

*Algún fecho señalado que sea a honra del rey:*

**Royal privileges and the construction of royal memory in Castile (c. 1158-1350)**

Since the 1990s, concepts such as identity and memory have become crucial in the New Political History of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> As a result, in the last decade the study of royal memory in Medieval Iberia has become increasingly popular. On many occasions, historians have associated royal memory with burial places and funerary ceremonies because of its fruitful venues of analysis.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the way royal chronicles used the past to set the court's political agenda in the present has become a recurrent topic following Gabrielle Spiegel's seminal work.<sup>3</sup> In that vein, Pascual Martínez and Ana Rodríguez recently edited a volume on the construction of royal memory in Western Europe during the Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup> This work illustrates the importance memory had in the legitimation of royal authority, and how many different methods — law, historical writing, etc. — were employed by medieval monarchs to do so. By studying the date of the *privilegios rodados*, the most solemn diplomas issued by the royal chancery in Castile and Leon, this paper will explore how the Castilian monarchy used these documents in the construction of royal memory between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

Royal chanceries were one of the many institutions which arose in Europe during the High Middle Ages. Among the early medieval monarchies, it was common practice that royal privileges were first written by the recipient and, later, confirmed by the king. In the twelfth century, however, royal chanceries became solely responsible for the composition of the increasing number of documents issued by royal authorities. Additionally, royal diplomas became more homogenous and formulaic: royal chanceries started to develop a classification system to record those elements which distinguished royal privileges from other kind of documents such as letter or writs.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Rodríguez, "Parentesco, memoria y poder," 85-6.

<sup>2</sup> Alonso, "Los enterramientos de los reyes de León y Castilla;" Arias, "Enterramientos regios en Castilla y León;" Boto, "Aposentos de la memoria dinástica;" Miranda, "Los lugares del rey muerto el reino de Pamplona/Navarra;" Serrano, "Los espacios de la muerte en la Corona de Aragón."

<sup>3</sup> Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, especially chapters 1 and 3.

<sup>4</sup> Martínez and Rodríguez, eds., *La construcción medieval de la memoria regia*.

<sup>5</sup> Calleja-Puerta, "Cancillería y poder real," 57-62.

In Castile and Leon, royal privileges began to acquire a standard format in the 1130s. The reign of Alfonso VII (r. 1126-1157) marks a fundamental milestone in the history of the royal chancery. From 1135, Chancellor Hugo and his right-hand Giraldo developed a type of privilege which allowed Emperor Alfonso to transmit a carefully constructed political message. The royal sign (*signum regis*) became the most important element of the document and, consequently, was placed at the center of it. Starting in 1158 in Leon, and 1165 in Castile, the royal sign was later surrounded by a “wheel” – *rota* – in a style reminiscent of papal bulls, and it is due to this feature that the most important privileges issued by the royal chancery became known as *privilegios rodados*.<sup>6</sup>

The *privilegios rodados* are peculiar documents: although they have a huge visual impact, they are far from being exceptional. The royal chancery issued hundreds of these documents to both individuals and institutions from every corner of the kingdom. The high rate of dissemination made these documents ideal vehicles for transmitting royal ideology throughout the king’s domains. These documents were meticulously designed in order to transmit the Crown’s views on certain key issues. These documents, therefore, are the ideal vantage point from which to analyze the images that the king wanted to project in relation to royal power and its sources of legitimacy, the kingdom, and the role played by the ruling elite in the configuration of royal authority. Additionally, the *privilegios rodados* were powerful tools in the construction of royal memory. Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, the Castilian kings used specific events, labelled as “micro-stories” by Amaia Arizaleta,<sup>7</sup> to date these documents, which reflected their interest in making them memorable.

Several authors have discussed the events recorded in the royal diplomas during the reigns of Alfonso VII (r. 1126-1157), Alfonso VIII (r. 1158-1214) and Fernando III (r. 1217/1230-1252), usually as a part of larger study of royal memory.<sup>8</sup> However, the commemoration of important events in the date of royal diplomas has normally been discussed in the context of each monarch’s reign, not as a topic unto itself. Additionally, the four reigns between 1252 and 1350, specifically those of Alfonso X (r. 1252-1284), Sancho IV (r. 1284-1295), Fernando IV (r. 1295-1312) and Alfonso XI (r. 1312-1350),

---

<sup>6</sup> Calleja-Puerta, “La impaginatio,” 140-7; Lucas, *Las cancellerías reales*, 138-41; and Sanz Fuentes, “La influencia de la cancellería,” pp. 85-6.

<sup>7</sup> Arizaleta, *Les clerics au palais*, c. 3, par. 81. She coined the term “micro-récits diplomatiques.”

<sup>8</sup> Arizaleta, *Les clerics au palais*, c. 3, pars. 78-89 and 155-240; Estepa, “Memoria y poder real bajo Alfonso VIII,” 190-7; Holt, “*In eo tempore*,” 4-22; Lucas, *Las cancellerías reales*, 201-4; Rodríguez, “La preciosa transmisión,” 303-6.

have not received the same kind of attention. Instead of focusing on a specific reign, this paper will, therefore, examine how events were recorded in the *privilegios rodados* in Castile between 1158 and 1350.<sup>9</sup> By analyzing the dating of royal privileges over such a lengthy period, it is possible to determine which events the Castilian monarchy considered worthy of remembrance which, in turn, will allow for a discussion of the Crown's notions of prestige and authority.

What kind of events did the Castilian kings consider memorable? The *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso X's famous law code composed c. 1265, determined that “*et si algun fecho señalado que sea à honra del rey e de su señorío acaesciere en aquel año, debenlo hi facer escrebir*” (“if any particular event reflecting honor upon the king and upon his sovereignty had happened during that year it should be included [in the royal privilege]”).<sup>10</sup> As this article will show, in practice there were only a few events that were momentous enough to highlight the efficacy and prestige of a king's rule. The monarch's military feats, especially those against the Muslims, the royal weddings, and knighting ceremonies were the three main occasions that the Crown considered worth remembering.

These three types of events contributed to the creation of a royal memory; one which was disseminated throughout the kingdom by the royal privileges. However, the recording of these events experienced important changes during these two centuries. In that regard, it will be argued that there was a major shift in the 1250s, which coincided with the accession of Alfonso X to the throne. From then on, the royal chancery commemorated fewer events in the dates of the *privilegios rodados* while simultaneously creating a more systematic method of recording them. This shift in the royal chancery's practices points to the maturity of the institution, while, at the same time, reflects a change in the role of royal privileges as instruments of communication in the thirteenth century. Additionally, this article will examine how this shift also illustrated the strengthening of royal authority experienced during this period.

### **Military prowess and the ethos of the *Reconquista***

*Reconquista* is a polysemic and controversial concept, full of political and cultural connotations which still resonate in the present. Although the notion was created in the

---

<sup>9</sup> Inés Calderón Medina has studied the commemoration of events in the dates of royal privileges during the reigns of Fernando II (r. 1157-1188) and Alfonso IX (r. 1288-1230) of Leon: Calderón, “La memoria de los reyes de León,” 178-9.

<sup>10</sup> *Las Siete Partidas*, III Partida, Title XVIII, Law II, vol. II. The English translation is from Robert Burns' edition: Burns, ed., *Las Siete Partidas*, III, 693.

second half of the nineteenth century, its widespread use in scholarly writing makes it still relevant. I, however, will use this term exclusively to refer to the ideological discourse created by the kings of Asturias-Leon in the late ninth century in an effort to legitimize their position and justify their — at the time, very hypothetical — right to conquer the lands controlled by the Muslims. This idea continued to exist for the rest of the Middle Ages and was constantly evoked by the kings of Castile and Leon.<sup>11</sup>

While some authors such as Teófilo Ruiz have argued that military prowess was the defining characteristic of the kings of Castile, others such as José Manuel Nieto Soria argue that the Castilian monarchs sought to project a sacral image comparable to their Europeans counterparts.<sup>12</sup> The idea of sacred kingship existed in Castile but it was somehow different to that in France or England. In any case, it is undeniable that the ethos of the *Reconquista* was strongly associated with good kingship in Castile. For instance, the *Crónica de Fernando IV* emphasized how King Fernando (r. 1295-1312) wanted to serve God by fighting the Muslims in the same way as his predecessors have done in the past (“*E el rey mostro a todos de commo era su voluntad de querer servir a Dios, sennaladamente contra los moros, asy commo lo fizieron los reyes onde el venia*”).<sup>13</sup> As José Antonio Maravall neatly summarized, the war against Islam became the kings’ historical duty, and future generations would judge them by their success or failure in fulfilling this task.<sup>14</sup> As a result, most of the Castilian kings who ruled between 1158 and 1350 used their military successes to date royal privileges.

The chancery of Alfonso VIII sought to project the image of the king as a heroic figure who was entirely devoted to glorifying the kingdom.<sup>15</sup> In doing so, Alfonso VIII’s military prowess became a vital part of the Crown’s ideological discourse. For example, the royal chancery used the king’s campaigns against Navarre (1173-1176) and the recovery of Logroño (1179) and the Infantado (1181-1182), which had been, respectively, under Navarrese and Leonese control during his minority to date royal privileges.<sup>16</sup> It is surprising, however, that Alfonso’s swift conquest of Álava, Guipúzcoa and the

---

<sup>11</sup> García Fitz, *La Reconquista*, 66-78; Ríos Saloma, *La Reconquista*, 331. Martín Ríos deftly analyzed the origin of the concept. However, his suggestion of substituting it for the term *Restauración* (Restoration), which appears in the medieval texts, would lead to confusion, a point the author acknowledges.

<sup>12</sup> Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real*; Ruiz, “Une royauté sans sacré.”

<sup>13</sup> *Crónica de Fernando IV*, chap. XVI, par. 65.

<sup>14</sup> Maravall, *El concepto de España*, 263.

<sup>15</sup> Arizaleta, *Les clerics au palais*, c. 3, par. 74.

<sup>16</sup> Estepa, “Memoria y poder real bajo Alfonso VIII,” 190-5.

Duranguésado between 1199 and 1200 was not exalted in the royal privileges. There are two extant royal privileges issued during the siege of Vitoria on August 31 and December 22, 1199 but there are no “micro-stories” narrating the king’s success.<sup>17</sup> It can be argued that in the 1170s Alfonso VIII wanted to show that he had restored royal authority and recovered the lands lost during his troubled minority. From this point of view, because his grip on power was consolidated by the 1190s it made the conquest of the Basque territories less relevant from an ideological point of view. Furthermore, victories over fellow Christian rulers were not considered as prestigious as those inflicted upon the enemies of the faith by the Castilian kings.

Not surprisingly, it was the ongoing struggle against the Muslims that proved to be the most popular events to record in Alfonso VIII’s royal diplomas. Consequently, the conquest of Cuenca in 1177 and the victorious battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, also known as the battle of Ubeda, became important milestones in the construction of royal memory. The conquest of Cuenca was commemorated by royal privileges issued between 1177 and 1182.<sup>18</sup> This military success has been interpreted as a turning point in the reign of Alfonso VIII. In that sense, Peter Linehan speculates on how the king may have used the conquest of Cuenca to present himself as the defender of Christendom to an international audience.<sup>19</sup>

The victory of Las Navas was used to date *privilegios rodados* until Alfonso VIII’s death on October 6, 1214. Royal privileges contain different “micro-stories” to celebrate his triumph. Some diplomas pointed out that the victory was the result of Alfonso’s divine protection, while others added that the victory was achieved thanks to assistance provided by the king’s vassals.<sup>20</sup> Besides the obvious association between fighting the Muslims and good kingship — which was a testament to God’s favor —, it is important to stress another element of the ethos of *Reconquista*: Castilians were the only ones who could be credited with these victories. The Las Navas campaign was a crusade actively supported by Pope Innocent III (r. 1198-1216), and Jaime I of Aragon (r. 1213-1276) and Sancho VII of Navarre (r. 1194-1234) both participated in the famous

---

<sup>17</sup> González, *El reino de Castilla*, docs. 680 and 683.

<sup>18</sup> Estepa, “Memoria y poder real bajo Alfonso VIII,” 191.

<sup>19</sup> Linehan, *History and the historians*, 290-2; Arizaleta, *Les clercs au palais*, c. 3, par. 178. Amaia Arizaleta highlights how international Alfonso VIII’s court was and the way in which both the king and Queen Eleanor promoted St Thomas Becket’s memory in Castile. However, Arizaleta stresses that the Crown’s ideological discourse was principally addressed to an internal audience.

<sup>20</sup> Arizaleta, *Les clercs au palais*, c. 3, par. 185; Estepa, “Memoria y poder real bajo Alfonso VIII,” 193.

battle. None of them, however, are mentioned in the royal diplomas. Royal chronicles also downplayed them: *De rebus Hispaniae* and the *Chronica latina regum Castellae*, both written in the 1230s by Archbishop Jiménez de Rada of Toledo and Chancellor Juan of Soria respectively, minimized the importance of foreign military support and the role played by the papacy in the campaign.<sup>21</sup> Ironically, one of the arguments raised by the *Crónica de Alfonso XI* in the 1340s was to consider the victory of Rio Salado (1340) more praiseworthy than that of Las Navas because Alfonso XI did not enjoy the same kind of international help as his ancestor had.<sup>22</sup> Like in 1212, the campaign of 1340 was also a crusade supported by the papacy. However, the Castilian monarchy's reluctance to share the credit for defeating the Muslims with neighboring kings shows how the crusading ideal was attuned to fit the ethos of the *Reconquista*.

Similarly, Fernando III also established his impressive military feats as chronological landmarks. Fernando's earlier campaigns in the area of Jaen seem like an attempt by the young king to link his military efforts with the memory of his illustrious grandfather's victory in Las Navas.<sup>23</sup> However, Fernando's successes clearly surpassed those of Alfonso VIII, and he became the paragon of good kingship in Castile for the following century. Recently, Edward Holt has analyzed how royal diplomas contributed to the construction and dissemination of the image of King Fernando as a pious and martial monarch throughout the kingdom. From 1225 onwards, the royal chancery used the vassalage of the Muslim kings of Baeza, Valencia, and Granada, and the conquests of Burgalimal, Salvatierra, Martos, Andújar, Capilla, Baeza, Úbeda, Medellín, Magacela, Iznatoraf, San Esteban, Cordova, Jaén and Seville to date royal diplomas. Due to their importance, the conquests of Cordova (1236) and Seville (1248) appear most often in the dating of these documents.<sup>24</sup>

Additionally, it is important to point out that the wording used in the royal privileges to record the king's military and political successes changed overtime: the recording of these events became more elaborate as time progressed. For instance, a *privilegio rodado* issued on September 5, 1225 was dated as the year in which the king of Baeza became the king's vassal and kissed his hands. However, a royal privilege issued

---

<sup>21</sup> Rodríguez, "Légitimé royale et discours de la croisade," 153-5.

<sup>22</sup> *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, 328-9.

<sup>23</sup> Rodríguez, *La consolidación territorial*, 112.

<sup>24</sup> Holt, "In eo tempore," 5 and 11-2. Edward Holt's paper includes a table in which he details the events mentioned, the number of times each appears, and dates of issuance of the extant diplomas which contain these events as part of their dating clauses. I would like to thank Edward Holt for his useful comments.

on April 27, 1226 specifies that this ceremony took place near Las Navas de Tolosa (“*XXVII die Aprilis, era M<sup>a</sup> CC<sup>a</sup> LX<sup>a</sup> quarta, anno regni mei nono, eo uidelicet anno quo rex Baecie apud Nuas de Tolosa deuenit uassallus meus et osculatus est manus meas*”), which was a deliberate attempt to link Fernando III’s military victory with the memory of Alfonso VIII, as mentioned above.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the first *privilegios rodados* after the conquest of Cordova and Seville only mentioned that King Fernando had conquered the noble city of Cordova or Seville, respectively. By contrast, later privileges introduced additional elements to emphasize the religious connotations of the feat. For instance, a document from September 2, 1237 was dated as, “2<sup>nd</sup> of September, the second year since the siege of Cordova, which I King Fernando returned to Christianity with the assistance of the Holy Ghost” (“*II die Septembris, secundo uidelicet anno quo ego rex Ferrandus obsedi Cordubam, famosissimam ciuitatem, et cooperante immo penitus faciente gratia Spiritui Sancti per laborem meum reddita est cultui christiano, era MCCLXX quinta*”).<sup>26</sup> These additions illustrate the double function of these dates. First, these documents were useful in spreading news throughout the kingdom but, as time progressed and the event became well-known, its memorialization became more important. Therefore, the royal chancery was interested in polishing the wording in order to be sure that the correct signification of the event, and how it reflected upon the king’s prestige, was evident to everyone.

When Fernando III succeeded to the Castilian throne in 1217, royal diplomas titled the young monarch as “king of Castile and Toledo”. However, on January 15, 1249, Fernando presented himself as king of Castile, Toledo, Leon, Galicia, Seville, Cordova, Murcia and Jaen (“*Dei gratia rex Castelle et Toleti, Legionis, Gallecie, Sibille, Cordube, Murcie et Jahenni*”).<sup>27</sup> H  l  ne Sirantoine notes that thanks to these conquests the royal chancery found other parts of royal diplomas, such as the royal *intitulatio* and the *roboratio*, in which the ethos of the *Reconquista* could be displayed.<sup>28</sup>

After the conquest of Western Andalusia during the second quarter of the thirteenth century, Castile increased in size by more than a third. As a result, there were no major annexations in the following decades as the Crown’s main concerns were to organize the vast lands it had acquired and to suppress Muslim uprisings. Castile’s

---

<sup>25</sup> Gonz  lez, ed., *II Diplomas (1217-1232)*, docs. 206 and 213.

<sup>26</sup> Gonz  lez, ed., *III Diplomas (1233-1252)*, doc. 794.

<sup>27</sup> Gonz  lez, ed., *III Diplomas (1233-1252)*, doc. 774.

<sup>28</sup> Sirantoine, “La canceller  a regia en   poca de Fernando III,” 195.

successes, however, encouraged Granada to intensify its alliance with the Marinid Sultanate of Morocco. Eventually, hostilities with the Muslims resumed, and the Strait of Gibraltar became the main battlefield between Castile and the Marinids, who obtained control of the major towns along the Strait in the 1270s in exchange for providing military assistance to Granada. Between 1275 and 1350 the Castilian kings sought to gain control over the Strait of Gibraltar in order to forestall any further North African invasions of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>29</sup> In 1292, Sancho IV succeeded furthering the Castilian cause when he conquered Tarifa. Consequently, this triumph was soon celebrated in the *privilegios rodados* issued by the royal chancery.<sup>30</sup>

It was Alfonso XI's victories, however, which gave Castile the upper hand in this conflict. In 1340, Alfonso XI routed the armies of the Marinid Sultan and the king of Granada, which were laying siege to Tarifa, during the battle of Río Salado, also known as the battle of Tarifa. King Alfonso also conquered Algeciras, a key town which in the past had been attacked unsuccessfully by Alfonso X and Fernando IV. Not surprisingly, these two victories were extolled by royal privileges until the death of Alfonso XI. For example, a *privilegio rodado* issued on the March 20, 1345 noted that it was granted "in the fifth year since King Alfonso defeated the mighty Abu-l-Hasan, king of Morocco, Fez, Sujulmenza and Tlemcen, and the king of Granada in the battle of Tarifa, which took place on Monday 30th of October of the year 1378 (i.e. 1340), and in the second year since the aforementioned king recovered Algeciras from the Moors" ("*en el año quinto que el rey don Alfonso vencio al poderoso Alobasen, rey de Marruecos e de Fes e de Surulmeça e de Tremeçen e al rey de Granada en la batalla de Tarifa que fue lunes treinta días de octubre de mil tresientos setenta e ocho años, en el año segundo que el sobredicho rey gano a Algesira de los moros*").<sup>31</sup>

The Crown's interest in remembering the specific date of the battle of Río Salado is evidence of the ideological importance these pitched battles held. These victories were some of the most important landmarks in royal memory as royal chronicles used them to identify kings. For instance, Alfonso VIII was later remembered as "the King Alfonso who won the battle of Úbeda", and Alfonso XI went down in history as "the King Alfonso who won the battle of Tarifa".<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed account of these campaigns see: O'Callaghan, *The Gibraltar Crusade*.

<sup>30</sup> Chacón, Francisco, ed., *Colección diplomática del Concejo de Cuenca*, doc. 34 (May 20, 1293).

<sup>31</sup> González Crespo, ed., *Colección documental de Alfonso XI*, doc. 303.

<sup>32</sup> Rosell, ed., *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, 271 and Orduña, ed., *Crónica del rey don Pedro*, 1.



Surprisingly, Fernando IV's chancery failed to mention his conquest of Gibraltar (1309) when dating the *privilegios rodados*. Therefore, by 1340 it had been almost half a century since the last time a Castilian king sought to commemorate a triumph over the Muslims. Alfonso XI's decision, however, fits the king's impetus of exalting royal authority. Alfonso's victories over the Muslims were the culmination of his momentous rule, and, therefore, they had to be memorialize in every meaningful way. On December 1340, only one month after the battle of Rio Salado, the king went on pilgrimage to Guadalupe (Extremadura), where he founded a royal monastery. This monastery became one of the most popular devotional sites for the Castilian monarchy throughout the next century, and its erection was forever linked to Alfonso XI's resounding victory.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, in 1343 Alfonso XI ordered the construction of the Church of St Hippolytus in Cordova, which would later become his burial place, to commemorate his victory over Abu-l-Hasan.<sup>34</sup> Lastly, the king included Algeciras in the royal *intitulatio* after its conquest in 1344.<sup>35</sup> Although the town did not have the same status as the places conquered by Fernando III, which had been independent petty kingdoms (*taifas*), its inclusion shows Alfonso XI's willingness to stress and exaggerate his contribution to the ideal of *Reconquista*.

### **Knighting ceremonies and prestigious marriages**

Besides their military feats, the Castilian kings wanted to commemorate marriages which brought prestige to the royal family, as well as knighting ceremonies carried out by the king himself. These two events were tightly interconnected, although royal diplomas stress the importance of the knighting ceremonies over weddings.

It is very difficult to define the concept of knighthood; an ideal which still provoked a heated debate in fifteenth-century Castile.<sup>36</sup> Jesús Rodríguez Velasco argues that Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas* re-invented the concept of knighthood. However, this ideal can be traced back to the reign of Alfonso VIII and it was always closely associated to royal authority. The Castilian monarchy saw the ceremony of knighthood as a fundamental part of kingship: it was a ritual that the monarch could use to shape the

---

<sup>33</sup> Cañas, "Devoción mariana y poder regio," 431-2.

<sup>34</sup> Arias, "A Kingdom without a Capital?" 469.

<sup>35</sup> González Crespo, ed., *Colección documental de Alfonso XI*, doc. 300 (September 6, 1344).

<sup>36</sup> Rodríguez Velasco, *El debate sobre la caballería en el siglo XV*.

kingdom's ruling class.<sup>37</sup> Consequently, the kings of Castile bestowed an enormous importance upon knighting ceremonies.

Between December 1219 and September 1220, royal privileges were dated as the year in which Fernando III married Beatrix of Swabia and knighted himself. The royal chancery used different wordings to narrate this event, but it always stressed how no one has invested Fernando III: "*manu propria in nouum militem me accinxi*" or "*manu propria me accinxi cingulo military*."<sup>38</sup> The idea of self-knighting was so significant that the kings sought out new and original ways to have themselves knighted that did not include any dependence on another individual. In that regard, Alfonso XI went further than Fernando III. In 1332, Alfonso XI was knighted by St James himself — represented by an articulated statue — at the monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos. Here, the royal chronicler remarked that during the knighting ceremony Alfonso XI himself took the sword from the altar of St James.<sup>39</sup>

In a similar vein, Castilian kings actively sought to knight other important rulers, a requisite they included in several marriage agreements. In 1188, Alfonso VIII and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa signed the Treaty of Seligenstadt, in which they agreed to a marriage between the emperor's son, Conrad, and Berenguela, Alfonso VIII's heir. The agreement stressed that the couple would inherit the kingdom of Castile if Alfonso did not produce a male heir, and also dictated that Conrad had to be knighted by the Castilian monarch. Although the marriage was never consummated, Conrad was knighted by Alfonso VIII in Carrión de los Condes. During that meeting, the Castilian king also knighted his younger cousin, Alfonso IX of Leon, who kissed his hand in recognition of Castile's overlordship over his kingdom. Both knighting ceremonies were extensively recorded in royal diplomas over the next two years. By 1190, the breakup of the agreement with the Leon, the birth of a male heir, Fernando, and the death of Emperor Barbarossa while on Crusade had rendered this event fruitless.<sup>40</sup> In any case, its memorialization indicates that the Crown saw this kind of ceremonies as proof of the king's prestige and power, especially in relation to other monarchs.

Similarly, the Treaty of Toledo of 1254 further reveals the Castilian monarchy's fixation on knighting ceremonies. The kings of Castile had a claim on Gascony since

---

<sup>37</sup> Rodríguez Velasco, *Ciudadanía, soberanía monárquica y caballería*, 30-1 and 42.

<sup>38</sup> González, ed., *II Diplomas (1217-1232)*, docs. 93 (December 12, 1219) and 106 (January, 28, 1220).

<sup>39</sup> *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, 234.

<sup>40</sup> Estepa, "Memoria y poder real bajo Alfonso VIII," 195.

Alfonso VIII married Eleanor of England. Consequently, the main Gascon nobles asked Alfonso X for help when they rebelled against Henry III in 1253. Alfonso X soon reached an agreement with the English king. The treaty of Toledo determined that Alfonso X would renounce to his claim on Gascony. In exchange, Henry III's first born son, Edward, would not only marry Alfonso X's sister, Eleanor, but the young prince would also be knighted by the Castilian king. Additionally, Henry III promised to help Alfonso X with his planned Crusade against northern Africa. From October 1254, every single royal privilege issued by Alfonso X during the following year was dated as the year in which Edward, King Henry of England's first-born son and heir, was knighted in Burgos by King Alfonso ("*En el anno que don Odoart, fijo primero e heredero del rey Henrric de Anglaterra, recibio caualleria en Burgos del rey don Alfonso*").<sup>41</sup> It is also important to highlight that between 1254 and 1255 the royal chancery produced the highest number of *privilegios rodados*, because it was when Alfonso X confirmed the vast majority of royal privileges.<sup>42</sup> This example shows how effective *privilegios rodados* were as instruments to transmit royal ideology. There are hundreds of surviving diplomas dated this way, which guaranteed that recipients from every corner of the kingdom would be informed of it, and, more importantly, that this prestigious event would be remembered.

These knighting ceremonies were considered more important than the weddings that accompanied them, which were not mentioned in the royal privileges. In the eyes of the kings of Castile, marrying into a European royal family was the most prestigious match they could make. However, weddings with the other Iberian dynasties or even within the Castilian nobility could be more useful depending on the political circumstances.<sup>43</sup> In any case, the royal chancery only commemorated royal marriages under exceptional circumstances.

The marriage between Fernando III and Beatrix of Swabia was arguably the most prestigious match a Castilian king ever made during the Middle Ages. As a consequence, this event was widely celebrated. As mentioned above, royal privileges issued by the royal chancery between December 1219 and September 1220 commemorated this event along the king's knighting. In that sense, the combination of both ceremonies can be interpreted as a rite of passage to show that the king had become an adult. Considering

---

<sup>41</sup> Borrero and others, *Sevilla, ciudad de privilegios*, doc. 13 (December 28, 1254).

<sup>42</sup> A full list of the extant royal diplomas issued during Alfonso X's reign can be found in: González Jiménez y Carmona, *Documentación e Itinerario de Alfonso X*.

<sup>43</sup> Arias, "Marriage strategy and the strengthening of royal authority," 297-8.

Fernando's somewhat controversial accession to the throne in 1217, and the power exercised by his mother, Queen Berenguela, during his reign, it seems likely that the Crown wanted to boost the young king's profile in the eyes of the kingdom.<sup>44</sup>

On the other hand, the bride's prestigious lineage, who was identified as the daughter of the king of the Romans in the royal diplomas, was an asset for the Castilian monarchy. The marriage of Fernando and Beatrix became the bedrock of the dynasty's memory in the second half of the thirteenth century. Fifty years later, in 1269, Alfonso X arranged the wedding of his first-born son and heir, Fernando de la Cerda, to Blanche of France to take place in the same venue, the cathedral of Burgos, and on the same date, the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, as the marriage between his father and Beatrix of Swabia. Moreover, Alfonso X commissioned the decoration of the cathedral, especially the newly-built cloister, with a series of sculptures in order to memorialize his parents' wedding. The Wise King's idea was to exalt his lineage and present Fernando III and Beatrix as *exempla* for his son Fernando and Blanche. Due to the untimely demise of Fernando de la Cerda in 1275, which sparked a succession crisis, Alfonso X's elaborate iconographic display was soon to be forgotten.<sup>45</sup>

There is a royal diploma issued on February 9, 1221, which remembers the marriage between Jaime I of Aragon and Leonor of Castile, Fernando III's sister.<sup>46</sup> Considering that the wedding took place almost two years before, it seems very odd why earlier royal diplomas did not include that event. It is likely that there were many other royal privileges dated this way which have been lost; however, it is evident that, compared to Fernando and Beatrix wedding, the Castilian monarchy did not see this marriage as worthy of remembrance.

Royal marriages which involved other Iberian dynasties were very common in the thirteenth century, therefore they were not considered prestigious enough to be recorded in the *privilegios rodados*. There is a notable exception from the reign of Sancho IV. From December 1291, royal privileges were dated as the year in which the *Infanta* Isabel, the king's daughter, married Jaime II of Aragon and Sicily (r. 1291-1327).<sup>47</sup> This

---

<sup>44</sup> On the succession of Fernando III see: Rodríguez, "Sucesión regia y legitimidad política," 21-41. Janna Bianchini coined the term "plural monarchy" to emphasize the important role played by Queen Berenguela throughout the reign of Fernando III, see: Bianchini, *The Queen's Hand*.

<sup>45</sup> Hernández, "Two Weddings and a Funeral," 407-18.

<sup>46</sup> González, ed., *II Diplomas (1217-1232)*, doc. 128.

<sup>47</sup> Borrero and others, *Sevilla, ciudad de privilegios*, doc. 50 (November 22, 1292).

exceptional decision was as a result of Sancho IV's questioned legitimacy. The king's rights to the throne were challenged by his nephew, Alfonso de la Cerda, who was exiled in Aragon at the time.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, it is likely that Sancho IV wanted to show his close ties with the Aragonese monarch in order to strengthen his own position. In that regard, the royal privileges issued by the royal chancery between June 1290 and February 1291 were dated as the year in which King Sancho met King Philip of France, his cousin, in Bayonne and they ended the misunderstanding between both of them, and the French royal family withdrew the grievances they had against the Castilian Crown (“*en el año que el rey don Sancho, el sobredicho, se vio en la cibdad de Bayona con el rey don Felipe de Francia, su primo cormano, e pusieron su amor, e sacaron todas las estrannezas que eran con ellos e apartose la casa de Francia de todas la demandas que avia contra la casa de Castilla*”).<sup>49</sup> This meeting was also related to Sancho's dubious accession to the throne. Alfonso de la Cerda was the son of Sancho's older brother, Fernando de la Cerda and Blanche of France. That is why Sancho IV had to persuade Philip the Fair to stop supporting his relative's claim to the Castilian throne. Sancho's alliance with both the French and Aragonese kings secured his position, therefore it is unsurprising that he sought to emphasize it in the royal privileges issued by the royal chancery.

The royal chancery active policy of commemorating events during the 1290s — the incorporation of the lordship of Molina, in 1293, to the royal demesne was recorded as well — constituted an exception, motivated by Sancho IV's questioned legitimacy. Especially considering that, since the 1250s, it became increasingly rare to commemorate events in the date of the *privilegios rodados*.

### **The waning of “micro-stories”? A shift in the royal chancery practices in the 1250s**

The final years of Fernando III's reign and the beginning of Alfonso X's mark a sharp change in the chancery practices which were carried on for the next century. The death of Chancellor Juan of Soria in 1246 affected the running of the royal chancery. In the beginning, his successors, Bishop Pedro of Jaen, and Bishop Raimundo of Segovia, did not continue Juan of Soria's practice of memorializing every major conquest in the privileges issued by the chancery.<sup>50</sup> As a result, the *privilegios rodados* failed to mention

---

<sup>48</sup> See: Craddock, “Dynasty in dispute.”

<sup>49</sup> Sánchez Belda, “La cancellería castellana,” 205

<sup>50</sup> Rodríguez, “La preciosa transmisión,” 306.

the conquest of Seville in 1248 for over a year, despite its enormous political and symbolic importance. The first royal privilege which commemorated the conquest of Seville was issued on July 4, 1250.<sup>51</sup> From then on, it became common practice to celebrate this event in the royal privileges until the death of King Fernando; however, the royal chancery did not do it systematically.<sup>52</sup>

The decreasing importance of these “micro-stories” after Juan of Soria’s death could be interpreted as a temporary consequence of the reorganization of the royal chancery; however they became a common practice in the following century. Since 1252, the number of events used to date the *privilegios rodados* decreased significantly. While dozens of “micro-stories” were recorded between 1158 and 1252, the royal privileges only commemorated seven events in the following century. For instance, there were no occasions that the royal chancery considered worthy of remembrance between 1255 and 1289 or between 1295 and 1340.

On the other hand, the recording of these kinds of events became more systematic than ever before, which demonstrates the maturity of the institution. For instance, the royal chancery used up to five different wordings to record the knighting of Conrad and Alfonso IX. Similarly, the conquest of Cuenca was remembered sporadically between 1177 and 1182.<sup>53</sup> By contrast, since the reign of Alfonso X the royal chancery started to use the exact same formulas to record these events, and these events appeared regularly in every single *privilegio rodado* issued during the following year. Marina Kleine’s work on the royal chancery of Alfonso X shows the crucial changes that took place during his rule. There was a significant increase in the institution’s personnel, and an increased specialization of duties: a group of scribes was charged with writing the most solemn and important diplomas.<sup>54</sup>

Therefore, it could be argued that the reduced albeit more systematic recording of events in the dates in the royal privileges reflected the sophistication achieved by the royal chancery in the 1250s. This shift took place during the reign of Alfonso X; however, there

---

<sup>51</sup> González, ed., *III Diplomas (1233-1252)*, docs. 785 and 794. Surprisingly, there is a letter (doc. 785) addressed to the bishop of Jaen on November 13, 1249 which records the conquest of the city.

<sup>52</sup> There are a couple of *privilegios rodados* which do not contain any mention to the conquest in the date issued on November 18, 1250 and June 15, 1251: González, ed., *III Diplomas (1233-1252)*, docs. 808 and 825.

<sup>53</sup> Estepa, “Memoria y poder real bajo Alfonso VIII,” 194 and 205.

<sup>54</sup> Kleine, *La cancellería real de Alfonso X*, 190-3 and 288-9.

were some indications that the Crown's use of the *privilegios rodados* as instruments of political communication had started to evolve a few decades before.

The Castilian monarchs also used other written instruments to extoll their rule. Since the 1220s the Crown commissioned several "literary artifacts"<sup>55</sup> to influence the present by portraying a royally promoted vision of the past. Amaia Arizaleta has shown that there are ideological and textual similarities between the diplomas issued by the royal chancery and the chronicles composed in the 1220s and 1230s. Moreover, she emphasizes how Chancellor Juan of Soria did not need to constantly repeat the same "micro-stories" because he had at his disposal other resources, i.e. royal chronicles, to transmit royal ideology.<sup>56</sup>

Nevertheless, this does not mean that royal chronicles replaced royal privileges as the only written instruments designed to project an idealized image of the kings. First, the audience for the texts commissioned by the kings was not the same as that of the *privilegios rodados*. It is difficult to ascertain the dissemination of the royal chronicles, but they were most likely restricted to court circles. By contrast, the audience of the royal privileges was significantly wider. Liam Moore discusses the performative dimension surrounding the issuing of a royal charter would have in Leon in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>57</sup> The progressive increase in the royal chancery's output and the standardization of its practices turned the issuing of diplomas into a more mundane activity; however, this also meant that royal privileges circulated to every corner of the kingdom with certain regularity. There are countless examples which show the wide dissemination of the *privilegios rodados* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and, subsequently, how they were able to transmit royal ideology to remote places which were never traversed by royal itineraries. For instance, in 1330, a representative of the hospital of San Nicolás del Camino (Palencia) travelled around 670 kilometers to have the institution's privileges confirmed by Alfonso XI, who was in Seville at the time. Moreover, this was the fourth time that the rectors of the hospital had sought a royal confirmation since the original charter was issued by Fernando III in 1223.<sup>58</sup>

The recording of events in the date of royal privileges served two main purposes: to disseminate the king's actions throughout the kingdom, and to create a royal memory

---

<sup>55</sup> Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, XVIII.

<sup>56</sup> Arizaleta, *Les clercs au palais*, c. 3, pars. 73 and 237.

<sup>57</sup> Moore, "By hand and by voice," 18-32.

<sup>58</sup> González Crespo, ed., *Colección documental de Alfonso XI*, doc. 162.

of the past. However, since the 1220s these diplomas started to lose their sense of immediacy. As previously mentioned, the changes in the phrasing of the narration of events, such as the vassalage of the king of Baeza or the conquests of Cordova and Seville, would indicate the increasing interest of memorializing — rather than disseminating — these events. In a similar vein, the most important landmarks of Fernando III's reign — the wedding to Beatrix of Swabia and the conquests of Cordova and Seville — were commemorated in a dozen or more of extant royal privileges; however, the king's other feats were not as widely publicized. For instance, there are only one or two extant documents which remember the conquests of Martos, Andújar, Capilla, Baeza, Úbeda, Medellín, Magacelas, Ignatoraf or Jaén.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, it can be argued that the importance of royal diplomas in the dissemination of news decreased progressively — probably in conjunction with the impulse of other texts such as royal chronicles — and that is why the number of “micro-stories” recorded in the date of the *privilegios rodados* started to decrease. This trend, which started during the reign of Fernando III, climaxed once Alfonso X succeeded to the throne.

However, this does not mean that royal privileges lost their critical role in the creation of royal memory; instead they became more specialized beginning in the second half of the thirteenth century. For instance, the knighting of Prince Edward was the only event used to date *privilegios rodados* during the reign of Alfonso X. However, it is not surprising that the royal chancery decided to mention that ceremony: beside the prestige it gave to the king, it happened during a period in which the institution issued the highest number of royal privileges, which assured that the event was widely memorialized. Similarly, Sancho IV's questioned legitimacy led the chancery to include several events which praised the king's rule in an effort to consolidate his position. Moreover, the revival of this chancery practice at the end of Alfonso XI's reign shows its continuing importance. Alfonso XI created a special office within the royal chancery that was in charge of issuing *privilegios rodados*<sup>60</sup> which he put to good use. After his victory at the battle of the Rio Salado in 1340 and the conquest of Algeciras in 1344, the royal chancery started to date every single royal privilege using those two events. More importantly, the chancery did not stop mentioning them after the first year had passed, and continued to

---

<sup>59</sup> Holt, “In eo tempore,” 11-2.

<sup>60</sup> González Crespo, “Organización de la cancillería castellana,” 468-9.



do so for the next decade. This practice may have continued even longer if Alfonso XI had not died of Plague during the siege of Gibraltar in 1350.

Therefore, the importance of the *privilegios rodados* as an instrument of political communication did not wane in the fourteenth century, it just became more specialized. This shift in the royal chancery's practices, however, indicates that the Castilian kings were becoming increasingly selective regarding which kind of events were worthy of commemorating. Ultimately, the evolution of dating practices for the *privilegios rodados* is a testament to the strengthening of royal authority experienced in this period.

### **Conclusion: the landmarks of royal memory and the strengthening of royal authority in Castile (1158-1350)**

Paraphrasing the *Partidas*, the kings of Castile had a very clear idea of what kind of events best reflected honor upon themselves in the two centuries comprised between 1158 and 1350. Knighting ceremonies and, especially, military victories against the Muslims were the two most important sources of prestige for any Castilian king.

The Castilian monarchs gave enormous importance to knighting ceremonies, which they considered a prerogative of their power as kings. That is why Fernando III and Alfonso XI knighted themselves, in order to show no signs of dependence to any living individual. In a similar vein, Alfonso VIII and Alfonso X signed diplomatic agreements with Henry III of England and Emperor Barbarossa which allowed both Castilian kings to knight their counterparts' heirs. The knighting of a powerful ruler was presented by the Crown as a sign of the king's international connections and prestige.

The ethos of the *Reconquista* was a fundamental part of kingship in Castile. Kings wanted to emphasize their military prowess and victories over the Muslims in order to exalt their rule. Moreover, these victories and conquests became the most important landmarks of royal memory: every Castilian king was remembered by his individual contribution to the completion of the *Reconquista*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most common event which was commemorated in the dates of the royal privileges were the kings' military successes against Islam.

On the other hand, the recording of events underwent a significant change around 1250. From the reign of Alfonso X onwards, the royal chancery recorded events more systematically, albeit, at the same time, it became more selective when deciding which ones needed to be used to date the *privilegios rodados*. While there are dozens of "micro-

stories” in the royal diplomas issued between 1158 and 1252, however, only seven occasions were considered worthy of remembrance in the following century. This sharp contrast was the consequence of two correlated causes: the evolution of the royal privileges as an instrument of political communication and the strengthening of royal authority.

The inclusion of “micro-stories” in the date of royal privileges contributed to disseminate news throughout the kingdom, and to the creation of a royal memory. However, since the 1220s it can be perceived how the memorialization of some important events was becoming more important than a regular update of the king’s actions, which was possibly related to the development of other written instruments such as the royal chronicles commissioned by the Crown.

Additionally, it can be argued that the reduction in the number of events used to date royal privileges illustrates the consolidation of the Castilian monarchy, which did not feel the need to be constantly justifying and legitimizing itself. For instance, the chancery of Alfonso VIII recorded the *curias* of 1169 and 1178, but his successors did not feel the need to remember this kind of meetings — or a *Cortes* meeting — anymore. Royal successions probably best exemplify the strengthening of royal authority in Castile. In 1181, Alfonso VIII’s royal diplomas commemorated the birth of Sancho, his first male heir, and gave him the title of king as well. Similarly, in 1222, Fernando III’s royal chancery highlighted that *Infante* Alfonso has been acknowledged by the kingdom’s magnates as the king’s heir in Burgos.<sup>61</sup> Royal succession was always a sensitive matter; however, the fact that royal diplomas stopped informing of this kind of events from here after indicates a decrease in the Castilian monarchy’s anxiety regarding this issue.

This does not mean that these “micro-stories” lost their importance in the construction of royal memory in the second half of the thirteenth century. On the contrary, it became a more specialized instrument that could be adapted to different circumstances, as the cases of Alfonso X and Sancho IV show. Furthermore, the royal chancery of Alfonso XI revitalized this practice and commemorated the king’s victories until his death in 1350. It was in the second half of the fourteenth century when the royal chancery stopped recording events in the date of the *privilegios rodados*, which would indicate that the decade of 1340 was the Swan’s Song of this chancery tradition. On the other hand, it

---

<sup>61</sup> Arizaleta, *Les clerics au palais*, c. 3, pars 157 and 219; Estepa, “Memoria y poder real bajo Alfonso VIII,” 195-7.

could be argued that, until the ascension of the Catholic Kings to the throne, no king of Castile was able to embody the ethos of the *Reconquista* in the same way as Alfonso VIII, Fernando III and Alfonso XI did. There were, therefore, no events worth remembering.

## References

Alonso, Raquel. "Los enterramientos de los reyes de León y Castilla hasta Sancho IV." *e-Spania* 3 (2007). <http://e-spania.revues.org/109> (accessed July 14, 2018).

Arias, Fernando. "A Kingdom without a Capital? Itineration and spaces of royal power in Castile (c. 1252-1350)." *Journal of Medieval History* 39.4 (2013): 456-76.

Arias, Fernando. "Enterramientos regioes en Castilla y León (c. 842-1504). La dispersión de los espacios funerarios y el fracaso de la memoria dinástica." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 45.2 (2015): 643-75.

Arias, Fernando. "Family Matters: Marriage strategy and the strengthening of royal authority in Castile during the reign of Alfonso XI (1312-1350)." *Viator* 47.1 (2016): 293-312.

Arizaleta, Amaia. *Les clerics au palais. Chancellerie et écriture du pouvoir royal (Castille, 1157-1230)*. Paris: SEMH-Sorbonne, 2010. <https://journals.openedition.org/e-spanialivres/154> (accessed July 20, 2018).

Benítez, Carmen, ed. *Crónica de Fernando IV. Estudio y edición de un texto postalfonsí*. Puerto de Santa María: Universidad de Sevilla, 2017.

Bianchini, Janna. *The Queen's Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.

Borrero, Mercedes, Fernández, Marcos, Iglesia, Aquilino, Ostos, Pilar, Pardo, María Luisa, *Sevilla, ciudad de privilegios. Escritura y poder a través del privilegio rodado*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1995.

Boto, Gerardo. "Aposentos de la memoria dinástica. Mudanza y estabilidad en los panteones regioes leoneses (1157-1230)." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 42.2 (2012): 535-65.

Calderón, Inés. "La memoria de los reyes de León (1157-1230)." In *La construcción medieval de la memoria regia*, ed. Pascual Martínez and Ana Rodríguez, 169-88. València: Universitat de València, 2011.

Calleja-Puerta, Miguel. "Cancillería y poder real en el Occidente europeo durante el largo siglo XII." *Edad Media* 16 (2015): 55-70.

Calleja-Puerta, Miguel. "La impaginatío en los documentos de Alfonso VII, expresión simbólica del poder real." In *Impaginatío en las inscripciones medievales*, ed. María Encarnación Martín and Vicente García, 135-53. León: Universidad de León, 2012.

Cañas, Francisco de Paula. "Devoción mariana y poder regio: las visitas reales al monasterio de Guadalupe durante los siglos XIV y XV (ca 1330-1472)." *Hispania Sacra* 130 (2012): 427-47.

Chacón, Francisco, ed. *Colección diplomática del Concejo de Cuenca 1190-1417*. Cuenca: Diputación Provincial, 1998.

Craddock, Jerry. "Dynasty in dispute: Alfonso X El Sabio and the Succession to the throne of Castile and Leon in History and Legend." *Viator* 17 (1986): 197-220.

Estepa, Carlos. "Memoria y poder real bajo Alfonso VIII." In *La construcción medieval de la memoria regia*, ed. Pascual Martínez and Ana Rodríguez, 189-205. València: Universitat de València, 2011.

García Fitz, Francisco *La Reconquista*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010.

González, Julio, ed. *El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII. III, Documentos 1191-1217*. Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1960.

González, Julio, ed. *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III. II Diplomas (1217-1232)*. Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1980-1986.

González, Julio, ed. *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III. III Diplomas (1233-1252)*. Córdoba: Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1980-1986.

González Crespo, Esther, ed. *Colección documental de Alfonso XI. Diplomas reales conservados en el Archivo Histórico Nacional, sección Clero, pergaminos*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1985.

González Crespo, Esther. "Organización de la cancillería castellana en la primera mitad del siglo XIV." *En la España medieval* 8 (1986): I, 447-70.

González Jiménez, Antonio and Carmona, María Antonia. *Documentación e Itinerario de Alfonso X el Sabio*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2012.

Hernández, Francisco. "Two Weddings and a Funeral: Alfonso X's Monuments in Burgos." *Hispanic Research Journal* 13.5 (2012): 407-33.

Holt, Edward. "In eo tempore: The Circulation of News and Reputation in the Charters of Fernando III." *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 42.1 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.26431/0739-182X.1253> (accessed July 12, 2018).

Kleine, Marina. *La cancellería real de Alfonso X. Actores y prácticas en la producción documental*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2015.

*Las Siete Partidas del rey don Alfonso el Sabio, cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807. <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/las-siete-partidas-del-rey-don-alfonso-el-sabio-cotejadas-con-varios-codices-antiguos-por-la-real-academia-de-la-historia-tomo-2-partida-segunda-y-tercera--0/html/01f12004-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064.htm> (accessed June 22, 2018).

*Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Robert I. Burns, 5 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Linehan, Peter. *History and the historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Lucas, Manuel. *El reino de León en la Alta Edad Media. V Las cancellerías reales (1109-1230)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1993.

Maravall, José Antonio. *El concepto de España en la Edad Media*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1981.

Martínez, Pascual and Rodríguez, Ana, eds. *La construcción medieval de la memoria regia*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2011.

Miranda, Fermín. "Los lugares del rey muerto en el reino de Pamplona/Navarra (siglos X-XIII)." In *Los espacios del rey. Poder y territorio en las monarquías hispánicas (ss. XII-XIV)*, ed. Arias, Fernando and Martínez, Pascual, 455-72. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2018.

Moore, Liam. "By hand and by voice: performance of royal charters in eleventh- and twelfth century León." *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 5.1 (2013): 18-32.

Nieto, José Manuel. *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)*. Madrid: Eudema, 1988.

O'Callaghan, Joseph. *The Gibraltar Crusade. Castile and the Battle for the Strait*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Orduña, Germán, ed. *Crónica del rey don Pedro y del rey don Enrique, su hermano, hijos del rey don Alfonso Onceno*. Buenos Aires: Seminario de Edición y Crítica textual. Incipit, 1994.

Ríos, Martín. *La Reconquista. Una construcción historiográfica*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2011.

Rodríguez, Ana. *La consolidación territorial de la monarquía feudal castellana*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994.

Rodríguez, Ana. "La preciosa transmisión. Memoria y curia regia en Castilla en la primera mitad del siglo XIII." In *La construcción medieval de la memoria regia*, ed. Pascual Martínez and Ana Rodríguez, 293-322. València: Universitat de València, 2011.

Rodríguez, Ana. "Légitimé royale et discours de la croisade en Castille. XIIe-XIIIe siècles." *Journal des Savants* I (2004): 129-63.

Rodríguez, Ana. "Parentesco, memoria y poder. Una aproximación a los debates recientes sobre la Edad Media." In *Castilla y el Mundo Feudal. Homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón*, ed. Del Val, María Isabel and Martínez, Pascual, I, 77-94. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León y Universidad de Valladolid, 2009.

Rodríguez, Ana. "Sucesión regia y legitimidad política en Castilla en los siglos XII y XIII. Algunas consideraciones sobre el relato de las crónicas latinas castellano-leonesas." *Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Medievales* 16 (2004): 21-41.

Rodríguez Velasco, Jesús. *Ciudadanía, soberanía monárquica y caballería. Poética del orden de caballería*. Madrid: Akal, 2009.

Rodríguez Velasco, Jesús. *El debate sobre la caballería en el siglo XV. La tratadística castellana en su marco europeo*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1996.

Rosell, Cayetano, ed. *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla: desde Don Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel. Crónica de Alfonso XI*. Madrid: Atlas, 1953.

Ruiz, Teófilo. “Une royauté sans sacré: la monarchie castillane du Bas Moyen Âge.” *Annales E. S. C.* 39 (1984): 429-53.

Sánchez, Luis. “La cancellería castellana durante el reinado de Sancho IV (1284-1295).” *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 21-22 (1951-1952): 171-223.

Sanz, María Josefa. “La influencia de la cancellería pontifica en las cancellerías reales castellano-leonesas.” In *Roma y la Península Ibérica en la Alta Edad Media. La construcción de espacios, normas y redes de relaciones*, ed. Domínguez, Santiago and Herbers, Klaus, 81-90. León: Universidad de León, 2009.

Serrano, Marta. “Los espacios de la muerte en la Corona de Aragón. Exequias y enterramiento del *Senyor Rei*: del *Planctus* al *Offici de Defuncts*.” In *Los espacios del rey. Poder y territorio en las monarquías hispánicas (ss. XII-XIV)*, ed. Arias, Fernando and Martínez, Pascual, 491-515. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2018.

Sirantoine, Hélène. “La cancellería regia en época de Fernando III: ideología, discurso, y práctica.” In *Fernando III, tiempo de Cruzada*, ed. Ayala, Carlos and Ríos, Martín, 175-203. Madrid: Silex, 2012.

Spiegel, Gabrielle. *The Past as Text. Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*. Baltimore & Londres: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.