

Introdución
Repensando o paradigma
do declive da Galicia medieval

José M. Andrade Cernadas e Simon R. Doubleday

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O paradigma tradicional da historia de Galicia na Baixa Idade Media é o do seu declive político e cultural: un declinar que, se ben non foi tan precipitado como a decadencia, derrota e desaparición de al-Andalus, comparte cando menos algunhas características en común. Gil Anidjar sinalou a existencia dunha preocupación historiográfica obsesiva coa fin de al-Andalus, subliñando a súa finitude e mais a súa pretendida excepcionalidade dun xeito que escurece os modos en que sobrevive e persiste a cultura andalusí en Iberia e máis alá. É un feito rechamante, escribe Anidjar, que «with al-Andalus, it is mostly to an irrevocable end and a catastrophic past that we are summoned and told we must bear witness»¹. De maneira semellante, unha ostensible recesión nos éxitos políticos da Galicia dos séculos XII e XIII é considerada xeralmente como un chanzo nun proceso de declive de longa duración, que culminaría inevitablemente nos chamados «séculos escuros». Este proceso, en principio, non remataría até o Rexurdimento do século XIX, case fatalmente interrompido pola ditadura de Franco².

Esta suposta decadencia medieval en Galicia asóciase cos mesmos eventos que se perciben tradicionalmente como cruciais no comezo da fin de al-Andalus: entre outros, a conquista de Toledo, a unión definitiva das Coroas de Castela e León e a ocupación de Córdoba, Sevilla e outras partes de Andalucía nos últimos anos do reinado de Fernando III (m. 1252) e nos primeiros dos do seu fillo Afonso X (1252-1284). Porén, as narrativas teleolóxicas que suxiren a inestabilidade da «reconquista» cristiá non reflicten a viva realidade dese período, ou a incerteza que acompañaba as repetidas invasións dos imperios almorábide e marinida. E do mesmo modo que debemos desmitificar o ano 1492 como o derradeiro final das culturas andalusís, e cuestionalo como marcador dunha ruptura absoluta co pasado, tamén debemos interrogar as narrativas convencionais do declive galego por esas datas. Ben polo contrario, debemos estar alerta aos sinais que mostran a continuada importancia de Galicia na Iberia medieval, en termos políticos, económicos e culturais.

Hai un consenso xeral arredor da idea de que Galicia ocupou un papel central nos reinos cristiáns ibéricos entre os séculos IX e finais do XI. *A inventio*, no século IX, do sartego de Santiago polo bispo de Iria Flavia, Teodomiro, deulle a Galicia un papel central no imaxinario relixioso da cristiandade medieval, tanto na Península

1 Anidjar 2008: 182.

2 Monteaigudo 2016.

Ibérica como fóra dela³. No reino ás veces coñecido polos investigadores modernos como de Asturias-León e posteriormente de León, Galicia tiña un claro protagonismo tanto na política, como na economía ou no eido eclesiástico. Esta realidade é ben visible até o reinado de Fernando I e Sancha (1037-1065). Tanto o territorio ao norte do Miño, como as partes máis setentrionais do que hoxe en día é Portugal, eran o escenario privilexiado da actividade monárquica e eclesiástica e das loitas polo poder. A pesar de que o reinado de Fernando I foi considerado, en ocasións, como de xiro cara ao sur-leste, é dicir, cara á fronteira con Castela, o certo é que o rei centrou boa parte das súas enerxías na consolidación da súa autoridade en Asturias, León e Galicia, ao tempo que espallaba o territorio do seu dominio en Portugal⁴. A importancia de Galicia faise patente no *Mapamundi* do Beato de Burgo de Osma, elaborado —probablemente no mosteiro de Sahagún— no ano 1086 e no que Galicia ocupa un espazo ben prominente, que se corresponde coa meirande parte da Península Ibérica. Tanto a Torre de Hércules na actual cidade da Coruña, un punto de referencia na navegación atlántica, como a igrexa de Santiago son puntos destacados deste *Mapamundi*; o templo xacobeo debúxase, de feito, como o máis grande do mundo. Pola súa parte, a igrexa do recentemente conquistado Toledo ten unha representación claramente menor, semellando máis un castelo ou fortificación que unha igrexa⁵.

A toma de Toledo por Afonso VI no ano 1085 foi percibida tradicionalmente como unha data clave na historia ibérica, a partir da cal a fronteira sur se vai facendo cada vez máis importante e o extremo noroeste, Galicia incluída, tería perdido boa parte do seu peso específico no conxunto do reino de León-Castela. Temos sobradas evidencias de que a Coroa experimentou dificultades no control de Galicia ao longo deste período. Como sinalou Francisco Prado-Vilar, a última década do século XI foi unha época de tensións arredor da sucesión dinástica, que veu acompañada da inestabilidade provocada pola expansión territorial e mais polo cambio de rito relixioso. O rei centrou os seus esforzos na promoción á sucesión do seu fillo natural Sancho (nacido da súa relación coa súa amante musulmá Zaida) e tivo que confrontarse co partido borgoñón, particularmente cos seus xenros, os condes Raimundo e Henrique⁶. A decisión de Afonso VI de delegar responsabilidades no conxunto dos territorios previamente rexidos polo rei García (1065-1072), unha *Gallaecia* posromana que chegaba polo sur até o río Douro, tivo as súas consecuencias. Raimundo comezou a se intitular como *Dei gratia comes et totius Galletie dominus* sen facer referencia ningunha a Afonso; probablemente isto foi a causa que levou o rei Afonso a tomar a decisión de dividir estas terras usando o río Miño como fronteira xeográfica, e de conceder o

3 D'Emilio 2015b: 7.

4 Reilly/Doubleday (no prelo).

5 López Carreira/Andrade Cernadas 2020: 113-116.

6 Prado-Vilar 2009.

condado de Portugal e mais o territorio de Coimbra ao conde Henrique, que estaba casado coa infanta Tareixa, filla ilexítima do rei⁷.

En calquera caso, é posible esaxerar o prolongado efecto destas dificultades, a progresiva marxinação de Galicia no século XII, e mesmo aínda a estratéxica división de responsabilidades por parte de Afonso VI, que á fin había de resultar permanente polo feito de que Portugal emerxeu dende entón como un reino independente. En termos culturais, o período que abrangue os séculos XI ao XIII foi definido por James D'Emilio como un dos máis dinámicos na historia de Galicia. A construción dunha nova basílica en Santiago veu acompañada por una inmensa onda construtiva conforme o estilo románico cara a finais do século XII: «an astounding technical, economic, and cultural feat for a pre-industrial society»⁸. En termos políticos, é certo que Afonso VII (1126-1157), *tocius Hispaniae imperator*, centrou a súa xestión en varias fronteas: consolidar a unión das Coroas de Castela e León, as súas aspiracións á Coroa de Aragón e a ocupación de Almería e outras partes do sur da Península. Aínda así, este rei nacido e criado en Galicia manifestou o seu desexo de ser soterrado en Santiago, como fixera seu pai, e de crear un panteón rexio na cidade, malia que, finalmente, só a súa dona, a raíña Berenguela, ficou soterrada en Compostela⁹.

Galicia desempeñou un importante papel na conquista de Almería, a xulgar polo que din a *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* e mais o *Prefatio Almeriae*, nos que se sinala que os galegos foron os primeiros en entrar no campo de batalla. É neste contexto no que a idea de Santiago Matamouros vai collendo forma a mediados do século XII, no *Privilexio dos votos* elaborado polo cóengo compostelán Pedro Marcio, ou nas crónicas como a *Historia Silense* e, posteriormente, nos traballos de Lucas de Tui¹⁰. Tras a decisión de Afonso VII de dividir os reinos de León e Castela en 1157, Galicia continuou tendo un peso considerable no conxunto do reino de León ou, máis propiamente, de León-Galicia, coa aristocracia galega (sinaladamente o grupo dos Traba) mantendo unha forte hexemonía. Tanto Fernando II (1157-1188) como Afonso IX (1188-1230) foron soterrados en Santiago, e ambos figuran adoito nos diplomas das súas chancelarías como reis de León e Galicia. Aínda que Fernando II só visitou Galicia esporadicamente despois de 1172, o seu fillo Afonso IX fixoo moi frecuentemente e mesmo creou o cargo de meiriño maior do reino de Galicia¹¹. Fundou varias cidades, entre elas A Coruña, e apoiou con entusiasmo a peregrinación a Santiago; de feito, morreu o 24 de setembro de 1230 en Sarria, mentres ía de camiño a Compostela como romeiro.

É precisamente este ano, 1230, o que é máis veces invocado como un punto crucial na historia de Galicia. Certo é que, tal como argumentou Francisco García Fitz, a vitoria cristiá na batalla das Navas de Tolosa, dezaioito anos antes, puido

7 Portela 2015.

8 D'Emilio 2015b: 22, 64.

9 Yzquierdo Peiró 2019.

10 Falque 2015.

11 Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 431-438.

non ser a «batalla decisiva» nos termos do proceso de longo percorrido da chamada Reconquista. Cómpre recordar, sen ir máis lonxe, o estalido dunha crise dinástica no imperio almohade tras a morte do califa Abu Iacub en 1224, o que propiciou unha nova fase de expansionismo cristián na fronteira andalusí¹². Porén, a unión dinástica de León e Castela significaba que Galicia pasaba a ter unha función algo máis marginal no conxunto dun novo reino moito máis extenso, tras as conquistas de Córdoba, Sevilla e o reino de Murcia. Ademais, a importancia económica da principal ruta de peregrinación cara a Santiago, de traxectoria leste-oeste, íase ver ameazada polas novas rutas do norte ao sur. Por outra banda, no que queda de século, houbo só tres visitas reais a Galicia e o mesmo Afonso X nunca chegou a vir. Cando, eventualmente, o seu fillo Sancho IV (1284-1295) fixo a súa primeira visita a Galicia no ano 1286, deixou claro que «auia mas de L annos que non entrara en Gallizia otro Rey, si non yo agora»¹³. Afonso X, o derradeiro califa almohade segundo a definición de Maribel Fierro, demostrou unha rotunda preferencia polo sur da Península e por Sevilla en particular, o que puxo de manifesto coa súa preocupación pola fronteira andalusí e o seu *fecho del Imperio* na procura do título de Emperador do Sacro Imperio Romano. De acordo co paradigma convencional, a Coroa de Castela tiña pouco interese en Galicia, considerada como territorio dominado pola Igrexa e a vella aristocracia, xustamente os dous poderes que o rei Afonso X tentaba desafiar.

Porén, os académicos galegos cuestionaron de modo progresivo este paradigma. Xa a mediados dos oitenta, con motivo do sétimo centenario da morte de Afonso X, un breve pero moi suxestivo traballo de Santiago Jiménez Gómez (1984-1985) sinalaba que a imaxe dun rei que estaba politicamente distanciados de Galicia —ou que era considerado directamente antigalego— non era axeitada. A nobreza galega estivo implicada de cheo tanto nas campañas militares na fronteira andalusí como no proceso de reorganización social e colonización. Por exemplo, argumentaba este autor, sabemos da presenza na fronteira andalusí de Estevo Fernández de Castro, quen foi xenerosamente compensado no repartimento de Sevilla, do mesmo xeito que o foi o arcebispo compostelán, Xoán Arias, que tamén participara canda outros cabaleiros no servizo real en varias campañas preto de Sevilla. Jiménez Gómez tamén suxire que Galicia fora tamén unha importante fonte de rendas destinadas a sufragar a candidatura do rei ao título imperial. Sinaladamente, entre 1272 e 1274, os diplomas casteláns refírense, a miúdo, ás taxas cobradas para o *fecho del Imperio*. En terceiro lugar, Galicia estaba cada vez máis suxeita ao marco lexislativo afonsino, como queda de manifesto no *Espéculo*, nas *Partidas* e no *Fuero Real*. Iso supuxo, por exemplo, a creación de alfândegas en moitos portos de Galicia, así como a creación de burgos reais como Pontedeume en 1270. Cómpre ter en conta, tamén, as intervencións xudi-

12 García Fitz 2012.

13 López Ferreiro 1895, I: 375. Estes argumentos foron desenvolvidos por Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 441-448, no contexto dunha reformulación deste tópico historiográfico.

ciais nos preitos entre os concellos galegos e os seus señores, incluíndo os bispos de Ourense e, moi especialmente, os arcebispos de Santiago. Finalmente, para Jiménez Gómez, o vínculo máis estreito entre Afonso X e Galicia reside no ámbito da cultura, sinaladamente na súa produción lírica, tan ben representada nas *Cantigas de Santa María* e nas súas composicións profanas. A influencia da tradición literaria e lingüística galego-portuguesa na produción cultural afonsí, conclúe Jiménez Gómez, formula unha serie de interrogantes, por exemplo se o rei falaba galego, a partir de que momento e se o galego funcionaba como lingua franca na corte.

A conexión galega de Afonso X puido comezar na súa infancia. O seu aio, o burgalés García Fernández de Villamayor, estaba casado con dona Maior Arias, unha nobre galega que podería pertencer á familia Arias da Limia. García Fernández recibiu a tenza da vila de Maceda, preto de Ourense, de mans de Fernando III. O infante Afonso puido ter, moi probablemente, o seu primeiro contacto coas cortes nobiliarias da rexión do Miño en 1232, cando seu pai, Fernando III, visitou, entre outros lugares, Lugo, Santiago (que era para entón o principal centro de eclosión da lírica trobadoresca en lingua galega), A Coruña, Ourense e Tui; un contacto co reino de Galicia que ben puido terse intensificado nos vindeiros anos. É moi debatida a teoría de que Afonso pasase algún tempo en Maceda cando mozo, cuestión que, hoxe en día, non ten referendo documental¹⁴.

En calquera caso, estivese ou non nesta vila ourensá, o que si puido producirse nalgún punto de Galicia foi o comezo da relación de Afonso con María Afonso, filla de seu avó Afonso IX e de Teresa Gil de Soverosa. Parece, por outra banda, que chegado á súa maioría de idade, arredor de 1240, Afonso recibiu importantes vilas en Galicia e mais en León¹⁵. Mesmo sendo infante, Afonso —segundo apunta Pérez Rodríguez— recibira un rol significativo en Galicia e León, exercendo unha autoridade de tipo xudicial en nome de seu pai. Isto é un primeiro indicio de que non debemos reducir a «monarquía» á figura individual do rei, argumento sobre o que volveremos decontado. Xunto cunha serie de territorios leoneses, o infante Afonso foi investido coa tenza de Ribadavia dende 1240 e, posiblemente, da de Lemos, entre outras. Ribadavia estaba gobernada por Andrés Fernández de Castro, no nome de Afonso, en 1245 e 1249, o que suxire que a súa función aí era de longa duración¹⁶.

A ausencia física do rei en Galicia dende a súa coroación en 1252 é un feito indiscutible, pero dende os primeiros meses do seu reinado a chancelaría real continuou confirmando privilexios en favor dos mosteiros galegos. É ben certo que non eran novos privilexios pero, deste modo, mantívose unha tendencia confirmatoria ben visible xa dende os reinados de Afonso IX e mais Fernando III. Tal como expón Jiménez Gómez, o reino de Galicia continuou a ser vital economicamente para

14 González Jiménez 2004: 18.

15 Monteagudo 2014: 123-124.

16 Monteagudo 2014: 149, Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 441-448.

a Coroa, en particular como fonte de ingresos das rendas derivadas da actividade mercantil dunha serie de portos marítimos, e dez deses portos (dun total de vinte e catro) estaban en Galicia: Ribadeo, Viveiro, Ortigueira, Cedeira, Ferrol, Betanzos, A Coruña, Baiona, A Guarda e Tui, así como tres portos pesqueiros secundarios: Noia, Padrón e Pontevedra. Afonso X era perfectamente consciente da necesidade de defender as costas galegas; a Orde de Santa María de España fora fundada coa finalidade de defender a fronte litoral do reino. Mentres tanto, os galegos continuaron a participar nas campañas militares do rei e a conquista de Sevilla foi, con toda seguridade, un estímulo importante para o desenvolvemento económico dos portos galegos¹⁷.

Para Pérez Rodríguez e outros, Afonso X encarnaba unha tendencia espallada amplamente pola Europa occidental neste tempo consistente no reforzo da autoridade rexia¹⁸. Ademais de resolver as disputas entre os concellos e os señoríaos episcopais de Galicia, Afonso tomou o control da sé arcebispal de Santiago, que quedara vacante tras a morte de Xoán Arias en 1266. O seu rexeitamento a recoñecer o candidato papal, Gonzalo Gómez, significou que Santiago permanecese como unha cidade baixo o señorío real até a fin do reinado e, máis aínda, até o comezo do século XIV. Polas mesmas razóns, a sé de Ourense ficou vacante unha década despois de 1276. Estas estratexias tiveron un efecto politicamente polarizador e o rei gañou a animadversión da Igrexa galega, ao mesmo tempo que se ía mergullando nun crecente enfrontamento cos integrantes da vella aristocracia. Houbo, por exemplo, unha vigorosa reacción contra a vaga de fundacións urbanas promovida polo rei en territorio galego. Pero o mesmo Afonso X e a monarquía no seu conxunto, entendida de modo máis amplo como estrutura corporativa e colectiva, estaban seriamente comprometidos con Galicia, en contra do que comunmente se tende a pensar. Polo mesmo, Galicia seguiu operando como un territorio vibrante no económico e no cultural, e continuou sendo calquera cousa menos periférico no conxunto da Coroa de Castela e León. O mito da marxinação é, de feito, o resultado dunha operación de apagado histórico, un proceso que parte do século XVI en diante. Foi entón cando Galicia comezou, baixo as dinastías dos Habsburgo primeiro e dos Borbóns despois, a ser máis dependente economicamente e cada vez máis suxeita aos penetrantes clixés centralistas do atraso¹⁹. Pero aínda neste momento tardío, como veremos máis adiante, temos motivos para cuestionar o tópico do declive.

Agora que Galicia rexorde outra vez, no século XXI, cunha significativa importancia económica, e cando a situación xeograficamente periférica lle dá, de modo paradoxal, un renovado papel central en España e no eido atlántico, parece oportuno rever os vellos tópicos do atraso e da marxinação²⁰. Así pois, os colaboradores deste volume volven avaliar os variados vieiros polos que Galicia desempeñou

17 Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 452-456.

18 Doubleday 2001: esp. cap. 4.

19 López Carreira/Andrade Cernadas 2020: esp. 29-58 e 121-182.

20 Colmeiro 2009.

un papel sobranceiro no marco da Península no século XIII, nomeadamente durante o reinado de Afonso X. O capítulo 1 deste libro, a cargo de Francisco Javier Pérez Rodríguez e titulado «Diplomatario galego de Afonso X», ofrece un punto de partida para este novo achegamento, similar ao que fixera Manuel González Jiménez no «Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X» (1991). A pesar de que o capítulo non inclúe a edición dos documentos orixinais, confiamos en que esta compilación de fontes sirva como un recurso esencial para investigacións futuras. O «Diplomatario» corrobora o argumento de que existía unha forte implicación real en Galicia durante o reinado de Afonso X. Dá conta tamén dunha serie de concesións de terras no Aljarafe de Sevilla en favor da nobreza galega e do cabido compostelán, por volta do ano 1260, e que forman parte do repartimento dese territorio (docs. 11, 16, 99, 123). Fornece, tamén, moitas evidencias sobre o feito de que Galicia continuaba a ser unha importante fonte de ingresos para o financiamento das campañas militares en Andalucía; nese sentido, vemos a Afonso X enviando o seu «alcalde» Domingo Eanes para recadar cartos cos que custear a frota de Cádiz en 1258 (doc. 100; cf. doc. 151). Así mesmo testemuña que, entre os oficiais reais, o meiriño maior Rodrigo García de Traba estivo particularmente activo na resolución de casos xudiciais en Galicia (docs. 114-115, 118, 127), e que polo xeral houbo unha tensión constante despois de 1268 entre os mosteiros galegos e varios oficiais da monarquía, incluíndo o meiriño maior e o adiantado de Galicia (docs. 160-163, 184, 203, 214, 222).

Algúns dos máis duradeiros funcionarios de Afonso X foron galegos, como o propio Gómez García de Soutomaior. Moitos destes oficiais estiveron estreitamente unidos ao rei, en especial nas últimas fases do reinado, por fortes vencellos de lealdade persoal; máis tamén, por esta mesma razón, esa rede vai ser logo desmantelada polo seu sucesor Sancho IV²¹. O «Diplomatario» tamén evidencia a maneira en que o goberno real era, como sinalou Theresa Earenfight, «a family affair» ou un asunto de familia. Isto reforza a idea de que a monarquía debe ser entendida, até a Baixa Idade Media, non como unha forma de goberno en solitario por parte dun único dirixente, senón, pola contra, como unha empresa colectiva e corporativa que involucra moitos integrantes da familia real e achegados, tanto homes como mulleres²². Afonso X refírese a un dos seus meiriños en Galicia, Xoán Fernández, como «mio sobriño» en xullo de 1277 (doc. 205). O seu fillo primoxénito, Fernando de la Cerda, estivera moi implicado como axente da xustiza real en Galicia dende xullo de 1270, cando está documentada a súa presenza en Santiago, do mesmo modo que fixera o propio Afonso cando fora infante (docs. 169, 185, 205). Igualmente, o infante Sancho está presente en Santiago na súa condición de alférez e almirante da confraría de Santa María

21 Este proceso é estudado detidamente por Hernández 2021.

22 Earenfight 2016, Pick 2017. Coincidindo coa visión de Earenfight da monarquía como un asunto de familia, Pick sinala que «The king was at the apex of that family, but his security and ability to exert his authority depended not only on networks of relationship with nobles, rivals, and members of the Church but also on relationships within the family» (238).

de España o 16 de novembro de 1272 (doc. 180), e estivo en Allariz o 24 de novembro do mesmo ano, lugar onde a súa nai confirmaría o mecenado dun convento de clarisas (doc. 183). Para o ano 1274 estaba gobernando as terras reais (reguengo) galegas dende Burgos, por medio do seu oficial Xoán Gato (doc. 193; cf. doc. 194). A súa función en Galicia consolidouse máis despois da morte de Fernando de la Cerda en 1275 (docs. 198, 207, 208, 223), e nos últimos anos da década de 1270 comezaba a exercer o que Francisco J. Hernández definiu como «un papel cuasi virreinal» no noroeste da Península, coas funcións dun correxente (212)²³. Sancho visitou Galicia en 1276 e outra vez en 1278, e axiña volveu despois do seu ascenso ao trono en 1286.

O «Diplomatario» tamén revela o activo papel da monarquía en apoio das vilas e cidades de Galicia, por exemplo na protección dos privilexios mercantís e fiscais da cidade da Coruña, que recibira o monopolio do comercio do sal (doc. 87; cf. 92, 195), ou na anterior tenza de Afonso en Ribadavia (doc. 97) ou en Pontevedra (doc. 151) —que revelaba unha economía vibrante, tal como argumenta Olalla López-Costas no capítulo 3 desde volume— pero tamén a cidade de Lugo e, mesmo, Vilafranca do Bierzo (doc. 191). O 15 de febreiro de 1268, Afonso X liberou os cidadáns de Lugo de ser arrestados ou encarcerados por causa de ter débedas co bispo (doc. 158). Medidas deste tipo reflecten unha xestión real manifestamente hostil cara ao poder das sés episcopais de Galicia. Isto contrasta coas políticas desenvolvidas polo mesmo Afonso X nos primeiros anos do seu reinado (1252-1256), cando ratificara unha longa relación de privilexios previamente concedidos á Igrexa de Santiago e protexera os seus intereses económicos e espirituais. O 6 de novembro de 1254 concedeu a protección real para todos os peregrinos de camiño a Compostela (doc. 20); e o 29 do mesmo mes regularizou o modo en que os peregrinos debían facer as súas últimas vontades e testamento (doc. 21). Dous anos máis tarde, o 3 de novembro de 1256, concedeu ao arcebispo de Santiago, Xoán Arias, o dereito de ter un mercado cada martes en Aldeanueva [de Figueroa], nun punto lonxe de Compostela, entre Toro e Salamanca; e ao día seguinte entregoulle ao mesmo arcebispado a vila galega de Xallas (docs. 74-75).

Así e todo, mesmo nestes primeiros anos pódense detectar sinais de crecente desconfianza por parte do cabido catedralicio, reflectindo tensións que se desenvolverían nunha constante actitude anticompostelá pola parte do rei de Castela. Neste clima de desconfianza, en Covarrubias, o 10 de novembro de 1255, Afonso concedeu que fose o cabido de Compostela quen controlase as rendas da sé durante o tempo que estivese vacante (doc. 78); e en Vitoria, o 10 de xaneiro de 1256, fixo explícito que o préstamo financeiro que a Igrexa de Santiago lle concedera a seu pai, Fernando III, fose feito libremente e, polo tanto, sen teren a necesidade de devolvelo (doc. 90). Durante os primeiros anos da década de 1260, Afonso interveu en moitos dos conflitos

23 Hernández 2021.

de intereses que enfrontaban a catedral co consello da cidade, e resolveu en favor deste nunha decisión crucial tomada o 30 de xuño de 1264 en Sevilla (doc. 137).

A firme proxección do poder real en Galicia no reinado de Afonso X é o tema principal do traballo de Francisco J. Hernández, «La piel del leopardo: Galicia y el ordenamiento territorial alfonsí», que conforma o capítulo 2 deste volume. O reguengo, argumenta Hernández, era aínda unha parte importante da paisaxe galega a mediados do século XIII; malia ser tamén terra de cregos e monxes, o dominio da Igrexa distaba moito por estas datas do que chegaría a ser no século XVII. Este argumento reforza consideracións parecidas no sentido de que o control da Igrexa era máis limitado do que poderíamos imaxinar en varias áreas de Galicia, incluíndo as zonas montañosas do leste; aínda que podemos asumir que a Igrexa tiña menos interese nas terras pouco produtivas, había nesta rexión terras extremadamente fecundas (incluíndo o Ribeiro de Avia) sobre as que o control real foi significativo²⁴.

Hernández, pola súa parte, defende que esta presenza real era especialmente forte na *terra chá* (os territorios baixo xurisdición real)²⁵; neste sentido, a delegación de poder real nos eidos xudicial e administrativo en tenzas estaba ben asentado, en territorios como Trastámara, Montenegro, Monterroso, Sarria, Lemos, Toroño ou A Limia. A historia destas tenzas rotatorias reflicte o poder da Coroa para escoller os tenentes, xa que estes nomeamentos non eran hereditarios, nin simples concesións ás dinámicas locais de poder. Entre estes tenentes estaba un fillo natural de Afonso X, Afonso Fernández, quen, ao igual que seu pai, pasou a maior parte da súa vida en Sevilla. Este mesmo Afonso Fernández foi enviado como xefe dunha forza militar dirixida contra Santiago de Compostela co fin de asegurar os dereitos reais. Hernández fai constar que, mentres que as cinco sés episcopais galegas foron excluídas do pago das taxas ordinarias, non o foron do pago dos servizos extraordinarios, unha fonte principal de ingresos para as arcas reais. Afonso X tentou por todos os medios limitar o poder dos señoríos laicos e eclesiásticos, e beneficiouse de xeito considerable da vacante na sé de Compostela que se produciu tras a morte do arcebispo en 1266.

En moi boa medida, a continua afirmación do poder rexio en Galicia era só unha mostra do valor económico e comercial deste territorio para a Coroa de Castela e León. No capítulo 3, «Pontevedra, a cidade que floreceu na Baixa Idade Media: adentrándonos na dieta medieval a través dos restos humanos», Olalla López-Costas ofrécenos unha nova perspectiva arqueobiolóxica sobre estas cuestións. Argumenta que o século XIII, lonxe de ser un período de declive, foi unha época decisiva no desenvolvemento da economía de Galicia e, sinaladamente, nas fortunas comerciais de Pontevedra coa súa preeminencia adquirida na pesca atlántica. A autora suxire que

24 Andrade Cernadas 2016.

25 Non se debe confundir este termo coa Terra Chá, un territorio moderno do norte da provincia de Lugo.

isto se debeu principalmente ás intervencións dos reis de León (Fernando II e Afonso IX) e de Castela-León (Fernando III e Afonso X), o que favoreceu que Pontevedra adquirise un papel principal no comercio do peixe, dentro e fóra da Península. Sobre a base das prospeccións arqueolóxicas levadas a cabo entre 2007 e 2010 nos cemiterios das igrexas da vila, e adoptando innovadoras metodoloxías científicas, López-Costas analiza en detalle a dieta dos veciños de Pontevedra no século XIII. Chega á conclusión de que era unha dieta rica e diversa en produtos do mar, e establece, deste modo, relacións entre pautas de consumo e status socioeconómico.

Repensando a relación da Coroa con Galicia no tempo de Afonso X, é moi importante evitar focalizalo todo na figura singular do rei. Tal como observou Lucy Pick, «the old master narrative of the sovereign king and the fantasy of uncomplicated male lordship have proven extremely resistant to a more nuanced understanding of how power was construed, held, and wielded in the Middle Ages»²⁶. Malia que o «xiro de xénero» nos estudos sobre a realeza se produciu moi lentamente, unha nova e poderosa xeira de estudos sobre a «rexinalidade», poder e xénero na Europa medieval, acaba de salientar a importancia das mulleres das elites, incluíndo aquelas que formaban parte da corte e da familia real entendida dun modo amplo²⁷. En León e mais en Galicia, as raíñas foron recoñecidas por moito tempo como gardiás espirituais da familia real, exercendo autoridade a través da propiedade de casas relixiosas²⁸. Non de menor importancia era o seu papel de intercesión e mediación no amplo contexto da monarquía corporativa, un medio que lles permitía ás mulleres da familia real manexar unha parte significativa do «poder brando». A correxencia estaba sorprendentemente espallada pola Europa medieval, dende Bizancio ou Noruega até Polonia, e, tal como estudou Miriam Shadis, este poder foi exercido en Castela e León pola raíña Berenguela xunto co seu fillo Fernando III²⁹.

Esta nova visión da monarquía medieval como unha entidade corporativa na que as mulleres da familia real, á par que os homes, eran pezas vitais, explórase no traballo de Diana Pelaz, «Facerse presentes. As mulleres da familia real e o reino de Galicia na culminación plenomedieval», que constitúe o capítulo 4 deste volume. Tomando como punto de partida a fundación do convento de clarisas de Allariz pola raíña Violante, Pelaz subliña tanto o papel espiritual desempeñado polas mulleres da realeza na Castela e León do século XIII, como a súa actividade política e diplomática. Conclúe que a monarquía era «unha institución complexa, que supera os límites do corpo físico do monarca». A multiplicidade de figuras reais con presenza na Corte, máis alá da raíña e das infantas, que quedou testemuñada nos diplomas rexios, sen dúbida contribuíu a amplificar o alcance da Coroa. A figura da raíña é entendida «como enlace entre pai e fillo/s pero tamén por si mesma, como figura polí-

26 Pick 2017: 246.

27 Véxase, por exemplo, Bianchini 2012, Earenfight 2014, Pelaz Flores 2015.

28 Pick 2011.

29 Shadis 2009.

tica autónoma e independente». Segundo confirma Pelaz, esta función reflíctese nas artes visuais, sinaladamente nas imaxes do tomo do mosteiro cisterciense de Toxos Outos, no cal se representan once raíñas. O papel administrativo das infantas reais foi tamén significativo: Pelaz apunta á súa función como tenentes de importantes territorios, incluíndo portos comercialmente relevantes como A Coruña, para alén dunha serie de espazos situados ao longo da fronteira con Portugal. Conclúe observando que o reino de Galicia «continuaría a formar unha parte fundamental tras a reunión de León e Castela baixo o mandato de Fernando III e de vital importancia para a estabilidade do conxunto territorial durante o reinado de Alfonso X»; tanto para as mulleres da realeza como para os seus equivalentes masculinos, os territorios de Galicia continuaron representando un espazo esencial de acción.

O papel das mulleres da familia real é igualmente central no capítulo 5, de Rosa M^a Rodríguez Porto, «Cara e cruz: conflito político, territorio e padroado rexio en Galicia durante o reinado de Afonso X e Violante de Aragón». Afonso desenvolveu unha política que, se ben non se podería considerar antigalega, si chegou a ser anticompostelá. As institucións eclesiásticas galegas, como o cabido catedralicio de Santiago, procuraron na raíña Violante unha fonte alternativa de apoio real. É posible, como suxire Porto, que Violante, a diferenza de Afonso, viaxase persoalmente a Compostela nos primeiros anos da década de 1260; certamente sabemos que estivo no reino de León-Galicia en 1264-1265. Do mesmo xeito que Pelaz, Rodríguez Porto apunta cara a modelos longamente establecidos nos que as mulleres da realeza despregaron axendas políticas no noroeste peninsular; o convento de Santa Clara de Allariz puido ser fundado dentro dun «triángulo imaxinario», formado por Xunqueira de Ambía, Porqueira e Celanova, que tradicionalmente pertencera ás infantas de León. Como unha proxección franciscana da fundación real de Las Huelgas —en si unha reinvencción das institucións vencelladas ao Infantado—, Allariz foi tamén a inspiración da fundación de Santa Clara de Coimbra pola raíña Isabel de Portugal, reflectindo as implicacións xeopolíticas dos fortes lazos dinásticos existentes entre dona Violante e a súa sobriña Isabel. Este desexo de acollerse á protección e padroado das mulleres da familia real pode verse corroborado pola centralidade que teñen as imaxes das raíñas no Tombo Colorado e, de novo, no tomo de Toxos Outos. Para o seu descontento, o papel da raíña Violante como padroeira do convento e favorecedora do seu desenvolvemento económico foi drasticamente minorado polo seu fillo o infante Sancho. Este quitoulle á nai importantes tenzas e foi o responsable do nomeamento do bispo de Ourense, Pedro Eanes de Nóvoa, quen podería ser considerado como unha né-mese dos franciscanos en Galicia, nun momento en que Violante estaba tentando establecer o convento de clarisas de Allariz. Isto combinábase coa desafección que xa existía cara a Sancho, por parte da nobreza e o clero de Galicia, nun momento, sinala a autora deste capítulo, no que Galicia estaba a piques de se converter nun reino independente. Porén, aínda así, a raíña continuou a ser un firme padroeiro, tal como

pon de manifesto o dispar rexistro documental, malia a escaseza das obras artísticas que poden realmente asociarse coa iniciativa de Violante; neste sentido, as páxinas finais do capítulo de Rodríguez Porto están dedicadas a unha análise do papel de Violante en relación cunha serie de obxectos materiais convencionalmente asociados á súa figura.

O traballo de Beatriz Vaquero, «Santa Clara de Allariz, historia dunha fundación real (ss. XIII-XV)», conforma o capítulo 6 do libro e baséase na inminente edición dos 376 documentos sobre o convento que chegaron até os nosos días, trazando a súa historia dende os seus primordios en 1282 e a incorporación da súa primeira abadesa, Sancha Eanes, até finais do século XV. Para Violante este foi, en parte, un proxecto persoal: o convento ía ser un lugar de refuxio na súa viuvez, despois do falecemento de Afonso X en 1284, e no seu testamento deixou por escrito a súa intención de ser soterrada alí. Porén, reforzando a liña de interpretación que é un dos eixes centrais deste libro, Vaquero acepta o argumento de que a fundación de Santa Clara de Allariz foi tamén un movemento político pensado coa intención de reafirmar o poder real como contrapeso do poder da Igrexa, neste caso o poder do bispo de Ourense; un feito, por outra banda, do que o prelado parecía ser un bo coñecedor. Tanto é así que o convento foi despois apoiado por Sancho IV, polo seu fillo o infante Felipe e por outros membros da familia real nas décadas seguintes, tamén por Afonso XI, ao tempo que continuaba sendo «un importante centro de poder feminino».

O convento de Allariz, daquela, estivo estreitamente entrelazado coas redes de poder real. Como sinala Ricardo Pichel na súa contribución, «*Sabeán quantos este liuro virem...* A recepción galega do legado historiográfico e haxiográfico do Rei Sabio na primeira metade século XIV», que conforma o capítulo 7, desempeñou un papel importante na recepción e difusión da obra haxiográfica de Bernardo de Brihuega, pouco despois da súa composición na corte afonsina. Centrándose na difusión transfronteiriza da produción historiográfica e haxiográfica da corte de Afonso X, tanto en Galicia como en Portugal, o estudo de Pichel subliña a importancia dos grandes fogares nobres —entre outras, as poderosas liñaxes dos Lima-Batisela, dos Riba de Vizela, dos Andrade e dos Castro de Lemos— como centros de mecenado e nós nunha rede transpeninsular de poder cultural da elite nobiliaria desde finais do século XIII e durante o XIV. Nestas coordenadas, o eco das grandes producións históricas (post)afonsinas como a *General Estoria*, a *Estoria de España* ou a *Crónica de Castilla* dá boa conta do interese destes núcleos señoriais por transmitir e difundir o legado historiográfico de Afonso X a través de diferentes copias, traducións, compilacións e refundicións aquí e alén do Miño ao longo do trescentos.

Se ben debemos entender a monarquía como un fenómeno corporativo que implica complexas redes culturais e políticas, isto certamente podería reflectirse atendendo á axenda e as aspiracións específicas dos reis individuais. Afonso X aspiraba a ter o control de todos os seus reinos, tamén o de Galicia e aínda máis alá, como parte

do seu intento de ser coroado emperador do Sacro Imperio Romano. Tal como escribiu Kristin Kennedy, «Even after Pope Gregory had definitively quashed his imperial ambition, Alfonso styled himself “by the grace of God king of the Romans” in documents issued in connection with the weddings of two of his sons at Burgos in 1281»; cando se abriu o sartego de Afonso X, en 1571, comprobouse que estaba cheo de insignias imperiais. Kennedy subliñou o programa ideolóxico desenvolvido pola súa produción textual, insistindo no feito de que os destinatarios prioritarios destes textos eran os membros da elite da súa propia corte, e non necesariamente un público máis amplo³⁰. Outros apuntaron cara ao reiterado intento de centralizar o control político nos reinos de León e Castela, e o xeito en que esta axenda política quedou reflectida na súa produción cultural, como é o caso das *Cantigas de Santa María* ou da súa lírica profana.

Neste contexto, o estudo de Helena de Carlos, «As *Antigüidades da Gallaecia* na obra historiográfica de Afonso X», capítulo 8 do libro, é unha suxestiva reflexión sobre o clima ideolóxico na corte real. De Carlos pregúntase polo modo en que a «protohistoria» de Galicia era vista polos historiadores que traballaban na corte, centrándose sinaladamente na historia de Xerión. Segundo a historiografía tradicional, que posiblemente recollía procesos coloniais na Península antes da invasión romana, a riqueza de Xerión en gando fora cobizada pola figura mítica do mesmo Hércules: «ese culto a Xerión podería ser un eco da lembranza de depredacións de gando no seo dunha loita entre o elemento colonial pgrego, representado por Heracles, contra os reis indíxenas». A figura de Hércules era de particular interese para a corte de Afonso X nos comezos da expansión castelá por Andalucía, onde, segundo argumenta De Carlos, o legado romano e mais o legado andalusí figuraban de modo omnipresente. Na corte castelá do século XIII, Hércules era considerado como un emblema dunha cultura civilizadora anterior, e no novo contexto imperial a historia de Hércules e a de Xerión foron transformadas e adaptadas.

Na fonte latina orixinal fornecida por Xustino, un historiador do século III, Hércules aparecía representado como un depredador agresivo. Agora, na tradición auspiciada por Afonso X, débuxase, pola contra, como unha figura xusta e nobre. Xerión, pola súa parte, represéntase como un monstro de sete cabezas a quen Hércules decapita heroicamente nunha batalla. Hércules, segundo os historiadores do contorno real, fora o fundador dunha cidade no lugar da batalla, que viría sendo A Coruña, e mandaríase construír unha gran torre nese mesmo sitio, labor que completaría o seu sobriño, o rei Espan, señor de «España». Foi tamén Hércules, segundo a *Estoria de España*, o primeiro en localizar o terreo onde ía ser erixida a gran cidade romana de Sevilla. De Carlos conclúe suxerindo que o compromiso do rei Afonso X co estudo da historiografía e as fontes romanas pode ser considerado como un precursor do humanismo renacentista italiano, un século e medio máis cedo, reforzando a idea compartida por outros investigadores de que as orixes do Renacemento non poden

30 Kennedy 2019: esp. 24 e 44.

ser vistas como un fenómeno intrinsecamente italiano, senón máis ben como un proceso multifocal no que o mundo ibérico desempeñou un papel vital³¹.

A forte ligazón de Galicia coa monarquía de Castela no século XIII reflectiuse no eido da produción lírica³². Tal como observou Pérez Rodríguez, «Galician influence at the Castilian courts of Alfonso X and Sancho IV is [...] highlighted by the success there of Galician-Portuguese troubadours and the embrace of their language for courtly verse, both in the *cantigas de amigo* or *de loor* and the *cantigas de escarnio* and *de maldizer*»³³. No capítulo final deste volume, o número 9, «Afonso o Sabio na lírica trobadoresca galego-portuguesa: da historia literaria á política cultural», Henrique Monteagudo salienta particularmente a vibrante tradición trobadoresca compostelá e a influencia que exerceu na corte do Rei Sabio. Para Monteagudo, o uso do galego por Afonso X responde en parte ao avanzado estadio de desenvolvemento que os xéneros líricos acadaran en Galicia e tamén a un intento de minorar a autoridade política e cultural da Igrexa. Considérao, igualmente, como algo natural nunha Península plurilingüe na que múltiples formas dos romances vernáculos eran vistos como complementarios, e a imposición dunha única lingua nacional era considerada como anatema³⁴. Afonso asumiu a función de patrón literario, desafiando dese xeito o papel cultural que viñera desenvolvendo a aristocracia na produción lírica, e promoveu ao mesmo tempo o labor de xograres galegos de orixe relativamente humilde. Porén, este padroado centralizado non ten por que ser, dende logo, un proxecto que venerar de maneira acrítica, en tanto que puido ter contribuído á debilidade da produción lírica dentro da propia Galicia.

O capítulo de Monteagudo ofrece unha lectura autobiográfica dunha serie de cantigas atribuídas ao propio Afonso X³⁵; ao mesmo tempo subliña a promoción por parte do rei da poesía satírica, un xénero cunha longa traxectoria na cultura galego-portuguesa, como un instrumento de control ideolóxico³⁶. Tamén sinala o valor das *Cantigas de Santa María* como un modo de forxar unha espiritualidade monárquica distintiva, que servise para reducir o monopolio espiritual da Igrexa. A par doutros investigadores, por exemplo o mesmo Kennedy, Monteagudo salienta o carácter marcadamente cortesán do público das *Cantigas de Santa María*; segundo el, a súa composición estivo moi influída pola batalla ideolóxica mantida cos arcebispos

31 Doubleday 2015: 228-229.

32 Jiménez Gómez 1984-1985: 160-163.

33 Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 456.

34 Pode ser interesante comparar este aspecto coa insistencia de Roger Wright na tardía distinción conceptual entre diferentes dialectos do «romance» ou «ibero-romance», e na inseparabilidade do galego-portugués (Wright 2015). Véxase tamén Mariño Paz / Varela Barreiro (2010) e Mariño Paz (2020).

35 Esta aproximación, que tamén é mantida por Doubleday 2015, distingue parcialmente a súa interpretación da doutros estudosos. Kennedy 2019: 89-90, por exemplo, argumenta que mentres que moitos dos poemas atribuídos ao rei parecían reflectir os seus sentimentos máis íntimos, outros son motivados en moi boa medida pola tradición literaria.

36 Véxase Doubleday 2004.

composteláns, que o levaría a marxinar o culto a Santiago nas cantigas en favor do culto mariano e doutros santuarios como o de Villasirga.

As evidencias fornecidas polos ensaios que forman parte deste volume poñen de manifesto que a Galicia do século XIII non iniciara o seu declive, que a monarquía castelá non se afastara de Galicia, de ningún modo, no tempo de Afonso X, e que existía unha fluída interacción entre Galicia e Castela en termos económicos, políticos e culturais. E así continuou sendo en etapas posteriores. No seu estudo de dous privilexios rodados concedidos a receptores galegos por Xoán II de Castela (1406-1454) en 1419 e 1420, Miguel García-Fernández, Diana Pelaz e Ricardo Pichel (2020) insisten en que a distancia física dende Galicia non significaba, necesariamente, que os gobernantes baixomedievais estivesen desinteresados no noroeste peninsular. Estes autores argumentan que os historiadores ignoraron por moito tempo a historia do poder real na Galicia da Baixa Idade Media, e reclaman que se poña maior atención aos modos máis indirectos nos que o poder real era exercido nese período, dende a distancia, mantendo unha relación próxima, complexa e bidireccional cos concellos e a nobreza de Galicia, así como coas institucións eclesiásticas. Neste sentido, xulgan de grande interese o desenvolvemento dun corpus de documentación real referida ao reino de Galicia.

Galicia era periférica só nun sentido estritamente xeográfico, mentres que desempeñou un papel clave no mapa cultural e lingüístico dunha Península híbrida nese momento histórico, e na que o eventual dominio de Castela e do castelán estaba lonxe de se consolidar. Este paradigma revisado, e en especial a negación do status «periférico», merece ser comparado cos argumentos defendidos por M^a Carmen Saavedra Vázquez para a España dos séculos XVI e XVII, un período que convencionalmente é coñecido como os «séculos escuros». Galicia non era periférica para os intereses de Carlos V, insiste Saavedra, contrariamente ao que se adoita afirmar. Entre outras políticas desenvolvidas nese momento, Carlos V creou a Real Audiencia de Galicia, un tribunal xurídico pero tamén un órgano de goberno que podía intervir en diversos aspectos da vida local, exercendo unha arbitrase entre os nobres ao tempo que defendía os intereses da poboación contra os poderes locais. Aínda que Felipe II só visitou Galicia nunha ocasión, a Coroa continuou afirmando os seus intereses na segunda metade do século XV, por exemplo coa creación da Inquisición en Santiago en 1574. Ao mesmo tempo, as dinámicas do poder nunca foron unidireccionais aínda no período dos Habsburgos: as ordes que chegaban da capital tiñan que afrontar os retos da distancia e a xeografía, e a Coroa seguía necesitando negociar o poder coas elites locais, tal como acontecera no século XIII. De acordo co que sinala Henrique Monteagudo, malia que a lingua galega puido verse eclipsada na cultura impresa, nin el nin Saavedra consideran axeitado o termo de «séculos escuros»; así pois, non pode-

mos proxectar a escasa presenza da lingua galega nos textos publicados sobre todos os acontecementos do período, ou aplicalo ao conxunto da realidade galega³⁷.

Rematamos, polo tanto, coa sensación de que o cliché historiográfico da decadencia de Galicia a partir do século XIII, do mesmo modo que acontece coa obsesión da fin de al-Andalus que xa sinalara Gil Anidjar, pode ser máis ben unha percepción ilusoria, un invento que en realidade se corresponde coas particulares preocupacións dos séculos XIX e XX. Monteagudo suxire que, igual que sucede co termo inglés dos «Dark Ages», o dos «séculos escuros» de Galicia evoca un período comprendido entre dúas fases superiores de claridade, neste caso a Idade Media e o Rexurdimento. Consideramos que xa chegou a hora, polo tanto, de cuestionar o tópico da decadencia de Galicia na Baixa Idade Media, dende o século XIII en diante. Coidamos que os traballos contidos neste libro poden axudar a continuar este importante debate histórico.

O volume xorde como unha das iniciativas que, co gallo do oitavo centenario do nacemento de Afonso X, promoveu o Consello da Cultura Galega para celebrar a mencionada efeméride. Os editores queremos agradecer a participación de todos os colaboradores, tanto os que publican neste libro como os que, por motivos de axenda ou outras dificultades, non figuran finalmente entre os autores da obra. A todos eles o noso agradecemento máis sincero³⁸.

³⁷ Saavedra Vázquez 2016.

³⁸ A contribución a este volume de Simon R. Doubleday foi posible en parte pola xenerosa bolsa que lle foi concedida pola National Endowment for the Humanities, para o curso académico 2020-2021. Esta introdución beneficiouse moito dos comentarios de varios contribuíntes do libro, especialmente Ricardo Pichel e Henrique Monteagudo.

Rethinking the paradigm of medieval Galician ‘decline’

José M. Andrade Cernadas and Simon R. Doubleday

The traditional paradigm of later medieval Galician history is one of political and cultural decline: a decline that, if not as precipitous as the decline, defeat, and disappearance of Al-Andalus, shares at least some features in common. Gil Anidjar has pointed to the obsessive historiographical concern with the end of al-Andalus, with underscoring its finitude and its supposed historical uniqueness, in a manner that obscures the ways in which Andalusi culture survives and persisted in Iberia and beyond. It is a striking fact, Anidjar writes, that “with al-Andalus, it is mostly to an irrevocable end and a catastrophic past that we are summoned and told we must bear witness”¹. Similarly, an ostensible downturn in the political fortunes of Galicia in the twelfth and thirteenth century is widely seen as a step in a long process of decline, culminating inevitably in the so-called ‘*séculos oscuros*’. This process was allegedly not reversed until the nineteenth-century Rerurdimento, which was, in turn, almost fatally interrupted by the Franco dictatorship². The supposed medieval downturn, curiously, is associated with some of the very same events that are often perceived as turning points marking the beginning of the end of al-Andalus: among them, the conquest of Toledo, the definitive union of the crowns of Castile and León, and the occupation of Córdoba, Sevilla, and other parts of Andalusia in the last years of the reign of Fernando III (d. 1252) and the first years of his son, Alfonso X (1252–84). But teleological narratives that suggest the inevitability of the Christian ‘reconquest’ do not reflect the lived reality of this period, or the uncertainty that accompanied repeated invasions by the Almohad and Marinid empires. And just as we must demythologize the year 1492 as the emphatic ‘end’ of Andalusi cultures, a clean, perfect, and absolute break with the past, so it is worth interrogating conventional narratives of Galician decline. Instead, we should be alert to signs of the enduring importance of Galicia in medieval Iberia, in political, economic, and cultural terms.

By universal consensus, Galicia had occupied a pivotal role in the Christian realms of Iberia between the ninth and late eleventh centuries. The ninth-century *inventio* of the tomb of the St. James by Bishop Teodomiro of Iria Flavia had given Galicia centrality in the spiritual imagination of medieval Christians across Iberia and western Europe³. In the realm sometimes known to modern scholars as the kingdom of “Asturias-León”, and later “León”, Galicia exerted a great deal of economic, political, and ecclesiastical weight, as late as the mid-eleventh century reigns of Fernando

1 Anidjar 2008: 182.

2 Monteagudo 2016.

3 D’Emilio 2015b: 7.

I and Sancha. Both the territory north of the Miño and the northern sectors of what is now Portugal would be a primary sphere for royal and ecclesiastical activity, and for power struggles, in this period. Although Fernando I's reign has sometimes been seen as marking a turn to the southeast, to the Castilian frontier, he would focus his energies on the consolidation of his authority in Asturias, León, and Galicia, as well attempting to expand his dominion in northern Portugal⁴. The importance of Galicia is reflected in the *Mappa Mundi* of the Beatus of Burgo de Osma, produced—probably at Sahagún—in 1086. Here, Galicia is given an extremely prominent space (the majority of the Iberian Peninsula). Both the Torre de Hércules in A Coruña, a navigational point of reference, and the church of Santiago are given protagonism; the church in fact appears as the largest in the world. The Castilian church of newly conquered Toledo, for its part, is given only a very minor representation, and as a fortress rather than a church⁵.

Alfonso VI's occupation of Toledo in 1085 has sometimes been perceived as marking a new stage in Iberian history in which the southern frontier would become increasingly significant and the far northwest, including Galicia, would lose its relative weight in the kingdom of León-Castile. There is certainly evidence that the crown experienced some difficulty in controlling Galicia during this period. As Francisco Prado-Vilar has observed, the last decade of the eleventh century was one of intense maneuvering around the dynastic succession, accompanying the instability caused by territorial expansion and the change of religious rite. One camp, focused on the king's efforts to promote the succession of his natural son Sancho (born to his liaison with his Muslim lover Zaida), was pitted against the Burgundian party and in particular Alfonso's Burgundian sons-in-law counts Raymond and Henry⁶. Alfonso's decision to delegate responsibility for the broad territories previously ruled by King García (1065-72)—a post-Roman *Gallaecia* stretching as far south as the Douro/Douro—seems to have come at a cost; Raymond began to style himself *Dei gratia comes et totius Galletie dominus*, without reference to Alfonso; it was this that led to Alfonso's decision to divide these lands along the Miño, and to entrust the county of Portugal and the territory of Coimbra to Count Henry, who was married to Alfonso's illegitimate daughter the *infanta* Teresa⁷.

However, it may be possible to exaggerate the long-term impact of these difficulties, the marginalization of Galicia in the twelfth century, and even Alfonso VI's strategic division of responsibilities, which would prove to be permanent as the kingdom of Portugal emerged as an autonomous realm. In cultural terms, the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries has been described by James D'Emilio as among the most dynamic periods the history of Galicia; the building of the new ba-

4 Reilly and Doubleday, forthcoming.

5 López Carreira and Andrade Cernadas 2020: 113-16.

6 Prado-Vilar 2009.

7 Portela 2015.

silica in Santiago itself was accompanied by a broader wave of Romanesque construction in the late twelfth century, “an astounding technical, economic, and cultural feat for a pre-industrial society”⁸. In political terms, it’s true that Alfonso VII of León-Castile (1126-57), *tocius Hispaniae imperator*, focused primarily on consolidating the union of the crowns of Castile and León, his claims to the crown of Aragon, and the occupation of Almería and other parts of the southern peninsula. Still, he wished to be buried in Santiago, as his father had been, and to create a royal pantheon there, although in the end, only his wife Berenguela was buried in Compostela⁹. Galicia played an important role in Alfonso VII’s conquest of Almería, to judge from the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* and the *Poema de Almería*, which is attached to the chronicle and which indicates mentions that the Galicians were the first to enter battle. This is the context in which the idea of Santiago ‘Matamoros’ takes shape, in the mid-twelfth century *Privilegio de los votos* forged by the Galician canon Pedro Marcio, in the visual arts, in the *Historia Silense*, and later in the work of Lucas Tuy¹⁰. In the wake of Alfonso VII’s division of the realms of León and Castile in 1157, Galicia continued to exert considerable weight within the kingdom of León—more properly, León-Galicia—with the Galician nobility (including particularly the Traba clan) proving particularly influential. Both Fernando II (1157-88) and Alfonso IX (1188-1230) would be buried in Santiago, and both kings were referred to in their diplomas as rulers of León and Galicia. Although Fernando rarely visited Galicia in person after 1172, Alfonso IX did so frequently, and also created the position of *meiriño maior* of Galicia¹¹. He founded a number of cities, including A Coruña, and supported pilgrimage to Santiago; indeed, he died on September 24, 1230, in the town of Sarria, while on pilgrimage there.

It is precisely this year, 1230, that is most often invoked as a pivotal point in the history of Galicia. As Francisco García Fitz has argued, the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa, eighteen years earlier, may not have been a ‘decisive battle’ in terms of the long-term trajectory of the Christian kingdoms, a turning point in the so-called Reconquista; instead, a dynastic crisis in the Almohad empire after the death of the caliph Abū Yaqūb in 1224, had ushered in a new phase of Christian expansionism on the Andalusí frontier¹². Nevertheless, so the argument goes, the dynastic reunification of León and Castile meant that Galicia now found itself relatively marginal within a much larger kingdom, which further expanded with the conquests of Córdoba, Sevilla, and the kingdom of Murcia. The economic importance of the east-west pilgrimage route to Santiago was now challenged by north-south routes. For the rest of the century, there would be only three visits by a king to Galicia; and Alfonso X himself would never go there. When, eventually, his son Sancho IV (1284-95) visited

8 D’Emilio, 2015b: 22, 64.

9 Yzquierdo Peiró 2019.

10 Falque 2015.

11 Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 431-38.

12 García Fitz 2012.

Galicia in 1286, he recalled that “it had been more than fifty years since a king had visited Galicia”¹³. Alfonso, the last Almohad caliph, as Maribel Fierro has termed him, demonstrated an overwhelming preference for the south of the peninsula and for Seville in particular, while being preoccupied with the Andalusian frontier and with the *fecho del Imperio*, his search for the title of Holy Roman Emperor. According to the conventional paradigm, the Castilian crown had little interest in Galicia, the heartland of the church and the old nobility whose power he was desperate to challenge.

Yet Galician scholars have increasingly questioned this paradigm. Already in the mid-1980s, in the wake of the seven hundredth anniversary of Alfonso X’s death, a brief but highly suggestive essay by Santiago Jiménez Gómez (1984-85) indicated that the view of a king who was politically distanced from Galicia—if not positively anti-Galician—was misleading on a number of levels. Galician noblemen (and others from Galicia) were significantly involved both in the military campaigns on the Andalusian frontier and in the process of resettlement and colonization. For instance, he argued, we know about the presence in the Andalusian frontier of Estevo Fernández de Castro, who was compensated in the repartimiento of Seville, as was the archbishop of Santiago himself, Xoan Arias, who had also participated with a number of knights in his service in several campaigns near Seville. Galicia was also an important source of revenues destined to support his candidacy for the imperial title, Jiménez Gómez suggested; particularly between 1272 and 1274, Castilian diplomas referred constantly to taxes raised for the *fecho del Imperio*. Thirdly, Galicia was increasingly subject to the Alfonsine legislative framework, as established in the *Espéculo*, the *Partidas*, and the *Fuero Real*. This meant, for instance, the creation of customs houses (*alfândegas*) in numerous Galician ports, as well as the creation of royal towns such as Pontedeume in 1270; and judicial intervention in cases which pitted Galician municipalities against their lords, including the bishops of Ourense and—more dramatically—the archbishops of Santiago. Finally, for Jiménez Gómez, the closest link between Alfonso X and Galicia was in the realm of culture, notably in his lyrical output, culminating in the *Cantigas de Santa María*. The influence of the Galician-Portuguese literary and linguistic tradition in Alfonsine cultural production, Jiménez Gómez concluded, raised a number of intriguing questions: for instance, whether the king spoke the language, for how long, and whether it was a lingua franca at court.

Alfonso X’s Galician connection may in fact have dated from his early childhood. His guardian García Fernández de Villamayor (who was from Burgos) was married to Doña Mayor Arias, probably a Galician noblewoman who may have come from the Arias family of Limia. García Fernández received the tenancy of the town of Maceda, near Ourense, from Fernando III. The young *infante* Alfonso had probably

¹³ López Ferreiro 1895, I: 375: “auia mas de L annos que non entrara en Gallizia otro Rey, si non yo agora”. These arguments are acknowledged by Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 438-41, within the frame of an attempt to rethink this conventional paradigm.

had his first contact with the noble courts of the Miño region – in which troubadour lyric was being cultivated – in 1232, when his father Fernando III visited Lugo, Coruña, Santiago, Tui and Orense, this contact probably intensified in the following years. The claim that Alfonso himself spent time in Maceda, for which there is no documentary evidence at present, is contested¹⁴. Be that as it may, it may have been somewhere in Galicia that he initiated his relationship with his *barragana* Maria Afonso, daughter of his grandfather Alfonso IX and Teresa Gil de Soverosa. He would have received important towns in Galicia-León when he reached his majority around 1240¹⁵. As *infante*, Alfonso—Pérez Rodríguez has suggested—was granted a significant role in Galicia and León, exercising judicial authority on behalf of his father, Fernando III. This is the first indication that we should not reduce ‘monarchy’ to the singular figure of the king—an argument to which we will return shortly. Along with a number of Leonese territories, the infante Alfonso was entrusted with the tenancy of Ribadavia, from 1240, and possibly Lemos; it’s possible that other Galician tenancies were in his hands too. Ribadavia was governed by Andrés Fernández de Castro, in Alfonso’s name, in 1245 and 1249, suggesting that his role there was long-lasting¹⁶.

The king’s physical absence from Galicia after his accession to the throne in 1252 is undisputed; but from the earliest months of the reign, the royal chancery continued to issue confirmations of privileges to Galician monasteries; not new privileges, but this emphasis on confirmations had begun already under Alfonso IX and Fernando III. As Jiménez Gómez argued, the region continued to be vital for the crown for economic reasons, with particular value as a source of customs revenues from key maritime ports, ten out of twenty-four of which were in Galicia: Ribadeo, Viveiro, Ortigueira, Cedeira, Ferrol, Betanzos, A Coruña, Baiona, A Guarda, and Tui, as well as “three secondary fishing ports” (Noia, Padrón, and Pontevedra). Alfonso X was keenly conscious of the need to defend the Galician coasts; the Order of Santa María de España was dedicated to defending the shoreline of his kingdoms. Meanwhile, Galicians did indeed continue to participate in royal military campaigns, and equally the conquest of Seville was probably an important stimulus for Galician ports¹⁷.

For Pérez Rodríguez and others, Alfonso X embodied a widespread western European tendency to assert royal authority more strongly in this period¹⁸. Apart from adjudicating over disputes between Galician *consellos* and bishops, Alfonso took control of the vacant archbishopric of Santiago after the death of Juan Arias in 1266; his refusal to recognize the papal candidate, Gonzalo Gómez, would mean that Santiago remained under royal lordship until the end of the reign, and into the early fourteenth century. For the same reasons, the see of Ourense remained vacant

14 González Jiménez 2004: 18.

15 Monteagudo 2014: 123-24.

16 Monteagudo 2014: 149, Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 441-48.

17 Jiménez Gómez 1984-85, Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 452-56.

18 Doubleday 2001: esp. ch. 4.

for a decade after 1276. These strategies were of course politically polarizing, earning Alfonso the hostility of the Galician church, just as he found himself in an increasingly conflictive relationship with members of the old aristocracy.

There was vigorous opposition to Alfonso's building of new towns across Galicia. But Alfonso X personally, and the monarchy more broadly—understood as a collective, corporate phenomenon—were far more deeply engaged in Galicia than we have conventionally been led to believe. Galicia, equally, remained an economically vibrant and culturally influential region, anything but “peripheral” within the kingdom of Castile and León. The myth of marginality is, in fact, a result of historical erasure, a process that developed from the sixteenth century onwards. It was then at the earliest, under the new Habsburg and Bourbon dynasties, that Galicia became more economically dependent and increasingly subject to pervasive centralist clichés of backwardness¹⁹. But even at this later stage, as we will see, there are reasons to question the motif of decline.

As Galicia re-emerges again, in the twenty-first century, as a significant economic force whose geographically peripheral status paradoxically gives it renewed centrality in Spain and in the Iberian Atlantic, it is time for us to revisit clichés of decline and marginality²⁰. The contributors to this volume reassess the many ways in which Galicia played a significant role within the frame of thirteenth-century Iberia, particularly during the reign of Alfonso X. Chapter 1, Francisco Javier Pérez Rodríguez's “Diplomatario galego de Afonso X” offers a foundation stone for this reappraisal, paralleling the *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X* of Manuel González Jiménez (1991). Although, as Pérez Rodríguez explains, it does not include transcriptions of the original documents, our expectation is that this edition of sources will be an invaluable resource for future research. The “Diplomatario” confirms the impression of intensive royal involvement in Galicia during the reign of the Wise King. It includes a number of royal land grants in the Aljarafe de Sevilla, in the years up to 1260, to members of the Galician nobility and to the cathedral chapter of Compostela, in the *Repartimiento* of that territory (docs 11, 16, 99, 123). It provides further evidence for claims that Galicia was an important source of income for royal campaigns on the Andalusian frontier; we see Alfonso X sending his *alcalde* Domingo Eanes to collect monies for the fleet in Cadiz in 1258 (doc. 100; cf. 151). It also offers evidence that, among royal officials, the *meiriño maior* Rodrigo García was particularly active in adjudicating Galician legal cases (docs. 114-15, 118, 127); and that more generally, after 1268, there was endemic tension between Galician monasteries and a number of monarchical officials, including the *meiriños maiores* and the *adelantado de Galicia* (docs. 160-163, 184, 203, 214, 222).

¹⁹ López Carreira and Andrade Cernadas 2020: esp. 29-58 and 121-82.

²⁰ Colmeiro 2009.

Some of Alfonso's most longstanding officials were indeed Galicians: men like Gómez García de Sotomaior. Many of these officials were, particularly in the latter stages of the reign, closely tied to the king by close bonds of personal loyalty, and for this very reason, the apparatus would later be dismantled by Sancho IV²¹. The "Diplomatario" further indicates the degree to which royal government was—as Theresa Earenfight has argued—a family affair. This strengthens the argument that monarchy in the High Middle Ages should be understood not as rule by a single figure but rather as a corporate and collective enterprise involving many family members, both male and female²². Alfonso X refers to one of his *meiriños* in Galicia, Xoán Fernández, as *mio sobrino*, in July 1277 (doc. 205). His eldest son, Fernando de la Cerda, became actively involved as an agent of royal justice in Galicia from July 1270—when he was present in Santiago de Compostela—just as Alfonso himself had been involved as infante (docs. 169, 185, 205). Equally, the infante Sancho is present in Santiago in his capacity as *alférez e almirante da cofradía de Santa María de España* on 16 November 1272 (doc. 180), and—interestingly in view of his mother's later patronage of a Clarissan monastery there—Sancho was in Allariz by 24 November that year (doc. 183). By 1274, he was actively managing the royal lands (*reguengo*) in Galicia from Burgos through his official Xoán Gato (doc 193; cf. doc. 194). His role in Galicia was then consolidated after Fernando de la Cerda's death in 1275 (docs. 198, 207, 208, 223), and by the late 1270s, he was beginning to exert what Francisco J. Hernández has elsewhere called "un papel cuasi virreinal" in the northwest of the peninsula, acting as "co-regente" (212)²³. Sancho visited Galicia in both 1276 and 1278, and as Hernández points out in chapter 2, he would soon return there after his accession to the throne in 1286.

The "Diplomatario" also reveals active royal intervention in regard to the towns of Galicia, including protection of the commercial and tax privileges of the city of A Coruña, which was given a monopoly of the salt trade (doc. 87; cf. 92, 195) and Alfonso's former tenancy of Ribadavia (doc. 97), as well as Pontevedra (doc. 151)—whose vibrant economy is studied by Olalla López-Costas in chapter 3—and the towns of Lugo including Villafranca del Bierzo (doc. 191). On 15 February 1268, Alfonso X exempted the citizens of Lugo from being arrested or imprisoned for debts owed to the bishop (doc. 158). Policies of this kind reflect an increasingly assertive royal policy towards the power of the Galician episcopal sees. This contrasts with Alfonsine policy in the first years of the reign (1252-56), when he had confirmed a large number of prior privileges granted to the cathedral church of Santiago de Compostela and had protected the spiritual and economic interests of the church. On 6 November 1254 he

21 This process is studied in depth by Hernández 2021.

22 Earenfight, 2016. See also Pick 2017. Agreeing with Earenfight's view of monarchy as a family affair, Pick asserts that "The king was at the apex of that family, but his security and ability to exert his authority depended not only on networks of relationship with nobles, rivals, and members of the Church but also on relationships within the family" (238).

23 Hernández 2021.

had granted royal protection to all pilgrims traveling to Santiago (doc. 20); and on the 29th of the same month, had regularized the manner in which pilgrims to Santiago could make their last will and testament (doc 21). Two years later, on 3 November 1256, he had granted the archbishop of Santiago, Xoán Arias, the right to hold a market every Tuesday in Aldeanueva [de Figueroa], located far from Compostela between Toro and Salamanca; the following day he granted the archbishopric the Galician town of Xallas (docs. 74-75).

Nevertheless, even in these early years, there had been signs of mounting mistrust on the part of the cathedral chapter, revealing tensions that would evolve into a consistently ‘anti-Compostelan’ policy on the part of the Castilian king. In Covarrubias, on 10 November 1255, reflecting this mistrust, Alfonso concedes that it will be the chapter of Compostela which controls the revenue of the see during such time as it is vacant (doc. 78); and in Vitoria, on 10 January 1256, he makes explicit that the financial grant which the Church of Santiago had made to his father, Fernando III, had been made freely—and was not, by implication, necessarily to be repeated (doc. 90). During the early 1260s, Alfonso frequently adjudicated the competing interests of the cathedral and the urban *consello*, finding in favor of the latter in a key decision of 30 January 1264 in Seville (doc. 137).

The determined projection of royal power in Galicia in the reign of Alfonso X is the principal theme of Francisco J. Hernández’s “La piel del leopardo: Galicia y el ordenamiento territorial alfonsí” (chapter 2). The *reguengo* was still an important part of the Galician landscape in the mid-thirteenth century, Hernández argues; although this was also ‘a land of clerics and monks’, the dominance of the church was far from what it would become in the seventeenth century. This argument reinforces similar claims that the control of the church was more limited than we might imagine in a number of areas in Galicia, including the eastern mountain ranges; and that while we might assume this reflects the church’s lack of interest in less productive land, there were other territories too that were extremely productive (including Ribeiro de Avia) in which royal control was significant²⁴.

Hernández, for his part, asserts that this royal presence was especially strong in the *terra chá* (the territories under royal jurisdiction)²⁵; the delegation of royal judicial and administrative powers as ‘tenancies’ was well-established in places like Trastámara, Montenegro, Monterroso, Sarria, Lemos, Toroño and Limia. The history of these rotating tenancies, in his view, reflects the power of Crown to choose tenants—these positions were not hereditary, nor simple concessions to local power dynamics. Among the tenants was Alfonso X’s natural son Alfonso Fernández el Niño (who like his father, spent most of his time in Sevilla); it was Alfonso Fernández who

²⁴ Andrade Cernadas 2016.

²⁵ This term is not to be confused with the Terra Chá, a modern Galician territory in the north of the province of Lugo.

was sent at the head of a military force against Santiago de Compostela to assert royal rights. Hernández emphasizes that while the five episcopal sees in Galicia—Santiago, Tui, Ourense, Lugo and Mondoñedo—were excluded from ordinary tax obligations, they were not exempt from the ‘extraordinary’ *servicios*, which provided the crown with an essential source of revenue. Alfonso X, he concludes, attempted consistently to restrain the power of ecclesiastical and lay lordships, and benefitted substantially from the vacancy in the see of Santiago de Compostela which followed the death of the archbishop in 1266.

To a considerable degree, the continuing assertion of royal power in Galicia reflected the territory’s economic and commercial value for the kingdom of Castile-León. In chapter 3, “Pontevedra, a cidade que floreceu na Baixa Idade Media: adentrándonos na dieta medieval a través dos restos humanos”, Olalla López-Costas offers us a new archaeobiological perspective on these questions. She argues that, far from marking a period of decline, the thirteenth century was decisive in the development of the Galician economy, and specifically in the commercial fortunes of Pontevedra, which acquired prominence in Atlantic fishing. This owed a good deal, she suggests, to the intervention of the kings of León (Fernando II and Alfonso IX) and Castile-León (Fernando III and Alfonso X), allowing Pontevedra to acquire a privileged role in the fish trade, within and beyond the peninsula. On the basis of excavations carried out between 2007 and 2010 in church cemeteries in Pontevedra, and adopting cutting-edge scientific methodologies, López-Costas analyzes in detail the thirteenth-century diet of the city’s inhabitants, coming to the conclusion that this diet was rich and diverse in seafood. She carefully relates patterns of consumption to socioeconomic status.

In rethinking the crown’s relationship to Galicia, in the age of Alfonso X, it’s important to avoid a focus on the singular figure of the king. As Lucy Pick has observed, “the old master narrative of the sovereign king and the fantasy of uncomplicated male lordship have proven extremely resistant to a more nuanced understanding of how power was construed, held, and wielded in the Middle Ages”²⁶. Although the ‘gender turn’ in royal studies has been painfully slow, a wealth of new scholarship on queenship, gender, and power in medieval Europe underscores the importance of elite women, including those who formed part of the court and the extended royal family²⁷. In León and Galicia, queens had long been recognized as spiritual guardians for the royal family, exerting authority through their ownership of religious houses²⁸. No less important was their intercessory role within the broader framework of corporate monarchy, a context that allowed royal women a significant degree of ‘soft power’, as well as their direct agency within this framework. Co-rulership was surprisingly

26 Pick 2017: 246.

27 See, for instance, Bianchini 2012, Earenfight 2014, Pelaz Flores 2015.

28 Pick 2011.

widespread across medieval Europe, including Byzantium, Norway, and Poland, and as Miriam Shadis has shown, had been exercised in Castile and León by Queen Berenguela along with her son, Fernando III²⁹.

This new vision of medieval monarchy as a corporate body in which royal women, as well as men, were vital players, is explored in Diana Pelaz's essay, "Facerse presentes. As mulleres da familia real e o reino de Galicia na culminación plenomedieval" (chapter 4). Using as a point of departure Queen Violante's foundation of the Clarissan convent of Allariz, Pelaz underscores both the spiritual role of royal women in thirteenth-century Castile and León and their political and diplomatic agency. She concludes that monarchy was "unha institución complexa, que supera os límites do corpo físico do monarca". The multiplicity of royal figures whose presence at court is cited in royal diplomas—including the queen and the *infantas*—amplified the reach of the crown. The figure of the queen is understood "como enlace entre pai e fillo/s pero tamén por si mesma, como figura política autónoma e independente". For Pelaz, this role is reflected in the visual arts, notably in the images of the tombo of the Cistercian monastery of Toxos Outos, in which eleven queens are represented. The administrative role of royal *infantas* was also significant: Pelaz points to their role as *tenentes* of important territories, including commercially important ports like A Coruña and territories on the Portuguese frontier. She concludes by observing that the kingdom of Galicia "continuaría a formar unha parte fundamental tras a reunión de León e Castela baixo o mandato de Fernando III e de vital importancia para a estabilidade do conxunto territorial durante o reinado de Alfonso X;" and that for royal women, as well as their male counterparts, the Galician territories remained an essential sphere of action.

The role of royal women is similarly central to Rosa María Rodríguez Porto's study, "Cara e cruz: conflito político, territorio y padroado rexio en Galicia durante o reinado de Afonso X e Violante de Aragón" (chapter 5). Alfonso was committed to a policy which, while not anti-Galician, certainly came to be anti-Compostelan. Galician ecclesiastical institutions like the cathedral chapter of Compostela therefore looked to Queen Violante as an alternative source of royal support. It's possible, Porto suggests, that Violante, unlike Alfonso, had traveled in person to Compostela in the early 1260s; she had certainly visited the kingdom of León-Galicia in 1264-65. Like Pelaz, Porto points to longer-standing patterns whereby royal women had exerted political agency in the Iberian northwest; the convent of Santa Clara de Allariz would be founded within an 'imaginary triangle' formed by Xunqueira de Ambía, Porqueira and Celanova, which had traditionally belonged to the *infantas* of León. As a Franciscan re-iteration of the royal foundation of Las Huelgas—itself a reinvention of the female institutions linked to the *Infantazgo*—Allariz was also the inspiration for the foundation of Santa Clara de Coimbra by Queen Isabel of Portugal, reflecting the geo-political

29 Shadis 2009.

implications of the close dynastic links between Violante and her niece Isabel. The aspiration to female royal protection and patronage was reflected in the centrality given to images of royal queens in the *Tumbo Colorado* and, again, the *Tumbo de Toxos Outos*. To her chagrin, Queen Violante's role as patron and her economic agency were undercut by her son the *infante* Sancho, who relieved her of important tenancies and who was responsible for the appointment of the bishop of Ourense, Pero Eanes de Nóvoa, who was the nemesis of the Franciscans in Galicia when Violante was attempting to establish a Clarissan convent at Allariz. This was coupled by disaffection with Sancho among Galicia nobles and clerics; Galicia, she indicates, was "on the point of becoming an independent kingdom". Yet the queen remained an important patron, as the disparate documentary record attests, despite the paucity of the artistic works that can actually be associated to Violante's initiative; in this regard, the closing pages of Porto's chapter are dedicated to an analysis of Violante's role in relation to material objects with which she has been conventionally associated.

Beatriz Vaquero's essay, "Santa Clara de Allariz, historia dunha fundación real (ss. XIII-XV)" (chapter 6), draws on the evidence of a forthcoming edition of 376 extant documents relating to the convent in order to pursue the story of Allariz from its origins in 1282 and its first abbess Sancha Eanes all the way to the end of the fifteenth century. For Violante, this was in part a personal project: the convent was to be a place of refuge in her widowhood, after Alfonso X's death in 1284, and in her testament, she announced her intention to be buried there. However, reinforcing a line of interpretation that is a leitmotif of this book, Vaquero accepts the argument that the foundation of Santa Clara de Allariz was also a political move designed to reassert royal power as a counterbalance to the power of the church—in this case, the power of the bishop of Ourense (a fact of which the bishop appears to have been keenly aware). As such, the convent was later supported by Sancho IV, his son the *infante* Felipe, and other members of the royal family in the decades that followed, notably Alfonso XI, while remaining "un importante centro de poder feminino".

The convent of Allariz, then, was closely entwined in networks of royal power. As Ricardo Pichel explains in his contribution, "*Sabean quantos este liuro virem... A difusión do legado historiográfico e haxiográfico do Rei Sabio na Galicia baixomedieval*" (chapter 7), it played an important role in the reception of the hagiographical work of Bernardo de Brihuega, soon after its composition at the Alfonsine court. Focusing in depth on the cross-frontier diffusion of Alfonsine historiographical and hagiographical production in both Galicia and Portugal, Pichel's chapter underscores the importance of great noble households—among others, the powerful lineages of Lima-Batisela, Riba de Vizela, Andrade, and Castro de Lemos—as centers of patronage and nodes in a trans-peninsular network of elite cultural power in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The trajectory of the great Alfonsine (and post-Alfonsine) historical projects—including the *General Estoria*, the *Estoria de Es-*

paña, and the *Crónica de Castilla*—provides ample testimony of the interest of these seigneurial households in transmitting and diffusing the historiographical and hagiographical legacy of Alfonso X through copying, translation, compilation, and re-editing on both sides of the River Miño, throughout the fourteenth century.

While we must indeed understand monarchy as a corporate phenomenon involving complex cultural and political networks, it could certainly be imprinted by the specific agenda and aspirations of individual kings. Alfonso X aspired to control across the whole expanse of his realms, including Galicia, and indeed beyond, as he pursued the title of Holy Roman Emperor. As Kristin Kennedy has written, “Even after Pope Gregory had definitively quashed his imperial ambition Alfonso styled himself ‘by the grace of God king of the Romans’ in documents issued in connection with the weddings of two of his sons at Burgos in 1281”. When Alfonso’s coffin was opened in 1579, it was found to contain a number of imperial insignia. Kennedy has underscored the ideological work performed by his textual production, insisting that the primary audience was comprised of elite members of his own court circles rather than a broader public³⁰. Others have pointed to the sustained attempt to centralize political control within the kingdoms of León and Castile, and the ways in which this ideological agenda is reflected in cultural production, including the *Cantigas de Santa María* and the *Cantigas de escarnio y de maldezir*.

In this context, Helena de Carlos’s study of “As *Antigüidades da Gallaecia* na obra historiográfica de Afonso X” (chapter 8) is suggestive as a reflection of the ideological climate of the royal court. De Carlos asks how the ‘protohistory’ of pre-Roman Galicia was represented by the historians working at Alfonso’s court, focusing particularly on the Alfonsine recasting of the story of the western Iberian ruler Xerión. According to narrative tradition, possibly refracting pre-classical colonial processes in the peninsula, Xerión’s wealth in cattle had been coveted by the mythical Roman figure Hercules: “ese culto a Xerión podería ser un eco da lembranza de depredacións de gando no seo dunha loita entre o elemento colonial pregrego, representado por Heracles, contra os reis indíxenas”. The figure of Hercules was of particular interest to the Alfonsine court in the wake of Castilian expansion into Andalusia, where (De Carlos argues) the Roman legacy—as well as the Andalusí legacy—was ubiquitous and pervasive. In the thirteenth century Castilian court, Hercules was seen as an emblem of a previous civilizing culture, and in the new, imperializing context, the story of Xerión and Hercules was transformed.

In the original third-century Latin source, Xustino, Hercules had been represented as an aggressive predator. Now, in the Alfonsine tradition, he was instead depicted as a just and noble figure. Xerión, in contrast, was represented as a seven-headed monster whom Hercules bravely decapitates in battle. Hercules, according to the royal historians, had founded a city on the site of that battle—A Coruña—

30 Kennedy 2019: esp. 24, 44.

and ordered a great tower to be built there, a task which was completed by Hercules' nephew King Espan, lord of "España". It had also been Hercules who, according to the *Estoria de Espanna*, first located the site where the great Roman city of Seville would later be built. De Carlos concludes by suggesting that the Alfonsine commitment to the study of ancient Roman sources was shared with earliest Renaissance Italian humanism, sometimes predating it by half a century, reinforcing the idea—which has been explored elsewhere—that origins of the Renaissance should be seen not as an intrinsically Italian development but rather as a multipolar phenomenon in which Iberia also played a vital role³¹.

The close enmeshment of Galicia and the Castilian monarchy in the thirteenth century was also reflected in the realm of lyrical production³². As Pérez Rodríguez has observed, "Galician influence at the Castilian courts of Alfonso X and Sancho IV is [...] highlighted by the success there of Galician-Portuguese troubadours and the embrace of their language for courtly verse, both in the *cantigas de amigo* or *de loor* and the *cantigas de escarnio and de maldizer*"³³. In the final essay in this volume, chapter 9, "Afonso o Sabio na lírica trobadoresca galego-portuguesa: da historia literaria á política cultural", Henrique Monteagudo emphasizes in particular the vibrancy of the Compostelan troubadour tradition, and the influence it exerted at the Alfonsine court. For Monteagudo, the use of galego by Alfonso X responded in part to the advanced development of lyric genres in Galicia (as well as to an attempt to undercut the cultural and political authority of the church). He also sees it as a natural move in a plurilingual peninsula in which multiple forms of romance vernacular were seen as complementary, and the imposition of a single national language was anathema.³⁴ Alfonso assumed a principal role as literary patron, in a way that increasingly challenged the older cultural role of the aristocracy and promoted Galician *xogares* of relatively humble origin. His centralization of patronage is not self-evidently a project which we should venerate uncritically, since to some degree it may have weakened lyric production within Galicia itself.

Monteagudo's chapter favors an autobiographical reading of a number of *cantigas* attributed to AX himself³⁵; at the same time, he underscores the king's promotion of satirical poetry (a genre with a longstanding Galician-Portuguese precedent) as an instrument of ideological control³⁶ and the value of the *Cantigas*

31 Doubleday 2015: 228-29.

32 Jiménez Gómez 1984-85: 160-63.

33 Pérez Rodríguez 2015: 456.

34 The point is worth comparing with Roger Wright's insistence on the very late conceptual distinction between different dialects of 'Romance' or 'Ibero-Romance'; and the continuing inseparability of Galician-Portuguese (Wright 2015). See also Mariño Paz and Varela Barreiro (2010) and Mariño Paz (2020).

35 This approach, which is also adopted in Doubleday 2015, partially distinguishes his reading from that of some other scholars. Kennedy 2019, 89-90, argues—for instance—that while many of the poems attributed to Alfonso appear to reflect the king's inner feelings and emotional states, others owe a great deal to literary tradition.

36 See Doubleday 2004.

de Santa María as a means of forging a distinctive royal spirituality, undercutting the spiritual monopoly of the Church. Like other scholars, including Kennedy, Monteagudo emphasizes the very specific nature of the courtly audience for the *Cantigas de Santa María*; in his view, these were not a broadly propagandistic tool aimed at a wide public. Nonetheless, he argues, their composition was certainly inflected by the ideological battle against the archbishops of Santiago de Compostela, leading to a marginalization of the cult of St. James in the cantigas in favor of the Marian cult and other sacred sites such as Villasirga.

The evidence of the essays in this volume strongly suggests that thirteenth-century Galicia was not yet in decline; that Galicia, by no means peripheral other than in a geological sense, played a key role in a culturally and linguistically hybrid peninsula in this period; that the Castilian monarchy had in no way ‘withdrawn’ from Galicia in the age of Alfonso X; and that there was a fluid interaction between Galicia and Castile, in economic, political, and cultural terms. This would long remain the case. In their study of two *privilegios rodados* granted to Galician recipients by Juan II of Castile (1406-54) in 1419 and 1420, Miguel García-Fernández, Diana Pelaz Flores, and Ricardo Pichel (2020) have reiterated that physical distance from Galicia did not necessarily mean that late medieval rulers were unconcerned with the Iberian north-west; historians have largely overlooked the history of royal power in Galicia in the later Middle Ages, they argue, calling for historians to pay closer attention to the ways in which royal power was exerted in less direct ways during the later Middle Ages, from a distance, encompassing close, complex, and bidirectional relationships with the Galician municipalities and nobility, as well as with its ecclesiastical institutions. It would be wise, they conclude, to contemplate developing a corpus of medieval royal documents relating to the kingdom of Galicia³⁷.

This revised paradigm, and in particular the denial of Galicia’s “peripheral” status, may be worth comparing with the arguments articulated by María del Carmen Saavedra Vázquez for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain: a period which has conventionally been known as the ‘*séculos oscuros*’. Galicia was *not* peripheral to Carlos V’s interests, Saavedra insists, contrary to what is typically affirmed. Among other policies, Carlos V created a Real Audiencia for Galicia: a judicial tribunal but also an organ of government which could intervene in many aspects of local life, arbitrating between lords while also defending the interests of the population against local powers. Although Philip II visited Galicia only once, the crown continued to attempt to assert its interest there in the later part of the century, for instance with the creation of the Inquisition in Santiago in 1574. At the same time, power dynamics were not unidirectional even in the Habsburg period: orders from Madrid had to confront the challenges of distance and geography, and the crown continued to need to negotiate power with local elites, as had been the case in the thirteenth century.

37 García-Fernández, Pelaz Flores and Pichel 2020: 175.

Although, as Henrique Monteagudo has also observed, Galician language may have been eclipsed in the printed medium, neither he nor Saavedra finds the term ‘séculos escuros’ to be sustainable; we cannot project the ‘decline’ of Galician language in published texts onto the events of this period or apply it to Galicia as a whole³⁸.

One is left with the sense that the historiographical motif of Galician decline, like the obsession with the ‘end’ of al-Andalus to which Gil Anidjar has drawn attention, may to a considerable degree be illusory, an ‘invention’ that in fact speaks to the particular concerns of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Monteagudo has suggested that, like the English term ‘Dark Ages’, the term ‘séculos escuros’ evokes a period between two superior phases of ‘light’, in this case the Middle Ages and the *Rexurdimento*³⁹. Equally, it is time to interrogate the cliché of late medieval decadence in the status of Galicia, from the thirteenth century onwards; it is our hope that the essays in this book will stimulate ongoing discussion and debate.

This volume arises as one of the initiatives promoted by the Consello da Cultura Galega to commemorate the eighth centenary of the birth of Alfonso X in 1221. The editors wish to thank all those who have contributed to this volume and those who, by virtue of other professional commitments or other difficulties, are not, in the end, among the list of contributors. Our most sincere gratitude to all those who have shaped the book⁴⁰.

38 Saavedra Vázquez 2016.

39 Monteagudo, “A invención dos ‘séculos escuros’”, 149-53.

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