de la duración de su gobierno | Ok | |
| 252 | 255 | Delos fechos del tercero anno | 160, b52 - 161, a13 / 255, 2-5 | Hechos del tercer año de Marco Aurelio | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 178-179 | | Ok | |
| 253 | 256 | Delo que contescio en el quarto Anno | 161, a17-32 / 256, 1-4 | Muerte de Marco Aurelio | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 178-179 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 22º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 892 |
| 254 | 257 | Dell jmperio de aurelio Alexandre. E luego de lo que contescio el primero anno | 161, a37 - b9 / 257, 1-7 | Imperio de Aurelio Alejandro | Belovac, Spec. Hist., XI, 21 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 18º, 6 -7 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, VIII, 23º | Completan detalles | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 892 |
| 255 | 258 | Delos fechos dell anno .ij | 161, b13-48 / 258, 1-3 | Guerra contra Jerjes y traslado del cuerpo de Sto. Tomás | Belovac, Spec. Hist., XI, 21 | | Ok | Also Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 892 and Orosio, VII, 18º, 7 |
| | | | 161, b49 - 162, a19 / 258, 1-15 | Hechos del tiempo de A. Alejandro | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 178-179 | | Ok | |

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| | | | 162, a19-23 / 258, 16 | Escribientes de Orígenes | Martín Polono , <i>Chronicon</i> , p., 448 | | tbc | |
| | | | 162, a23-25 / 258, 17 | Orígenes de castra | Belovac , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 9 (sigue a Haimón) | | Ok | |
| | | | 162, a25-33 / 258, 18-19 | Otros hechos de este tiempo | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 178-179 | | Ok | |
| | | | 162, a33-36 / 258, 20 | Orígenes se traslada a Cesarea | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 178-179 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 21 | Completa detalles | Ok | |
| | | | 162, a36-40 / 258, 21 | Vida cristiana de Mamea | Martín Polono , <i>Chronicon</i> , p., 448 | | tbc | |
| 256 | 259 | Delo que contescio en el trezeno | 162, a44 - b6 / 259, 1-4 | Hechos del año trece de Alejandro | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 178-179 | Cambiado 'Ulpiano' por 'Alpino' | Ok | Also Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 892 and Orosio , VII, 18°, 8 |
| | | | 162, b6-15 / 259, 5-6 | Mártires del tiempo de Alejandro | Belovac , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 21-27 | | Ok | |
| 257 | 260 | Dell jmerio de Maximino. Et luego delo que contescio en el primero anno del su Regnado | 162, b21-40 / 260, 1-5 | Maximino emperador | Orosio , VII, 19°, 1 | | Ok | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 893 for Eutropius. // Also Eusebio-Jerónimo , 179. Lacks source for 206, 5, probably Compiler . |
| | | | | | Eutropio , IX, 1° | | No | |
| 258 | 261 | Delo que contescio en el segundo Anno | 162, a44 - 163, a3 / 261, 1-5 | Persecución contra los cristianos | Orosio , VII, 19°, 2 | | Ok | Also Eusebio-Jerónimo , 179. |
| | | | | | Belovac ., <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 31 | Detalle de S. Ponciano | Ok | |
| 259 | 262 | Delo que contescio en el tercero Anno | 163, a7 - 19 / 262, 1-3 | Hechos del año tercero | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 179-181 | | Ok | Also Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> col. 893 |
| | | | | | Belovac ., <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 31 | | Ok | |
| 260 | 263 | Dell Jmperio de Gordiano e luego delo que contescio en el primero anno | 163, a24-41 / 263, 1-4 | Gordiano emperador | Eutropio , IX, 2°, 2 | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 893-894 |
| | | | 163, a41 - b1 / 263, 5-7 | S. Ponciano y S. Antero | Belovac ., <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 31 | Añadido el detalle de Buciana y la fecha del martirio del último | Ok | |
| | | | 163, b1-3 / 263, 8 | S. Fabián papa | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 180-181 | | Ok | |

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| | | | 163, b4-8 / 263, 9 | Hechos de los cinco primeros años de Gordiano | Compilador | | | |
| 261 | 264 | Delo que contescio en el sexto anno | 163, b12-31 / 264, 1-5 | Muerte de Gordiano | Eutropio, IX, 2º, 3 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 893 for Eutropius. Also Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 32 |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 181 | Detalle del cargo de Filipo | Ok | |
| | | | 163, b31-35 / 264, 5-6 | Mártires de la época de Gordiano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 31 | | Ok | |
| 262 | 265 | Dell Jmperio de phelipo. E luego delos fechos del primero Anno | 163, b40 - 165, a41 / 265, 1-34 | Filipo y su hijo, emperadores cristianos | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 33-35 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo y a Haimón) | | Ok | Also Eusebio-Jerónimo, 181, Orosio, 20º, 2 y Diácono, 894 para 'primeros emperadores cristianos' |
| | | | 165, a41-49 / 265, 35-36 | Cáriter opuesto de ambos Filipos | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 894 | | Ok | |
| | 266 | | 165, a50 - b7 / 266, 1-2 | Hechos de los primeros años | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 180-181 | | Ok | |
| 263 | 267 | | 165, b11-32 / 267, 1-6 | Expedición a Siria y muerte de los dos Filipos | Eutropio, IX, 3º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 893-894 |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 180-181 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 20º, 4 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 35 | | Ok | |
| 264 | 268 | | 165, b37 - 166, a7 / 268, 1-5 | El emperador Decio persigue a los cristianos | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 180-183 | Traducido 'e Panonia inferiore' por ' de Pannonia, de los mas baxos omnes de tierra de Dalmacia' | Ok | Also Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 36 (prob main source) |
| | | | 166, a7-12 / 268, 5 | El cónsul Aureliano gran perseguidor de cristianos | Desconocida | | | |
| | | | 166, a12-17 / 268, 6 | Peste general | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 180-181 | | Ok | |
| | | | 166, a17-22 / 268, 7 | Decio asocia en el trono a su hijo y construye unas termas | Eutropio, IX, 4º | | Ok | |

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| | | | 166, a22-31 / 268, 8 | Muerte de Decio y su hijo | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 895 (sigue código Ambrosiano) | | Ok | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 895 for Eutropius. // Also Eusebio-Jerónimo, 181, Orosio, 21º, 3 for 'primeros emperadores cristianos' |
| | | | | | Eutropio, IX, 4º | Completa el detalle de 'tierra de Barbaria' | No | |
| | | | 166, a32 - b2 / 268, 9-10 | Mártires de la época deciana | Belovac., Spec. Hist. , XI, 36, 38-40, 45, 47, 50-52, 55, 89 | Con ligeras discrepancias en los nombres y añadidos algunos mártires (S. Agacio... S. Nicéforo) | Ok | |
| 265 | 269 | | 166, b7-13 / 269, 1 | Sucesores de Decio | Belovac., Spec. Hist. , XI, 53 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | Belovac says father-son, unlike EE |
| | | | 166, b14-17 / 269, 1 | Cornelio papa | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 180-181 | | Ok | |
| | | | 166, b17-31 / 269, 2-4 | Peste en todo el imperio | Belovac., Spec. Hist. , XI, 53 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | Also Orosio, 21º, 5, Eutropio, IX, 5º and Diácono, 895 |
| | | | 166, b31-36 / 269, 5 | Novato heresiarca | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 181-182 Martín Polono, Chronicon , 413 | Detalle de su ambición | tbc | |
| 266 | 270 | | 166, b40 - 167, a6 / 270, 1-3 | Emiliano emperador | Eutropio, IX, 5º, 6º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 895 |
| | | | 166, a6-8 / 270, 4 | Cornelio papa | Belovac., Spec. Hist. , XI, 54 Eusebio-Jerónimo, 181-183 | | Ok | |
| | | | 166, 8-9 / 270, 4 | San Demetriano | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 181-182 | Cambiada 'Antioquía' por 'Alexandria' | Ok | |
| | | | 167, a9-15 / 270, 4-5 | Tema siguiente | Compilador | | | |
| 267 | 271 | | 167, a20-40 / 271, 1-4 | Valeriano y Galieno emperadores | Belovac., Spec. Hist. , XI, 56 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo y Rufino) | | Ok | Also Orosio, 22º, 1 and Diácono, 895 |
| | | | 167, a40-44 / 271, 4-5 | Castigo de Dios por la persecución contra los cristianos | Orosio, VII, 22º, 3-4 | Resumido | Ok | |
| | | | 167, a44-46 / 271, 5 | Funesto gobierno de ambos emperadores | Eutropio, IX, 7º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc. , col. 895 |

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| | | | 167, a47-53 / 271, 5-6 | Papas de este tiempo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 182-183 | | Ok | |
| | 272 | | 167, a54 - b, 8 / 272, 1-2 | | Martín Polono, Chronicon, 414 | Completa duración | tbc | |
| 268 | 273 | | 167, b12-27 / 273, 1-2 | Valeriano cautivo de los persas | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 182-183 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 896 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 22º, 3-4 | Completan detalle de la venganza del Cielo | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 79, 83 | | Ok | |
| | | 167, b27-40 / 273, 2-6 | Castigo impuesto al cautivo | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 79 (sigue Actas de S. Poncio mártir) | | Ok | | |
| 269 | 274 | | 167, b44 - 168, a6 / 274, 1-3 | Hechos del año octavo de Galieno | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 182-183 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 80, 83 (sigue a Eusebio-Jerónimo y Rufino) | Amplia y completa la conducta con los cristianos | Ok | |
| 270 | 275 | | 168, a10-24 / 275, 1-4 | Invasión de los alemanes | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 183 | Como guía | Ok | Also Diácono, Hist. Misc., 896 on evolution of Galienus' rule |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 22º, 6-7 | Completa | Ok | |
| | | | 168, a24-53 / 275, 4-10 | Luchas civiles en el imperio | Orosio, VII, 22º, 9-10 | | Ok | |
| 271 | 276 | | 168, b3-11 / 276, 1-3 | Invasiones bárbaras | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 183 | Añadida la errónea situación de las Panonias | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 22º, 7 | | Ok | |
| | | | 168, b11-21 / 276, 3-6 | Invasión de España | Orosio, VII, 22º, 7-8 | | Ok | |
| | 168, b21-24 / 276, 6 | Hechos de los años décimo al quince | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 183 | Cambiadas las fechas de San Sixto y añadida la explicación de 'decurion' | Ok | | | |
| 168, b25 - 169, a4 / 277, 1-5 | | | | | | | | |
| 272 | 278 | | 169, a8-19 / 278, 1-3 | Se proclaman sucesivamente varios emperadores en las Galias | Orosio, VII, 22º, 11 | | Ok | |
| | | | 169, a19-45 / 278, 4-8 | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 897 | | Ok | |

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|-----|-----|--|--------------------------------|---|--|--|----|--|
| | | | | Proclamación de Tetrico en las Galias y muerte de Galieno | Jordanes, De Sum. Temp., 287-290 | Completan. Livianidad de Galieno, identificada Aquitania con Gascuña, que la crónica considera parte de España, y añadida erróneamente la muerte violenta de Tetrico | Ok | |
| | | | 169, a45 - b12 / 278, 9-11 | Mártires de ese tiempo | Orosio, VII, 22°, 13 | | Ok | |
| | | | 169, a45 - b12 / 278, 9-11 | Mártires de ese tiempo | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 57-58, 60-62, 75-76, 78, 83, 89-95 | | Ok | |
| 273 | 279 | | 169, b17-34 / 279, 1-4 | Imperio de Claudio | Orosio, VII, 23°, 1 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 182-183 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Jordanes, De Sum. Temp., 288 | Duración del imperio | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, IX, 11° | Carácter de Claudio y ligeros detalles | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 897 |
| | | | 169, b34-40 / 279, 4-5 | Lucha contra los alemanes | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 897 | | Ok | |
| 274 | 280 | | 169, b44 - 170, a14 / 280, 1-4 | Segundo año de Claudio, a quien sucede Quintilo | Orosio, VII, 23°, 1-2 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 183 | Dato de la muerte de Quintilo e indicación de que es considerado como emperador | Ok | 18 days |
| | | | 170, a4-26 / 280, 5-7 | Mártires del tiempo de Claudio | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 98-102 | Añadidos los 240 mártires y siguientes; se traduce 'praesbyter' por 'obispo' | Ok | |
| 275 | 281 | | 170, a31-48 / 281, 1-4 | Hechos del primer año de Aureliano | Eutropio, IX, 13°, 1 | Combinados | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 898 |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 23°, 3-4 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 898 | Semejanza con Alejandro y Julio César | Ok | Moral portrait, does not mention Wise (vir in bello potens) In this case information in Diaconus but not in Eutropius, |

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|------------------------|---------------------|--|-----------------------------|--|--|---|----------|---|
| | | | | | | | | proof Eutropius is not source. |
| 276 | 282 | | 170, a52 - b41 / 282, 1-6 | Hechos del segundo año de Aureliano | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 184-185 | Cambiado 'Immas' por 'Timas' y añadida la errónea identificación de Tetrico | Ok | Also Orosio , VII, 23°, 3-4 |
| 277 | 283 | | 170, b45 - 171, a1 / 283, 1 | Guerras en Italia y rebelión en Dalmacia | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 898 | | Ok | |
| | | | 171, a1-29 / 283, 2-6 | Pablo de Samosata | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 103 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 182-183 | Detalles de la herejía y del sucesor | Ok | |
| 278 | 284 | | 171, a33-45 / 284, 1-3 | Aureliano usa corona, amuralla Roma y levanta un templo al sol | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 898 | | Ok | |
| | | | 171, a45-50 / 284, 3-4 | Fiesta a honra del sol | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 185 | | Ok | |
| | | | 171, a50-53 / 284, 5 | Uso de la carne de cerdo | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 898 Flavio Vopisco , <i>Divus Aurelianus</i> , 1845, 35 | Completa | Ok | |
| | | | 171, a53 - b6 / 284, 5-6 | Pacificación del imperio | Eutropio , IX, 13°, 2 Flavio Vopisco , <i>Divus Aurelianus</i> , 41 | | No Ok | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 898 Heavily rewritten |
| 279 | 285 | | 171, b10-24 / 285, 1-3 | Crueldad de Aureliano | Eutropio , IX, 13°, 2; 14° | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 898 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 898 | | Ok | |
| | | | 171, b24-27 / 285, 3-4 | Cae un rayo cerca de Aureliano | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 185 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 899 | | | Also Orosio , VII, 23°, 6 |
| | | | | | Eutropio , IX, 15°, 2 | | Ok | |
| 171, b27-35 / 285, 4-7 | Muerte de Aureliano | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 899 | | Ok | | | | |

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| | | | 171, b35-39 / 285, 7 | Aureliano persigue a los cristianos | Orosio , VII, 23 ^o , 6 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Rufino , VII, 26 | | Ok | Ed. 1740, 446 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 899 | | Ok | |
| | | | 171, b39 - 172, a2 / 285, 8-10 | Mártires de este tiempo | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 105-106, 108-119 | Algunas discrepancias en los nombres (Neones, Caprasio); se traduce 'praesbyter' y 'papa' por 'obispo' | Ok | |
| 280 | 286 | | 172, a6-12 / 286, 1 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 172, a12-16 / 286, 2 | Buenas cualidades de Tácito | Eutropio , IX, 16 ^o | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 899 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 899 | | Ok | |
| | | | 172, a16-20 / 286, 2 | Su muerte | Orosio , VII, 24 ^o , 1 | | Ok | Amplified |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 184-185 | Para 'ysla de ponto' ver cap. 81 (Pidal) | No | |
| | | | 172, a20-21 / 286, 3 | Nombre de Jacinto aplicado al emperador Tácito | Compilador | Mala lectura de 'Tacitus' por haberse añadido una tilde inútil | | |
| 172, a22-33 / 286, 3-5 | Imperio de Florianio | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 184-185 | Para 'ysla de ponto' ver cap. 81 (Pidal) | Ok | | | | |
| | | | | | Eutropio , IX, 16 ^o | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 899 |
| 281 | 287 | | 172, a38 - b8 / 287, 1-5, 11 | Probo recupera Francia | Eutropio , IX, 17 ^o | | Ok | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 899 for Eutropius. // Also Eusebio-Jerónimo , 185 |
| | | | 172, b8-12 / 287, 6 | Félix papa | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 184-185 | | Ok | |
| | | | 172, b12-39 / 287, 6-11 + | Herejía de Manes | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XI, 120 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | Maybe also for Tacitus |
| 282 | 288 | | 172, b43-52 / 288, 1 | Difusión de la doctrina maniquea | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 184 | | Ok | Amplified |
| 283 | 289 | | 173, a3-13 / 289, 1-2 | Colonización de diversas regiones del imperio | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 185 | | Ok | Also Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 899 |

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| 284 | 290 | | 173, a17-26 / 290, 1-3 | Hechos del año cuarto de Probo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 185 | | Ok | |
| 285 | 291 | | 173, a30-36 / 291, 1-2 | Hechos del año quinto | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 184-185 | | Ok | |
| 286 | 292 | | 173, a40 -b12 / 292, 1-7 | Muerte de Probo | Eutropio, IX, 17º, 3 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 899 | | Ok | |
| 287 | 293 | | 173, b17-29 / 293, 1-3 | El emperador Caro y sus hijos | Orosio, VII, 24º, 4 | Combinados | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 899-900 | | Ok | |
| | | | 173, b29-31 / 293, 3 | Buenas cualidades de Caro | Flavio Vopisco, Carus, 1845, 9 | | Ok | |
| | | | 173, b31-48 / 293, 4-8 | Guerra contra sármatas y persas | Eutropio, IX, 18º | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 900 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Flavio Vopisco, Carus, 1845, 8,9 | Detalles sobre la ferocidad de los sármatas y la guerra dura | Ok | |
| Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 121-129 | Para la persecución de los cristianos | Ok | | | | | | |
| 288 | 294 | | 173, b52 - 174, a27 / 294, 1-6 | Hechos del segundo año de Caro | Eutropio, IX, 18º, 19º, 1 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 900 | | Ok | |
| | | | 174, a27-39 / 294, 7-8 | Mártires del tiempo de Caro y sus hijos | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XI, 121, 124, 127, 129 | Añadidos San Yuste y San Abundo | Ok | |
| 289 | 295 | | 174, a44-53 / 295, 1 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, IX, 19º, 2; 26º | | Ok | |
| | | | 174, a53, b16 / 295, 2-4 | Origen oscuro de Diocleciano y su carácter | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 900, 902 | | Ok | |
| | | | 174, b16-31 / 295, 5-8 | Jura de Diocleciano y guerra contra Carino | Eutropio, IX, 20º, 1-2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 900 |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 186-187 | Completa con la muerte de Carino | Ok | |
| 290 | 296 | | 174, b36-53 / 296, 1-6 | Sublevación y castigo de los bagudas | Eutropio, IX, 20º, 3 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 901 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 901 | | Ok | |

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| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XII, 1 | Detalles sobre Herculio | Ok | |
| | | | 174, b53, 175, a4 / 296, 7 | Martirio de la Legión de Tebea | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XII, 1-2 | | Ok | |
| | | | 175, a4-10 / 296, 8-9 | Maximiano Augusto | Eutropio, IX, 22º, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 901 |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 186-187 | Completa | Ok | |
| | | | 175, a10-17 / 296, 10-11 | Carácter Maximiano | Eutropio, IX, 27º, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903 | | Ok | |
| 291 | 297 | | 175, a21-49 / 297, 1-6 | Carausio, enviado a defender Bolonia, se proclama emperador de Bretaña | Eutropio, IX, 21º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 901 |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 901 | Indicadas las personas que solían vestir de púrpura | Ok | |
| 292 | 298 | | 175, a53 - b12 / 298, 1-3 | Hechos del cuarto año de Diocleciano | Eutropio, IX, 22º, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 901 |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 25º, 4 | | Ok | |
| 293 | 299 | | 175, b16 - 176, a4 / 299, 1-13 | Hechos del año quinto | Eutropio, IX, 22º, 24º; X, 2º, 2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 901-903 |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 25º, 4-9, 16 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XII, 4,6 (sigue a Elinando, Fleury y Eusebio-Jerónimo) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Aurelio Víctor, Historia Romana, 1829, De Caesaribus, 39-40 | Detalles del imperio de Carusio | Ok | |
| | | | 176, a5-12 / 299, 13 | Hechos del año sexto | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 186-187 | | Ok | |
| 294 | 300 | | 176, a16-24 / 300, 1-2 | Hechos del año séptimo | Eutropio, IX, 25º, 2 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 902 | | Ok | |
| 295 | 301 | | 176, a28-41 / 301, 1-3 | Hechos del año octavo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 187 | Expresadas las personas que solían vestir la púrpura | Ok | |

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| 296 | 302 | | 176, a45 - b3 / 302, 1-2 | Muerte de Carusio | Eutropio , IX, 22º, 2 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 902 | | Ok | |
| | | | 176, b3-6 / 302, 3 | San Marcelino papa | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 187 | Siguiendo la variante del manuscrito P ² | Ok | |
| 297 | 303 | | 176, b10-27 / 303, 1-4 | Hechos de los años diez y once | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 186-187 | | Ok | |
| 298 | 304 | | 176, b31-39 / 304, 1-2 | Sumisión de Bretaña | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 187 | | Ok | |
| | | | 176, b39 - 177, a3 / 304, 3-4 | Constancio guerrea en Francia | Eutropio , IX, 23º Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 901 | | Ok | |
| 299 | 305 | | 177, a7-31 / 305, 1-4 | G. Maximiano lucha contra los persas | Eutropio, IX, 24º | Interpretados según Belovac. | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 902 for Eutropius // Also Eusebio-Jerónimo , 187 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 902 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XII, 6 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | |
| 300 | 306 | | 177, a35-44 / 306, 1-3 | Hechos del año catorce | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 186-187 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, IX, 25º | Completan. Actividad de Maximiano. | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 902 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 902 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , VII, 25º, 10 | | Ok | |
| 301 | 307 | | 177, a48 - b20 / 307, 1-5 | Derrota de Narsés | Eutropio, IX, 25º | - | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 902 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 902 | | Ok | |
| | | | 177, b20-34 / 307, 6-7 | Constantino perseguido | Belovac. , <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XII, 6 (sigue a Fleury) Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 902 | Completa algunos detalles | Ok | |
| 302 | 308 | | 177, b38-43 / 308, 1-2 | Sumisión de África | Eutropio , IX, 23º | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 901 | | Ok | |
| | | | 177, b43 - 178, a4 / 308, 3 | Construcción de termas y sucesión en el obispado de Alejandría | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 187, 189 | | Ok | |

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| 303 | 309 | | 178, a8-21 / 309, 1-3 | Triunfo de Diocleciano y Maximiano | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 189 | | Ok | |
| 304 | 310 | 178, a25-29 / 310, 1 | Terremoto en Sidón | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 189 | | Ok | | |
| | | | | Orosio, VII, 25°, 14 | Completan | Ok | | |
| | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 902 | | Ok | Not in Eutropio | |
| | | 178, 30-39 / 310, 2-3 | Persecución contra los cristianos | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 189 | | Ok | | |
| | | | | Orosio, VII, 25°, 13 | Detalles | Ok | | |
| | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 902 | | Ok | Not in Eutropio | |
| | | | | San Isidoro, Chronica, 325 | | Ok | | |
| Luc. Tud., 35 | Ok | | | | | | | |
| 305 | 311 | 178, a43 - b7 / 311, 1-6 | Diocleciano y Maximiano abdican el imperio | Eutropio, IX, 27°, 28° | Arbitrariamente cambiados los lugares de abdicación | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903-904 | |
| | | | | 178, b7 - 179, a49 / 311, 6-14 | Mártires del tiempo de Diocleciano | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XII-XIII | En su mayoría | Ok |
| | | Luc. Tud., 2 | Algunos. Otros añadidos. | | | Ok | | |
| 306 | 312 | 179, b5-24 / 312, 1-3 | División del imperio | Orosio, VII, 25°, 15-16 | | Ok | | |
| | | | | Eutropio, X, 1° | Completan | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903 | |
| | | | | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XII, 161 (sigue a Fleury y a Eusebio-Jerónimo) | | Ok | | |
| | | 179, b25-29 / 312, 4-5 | Cronología | Compilador | | | | |
| | | 179, b29-38 / 312, 6-7 | Galerio nombra a dos césares | Eutropio, X, 2°, 1 | C.E. Dubler, <i>Fuentes árabes y bizantinas en la PCC</i> , en <i>Vox romanica</i> , Zürich, XII, 1951, p. 131, señala infundadamente fuente griega para este capítulo. | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903 | |
| Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903 | Ok | | | | | | | |
| 307 | 313 | | 179, b42 - 180, a7 / 313, 1-4 | Generosidad de Constancio | Eutropio, X, 1°, 2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903 |

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| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903 | | Ok | |
| | | | 180, a7-34 / 313, 5-9 | Constancio explora la constancia de los cristianos | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XII, 161 (sigue a Eusebio-Rufino y Casiodoro) | | Ok | |
| | | | 180, a35-45 / 313, 10 | Constantino es creado emperador | Eutropio, X, 2º, 2 | Combinados | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903-904 |
| | | Orosio, VII, 25º, 16 | | | Ok | | | |
| | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 189 | | | Ok | | | |
| | | | 180, a45-52 / 313, 11-12 | Mártires del tiempo de Galerio | Belovac., Spec. Hist., XII, 33-104 | Añadido San Segundo | Ok | |
| 308 | 314 | Dell Jmperio de Constantino el fijo de Elena. E de lo que contecio en el primer anno del su reg | 180, b5-38 / 314, 1-7 | Constantino se apodera del imperio | Eutropio, X, 2º, 2-3, 3º, 2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 903-904 |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 189 | Completa año de la persecución | Ok | Also Belovac., XIII, I |
| | | | 180, b38-49 / 314, 7-9 | Respuesta de Diocleciano rehusando el Imperio | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 904 - 905 | | Ok | |
| 309 | 315 | De los fechos del anno se | 180, b53 - 181, a29 / 315, 1-7 | Hechos del segundo año de Constantino | Eutropio, X, 2º, 4, 4º, 1-2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 905 |
| | | | | | Belovac. Spec. Hist., XIII, 1 (sigue a Eusebio-Rufino) | Para la colaboración en la proclamación de Licino | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 189 | Para el detalle de Carnuto | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 904 | Para el matrimonio de Licino | Ok | |
| 310 | 316 | De lo que contescio en ell anno tercero | 181, a33 - b16 / 316, 1-10 | Herculio Maximiano conspira y muere | Eutropio, X, 3º | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 905 | | Ok | |
| | | | 181, b16-19 / 316, 10 | Supresión póstuma de honores | Belovac. Spec. Hist., XIII, 1 (sigue a Eusebio-Rufino) | | Ok | |
| | | | 181, b19-29 / 316, 11-13 | Martirio de San Quirino | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 189 | | Ok | |

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| 311 | 317 | De los hechos del anno quarto | 181, b33-39 / 317, 1-2 | Hechos del año cuarto | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 189 | | Ok | Duratin of Galerius' rule Compiler |
| 312 | 318 | De lo que contescio enell anno quinto | 181, b43-54 / 318, 1-3 | Hechos del año quinto | Eutropio , X, 4º, 2-3 | | Ok | Licinius and Maximian = homines novis / Also Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , 906 |
| | | | | | Orosio , VII, 28º, 14, 16 | | Ok | |
| 313 | 319 | De los fechos | 182, a3-10 / 319, 1-2 | Silvestre huye al monte Serapti | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 23, 46 | Atribuida la persecución a Majencio | Ok | |
| | | | 182, a10-19 / 319, 3-5 | Persecución contra los cristianos | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 905-906 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio , VII, 28º, 12 | Salvo la mención de Oriente (?) | Ok | |
| | | | 182, a19-31 / 319, 6-8 | Constantino y Licinio favorecen a los cristianos y el segundo se prepara contra Maximino | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 44-45 (sigue a Fleury y a Eusebio-Rufino) | Muy resumido | Ok | |
| | | | 182, a31-37 / 319, 8-9 | Muerte de Maximino | Eutropio , X, 4º, 4 | Añadida la mención de Oriente | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 908 | | Ok | |
| 182, a37-39 / 319, 9 | Aquilas obispo de Alejandría | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 189 | | Ok | | | | |
| 314 | 320 | De lo que contesció en ell anno Seteno | 182, a43 - 183, a34 / 320, 1-22 | Se aparece a Constantino la cruz en el cielo, con cuyo auxilio derrota a Majencio | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 43-44 (sigue a Fleury y a Casiodoro) | Yerra C.E. Dubler, <i>Fuentes árabes y bizantinas en la PCG...</i> 131-134 al asignar fuente bizantina. | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Rufino , IX, 9 | Añadido el detalle del lenguaje teotónico, debido a errónea lectura de las palabras griegas que traen | tbc | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 906 | | Ok | |
| | | | 183, a34-48 / 320, 23-25 | Guerra contra Licinio | Eutropio , X, 5º | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 908 |
| | | | 183, a48 - b20 / 320, 25-30 | Muerte de Diocleciano | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 903-904 | Añadida la edad | Ok | Not in Eutropio |
| | | | 183, b20-22 / 320, 30 | San Macario obispo de Jerusalén | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 191 | | Ok | |

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| 315 | 321 | Dell anno ochauo | 183, b26-38 / 321, 1-3 | Hechos del año octavo | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 191 | | Ok | Also Orosio , 27º, 22 |
| | | | 183, b39-44 / 321, 4 | Constantino atacado de lepra | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 47 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | |
| 316 | 322 | Delos fechos del anno | 183, b48 - 186, a33 / 322, 1-49 | Bautismo de Constantino y su exhortación a los senadores | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 47-49 (sigue a Fleury y las <i>Actas de San Silvestre</i>) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Casiodoro , <i>Hist. Eccl. Tripartita</i> , I, 9 | Completa, resumido | Ok? | |
| | | | | | Actas de San Silvestre , 277-278, 284-287 | | tbc | |
| | | | 186, a33 - b28 / 322, 50-60 | Licinio favorece a los cristianos y persigue a los perseguidores de la iglesia | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 44-45 (sigue a Eusebio-Rufino) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Rufino, IX, 3, 10 | Completa el castigo impuesto a los perseguidores | Ok? | Source doubled and not necessary. I believe it follows Belovac. |
| | | | 186, b28-47 / 322, 60-62 | Difusión de la Iglesia | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 58 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | |
| Eusebio-Rufino , IX, 10 | Érronea fuente bizantina, ver cap. 314 | Ok? | | | Source doubled and not necessary. I believe it follows Belovac. | | | |
| 317 | 323 | De lo que contescio en el anno | 186, b51 - 187, b48 / 323, 1-20 | Licinio persigue a los cristianos | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 58 (sigue a Eusebio-Rufino) | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Rufino , IX, 10 | | Ok? | Source doubled and not necessary. I believe it follows Belovac. |
| 318 | 324 | De los fechos del anno dozeno | 187, b52 - 190, b9 / 324, 1-53 | Disputa entre judíos y cristianos y muerte del dragón | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 50-53 (sigue a las <i>Actas de San Silvestre</i>) | Añadidos algunos detalles sobre los filósofos nombrados jueces, los nombres de los compañeros dados a S. Silvestre, la muerte del dragón y otros detalles menos importantes; Las fuentes hablan del encierro del dragón y no de su muerte. | Ok | Information on the dragon very summarised |
| | | | | | Actas de San Silvestre , 288-335 | | tbc | Source doubled and not necessary. I believe it follows Belovac. |

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| | | | 190, b9-14 / 324, 54 | Otros hechos del año doce de Constantino | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 191 | | Ok | |
| 319 | 325 | De lo que contescio enel anno | 190, b18 - 192, b35 / 325, 1-50 | Concilio de Nicea | Eusebio-Rufino , IX, 1-6 | | Ok? | Very summarised and rewritten. There is probably another source. |
| 320 | 326 | Delos fechos del anno catorzeno en que se fal | 192, b40 - 193, b9 / 326, 1-12 | Invencción de la Santa Cruz | Eusebio-Rufino , IX, 7-8 | | No | Proves that Eusebio-Rufino is included via Belovac. |
| | | | 193, b10-13 / 236, 13 | Constancio es nombrado César | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 191 | Completa lo relativo a Judas | Ok | |
| 321 | 327 | De los fechos del anno disiseteno | 193, b17 - 194, a1 / 327, 1-8 | Guerra contra Licinio | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 909 | Cambiado Tesalónica por Macedonia | Ok | |
| | | | 194, a1-6 / 327, 9 | Fin de la persecución de los cristianos | Orosio , VII, 28°, 21 | Algo modificado | Ok | Heavily rewritten. Maybe Compiler? |
| | | | 194, a5-18 / 327, 10-14 | Mártires del tiempo de Majencio y Licinio | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 5-6, 13-15, 17-19. 59-61 | | Ok | |
| 322 | 328 | Delo que contescio enel anno dizinoueno | 194, a22-32 / 328, 1-2 | Cambio de la conducta de Constantino | Eutropio , X, 6°, 2-3 | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 909 |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 909 | | Ok | |
| | | | 194, a32-39 / 328, 3-4 | Crímenes de Constantino | Eutropio , X, 6°, 3 | | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 909 |
| | | | | | Orosio , VII, 28°, 26 | Completan detalles | Ok | |
| | | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 102 | Ok | | | | | |
| 323 | 329 | De los fechos del anno uenynteno | 194, a43 - b24 / 329, 1-6 | Hechos de año veinte de Constantino | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 191 | | Ok | |
| 324 | 330 | De lo que contescio a los ueynt e dos annos | 194, b20-43 / 330, 1-7 | Hechos del año veintidós | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 191-192 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 909 | Completa con las muertes ordenadas por Constantino | Ok | Not in Eutropio |
| | | | | | Casiodoro , <i>Hist. Eccl. Tripartita</i> , VII, 2 | Calificativo de hereje aplicado a Porfirio | Ok | |

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| 325 | 331 | De los fechos que contescieron alos ueynt e cinco annos | 195, a7-11 / 331, 1 | Numerosas victorias de Constantino | Orosio, VII, 28°, 27 | | Ok | Also Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 909 |
| | | | 195, a11-16 / 331, 1-2 | Guerra de Escitia | Eusebio-Rufino, IX, 8 | Cambiado 'Sarmacia' por 'Cithia' | No | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 909 |
| | | | 195, a16 - b26 / 331, 3-14 | Reconstrucción de Constantinopla | San Adhelmo , <i>Schireburensis episcopi tractatus, sive eius operum pars secunda, de laudibus virginitatis, sive de virginitate sanctorum en Migne. 1863, col. 36-162</i> | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 909-910 |
| | | | 195, b26-30 / 331, 15 | Magnificiencia de Constantinopla | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 910 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Casiodoro , <i>Hist. Eccl. Tripartita</i> , II, 18 | | Ok | |
| | | | 195, b30-32 / 331, 15 | Constantinopla capital del imperio | Belovac. Spec. Hist. , XIII, 57 | | Ok | Also Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 910 |
| | | | 195, b32-42 / 331, 16-17 | Destrucción de templos paganos y guerra contra los godos | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 192 | | Ok | |
| 326 | | 195, b47 - 196, a2 / 331, 18-19 | Hechos del año 27 | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 192 | Cambiado 'Constante' por 'Constantino' | Ok | | |
| 327 | 332 | De los ueyntiocho annos | 196, a6-12 / 332, 1 | Hechos del año 28 | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 192 | | Ok | |
| 328 | 333 | Del anno Veyntinoueno | 196, a16-25 / 333, 1-2 | Hechos del año 29 | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 192 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Rufino, X, 8° | Completa lo relativo a San Antonio | No | Other source for 'San Antonio monge' |
| 329 | 334 | De lo que contescio alos treynta annos | 196, a29 - b40 / 334, 1-14 | Viene Constantino a España a someter a los pueblos bárbaros que la habian invadido y establece aquí la división eclesiástica | Historia pseudoisidoriana , del siglo IX al X, 8 (Mommsen, <i>Chron. Min.</i> , 1894, II, 382) | | Ok | Heavily rewritten. Dalmacius nephew? |
| | | | | | Rasis, Ms. 1376 BNE , fol. 309-310 | Posiblemente completa | tbc | |
| | | | | | Desconocida | Detalles sobre los pueblos invasores y | | |

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| | | | | | | algunos nombres de diócesis | | |
| | | | 196, b40 - 197, a9 / 334, 15-16 | Otros hechos del año 30 | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 192 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 912 | Completa en lo relativo a Dalmacio | Ok | |
| 330 | 335 | De los fechos que contescieron a los treynta e un anno | 197, a14-44 / 335, 1-8 | Segundo bautismo y muerte de Constantino | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 192-193 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 911-912 | Completa en lo relativo a Dalmacio, aparición de la estrella y honores divinos | Ok | Not in Eutropio |
| 331 | 336 | Del jperio de Costantino e de Costancio e de Constante. E d los fechos del primero anno | 197, a50 - b7 / 336, 1-3 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 197, b7-14 / 336, 4-6 | Reparto del imperio | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 912 | Con ligeras discrepancias | Ok | |
| | | | 197, b14-27 / 336, 6-9 | Hechos del primer año de los hijos de Constantino | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 193 | Érronea fuente, <i>Chronographia</i> de Teófanos, ver cap. 314 | Ok | |
| 332 | 337 | Del segundo anno | 197, b31-41 / 337, 1-2 | Persecución contra los cristianos | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 193 | Ampliado y cambiado 'Constantio' por 'Constantino' | Ok | |
| 333 | 338 | Del tercero anno | 197, b45-54 / 338, 1-3 | Muerte de Constantino | Diácono , <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 912 | | Ok | |
| 334 | 339 | Dell anno quarto | 198, a3-15 / 339, 1-3 | Hechos del año cuarto | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 193 | | Ok | |
| 335 | 340 | Del anno quinto | 198, a19-33 / 340, 1-4 | Hechos del año quinto | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 193 | | Ok | |
| 336 | 341 | Del sexto anno | 198, a36-45 / 341, 1-2 | Hechos del año sexto | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 193 | | Ok | |
| 337 | 342 | Del anno seteno | 198, a49 - b3 / 342, 1-3 | Hechos del año séptimo | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 193 | Siguiendo variante del manuscrito A | Ok | |
| 338 | 343 | Del anno Ochauo | 198, b7-20 / 343, 1-3 | Hechos del año octavo | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 193 | | Ok | |
| 339 | 344 | Del noueno anno | 198, b24-30 / 344, 1-2 | Hechos de los años noveno y décimo | Eusebio-Jerónimo , 193 | | Ok | |
| | 345 | Del anno dezeno | 198, b31-36 / 345, 1 | | | | Ok | |

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| 340 | 346 | Dell onzeno Anno | 198, b40 - 199, a15 / 346, 1-6 | Hechos de los años once y doce | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 194 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, X, 10º, 1 | Causas del desastre de Singara | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 913 |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 29º, 6 | | Ok | |
| 341 | 347 | Del trezeno anno | 199, a19 - b49 / 347, 1-7 | Hechos del año trece | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 194 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 29º, 7-11 | Completan. Principalmente Orosio | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 912-913 | | Ok | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 912-913 |
| | | | | | Eutropio, X, 10º, 11º | | No | |
| 342 | 348 | Dell anno catorzeno | 199, a53 - b24 / 348, 1-5 | Hechos del año catorce | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 194 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, X, 11º, 12º | Completan detalles | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 913-914 |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 29º, 10-13 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 913-914 | | Ok | |
| 343 | 349 | Del quizenno anno | 199, b28-45 / 349, 1-5 | Represión de los judíos sublevados | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 194 | Mal atribuida a los judíos la crueldad contra los indefensos | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, X, 12º, 2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 915 |
| 344 | 350 | Dell anno diziseseno | 199, b49 - 200, a8 / 350, 1-3 | Hechos del año dieciséis | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 194 | | Ok | |
| 345 | 351 | Dell anno diziseteno | 200, a12-30 / 351, 1-4 | Hechos de los años 17 al 24 | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 195 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eutropio, X, 14º | Algunos detalles | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 916 |
| 346 | 352 | De lo que contescio a los ueyntitres annos | 200, a35 - b5 / 352, 1-6 | Muerte de Constancio | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 196 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 29º, 16-17 | Amplia | Ok | |
| | | | 200, b5-16 / 352, 7-11 | Mártires de este tiempo | Belovac. Spec. Hist., XIV, 8, 12 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Rufino, III, 2 | Con ligeras discrepancias en los nombres | Ok? | |
| 347 | 353 | Dell Jmperio de Juliano Emperador | 200, b20-27 / 353, 1 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 200, b27-45 / 353, 2-6 | Retrato moral del emperador Juliano | Eutropio, X, 16º, 3 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 915-916 |

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| | | | | | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 915-916 | Completa para su condición de cristiano y monje | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac. Spec. Hist., XIV, 26 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Casiodoro, Hist. Eccl. Tripartita, VI, 1 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Orosio, VII, 30º, 2 | | Para el tipo de persecución contra los cristianos | Ok |
| 348 | 354 | De los fechos dell anno segundo | 200, b49 - 201, a3 / 354, 1 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 201, a3-13 / 354, 1-4 | Juliano se dispone a luchar contra Persia | Orosio, VII, 30º, 2, 4-6 | | Ok | |
| | | | 201, a13-21 / 354, 4-7 | Conquista de Persia | Eutropio, X, 16º, 1-2 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 923 |
| | | | 201, a21-32 / 354, 7-9 | Juliano herido | Orosio, VII, 30º, 6 | | Ok | |
| | | | 201, a32 - b7 / 354, 10-16 | Muerte de Juliano | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 923-924 | Completa con la desaparición del precursor | Ok | Also Eutropio, X, 17º |
| | | | 201, a32 - b7 / 354, 10-16 | Muerte de Juliano | Belovac. Spec. Hist., XIV, 43-44 (sigue la Vida de S. Basilio y a Fleury) | Resumido | Ok | |
| | | | 201, a32 - b7 / 354, 10-16 | Muerte de Juliano | Casiodoro, Hist. Eccl. Tripartita, VI, 47 | Completa con el detalle de arrojar la sangre al cielo | Ok | |
| 201, b7-17 / 354, 16-18 | Mártires del tiempo de Juliano | Belovac. Spec. Hist., XIV, 19, 23, 34-35, 37-38, 40 | | Ok | | | | |
| 349 | 355 | Del Jmperio de Jouiniano. E de los fechos que contescieron ell anno que el regno | 201, b22-25 / 355, 1 | Joviano emperador | Eutropio, X, 17º, 1 | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 924 |
| | | | 201, b25-30 / 355, 1 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 201, b30-32 / 355, 2 | Cargo que ocupaba Joviano | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 196 | | Ok | |
| | | | 201, b32-41 / 355, 2-6 | Nacimiento y carácter de Joviano | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 926 | | Ok | |
| | | | 201, b42 - 202, a40 / 355, 6-18 | Su desastrosa guerra contra los persas y su muerte | Eutropio, X, 17º | | No | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 925-926 |

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| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 925-926 | Completa detalles | Ok | |
| | | | | | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 196 | Completa con el territorio perdido. Errónea fuente, Chronographia de Teófanos, ver cap. 314 | Ok | |
| 350 | 356 | Del Imperio de Valente e de Valentiniano e de los fechos que contescieron en el primer anno | 202, a46-51 / 356, 1-2 | Valentiniano y Valente emperadores | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 196 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Belovac., <i>Spec. Hist.</i> , XIV, 48 (sigue a Fleury) | | Ok | |
| | | | 202, a51 - b4 / 356, 2-3 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 202, b4-30 / 356, 4-11 | Cómo obtuvo Valentiniano el imperio | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 927 | | Ok | Mediocre stirpe |
| | | | 202, b30-33 / 356, 12 | Cualidades de Valente | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 196 | Aplicadas equivocadamente a Valente las cualidades de su hermano | Ok | |
| 351 | 357 | Del segundo anno | 202, b37-47 / 357, 1-4 | Hechos del año segundo de Valentiniano | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 197 | | Ok | |
| 352 | 358 | Del anno ter | 202, b51 - 203, a8 / 358, 1-3 | Hechos del año tercero | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 197 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 927 | Completa lo relativo a Graciano | Ok | |
| 353 | 359 | del quarto anno | 203, a23-35 / 359, 1-6 | Sumisión de sajones y borgoñeses y segundo matrimonio de Valentiniano | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 930-931 | | Ok | |
| | | | 203, a35 - b7 / 359, 7-12 | Terremoto en Nicea y hechos de los años quinto al décimo | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 197-198 | | Ok | |
| 354 | 360 | Dell anno onzeno | 203, b11-31 / 360, 1-5 | Muerte y carácter de Valentiniano | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 930 | Añadido el detalle de las narices | Ok | |
| 355 | 361 | Del dozeno anno | 203, b35-40 / 361, 1 | Graciano emperador | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 198 | | Ok | |
| | | | 203, b40-51 / 361, 2-4 | Valente persigue a los cristianos | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 931-932 | | Ok | |
| | | | 203, b52 - 204, a7 / 361, 5 | Muerte de Valente | Eusebio-Jerónimo, 199 | Completa algún detalle | No | |

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| | | | 204, a7-19 / 361, 6-10 | Sucesores de Valente y cronología | Compilador | | | |
| 356 | 362 | Dell Jmperio de Theodosio | 204, a23-28 / 362, 1 | División del imperio | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 947 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Jordanes, De Summa Temp., 319 | | Ok | |
| | | | 204, a28-33 / 362, 2 | Cronología | Compilador | | | |
| | | | 204, a33-38, / 362, 3-4 | Nube de fuego sobre Constantinopla | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 948 | | Ok | |
| | | | 204, a38-42 / 362, 5 | Sublevación de Rufino | Sigeberto, Chronica, a. 398 | | Ok | |
| | | | 204, a42 - b35 / 362, 6-14 | Sublevación de Gildo en África | Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 949 Sigeberto, Chronica, a. 398 | Completa para la derrota de Gildo por Estilicón | Ok | |
| 357 | 363 | Dell anno segundo | 204, b39 - 205, a16 / 363, 1-8 | Santos de este tiempo | Sigeberto, Chronica, a. 399 | | Ok | |
| 358 | 364 | Dell anno tercero | 205, a20-36 / 364, 1-4 | Hechos del año tercero de Arcadio y Honorio | Sigeberto, Chronica, a. 400 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | S. Isidoro, Chron., 368 | Añaden detalle de Italia | | |
| | | | | | Luc. Tud., 45 | | Ok | |
| 359 | 365 | Dell anno quarto | 205, a40-52 / 365, 1-2 | Hechos de los años cuarto y quinto | Sigeberto, Chronica, a. 401-402 | | Ok | |
| 360 | 366 | Del sexto anno | 205, b3-34 / 366, 1-8 | Hechos de los años sexto al duodécimo | Sigeberto, Chronica, a. 403, 407-408 | | Ok | |
| 361 | 367 | De los fechos que contescieron enell trezeno anno | 205, b39 - 206, a4 / 367, 1-2 | Testamento y muerte de Arcadio | Sigeberto, Chronica, a. 410 | | Ok | Also Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 950 |
| | | | 206, a4-17 / 367, 3-6 | Maldad de Estilicón | Sigeberto, Chronica, a. 410 Diácono, Hist. Misc., col. 950, 952 | Combinados | Ok | |
| | | | 206, a17-18 / 367, 7 | Muge la tierra en Útica | Sigeberto, Chronica, a. 410 | | Ok | |

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| 362 | 368 | De los fechos del catorze anno dell Jmperio de honorio e del primero de theodosio ell ninno | 206, a24 - b18 / 368, 1-8 | Hechos de los años catorce y quince | Sigeberto, <i>Chronica</i> , a. 411- 412 | | Ok | |
| | 369 | Del quinzeno anno | 206, b19-24 / 369, 1 | | | | | |
| 363 | 370 | Del diziseseno anno de Honorio que fue el tercero de theodosio | 206, b29-47 / 370, 1-4 | Hechos del año dieciséis | Sigeberto, <i>Chronica</i> , a. 413 | | Ok | |
| 364 | 371 | De los hechos dell anno diziseteno dell Jmperio de Honorio | 206, a52 - 207, a35 / 371, 1-7 | Hechos del año diecisiete | Sigeberto, <i>Chronica</i> , a. 414 | | Ok | |
| | | | | | Diácono, <i>Hist. Misc.</i> , col. 953 | | Completa con lo relativo a Constancio | |

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