

WARRIOR NEIGHBORS: ALFONSO EL SABIO AND CRUSADER
VALENCIA, AN ARCHIVAL CASE STUDY IN HIS INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

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by Robert I. Burns, S.J.

The thirteenth century was a turning point in the physical evolution of western European countries. As Francia moved south to dominate Occitania, for example, the outlines of a future France can be discerned in the union. The collapse of the Hohenstaufen dynasty into the Great Interregnum marks a decisive turn for Germany. Less familiar perhaps are the sweeping changes by which the Spanish peninsula lost its ancient configurations and assumed a "modern" geopolitical shape. The crusading victory of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 broke the power of Spanish Islam, plunging the Almohad empire and al-Andalus into a confusion of civil wars from which it never recovered. Saint Ferdinand (III) of Castile, definitively joining to his dynasty the kingdom of León, swept ruthlessly over the central fragments of Spanish Islam until only the pathetic rump-kingdom of Granada remained at the peninsula's southern tip. Castile-León had suddenly expanded from covering a seventh of the peninsula to covering the larger part of it, including a seacoast protectorate-kingdom of Muslims at Murcia. From mid-century Ferdinand's son Alfonso X the Learned (1221–1284) would labor to unify this congeries, to transform it from a feudal-warrior society into a modern Roman-law monarchy, and to create a cultural expression appropriate to the grandeur of the new country—in letters, science, music, and art.

On the Mediterranean side of the peninsula, James the Conqueror (1208–1276) ruled "from the Rhone to Valencia," as he put it in 1241. He had inherited a feudal upland kingdom called Aragon, the dominant position over the port-communes of Occitania or southern France, and especially (as count) the vibrant Catalan heartland of affluent port-communes centered on Barcelona. James had conquered the Islamic Balearic islands in a remarkable amphibious crusade, as the Kingdom of Majorca. He had then battled his way down the Mediterranean littoral, establish-

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The maps accompanying this article are from *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* by Robert I. Burns, S.J., Harvard University Press.

ing a Kingdom of Valencia and capturing the North Africa-Europe circle trade centered on his two conquests, with the emirate (soon the caliphate) of Hafsid Tunis as his colonial protectorate. This collection of states and languages was called the Crown or Realms of Aragon. Alfonso and James are hailed today as the founders of the greatness of their respective countries. When the two lands joined in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the emerging country "Spain" had begun, with these two kings at its double roots.

The career of Alfonso as heir and then as ruler paralleled and meshed with the reigns of James and his son Peter the Great. Alfonso and James saw the grandest surge of the Reconquest; the territorial gains confronted each king with opportunities, dangers, riches, and administrative problems on a scale unprecedented in the histories of their respective countries. For all the contrasts in their personalities and kingdoms, El Sabio and El Conqueridor had much in common. Both stood in the shadow of powerful fathers who were heroes of Christendom; both were nourished by surrogate parents in spartan surroundings; both took to the field of battle early, returned to it often, and died in arms. Each presided over a cultural renaissance; each laid the foundations of modern Romanist law for his own people; each played a significant role in the literary elevation of his respective Romance; and each was determined to succeed to the mantle of the Hohenstaufen emperors. They were alternately energetic enemies and enthusiastic friends. Their matrimonial and domestic lives intersected; their boundaries overlapped; and when they were not rivals on the crusading or international fields they were formidable allies.¹

The careers of these two great men should particularly converge at Valencia. The

¹For bibliographical and thematic discussion of James's reign, see *Jaime I y su época*, X Congreso de historia de la Corona de Aragón, 3 vols. (Zaragoza 1979–1982), esp. Federico Udina Martorell and Luis Suárez Fernández, "Historiografía y fuentes del reinado de Jaime I, desde 1909 hasta 1975," 1.313–340. Cf. also *I Congreso de historia de la Corona de Aragón, dedicado al rey D. Jaime I y a su época*, 2 vols. (Barcelona 1909–1913). For Alfonso see the classic bibliography appended to José Sánchez Pérez, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Madrid 1944); the supplementary "Bibliografía de estudios sobre la vida y la obra de Alfonso X el Sabio" by Gardiner London in the *Boletín de filología española* 2 (1960) 18–31; the thematic bibliographies appearing regularly in *La corónica*; and from 1982 the *Noticiero alfonsí* newsletter edited by Anthony Cárdenas at Wichita State University. The commemorative international congresses in 1984, especially at the University of Toronto in Canada, the University of Wisconsin in the United States, and by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Spain will focus and advance current Alfonsine studies. See especially the congress commemorating both kings at UCLA, *The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror: Intellect and Force in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Princeton 1985). Neither king has found his biographer. For James we must make do with Ferran Soldevila, *Vida de Jaume I el Conqueridor* (Barcelona 1958) and Charles de Tourtoulon, *Don Jaime I el Conquistador*, rev. and trans. Teodoro Llorente y Olivares, 2 vols. (Valencia 1874). Jacobine historiography is brilliantly covered in Ernest Belenguer, *Jaume I a través de la historia*, 2 vols. (Valencia 1984). For Alfonso we have Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona 1963), as well as the documentary collections by Juan Torres Fontes (cited below); the *Memorial histórico español*, 49 vols. (Madrid 1851–1948), 1 and 2; and J. M. del Estal et al., *El libro de los primitivos privilegios de Alicante de Alfonso X el Sabio: Estudios histórico-críticos y transcripción* (Madrid 1984). Besides the *Worlds of Alfonso* with its bibliography, see also Burns, ed., *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance* (University of Pennsylvania, forthcoming). Peter the Great is less well served than either king; the XI Congreso de historia de la Corona de Aragón, under the title *La società mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro*, 3 vols. (Palermo 1983–1984), focuses on his reign, and Soldevila's biography extends through the opening years of his reign, *Pere el Gran*, 2 pts. in 4 vols. (Barcelona 1950–1962).

conquest of that kingdom had been James's greatest, longest, and most difficult military feat. Alfonso not only inherited a border down the side of that littoral kingdom, but personally acquired his own kingdom of Murcia as its neighbor on the south. Everyone remembers, as a commonplace in medieval history, the bitter dispute and near-war as James's conquest down through Valencia clashed with Alfonso's conquest up through Murcia. Given these excitements and propinquity, it ought to be easy to discourse on "Alfonso el Sabio and the Kingdom of Valencia." A surprise awaits the researcher, however, when he turns to the voluminous registers of James the Conqueror. Jesús Martínez Ferrando's catalog of over 2000 Valencian documents in those registers offers, in its index under "Alfonso X de Castilla," a single lonely entry.²

There is minor documentation outside the registers, including some parchments, papal bulls, and the standard chronicles such as James's own; but the all-encompassing registers should not be so bare of reference. In preparation for this study, therefore, I read systematically through James's register-codices, encountering some two or three dozen items. Like most such random entries in the registers, these do not tell us a sequential story so much as offer glimpses and hints, the witness or trace of the linkage between Alfonso and Valencia. The registers for the decade of James's successor, Peter the Great, are more fruitful, yielding up some fifty items. Before turning to this trove of evidence, we must examine the episodes of Alfonso's earlier career in their Valencian connection. The registers proper begin in 1257, whereas Alfonso began his thirty-year reign five years earlier in 1252, and he had an active role in peninsular affairs for more than a decade before mounting the throne. The connections of the great Castilian king with the crusader kingdom of Valencia have never been pieced together, only the obvious military episodes recurring in his biography and history. Even the recent twelve volumes of the *Gran enciclopedia de la región valenciana* do not give him an entry.

Properly speaking, the story of Alfonso's connections with Valencia should fit into the wider patterns of his half century of interaction with the Crown of Aragon. Only from such a wider viewpoint can the Valencian details be seen in their full context and meaning. Such a vantage is not yet available, however, even in partial studies from which some preliminary synthesis might be attempted. One exception, published after the present study had been presented at the Alfonsine septicentennial celebrations in Spain, covers a single decade of this wider relationship, and has been incorporated below in the appropriate section. The difficulty in exploring the relation between Alfonso and Valencia is well illustrated by the

²J. E. Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo de la documentación relativa al antiguo reino de Valencia, contenida en los registros de la cancellería real*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1934); the Valencian registered documents of James are being edited in Robert I. Burns, S.J., *Diplomatarium regni Valentiae* (Princeton 1985—; vol. 2 in press). For background themes, and bibliography on the Valencia of James and Peter, see idem, *Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass. 1967), trans. as *El reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII (iglesia y sociedad)*, 2 vols. (Valencia 1982); idem, *Islam under the Crusaders* (Princeton 1973), in Catalan trans. (Valencia 1989); idem, *Medieval Colonialism: Postcrusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton 1976), in Catalan trans. (Valencia 1987); idem, *Moors and Crusaders in Mediterranean Spain* (London 1978); idem, *Jaume I i els valencians del segle XIII* (Valencia 1981); and idem, *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Cambridge 1984). The multivolume *Història del país valencià*, ed. Ernest Belenguier (Barcelona 1988—) covers the crusade era in vol. 2.

abstracts of some 1500 documents which Antonio Ballesteros Beretta appended to his immense and confusing jumble of political data which serves today in lieu of a proper biography of Alfonso. Ballesteros found very few of the many surviving documents of James and Peter on Castilian-Crown of Aragon interaction, and even less on Valencia.

I

The connections between Castile and Valencia, in which Alfonso was to be a prominent actor, began when Alfonso was a little child. The excitements of the Cid's adventures, and the coldly pragmatic division of Valencian-Murcian spheres of conquest between Aragon and Castile by the treaty of Cazola in 1179, had become by then remote echoes of a vanished world. The fragmentation of the Almohad empire into warring imperial claimants and warring petty states had opened new possibilities. The isolated *wālī* of Valencia, Abū Zayd, found it expedient to meet with Alfonso's father Fernando III at Moya in early 1225 to make himself a tributary or "vassal" of Castile.³ The boy-king James of Aragon, married to Fernando's sister in the very year of Alfonso's birth (1221), was a mere object of pity. The pope had recently (1222) been obliged to call upon "all the faithful throughout Spain" to rescue young James, "because the Moors whose land adjoins [his] are reported to assail him with such increasing attacks" as to make "war between them" almost inevitable.⁴ The Moya episode, marking Castilian intrusion into the agreed Aragonese sphere, doubtless influenced James's announcement of his first Valencian crusade a month later.

James's abortive enterprise only had the effect of briefly transferring Abū Zayd's vassalage or tributary status to James. When Abū Zayd's domestic situation had deteriorated further by 1228, the Valencian ruler again traveled to Castile, hinting now of possible conversion. Events moved still faster within Valencia, however; Abū Zayd retreated to the northern fringes of his waliate, and in 1229 signed the first of the treaties which made him a puppet of the crusader James. In the rearrangement of Islamic power-blocs, much of what belonged to the Crown of Aragon's sphere of conquest—Játiva, Alcira, and Denia—drifted into orbit around Ibn Hūd's Murcia, the Castilian sphere where Alfonso would eventually operate. The great Ibn Hūd himself soon had to submit to a treaty of

³See now Julio González, *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, 3 vols. (Cordova 1980—1986) 1.295–296. On the meaning of such "vassalage" for Muslims, see Mikel de Epalza, "La tradición andalusí de las parias-pagas militares en la política de Jaime I y Alfonso X," *Congreso internacional sobre Alfonso X el Sabio: vida, obra, época*, booklet with summaries of the contributions (Madrid 1984) 20–21. Manuel Ballesteros emphasizes the reaction caused in Castile and its chronicles by James's campaign of 1225, and how "very frequently" King Ferdinand adverted to the vassalage of Abū Zayd; he also notes the probable raid by James in mid-1224 "por tierras de Soria" ("La conquista de Jaén por Fernando III," *Cuadernos de historia de España* 20 [1953] 84–85).

⁴*La documentación pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227)*, ed. Demetrio Mansilla (Rome 1965), doc. 404 (15 June 1222): "universis Christi fidelibus per Yspaniam constitutis"; "mauri, quibus terra ipsius noscitur esse contigua, eum adeo crebris lacescere dicuntur iniuriis, ut credatur vix posse contingere quin tandem inter eos guerra manifestior oriatur."

tribute and vague vassalage to Castile (1233); and finally even the rebel ruler of Valencia, Zayyān, had to make the same offer. Southern Valencia was thus "Castilianized," rendered an ambiguous sphere where Castile's presence was strongest, even as James struggled to conquer northernmost Valencia. The Aragonese were well aware of the danger. Though not reported in the history books today, their negotiators were at the Játiva court; and their raiding armies forced a tributary acknowledgment there two years before the fall of Valencia. As he prepared his Balearics crusade in 1228, young James had already announced future conquest "of other Saracen land," awarding to the bishop of Barcelona ecclesiastical jurisdiction over southern-Valencian Denia and Murcian Orihuela. As Torres Fontes notes, he provocatively incorporated into his documentary titlature in early 1239 the title "Rex Murcie."⁵

This background explains the later drama when the crusading armies of Alfonso and James confronted each other just below Islamic Játiva. It explains Alfonso's stubborn determination to have this previously Aragonese sphere, and James's frustrated fury in response. When the peace talks of 1244 ended in recriminations, and James was mounting his horse to ride away, a "War of the Giants" was imminent, and with it the ruin of the Spanish crusades. We need not rehearse here the episodes James describes in his memoirs—how he had found Alfonso's envoy negotiating with the Muslims of besieged Játiva and had "hanged him on a tree"; how he punished the Castilians who had taken Enguera, by beheading half his prisoners and hanging the other half; how he raided into the Murcian sphere in retaliation for Alfonso's advances; how he argued venomously, during the peace talks at Almisra or rather Almirra, that he had not offered Játiva in the marriage agreements of 1242 joining his daughter to Alfonso; and finally how James's queen cajoled both in-laws back to the bargaining table. Almirra was not the end of Alfonso's presence in southern Valencia; we shall meet him there during al-Azraq's Mudejar revolt, again as a tributary overlord in Valencia's internal affairs. There had been more to the Almirra affair than meets the eye. By February 1244 James's half-Castilianized eldest son Alfonso had placed himself at the head of a coalition army, backed by Castile, in rebellion against his father. The inheritance issues involved had split both Aragon and the Christians of Valencia into opposed fac-

⁵See James's autobiography, the *Llibre dels feyts*, in Ferran Soldevila, ed., *Les quatre grans cròniques* (Barcelona 1971), chap. 129, where James sends Pero López de Pomar "por missatgeria nostra al alcayt d'Ixativa," and chap. 350 (cf. chap. 327) where the dying *qā'id* Ibn 'Īsā enjoined his heir "que a negun crestià del mon, ni a sarraí, non lliuràs aquell castell" except to James, "si ell lo havia a perdre." This early activity of James at Játiva clarifies the Arabic letters recently discovered on this theme by Emilio Molina López, "El Levante y Almería en el marco de la política interior del emir murciano Ibn Hūd al-Mutawakkil (1236–1238)," *Awrāq* 1 (1979) 56–57, 62–63. For Torres Fontes, see his *Colección* in n. 27 below (1 intro., 42–51; and document of 6 March 1239 cited). On the expansionist orientation of the realms of Aragon ever deeper to the south of Valencia, see especially Juan Manuel del Estal, *Conquista y anexión de las tierras de Alicante, Elche, Orihuela, y Gardamar al reino de Valencia por Jaime II de Aragón (1296–1308): Alicante medieval en la proyección expansionista de Aragón, desde la hegemonía castellana a su incorporación formal al reino de Valencia (1243–1308)* (Alicante 1982). Amparo Bejarano Rubio reviews briefly the Murcian frontier in the policies of Castile and the Crown of Aragon from 1243 to 1305, "La frontera del reino de Murcia en la política castellano-aragonesa del siglo XIII," *Miscelánea medieval murciana* 13 (1986) 131–154. See too now the articles in the symposium *Homenaje al Profesor Juan Torres Fontes*, 2 vols. (Murcia 1987).

tions. This situation, as well as long-range international preoccupations of each power, also influenced the Almirra rapprochement. The main problem, and the focus, however, were Valencia.⁶

James's resolution of the inheritance troubles deliberately associated his now reconciled son in the final campaign of the Valencian crusade, the maneuvers against the mountain Muslims of southern Valencia under their hero al-Azraq. Though historians universally end the long crusade with the surrender of Biar and al-Azraq in 1245, it is now clear that King James merely patched up a truce with al-Azraq, declared the war finally over, and concealed this expedient in his autobiography.⁷ James had recourse to this desperate measure because an opportunity had arisen to reclaim Marseilles and Provence from French encroachment, a unique opportunity which demanded his personal military presence on the Rhone. I have already told that story in detail; its pertinence here is the opening it gave al-Azraq to play Alfonso of Castile against James, to establish a mini-Granada in the Valencian mountains. From 1247 into 1258 the relations of Alfonso and James were to be profoundly exacerbated by the al-Azraq affair.⁸

A parallel tangle, in whose solution Alfonso was almost certainly involved, aggravated the military quarrel over Valencia's conquest. The Castilian metropolitan claimed control over the restored diocese of Valencia. In medieval society, based on the interplay of religious and civil forces, with the king heavily involved in the church and the bishops involved in government, loss of metropolitan control to Castile would have meant loss of much civil, social, economic, and even military control. Aware of this, James had formally and illegally placed his future Valencian conquest under his own metropolitan of Tarragona in 1228, again at the crusade parliament of Monzón in 1236, and finally in his organizing of the Valencian church in 1238. The Tarragona metropolitan and his clerical agents accompanied

⁶*Libre dels feyts* chaps. 339–340 (James orders "que el metessen en un arbre"), and chaps. 341–349. On the *ra'īs* of Alcira negotiating also with Alfonso, and later fleeing to avoid James's wrath, see Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Angel Canellas López, 8 vols. to date (Zaragoza 1967–), chaps. 41–42; Zurita treats there also of the threat of war by the Aragonese barons and their Castilian allies, under King James's own son Alfonso, against James; Valencia was split into factions over this, thus contributing also from another angle to the Almirra settlement. Valuable background for all these early contacts now is in González (n. 3 above), two of its three volumes reproducing over 850 documents from 1233 to 1253. See especially 1.252–254 ("Armonía con Jaime I"), 263–266 ("Maquinaciones en Aragón"), 271–277 ("Amistad de Aragón"), 295, 312, 319, 340–351 ("Murcia, 1241–1245"), and 456–460.

⁷For new perspectives and chronology revising the al-Azraq story, see Robert I. Burns, S. J., and Paul Chevedden, "Al-Azraq's Surrender Treaty with Jaume I and Prince Alfonso in 1245: Arabic Text and Valencian Context," *Der Islam* 66 (1989) 1–37; Burns, "The Crusade against al-Azraq: A Thirteenth-Century Mudejar Revolt in International Perspective," *American Historical Review* 93 (1988) 80–106; idem, "A Lost Crusade: Unpublished Bulls of Innocent IV on al-Azraq's Revolt in 13th-Century Spain," *Catholic Historical Review* 74 (1988) 440–449; and idem, "La guerra de al-Azraq de 1249," *Sbarq al-Andalus* 4 (1987) 253–256. See also M. C. Barceló Torres, "Documentos árabes de al-Azraq (1245–1250)," *Saitabi* 32 (1982) 27–41.

⁸See Robert I. Burns, S. J., "The Loss of Provence. King James's Raid to Kidnap its Heiress (1245): Documenting a 'Legend,'" *XII Congrès d'història de la Corona d'Aragó*, Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier 15–17, 3 vols. (Montpellier 1987–1989) 3. 195–231, with an appendix of twenty documents. And idem, *Muslims* (n. 2 above) chap. 10, "Voices of Silence: al-Azraq and the French Connection: Why the Valencian Crusade Never Ended."

the crusaders, performing ritual acts of jurisdiction under improbable military circumstances, to establish legal precedents. The agents of Castile followed along, matching Tarragona with its own ecclesiastical acts. As official depositions from witnesses show, these farcical maneuvers constituted a significant dimension in the Valencian crusade, a spectacle seriously observed and discussed by the crusaders. On the fall of Valencia city, Castile tabled its lawsuit to gain Valencian jurisdiction; Rome conducted this at Tudela in Navarre in 1239–1240. Aragon's arguments were political and practical, Castile's were canonical and logically impeccable. Aragon lost, began an appeal at Rome, and apparently gained a satisfactory diplomatic settlement as part of the general peace treaty at Almirra, near Biar, in 1244.

Alfonso, with his predilection for law and legal learning, would have followed this celebrated lawsuit closely. Just as James could not openly intrude in this presumably ecclesiastical action, so the young Castilian prince had to seem to maintain his distance. Nor could either man, in the treaty itself, advert to this purely church affair. The problem was at bottom a political-diplomatic situation, however; and its trial coincided with Alfonso's confident military move to take over southern Valencia. Its heat and fury, including an absurd move by Tarragona in 1240 to excommunicate the primate of Toledo, matched the battlefield passions which also led to Almirra. Later as king, Alfonso presided over his Toledo metropolitan's more successful intrusion of a Segorbe diocese into the central part of the Valencian kingdom. Again he had discreetly to efface his interest and presence; but the author of the *Espéculo* and the *Siete partidas* would not have been a passive observer. The Segorbe struggle lasted throughout Alfonso's reign and beyond, enjoyed a number of clear victories for the Castilian side, but consistently saw Castile's ambitious plans circumscribed and thwarted. These sustained ecclesiastical battles, monitored by the popes and observed with interest by Europe's dominant profession the Roman lawyers, at the very least focused a measure of Alfonso's attention as prince and king upon Valencia. For a medieval monarch, they must have played a more important role in his wider ambitions than we have hitherto admitted.⁹

II

The twenty years between Alfonso's confrontation with James at Almirra and Alfonso's plea for help to reconquer Murcia, in 1264, display an unevenness in relations between the two men. Each opposed the other's expansionist ambitions within Christendom, but each expected cooperation in the common war against Islam. The European spheres of action distracted both men from Valencia, while the crusading sphere forcibly returned their attention to it. On the domestic scene James's daughter Violant was formally betrothed to Alfonso of Castile in 1246 and

⁹I have documented the Valencian and Segorbe struggles at length in *Crusader Kingdom* (n. 2 above) chap. 3 pt. 3 and chap. 14; see the corresponding chapters in *El reino de Valencia*. In *Jaume I i els valencians* (n. 2 above), see chap. 2, "El dret canònic i la reconquesta: convergència i simbiosi," esp. 67–76. Vicent Castell Maiques has in press an edition of the Valencian trial transcript.

married in 1249; but at the Almirra negotiations in 1244 James's queen Violant had already spoken of Alfonso as her son-in-law [*gendre*]. Efforts were also made in 1250, but successfully fought by James, to marry James's eldest son to the daughter of Ferdinand III (a nephew-aunt marriage).¹⁰ As king from 1252, Alfonso X plunged into aggressive adventures against Portugal on the west, Gascony on the north, Navarre on the east, and in a decade of preparations North Africa on the south. James was sympathetic toward the African crusade, though wary lest Ceuta or his client Tunis be among its targets. But from 1253 into 1256 James resisted the Navarre project by preparing "a war we hope to have with the king of Castile."¹¹

James's cautionary alliances during these lengthy bellicose preparations included the lord of Albarracín on Valencia's flank; and the Valencian borderlands became involved in the tentative violence. By the general treaty of Soria in 1256 James agreed to arrange compensation for damages by his own subjects, setting up a reparations commission to assess and enforce this along the Valencian borders with Castile. These reparations involved all of James's realms, presumably including mercantile reprisals taken, and they extended back to issues dating before Alfonso became king. They also incorporated "the charters between us and the king of Castile made at the siege of Biar" in Valencia. This probably refers to the last great siege of the Valencian crusade, shortly after the Almirra treaty. It might indicate a recent siege of Mudejar rebels by James, perhaps in 1254, however, since Alfonso is called "king." The reparations, to be matched by similar action by Alfonso, were scheduled for three separate times in the year, and involved Christians, Muslims, and Jews alike.¹²

More transcendental plans were also afoot. Alfonso not only became a prime candidate for Holy Roman Emperor in 1257, but over James's protests was planning to title himself Emperor of Spain. Conversely, along with renewed hopes for recovery of southern France, James announced in 1260 to a horrified Alfonso the projected marriage of his son Peter to the Hohenstaufen heiress Constance. Alfonso

¹⁰ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (hereafter ACA), Bulas Pontificias, Inocencio IV, leg. XI, no. 57 (18 May 1250), transcribed now in Augusto Quintana Prieto, ed., *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV (1243-1254)*, 2 vols. (Rome 1987) 2, doc. 630; line 8 omits *virum* of the original manuscript, line 9 has *filio* for *Christo*, and line 13 has *regis* for *regnis*. F. J. Miquel Rosell in his *Regesta de letras pontificias del Archivo de la corona de Aragón* (Madrid 1948), doc. 166, mistakenly supplies Alfonso X instead of Ferdinand in the 1250 marriage.

¹¹ *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda and M. D. Cabanes Pecourt, 5 vols. to date (Valencia 1976-), doc. 659 (30 August 1254): "propter guerram quam habemus et speramus habere in isto festo proximo . . . quam quidem guerram dictus rex Castelle nobis movet in magnam et gravem oppressionem persone nostre et totius regni nostri." As late as 28 April 1262 James was involved in expenses of that preparation for war (ACA, Reg. Canc. 12, fol. 49): "tempore quo sperabamus habere guerram cum illustri rege Castelle." Joaquim Miret i Sans traces the course of the threatened war, document by document, in his *Itinerari de Jaume I "El Conqueridor"* (Barcelona 1918), years 1254 through 1256.

¹² *Documentos de Jaime I*, doc. 742 (8 August 1257): "Como dizen las cartas que fueron fechas entre nos et vos en Soria, . . . assi como dizen las cartas que son entre nos et vos, que fueron fechas en la cerca de Biar." One important effect of the Soria treaty was to isolate al-Azraq and his Mudejar revolt in Valencia from further backing by Castile.

complained bitterly about this strengthening of the Hohenstaufen cause, a blow to his own Italian projects.¹³

In these years after the Soria treaty, too, the second and more ambitious Mudejar revolt reached its crescendo in Valencia under al-Azraq. James's account of these desperate years of subduing al-Azraq throw various episodes into a confused chronology. He does make it clear that he believed the rising to have been a challenge both to his own Valencian lands and to Alfonso. He recounts how al-Azraq, when hard pressed, sent two embassies to Alfonso, exchanged pennants with him, and entered into a kind of truce-alliance. Using Alfonso both as threat and intermediary, the Valencian rebel then forced from James a year's truce in early 1257. The Muslim was overheard to boast to Alfonso, in friendly meeting during a hunt, that he could "hunt" castles for Alfonso in Valencia. When al-Azraq persuaded Alfonso to ask for a second year's truce, James rebuffed the Castilian, defeated and exiled al-Azraq, and vauntingly described to Alfonso how he had "hunted" so many of the Muslim's castles. James devoted a half-dozen chapters of his memoirs to the story, obviously embittered by al-Azraq's betrayal.¹⁴

The Mudejar revolt had doubtless involved some Mudejars of Castile eventually, while some Valencian Muslims had probably fled after defeat across the Castilian border. At the close of hostilities, King James commissioned two Valencian ship-owners to relocate "whatever and howsoever many men and women Saracens you wish, from the land of the king of Castile and from the land al-Azraq now holds, and transport them or cause them to be transported by sea" to North Africa via the port of Denia. A similar franchise went to the Jew Abraham Albanne (Albanyà or al-Albanī?).¹⁵ The passage of Mudejar stock back and forth over the international paths (*cañadas*) was also an occasion for post-revolt arrangements between James and Alfonso on the Valencian border. Montesa castle lay astride one such route, where James commissioned his most important Mudejar, Yaḥyā b. 'Īsā to collect "pasturage from all flocks of Aragon and Castile" grazing in that district.¹⁶

The opportunistic maneuvers of the king of Castile with al-Azraq did not impede James's support for Alfonso's grand project of a crusade against Islamic Africa in 1260. Alfonso wrote warmly to James "whom we hold in the place of a father," and received a public promise to "aid you in this crusade." James sent two letters to his subjects "concerning the fact of the crusade," explaining how the king

¹³C. J. Socarras, *Alfonso X of Castile: A Study on Imperialistic Frustration* (Barcelona 1976) 188. Pisa's invitation to Alfonso in 1257 to become emperor is well known. On the neglected role of Florence, through its ambassador to Castile Brunetto Latini (the humanist teacher of Dante) from 1260 to 1266, see now Julia Bolton Holloway's study in Burns, *Emperor of Culture* (n. 1 above) chap. 8.

¹⁴*Llibre dels feyts* (n. 5 above) chaps. 372–373, 375–377 ("caçaria castells del rei d'Aragó").

¹⁵*Documentos de Jaime I* (n. 11 above), doc. 992 (1 May 1258): "possitis extrahere quoscunque et quantoscunque sarracenos et sarracenas volueritis de terra regis Castelle et de terra quam nunc tenet Alazdrachus, et eos ac eas mittere in mari apud Deniam, et portare ac facere portari in Barberiam et ad quascunque alias partes." ACA, Reg. Canc. 10, fol. 62v (1 May 1258) has an identical letter to Abraham.

¹⁶*Documentos de Jaime I*, doc. 964 (27 February 1258): "herbagium de omnibus ganatis Aragonum et Castelle in termino de Montesa et de Vallata." The discussion is in terms of multiples of a thousand stock; as collector Ibn 'Īsā could keep ten percent. Cf. ACA, Reg. Canc. 14, fol. 93v, from James to Alfonso's officials on passage of two hundred head of livestock from Castile.

of Castile was embarking on a war "to exalt the Catholic faith, and this is to be preached throughout our land." He assured his knights "and other men of our land" that "it will please us that those who wish should follow him and help him manfully and powerfully against the Saracens by land and sea." Alfonso failed to take Salā on the Atlantic coast, but next year conquered Andalusian Niebla and Cádiz. Meanwhile the usual favors were exchanged between the two monarchs: a passport and tax exemption for Domingo Miguel, "cleric of the illustrious king of Castile," and for his household; and a special safeguard for Bertran de Vilanova and his wife (E)Mília (and for all his property including his castle of Navarrès in Valencia), especially as they journey to join the household of James's daughter the queen of Castile.¹⁷

III

Two years after the analysis above in part two had been presented at the Alfonsine septicentennial celebrations in Spain, Carlos de Ayala Martínez published a somewhat different model covering the latter half of that period, namely Alfonso's first decade as king.¹⁸ This model dealt only tangentially with Valencia. As a pioneering report on Castilian-Aragonese relations at that time, however, it does supply a broader perspective in which to set the Valencian data from 1252 to 1263. Ayala Martínez's thesis must be laid out here, and then assessed for its implications for Valencia. He finds the key to relations in that decade in Alfonso's determination to unify and consolidate under a strong monarchy his newly amalgamated sprawl of Castile-León-Andalusia; as a means to this goal Alfonso would assert Castilian hegemony over Aragon-Catalonia, Navarre, and Portugal. His international alliances and posturings, including his claim to the Holy Roman Empire, were pursued in order to reinforce his prestige and authority on the Spanish peninsula, to serve his domestic goals.

Alfonso's relations with King James, thus conditioned, fell into two phases during the decade: five years of hostile pressure on Aragon's borders, with interna-

¹⁷ACA, Reg. Canc. 11, fol. 171: "a que tenemos en lugar de padre," responding to James's letter "sobre el fecho de la cruzada." *Documentos de Jaime I*, doc. 1170 (3 April 1260), where James writes his subjects: "cum illustris rex Castelle contra sarracenos ad exaltandam fidem catholicam proponat ire manu armata, et hoc predicetur per terram nostram, facimus vobis scire quod placebit nobis ut qui voluerit sequatur ipsum et iuvet eum contra sarracenos viriliter et potenter, quam \per/ [my correction] mare videlicet et per terram, dum tamen malum non faciant regi Tunicii nec sarracenis submissis eidem." The several favors are in ACA, Reg. Canc. 12, fols. 89v, 90 (both 18 July 1263), and Reg. Canc. 13, fol. 192v (1 July 1264), all transcribed below in appendix, docs. 2-4. Vilanova's grant of Sumacárcel appears at n. 29 below.

¹⁸Carlos de Ayala Martínez, *Directrices fundamentales de la política peninsular de Alfonso X (relaciones castellano-aragonesas de 1252 a 1263)* (Madrid 1986). A more recent contribution, Jesús Villalmanzo, "Cinco pergaminos inéditos de Jaime I de Aragón y Alfonso X de Castilla existentes en el Archivo de Reino de Valencia," *Boletín de la Sociedad castellanense de cultura* 64 (1988) 493-506, does not concern relations between the kings and has no bearing on our topic. The one document of Alfonso there, the grant of a village then belonging to Castile (1271) is "el único pergamino real existente en nuestro Archivo procedente de la Cancillería Castellana" (Valencia's crown archives began in the fifteenth century).

tional alliances to surround and isolate that rival, and five years of cautious rapprochement and diplomatic immunity to keep James neutralized. During these years Alfonso was not the political failure discerned by most historians, the dreamer obsessed with such doomed projects as the German-Sicilian empire and the crusade deep into Africa, but rather a Machiavelli dealing in public image at home. In this view of the decade, King James becomes for five years a man on the run, isolated by Castile's allies, marginalized and kept off balance by his aggressive neighbor. During the second five years a stronger James reacted more assertively in a "phase of difficult coexistence" with Castile—"dissimulated up to 1259 and open from that time on, a coexistence of diplomatic and political confrontation both inside and outside the peninsula."¹⁹ Among the elements used to support, or more frequently to illustrate, this revisionist thesis are Valencian events of the 1250s.

The first five years in the thesis extend from Alfonso's actually ascending the throne in 1252 up to the stabilizing peace of Soria in 1256. Alfonso's belligerence led James to prepare openly for war against Castile, acceding to a truce twice by the intervention of a peace party and finally meeting Alfonso in 1254 at a conference near Tarazona in November. During this period the checkmate achieved by James's Navarre-Aragon coalition was offset by Alfonso's minatory garrisoning of the Murcian frontier. In 1255 Alfonso encircled himself and Aragon with allies, reaching understandings with England, France, Navarre, and the papacy. A desperate James countered with a Portuguese pact, a rapprochement with France (later to culminate in the celebrated treaty of Corbeil), and contact with Alfonso's restive nobles. Neutralized and on the defensive, James consented to talks in November with his daughter the queen of Castile. By spring 1256 James was ready for the Soria agreements that marked the end of open hostility and the high point of Alfonso's triumph, a conclusion sealed by the marriage of James's daughter to Alfonso's brother Manuel.

From 1256 to 1259, Ayala Martínez argues, Alfonso systematically applied his program of concentrating monarchical power and prestige at home—by his commercial regulations, his laws, his manipulation of monastic and episcopal entities, and by his histories, literary-linguistic patronage, and visual arts. The Alfonsine cultural and legal renaissance was matched by his peninsular program. He supported the rebel al-Azraq in Valencia (especially by promoting the truce of 1257–1258), and repopulated and garrisoned his frontiers on all sides. The international arena afforded his greatest increment of prestige, however, not so much by his alliances with Norway and England as by his assuming control of the Mediterranean-wide Ghibelline movement. Weeks after the Soria pact in 1256, Pisa had invited Alfonso to be Holy Roman Emperor, with the Hohenstaufen-Norman kingdom of Sicily as a special prize. A mitigated or "decaffeinated" Ghibellinism (Ayala Martínez's term) had displaced Guelph leadership for the time being; it now offered Alfonso a significant role in Angevin Marseilles, Genoese areas of Byzantium, communal Italy, Germany, and in the crusading movement. During all this time the "timid" realms of Aragon, weakened by debts and al-Azraq's revolt, had to be conciliatory and passive.

The next five years, from 1259 into 1263, saw both the culmination of Al-

¹⁹Ayala Martínez 333.

fonso's international plans and an aggressive response at home and abroad, including open confrontation by King James. In 1259 Alfonso formally announced his Holy Roman Empire plans at a general cortes in the imperial city of Toledo, and mounted preparations for his showpiece raid on Atlantic Salā in Morocco. The fall of Latin Romania to the Byzantines and Genoese in 1261 allowed him to play Latin champion for its recovery. In 1261–1262 he conquered Andalusian Niebla and Cádiz from Islam. King James meanwhile “abandoned the timid policy” adhered to since Soria, by which he had implicitly accepted Castilian peninsular hegemony. In late 1259 he openly condemned any Castilian pretension that would place “our realms and lands in any subjection because of the Empire or any other reason.” James reactively repopulated his own frontiers and effected a military-administrative reorganization there, especially in Valencia. James formalized his own bid for leadership of Mediterranean Ghibellinism in its pure form by marrying his heir Peter to the Hohenstaufen Manfred's heiress Constance in 1260, announcing also in that year his crusade “in defense of the Holy Land against the Tartar people” or Mongols. His Tunis protectorate had designated itself Islam's caliphate from 1258, and clung to Aragon as a bulwark against Angevin invasion. James's primacy as the main Western commercial power in Mamluk Egypt began from 1262.²⁰

Alfonso and James were sufficiently upset with each other that they entered a new round of conferences at Agreda in 1260 to revise the Soria understandings of 1256. Though Alfonso's magisterial biographer Antonio Ballesteros Beretta reports Agreda as a manifestation of basic harmony underlying the tensions, Ayala Martínez sees the meetings as representing a profound and continuing hostility finally unmasked. Both monarchs subsequently retreated from all confrontation by an agreement in May 1263, setting up border commissions to resolve grievances of their respective populations there. This action was not isolated but rather “announced a change of attitude” echoed in other small actions, a “thaw” which flowed into an alliance enduring for the rest of James's life. Simultaneously in mid-1263 a papal-Angevin alliance ousted Alfonso from his Guelphic Ghibelline leadership and doomed his hopes for the German emperorship. Since the Angevin alliance was directed against the Ghibellinism James now led and against James's still serious role in the southern French port-communes, James and Alfonso joined forces against this Franco-Guelphic expansionism. At this point, the revolt of Castile's Mudejars in Murcia and Andalusia, with Granadan-Moroccan help, forged on the battlefield a crusading partnership confirming this bilateral orientation.

As its title indicates, the study by Ayala Martínez has an Alfonsine orientation and is a valuable interpretation of that king's attitudes and policies toward James's realms during the decade under discussion. It is particularly persuasive in setting the international context that shaped Alfonso's policies. Its assessment of the German imperial project and the Salā crusade as successes, since Alfonso intended all his international doings as subordinate means to foster his domestic and peninsular plans, is original and suggestive. Taken as a whole, the author's historiographi-

²⁰Ibid. 210 (“actitud claramente defensiva”), 235 (“timidez,” “inseguridad”), 254 (“abandona la tímida política”), 254 (“regna et terra nostra in aliqua subiectione ratione imperii vel qualibet alia ratione”), 300 n. (“ad defensionem Terre Sancte contra populum Tartarorum”).

cal model is plausible enough, though like all such models it tends at times to force the evidence. The one failure of the book, and it is not a small one, lies in its understanding of King James's own situation and policies. This in turn affects the assessment of the Valencian situation during that decade.

It is now clear that the Valencian crusade had not ended on the traditional date 1245. James had struck a three-year truce with the remaining Muslim forces in Valencia's southern mountains, and had then declared his crusade ended, in a desperate bid to go recover Marseilles and Provence.²¹ The opportunity to save that ancient appanage of his dynasty had risen suddenly and would probably never recur. Before al-Azraq's truce period was up, the Muslim hero had reopened the Valencian war in 1247 and then pursued it for a decade. This was no revolt or series of rebellions, as is shown by the papal declaration of a full crusade and crusade tithes in November 1248 to support James. Again in 1250 the pope ordered a crusade preached against al-Azraq, and commended James for "tirelessly" battling Valencia's Muslims. Muslim privateers also kept James's sea lanes off Valencia under severe attack during the early 1250s. By the mid-1250s al-Azraq seems to have ensconced a mini-Granada in the mountains of southern Valencia, with James holding him contained in a guerrilla stalemate. Now came the year's truce mediated by Alfonso in April 1257 and James's final convulsive campaign of mid-1258, followed by intensive Christian settlement, garrisoning, and administrative organization. For Alfonso's first seven or eight years on the throne, therefore, James was preoccupied with a major war, episodic but absorbing, interrupted by the Castilian provocations. In 1254 James obviously felt that al-Azraq was temporarily contained; now James prepared a clarifying war against Castile. Ayala Martínez, following the received historiographic tradition, underestimates the nature and gravity of this final phase in the conquest of Valencia; he thus overestimates Alfonso's nuisance value. King James could spare only minimal attention for his rambunctious junior colleague. James was not weak; he was busy.

Similarly, the various patterns of settlement in the decade relate to that war, and to the fears of Granadan-Moroccan intervention, rather than to any threat from Castile. James's series of debt-bonds and calls for money were not a sign of insolvency and weakness, now or later, but a flexible credit system by which he equalized his flow of income, maximizing it during wartime crisis.²² All the perceptions by Ayala Martínez of James's situation miss the essential difference between the Arago-Catalan and the Castilian context. Alfonso was trying to cope with a rural-feudal society, as yet without the Roman law, credit techniques, and maritime-naval resources of the Mediterranean lands. Murcia was a Muslim protectorate rather than a Mudejar colony, while the Islamic urban strength of Castile's southern conquests had now been scattered and dissipated. James, despite his Aragonese uplands, presided over a Mediterranean urban-commercial and Roman law society, having access not only to his personal resources as count-king but more importantly to the resources of his affluent communes and fleets, on the pattern of Genoa. He had kept the Muslim population of Valencia relatively intact and was garnering great wealth from it; Pope Innocent IV, resolving a dispute over James's

²¹See above, n. 8 and text.

²²On this system, see Burns, *Medieval Colonialism* (n. 2 above) chaps. 2, 7, 8.

testamentary arrangements in 1251, concluded that "Valencia is far greater in revenues and profit" than Catalonia itself.²³ A major European figure in the Mediterranean international world, it is improbable that James gave peninsular affairs any primacy of attention in those years; his lands by nature were oriented to that larger Mediterranean Christendom which Castile was only at the threshold of entering. His reputation was high in Christendom, as papal letters of this period show; and before Alfonso became king, James had refused the invitation to lead the Guelph forces of Italy. When Alfonso died, his real expansion had proved to be minimal, a diplomatic game. When James died, his heir Peter was ready (after pausing to put down a last Valencian revolt) to conquer by arms and Valencia's wealth the Hohenstaufen-Norman heartland kingdom of Sicily in a general Mediterranean war lasting two decades. These considerations give Valencia a centrality and an importance missing in Ayala Martínez's perspective. The view from upland Castile affords a very different arrangement of the historical elements than does the view inland from the Mediterranean coast.

IV

These wider excitements having subsided, the two kings could turn their attention to a final settlement of all remaining complaints and tensions between them in the kingdom of Valencia. In January 1263 James appointed his commissioners for this joint undertaking with Castile. They were the Dominican bishop of Valencia Andreu d'Albalat, Gonzalbo Pérez the archdean of Valencia and Calatayud, and Bernat Vidal de Besalú a canon and royal notary. They received "full powers to examine and study all matter of contention which exists between us and our men, on the one hand, and the illustrious king of Castile and his men on the other." This included "both [any] matter of towns and boundaries, as well as all fights and injuries inflicted by his men to ours and by ours to his." They were "to resolve" all these, "as will seem best to you according to law," confident that the king ratifies their decision beforehand.²⁴

Valencia was never absent from either king's purview during the twenty years after Almirra. It was now to become more central to both, as the Muslims launched a North African-Granadan counter-crusade in 1264 and the feebly garrisoned kingdom of Murcia returned to Islam. James has left a stirring account of how the Muslims swept over hundreds of Castilian places, almost capturing Alfonso and his family. In response to his daughter's plea for military aid, James called parliaments in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia. He warned that if Alfonso lost Castile's recent conquests, Aragon would lose hers too; they must either fight on Castilian soil or be forced to fight on Valencian.

²³Quintana (n. 10 above) 2, doc. 705 (5 March 1251): "quod in redditibus et proventibus comitatum barchinonensem multum excedit."

²⁴ACA, Reg. Canc. 14, fol. 5 (7 January [1262] 1263), transcribed in appendix below, doc. 1. See also the document in Ambrosio Huici, *Colección diplomática de Jaime I, el Conquistador*, 3 vols. (Valencia 1916-1922), not yet in the Cabanes reedition, doc. 1163 (3 May 1263): "por raçon de roberias o de furtos o de danyos o d'otros maleficios."

Alfonso's plight stimulated an opportunist reaction from James's barons of Aragon. They urged him to help only if the desperate Castilian king would surrender those castles on Valencia's border "which the king [James] had many times demanded from Castile," and especially if Castile would give up Requena. Valencia was the most threatened of James's dominions, so he could spare no time for the barons' games. Valencia also had to be the staging ground for any attack launched to the south; James now arranged for the rendezvous of troops there from all his lands. Soon we find him beseeching the Valencians themselves, however, to give most of the help. He had to rely especially on the Valencians, he complained, if he were to save the king of Castile. The peoples of his other realms had turned away from him in this matter—he uses the verb *deseixir* with its feudal resonance of a vassal's formal defiance.²⁵ Valencia was not only the rendezvous and staging ground for that great conquest, but to a considerable degree its support.

The story of James's role in the reconquest of Murcia and of his relations with Alfonso in the reorganization and settlement of that realm, has been solidly told and freshly documented by Juan Torres Fontes.²⁶ It was a brilliant and generous moment in James's life, and a turning point in drawing both kings into mutual appreciation and closeness. The implications for Valencian history are obvious. Valencian money and men helped the Murcian reconquest; and numbers of Valencians then moved to help settle Murcia.²⁷ Conversely, the Murcian troubles resonated among Valencia's Mudejars, issuing in some fighting, some exiling, and a program both of conciliating the Mudejar communities and of increasing the pace of Christian settlement.²⁸ The Murcian war also drew Alfonso's attention forcibly toward the Mediterranean coast, and inaugurated his systematic and highly successful consolidation of Murcia over the next twenty years. As Murcia became more

²⁵*Llibre dels feyts* (n. 5 above) chaps. 378–382, 384, 388, 392, 406–408. He tells the Valencians: "haviem major esperança en ells que ens ajudassen, en guisa que nós poguésem ajudar al rei de Castella, per conquerir aquella terra que s'era contra el llevada, que en neguns altres, per ço car de tots los altres de nostra terra nos érem deseixits pus en València érem" (chap. 408). The Aragonese spoke of "els castells que li ha demanats lo rei moltes vegades" and "Requena e els altres llogars."

²⁶Juan Torres Fontes, *La reconquista de Murcia en 1266 por Jaime I de Aragón* (Murcia 1967); see also idem, "Jaime I y Alfonso X: Dos criterios de repoblación," *VII Congreso de la historia de la Corona de Aragón*, 3 vols. (Barcelona 1963–1964) 3.329–340, contrasting the policies of each king respectively for Murcia and Valencia. See also the review by Bejarano Rubio (n. 5 above).

²⁷Individual Valencians moving south can sometimes be traced, as when the Jew David Almascarán lost his Valencian properties for nonresidence, "eo quia dictus David ivit ad populandum apud Oriolam." And see the case of the Loaysa family in both Valencia and Murcia, in Burns, *Muslims* (n. 2 above) 227–230. Whether Catalans or Aragonese, the number and provenance of Murcia's settlers from James's realms is now under debate. See Juan Torres Fontes, *Colección de documentos para la historia del reino de Murcia*, 7 vols. to date (Murcia 1963–) 2, docs. 23–26 where James grants Murcian properties in 1266. See too the *Crónica del rey Don Alfonso Décimo*, ed. Cayetano Rosell, Biblioteca de autores españoles 66 (Madrid 1953), chap. 16: after the reconquest of Murcia in 1266, "porque non podia [Alfonso X] aver gentes de la su tierra que los poblasen [en Murcia], vinieron y é poblaron muchos catalanes de los que eran venidos á poblar en el reino de Valencia."

²⁸See the documentation on these themes in Robert I. Burns, S.J., "Years of Triumph, Years of War: The Muslim, Christian, and Jewish Communities of Valencia in the Registers of Jaime the Conqueror from January 1264 to August 1270," being published in Spanish by the University of Valencia in booklet form as a *discurso* on the occasion of my receiving an honorary doctorate there.

prominent in Alfonso's plans, Valencia as neighbor must also have become more visible to him.

From this period of good will a number of linked incidents in Valencia survive, such as the grant to Bertran de Vilanova of the Valencian castle and district of Sumacárcel, "at the plea and urging of our dear daughter the illustrious queen of Castile," and the tax exemptions to the queen's butler Domingo Pérez and his wife. There was a mutual determined effort to control border ruffians. And in 1267 the Infante Peter invited Castile's Infante Manuel (brother of Alfonso X, now married to James's daughter Constance) to visit the kingdom of Valencia; Manuel did not arrive on the day agreed, but later did make his way up from Murcia to dine and be briefly a guest in Valencia. Peter in turn made an elaborate visit to Castile in spring of 1267, leaving us details of his journey west out of Valencia.²⁹

V

Alfonso now put James's portrait together with his own into an illustrated miracle song in his *Cantigas*, showing them both in the Murcia of those years. When James's son Sancho became archbishop-primate of Toledo, Alfonso gave James hospitality, and advised him on the alliance being proposed by the Mongols. Because James had so helped him in his time of need at Murcia, Alfonso now offered "a hundred thousand gold morabatins and a hundred horse" toward the Holy Land crusade James was planning. When that crusade broke up in storms at sea, the humiliated James took comfort from a long visit to Alfonso. The occasion was the marriage of James's grandson, but James's lengthy and warm narration makes clear their mutual admiration and friendship. The situation was not wholly one of sweetness and light; as Odilo Engels notes, James was continuing in these years a foreign policy inimical to that of Alfonso. James's maneuvers with the Mongol Khan, the Byzantines, and the Hohenstaufens opposed the Angevin-papal-Castilian projects. But the frontier, especially the Valencia-Murcia connection, had given both kings a common ground of interest and amity.³⁰

²⁹The Sumacárcel grant is in ACA, Reg. Canc. 15 fol. 2 (20 February [1265] 1266), transcribed in appendix, doc. 5. This is one of the most canceled, overwritten, and confused of James's documents; I shall present a fuller transcription, with the necessary notes on each problem, in my *Diplomatarium* 3 (n. 2 above). Fol. 7v (26 February) is one of any number of joint grants by kings James and Alfonso in Murcia: "per nos et illustrem regem Castelle et successores eius . . . Pericono filio Ferrarii Matoses civi Valencie." Cf. fols. 2-4 passim; and fol. 131 (James at Valencia remits penalties for counterfeiting, "ad preces illustris regis et regine Castelle"). The grants to Domingo Pérez are on fol. 80v (21 February [1267] 1268) and in Reg. Canc. 17, fol. 109 (23 February [1267] 1268), transcribed below in appendix, docs. 6, 7. Soldevila, *Pere* (n. 1 above) 2.242, 245-246 (visits). For James's letter to Alfonso about arresting evil-doers who flee to Murcia after killing or wounding, and the arrangements to stop such flights in both directions, see Torres Fontes, *Colección* 1 (n. 27 above) doc. 39 (10 August 1268); cf. also doc. 23 and passim.

³⁰*Llibre dels feyts* (n. 5 above) chap. 479: "ayudar vos he de cien mil morabetins d'oro, e de cien cavallos." The *Cantigas* picture and song was number 169. On 7 March (1267) 1268, James issued an odd document, apparently a request to Alfonso for a favor to a Muslim. Miret i Sans (n. 11 above) 410 transcribes it in large part; it is transcribed below in full in the appendix, doc. 8. For Engels, see "El rey Jaime I de Aragón y la política internacional del siglo XIII," in *Jaime I y su época* 1 (n. 1 above), esp. 236-239.

The stage was set for Alfonso's famous visit to Valencia. After long absence from Valencia, the unhappy James now withdrew from Castile to spend 1270 and over half of 1271 in that scene of his greatest triumphs. Here he seems slowly to have regained his confidence lost by the Holy Land debacle, until he was able to announce to his barons in November 1270 new military projects—"magna negocia"—of portentous but as yet secret nature.³¹ And it was here at Valencia city that James received an urgent plea from Alfonso, apparently in early 1271, to meet him on the road between Castilian Requena and Valencian Buñol. Alfonso needed advice and support. While supplying this, James was determined to show off his prized Valencia. "And we went out to welcome him, out of desire that we might show him the kingdom of Valencia." Alfonso accepted the invitation. "The bishop, knights, and good-men of the city" gave the king and queen of Castile a fine reception "with many amusements, marvellous and varied," with displays in the plazas, colorful hangings on the houses, and abundant food. Alfonso was received so "festively" that "no town which had been settled for a hundred years and more would have been able to welcome him better." James later accompanied his guests home as far as Villena near the Murcian border; at Alfonso's request, he stayed there with them for three days more.³²

Ramon Muntaner devotes a chapter of his memoirs to so notable an event. He tells how James traveled out to the border "with his sons" to meet Alfonso "with the queen and with the infantes." James supplied his guests and their households so extravagantly that the surplus flooded the local markets with cheap "sheep and goats and quarters of veal and beef, bread and wine, capons and chickens, rabbits, partridges, and all other fowl." Everyone enjoyed the occasion hugely—"the kings and queens and infantes, counts, viscounts, barons, prelates, and knights (there were many from all the realms), and citizens and seamen."³³

An unnoticed but critically important entry in James's registers finds the two kings judging a murder trial on the last day of their Villena stay. Pero Fernández de Pina and his brother had charged Garcias de Castellazó or Castillazuelo with having "very cruelly" killed Eximeno Martínez de Orna (modern Orna de Gállego) "in the

³¹Miret (n. 11 above) 444 (9 November 1270): "ubicumque nos fuerimus"; "nos habemus facere quedam magna negocia in quibus vos necessarium habemus, que vobis significare non possumus in presenti" (of a military nature).

³²*Llibre dels feyts* (n. 5 above) chap. 504: "e eixim a ell per reebre-lo per cor que nós li mostràssem el Regne de València"; "e nós pregam al rei que entràs en València, e ell atorgà'ns-ho, e plac molt a la regina"; "ordonam com fos ben recollit del bisbe, e dels cavallers, e dels bons hòmens de la ciutat, e faeren fer jocs molts, e de meravelloses e de diverses, e fo la vila bé encortinada"; "e fo acollit bé e alegrament, si que mellor no poguera ésser acollit en vila neguna que fos poblada de cent anys a ençà com ell fo acollit."

³³Muntaner, *Crònica*, in Soldevila (n. 5 above) chap. 12: "eixí-li a la carrera, ab so fills, als mollons dels regnes"; "per les places moltons entegres, e cabrits, e quarters de vedells e de vaques, e pa e vi, capons e gallines, conills, perdius e de totes altres volateries"; "que viviren los reis e les reines e los infants, comtes, vescomtes, barons, prelats e cavallers (que hi havia molts de tots los regnes), e ciutadans e hòmens de mar, a gran alegre e deport." Muntaner places the visit sometime before the Murcian reconquest of 1266, over five years too early (see the next note). This error is understandable in his introductory chapters, since he had been only six years old during the first visit. The second visit (see below) was to take place when he was nine and an active participant; the three years' difference would be significant to any child observer of public events at a distance.

town called Poçant," now Ponzano. Since all involved were from Aragon proper, James heard the case. Villena belonged to Murcia, however (conquered by James, yielded to Castile by the Almirra treaty of 1244, and destined to rejoin Valencia briefly from 1304). In this ambiguous but amicable setting, James was surrounded by prelates and magnates of Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia, as well as by King Alfonso and his queen with their infante Manuel and James's own son Peter. The accused, doubtless having fled here for asylum, was ultimately absolved. This document, while presenting a brilliant scene of royal pomp, helps us finally to solve the date of the Valencian visit of Alfonso.

Scholars have puzzled how to fit a Villena trip into James's itinerary, so as to locate the visit itself. Fernando Valls Taberner inclined to the year 1270; Joaquín Miret y Sans could not decide from the chronicles as to 1270 or 1271; Ferran Soldevila argued for April–May 1271 as Alfonso's visit, and May 4–9 as the only days open in which to fit a Villena visit by James. Our document at first seems to begin: "in the year 1272, Saturday the pre-kalends of March, in Villena, before us James." In terms of the year, this cannot be early 1272 (when James was in Aragon), nor the more probable Incarnational year 1273 (when James was in Catalonia), but must be 1271 (when James was steadily in the Valencian kingdom). The day and date become decisive here: the pre-kalends of March in 1273 fell on Tuesday, those of the leap year 1272 fell on Monday, those of 1270 on Friday, and only the pre-kalends of March 1271 fell precisely on Saturday, February 28. The scribe may be indicating the year of tardy registration, in this run of documents for early 1272: "The year 1272. On Saturday" etc. That the trial itself took place in 1271 becomes certain if the reader perseveres through three pages of its tedious details, which conclude: "This sentence was delivered on the fifth ides of May in the year of Our Lord 1271." If James and Alfonso opened this murder case on 28 February 1271, their Valencian visit fits into February of that year, ending at Játiva on February 24, with James returning from Villena to neighboring Biar on March 1. Actual sentence would then have come, after review, on May 11, and registration in early 1272.³⁴

VI

Alfonso was not back in Murcia many months when he sent James a desperate message, requesting the king's personal presence for consultation. At Alicante

³⁴ACA, Reg. Canc. 21, fols. 29v–30v (28 February 1271; 2 May 1271; 1272: see text above): "anno MCCLXX secundo; die Sabbati pridie kalendas Marcii, in Bilena, coram nobis Iacobo dei gracia etc., presentibus ibidem Alfonso dei gracia illustri rege Castelle et regina uxore eius, infante dompno Emmanuele, et infante Petro filio nostro, necnon episcopis et aliis richis hominibus Castelle, Cathalonie, et Aragonie, comparuerunt Petrus Ferrandi de Pina et Garsias Ferrandi frater eius proponentes coram nobis in presencia regis Castelle et omnium predictorum quod Garsias de Castro Aciolo interfecerat Eximum Martini de Orta in villa vocata Poçent, et quod dictam mortem taliter perpetraverat . . . tam crudeliter"; "lata hec sententia quinto idus Madii, anno domini MCCLXX primo." Cf. Soldevila (n. 5 above) 382, notes to chaps. 501 and 502; Miret (n. 11 above) 445; Valls Taberner, "Relacions familiars i polítiques entre Jaume el Conqueridor i Anfós el Savi," in *Obras selectas*, ed. Ramon d'Abadal and J. E. Martínez Ferrando, 4 vols. (Barcelona 1952–1961) 4.298.

below Valencia, therefore, the two discussed the twin problems Alfonso now faced: a conspiracy of Castilian and Aragonese barons with Granadan Muslim allies, and an incipient Granadan civil war in which both sides sought Alfonso as ally. The visit apparently took place in February 1272. With a Granadan war looming on his frontier, King James doubtless had Valencia and Alfonso at the forefront of his plans and anxieties during the subsequent year or so. He stockpiled provisions in Valencia, called on the Valencian districts for supplies and support, and in 1273 ordered a rendezvous of his vassals and subjects in Valencia to help Alfonso against the Granadan threat.³⁵

James's vassals were cool, the threat subsided, and the excitements of a general council of Christendom deflected the attention of both James and Alfonso in late 1274. James was to play a major role at this Second Council of Lyons; Alfonso began his final doomed maneuvers there to become Holy Roman Emperor. As a thousand notables converged for the council on the Rhone, including delegates of Europe's kings and of the Byzantine emperor and the Tartar khan, Alfonso of Castile made his second grand entrance into the kingdom of Valencia, a promenade with all the panoply intended to impress the rulers and prelates soon at the council. Muntaner has left a description of Alfonso's passage toward France, which concentrates on his Valencian stay. The chronicler had been a boy of nine when Alfonso and his queen on this trip eventually reached Perelada on Catalonia's northern coast, and then lodged for two days in the capacious house of Muntaner's father "at the head of the square." By the time Muntaner conceived the project of writing his memoirs, he had retired to his estate in the farming country around Valencia city, and could draw on local memory and traditions there.

James's administrators organized every step of the Castilian party's advance, and the king himself went to Valencia to oversee the details. Everything was provided "as abundantly as you have already heard" about Alfonso's first Valencian stay. James welcomed his guests at the Valencian border "with great joy and courtesy, and with great processions and displays which the people presented at each place." It took eleven days to make their ways through these festivities to the city of Valencia; and "no man could write down the games, pleasantries, jousts of open competition, attacks against targets, armed combats by knights errant ["wild knights"], aristocrats in display of arms, tournaments, armed galleys and courier-galleys which seamen moved on carts along the riverbanks, and battles with oranges, and the backdrops [curtains]" during fifteen days of public holiday for the

³⁵*Llibre dels feyts* (n. 5 above) chaps. 505–506. Soldevila (n. 5 above) 384 n., Miret (n. 11 above) 459, and Valls 299 agree that this visit had to have been in February 1272 as against Zurita's traditional date 1270. Ballesteros (n. 1 above) 546, working from Alfonso's itinerary, argues for some date between 6 and 14 February 1272. See also Ballesteros's account of an interview between the two kings at Requena, apparently in August 1273 (p. 670). ACA, Cancillería Real, pergs., no. 2146 (20 March [1272] 1273), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 9. Cf. Reg. Canc. 21, fols. 118v–119 (14 April 1273): "habeamus ire ad partes Granate pro servicio dei et in auxilium regis Castelle." The *Crónica de Alfonso X* (n. 27 above) in its chapters on 1273 recounts how Alfonso planned to visit James in order to secure a second front against the Muslims of Granada (chaps. 49, 51); Alfonso interrupted his trip at Cuenca, when James and his son Peter had quarreled, hoping to make peace between the two (chaps. 55, 56); James came down from Valencia, and at Requena the two kings discussed the problems of Granada and of Peter (chap. 57).

city's workers, each day filled with "games and dances." The expense of all this display moved Muntaner's bourgeois soul. "And don't think it was a small amount this cost the king of Aragon," because "all Castile could not have paid so much in four years," and "in truth the king of France" could hardly have afforded it.

During the high festivities of his passage through Valencia, Alfonso managed to fit in some routine business of his realms. We now have letters drafted at Alicante in late October, three from Valencia city in November 20, and one from San Mateo in northern Valencia on November 26. Doubtless others will eventually surface to trace his itinerary more closely. Muntaner has the Castilian party proceed from Valencia city to Puig and Murviedro, to Burriana, Castellón, Cabanes, Cuevas de Vinromá, San Mateo, and over the border through Ulldecona to Tortosa.³⁶

The expenses of Alfonso's visits echo in James's registers. When Arnau Escrivá, the bailiff of Valencia, gave an account on 8 July 1273 of his office from his assumption of it in early October 1270 until the end of June 1273, he included "the expense which the illustrious king of Castile incurred when he was in Valencia, which you took care of for us."³⁷ On Christmas day 1274 James presented to his bailiff of Tortosa, Ramon de (or Sa) Guardia, a receipt for Ramon's loan of 8000 Jaca sueldos to the crown, "which you loaned us for the expenses of the illustrious king of Castile, our son-in-law, for the six days during which he was in Tortosa and in San Jorge." The king assigned collection of this on his revenues at Tortosa.³⁸ The "Sanctus Georgius" of this document was probably not the Valencian Sant Jordi del Maestrat near Vinaroz, or any of the Catalan towns of that name. It was probably not the San Jorge near Almudébar in Aragon proper, despite its appearance in another audit discussed below as ambiguously connected with Daroca. The link with Tortosa in the present document is direct, involving a six-day visit in the

³⁶Soldevila ed. (n. 5 above), Muntaner, *Crònica* chap. 2: "al cap de la plaça"; chap. 22: "tan abundantment con davant havets oït que fo fet l'altra vegada con estec al regne de València"; chap. 23: "reeberen ab gran alegre e ab gran deport e ab grans professons e jocs que en cascun loc los feïen les gents del senyor rei d'Aragó"; "null hom no poria escriure los jocs, los alegres, taules redones, taulats, juntes de relló de cavallers salvages, barons anar ab armes, borns, galees e llenys armats que els hòmens de mar feïen anar ab carretes per la ramla, e batalles de taronges e encortinaments"; "tots dies refrescaven los jocs e les danses"; "e no us pensets que sia poc ço que costà al senyor rei d'Aragó . . . que tota Castella no ho poria pagar de quatre anys . . . que en veritat forts seria que el rei de França hi pogués bastar." On Alfonso's hope to impress the council and gain papal approval there for his imperial title over Christendom, see Muntaner's witness, chap. 24. Alfonso's documents are in Torres Fontes 1 (n. 27 above), docs. 67-71; these all concern Murcia, and so can amount to only a fraction of the documents Alfonso must have produced on the trip. Ballesteros has no charters from this trip in appended lists. James's registers contain a dozen references to the expenses of Alfonso's passage, some of them referring specifically to the Valencian stages.

³⁷ACA, Reg. Canc. 19, fols. 31v-32 (8 July 1273): "et de missione quam illustris rex Castellae fecit, quando fuit in Valencia, quam vos pro nobis fecistis."

³⁸ACA, Reg. Canc. 20, fol. 194 (25 December 1274): "Quod nos Iacobus dei gracia etc. recognoscimus et confitemur vobis Raimundo de Guardia baiulo nostro Dertuse [debere vobis] octo milia solidorum iaccensium, quos nobis mutuastis ad expensam illustris regis Castellae generis nostri sex dierum per quos fuit in Dertusa et in Sancto Georgio. Item debemus vobis quadringentos solidos barchinonenses pro missione quam pro nobis et mandato nostro fecistis in preparando galeam nostram Dertuse quam pro nobis misistis apud Barchinonam et quam nos apud Caucumliberum mittere proponebamus. Que quidem octo milia solidorum iaccensium et quadringentos solidos barchinonenses assignamus vobis habendos et percipiendos in redditibus et exitibus ac iuribus nostris Dertuse."

region, marking this allied place as the castle-hospital of the religious Knights of Sant Jordi d'Alfama in the "desert" of Alfama near Tortosa.

On the day after Christmas of 1274, King James validated a loan received from his notary Guillem de Roca and from the citizen of Barcelona Romeo Gerard: 20,000 Barcelona sous "which you have loaned us now for paying [*ad opus*] the expenses for the king of Castile." James assigned the collection of this sum on "castles, towns, and places of the kingdom of Valencia" currently received for the crown by the knight Arnau Esquerre, who will farm for them a selection of these revenues.³⁹ This was one charter in a series given to the two creditors of the king for Alfonsine expenses. A second charter appears two folios later; the two citizens "now have loaned us 33,000 sous of [Valencian] royals, to pay expenses of the king of Castile, namely beyond those 33,000 sous which you have already loaned us on the other hand," as a previous receipt (*albaranum*) noted. These also are to be paid from farming-taxes administered in the kingdom of Valencia by Esquerre. The money here has changed from the previous Barcelonan sous to the more valuable Valencian.⁴⁰ On December 29 the citizen of Barcelona Ferrer Mallol was lending the king 35,000 Barcelona sous (the equivalent of a hundred annual knight's fees, a princely sum) "for the expenses of the beloved and illustrious king of Castile in his stay at Barcelona."⁴¹

In early January 1275 James acknowledged the accounts presented by Simó de Sant Feliu for 10,000 sous received "from Ramon Ricard, citizen of Barcelona, to cover expenses of our household recently when we went [to stay] at Gerona, and also for moneys that later (when we went out to welcome the illustrious king of Castile and went to Tarragona) you received in Barcelona from the venerable Jaime, bishop of Huesca and which he sent to us at Tarragona." Since this audit included other loans received at Tarragona "and all other moneys" connected with "the said journeys," there is no way of isolating the cost even of this one episode in James's encounter with Alfonso.⁴² On January 13 James borrowed 4000 Valencian sous from the citizen of Barcelona Bernat Saplana "toward the cost [*ad opus expense*] of the illustrious king of Castile." The crown consigned to the payment of this debt the future profit of the justiciar's office at Valencia city.⁴³ Ten days later James similarly borrowed from his notary Guillem de Roca and Guillem's partner Romeo Gerard,

³⁹ACA, Reg. Canc. 19, fol. 191 (26 December 1274), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 10.

⁴⁰Ibid., fol. 193 (29 December 1274): "ad opus expense regis Castelle, ultra illa scilicet XXXIII milia solidorum que iam nobis ex alia parte mutuaveratis."

⁴¹ACA, Reg. Canc. 20, fol. 195 (29 December 1275): "Per nos et nostros recognoscimus et confitemur debere vobis Ferrario Malleolli civis Barchinone et vestris triginta et quinque milia solidorum barchinonensium monete terne quos nobis modo in Barchinona mutuastis ad expensam carissimi et illustris regis Cast[elle] istius morate Barchinone, et inde vestri bene paccati sumus nostre voluntati."

⁴²Ibid., fols. 203v-204 (6 January [1274] 1275): "Noverint universi quod nos Iacobus etc. recognoscimus et confitemur tibi Simoni de Sancto Felicio scriptori nostro te reddidisse nobis bonum et rectum ac legale comptum ex illis X milibus solidorum, quos pro nobis recepisti a Raimundo Ricardi cive Barchinone ad opus expense domus nostre nuper quando ivimus apud Gerundam, et de denariis eciam quos postea (quando ivimus obviam illustri regi Castelle et ivimus Terrachonam) recepisti pro nobis a venerabili Iacobo oscensi episcopo in Barchinona et quos ipse misit nobis apud Terrachonam . . . et de aliis omnibus denariis quos pro nobis in dictis viaticis re[cepisti]."

⁴³Ibid., fol. 202v (13 January [1274] 1275), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 11.

who have already appeared above in two very large such loans, yet another 14,600 Barcelona sous, "given as a loan to cover expenses of the king of Castile." The sum was immediately assigned for recovery on the general regalian income in the kingdom of Valencia, presumably to be specified by its bailiff.⁴⁴

On February 2 Ferrer Mallol, now the crown vicar of Barcelona, was reimbursed for various daily expenses in the royal service, including "210 sous for capons and hens that you bought for us at Granollers as part of the expenses of the illustrious king of Castile." In the event, "because the king of Castile was not present there on that day, we had these chickens for the upkeep of our household." The nearly 4000 sous total was assigned on the revenues of the crown vicariate of Barcelona.⁴⁵ On March 21 James audited the accounts of Arnau Escrivá, his bailiff for the kingdom of Valencia, including "the expense that you incurred on behalf of the king and queen of Castile for us at our command, while they were recently in the kingdom of Valencia when they came to Barcelona."⁴⁶ More detail is furnished by an audit presented at Lérida on March 24 by Ramon Guardia, seen above as bailiff of Tortosa but now "citizen and bailiff" of Daroca in Aragon proper. It included "the moneys that you had from our victuals, which remained at San Jorge when the king of Castile passed through there, as well also from expenses you incurred for us in connection with the aforesaid king and queen of Castile and their household in Tortosa and in Amposta and at San Jorge, and in fitting out a galley in the war we were having with Ramon Ordoná."⁴⁷

On May 7 James audited the accounts of his bailiff for Lérida, Guillem de Na Montagut, including "moneys you had from pears and hens, which you bought at our order for the use of [*ad opus*] the illustrious king of Castile, who was expected to come then to Lérida, and which afterwards you sold." This was doubtless not the end of such loans; and the notices of audits surviving are merely representative samples, perhaps as models for administrative needs. These fugitive samples formed part of James's credit system, a series of proto-bonds and tax farms designed to maximize his resources, as already noted. Meanwhile the usual exchange of courtesies or privileges continued between the monarchs. On 23 January 1275 James drafted a pardon, at the request of Alfonso's son Sancho, voiding any criminal or civil penalties against Jaime de Vibla "by reason of the death of Peric the son of Ferrer Palet." And on 1 February 1275 James notified Geraldo Mair, merchant of Jarque (Xiarç), that Alfonso "has promised you, in our presence and at the prompting of our procurators, to pay you 6500 morabatins which he had owed

⁴⁴Ibid., fol. 205v (23 January [1274] 1275): "Nos Iacobus dei gracia rex Aragonum etc. recognoscimus et confitemur nos debere vobis Guillelmo de Rocha scriptori nostro et Romeo Gerardi civibus Barchinone et vestris quattuordecim mille et sexcentos solidos barchinonenses quos ad opus expensarum regis Castelle nobis modo in Barchinona causa mutui tradidistis."

⁴⁵Ibid., fol. 211v (2 February [1274] 1275), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 14.

⁴⁶Ibid., fols. 226-227 (21 March [1274] 1275): "et de expensa quam fecistis in rege et regina Castelle pro nobis mandato nostro dum fuerint in regno Valencie nuper quando venerunt Barchinonam."

⁴⁷Ibid., fol. 229 (24 March [1274] 1275): "et de denariis quos habuistis de victualibus nostris que remanserunt apud Sanctum Jorgium quando rex Castelle per inde transivit, necnon eciam super missione quam fecistis pro nobis in predicto rege et regina Castelle et familia sua in Dertusa et in Emposta et apud Sanctum Jorgium, et in aptanda eciam una galea in g[u]erra quam habebamus cum Raimundo de Ordoná." See also fol. 230, a separate document.

you." Alfonso also undertook to "restore to you all the things taken away from you at Brihuega" by the Templar Ramon and Jimeno de Santo Domingo; "and unless he does this, it will be an injury to us."⁴⁸

In March 1275 both James and Alfonso were rudely distracted from their contemplation of world-horizons by Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb of Morocco, who invaded Christian Spain at the head of "all the forces of his empire," a roll call of notables enumerated by Ibn Khaldūn. Valencia became a major theater of the war, up to and beyond James's death in mid-1275 at the head of his armies there. His successor Peter the Great, as Muntaner puts it, "had to conquer part of the kingdom of Valencia a second time."⁴⁹ James made efforts to help the Castilians in this general war, though Alfonso was unable to spare attention from the main invasion front to help in his ally's basically Mudejar war in Valencia. A last echo of Alfonso's Valencian visit came during the war. Alfonso had apparently despaired of having his claims to the title of Holy Roman Emperor validated, after a long session with the pope at Beaucaire in May–July 1275. The Castilian king persisted in sporadic use of the claimant title king of the Romans, however, until the pope sent an envoy to dissuade him. This was Friar Andreu d'Albalat, the same bishop of Valencia who had welcomed Alfonso and his queen to Valencia during the gala visit of 1271. Bishop Andreu, reporting to the pope on his talks with Alfonso, suddenly died in late 1276 in Viterbo.⁵⁰

VII

The last stage of Alfonso's life now coincided with the briefer but busy reign of James's son Peter. During those years, something under a decade, each king was distracted from much hope of active cooperation over Valencia. Valencia itself became the main preoccupation of Peter, as he battled to recover it from the rebel Mudejars, even postponing the formal burial of James. Nor did Peter leave Valencia unattended then. The sixteenth-century archival historian Jerónimo Zurita devotes a sub-chapter to the "Reason Why the King Usually Lived in Valencia." He explains that "the king lived most of the time in the kingdom of Valencia to favor his subjects who were on the frontier of Castile and of the kingdom of Murcia, and to repel any armada which could come against the coasts of Valencia"

⁴⁸Ibid., fol. 251r–v (7 May 1275): "et de denariis quos habuistis de piras [= piris] et gallinis quos et quas emistis de mandato nostro ad opus illustris regis Castelle qui debebit [= debebat] tunc venire Ilerdam, et quos ac quas postmodum vendidistis." The Vibla exemption and Mair pardon (Reg. Canc. 20, fols. 209v, 211) are transcribed below in appendix, docs. 12, 13.

⁴⁹Soldevila (n. 5 above): Muntaner, *Crònica*, chap. 10: "segurament hom pot ben dir, que el dit senyor infant En Pere conqués partida del regne, altra vegada, de València." For the account of Ibn Khaldūn, see the citations in Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders* (n. 2 above) chap. 2, pt. 3. Cf. ACA, Reg. Canc. 20, fols. 300v–301 (1 December 1275), four documents on James's armies projected "in servicium dei et auxilium regis Castelle in partes Yspanie contra Sarracenos." Soldevila, *Pere* 3 (n. 1 above) publishes three of these, docs. 55–57; the fourth, published in the original edition of Huici, should appear soon in the appropriate volume of *Documentos de Jaime I* (n. 11 above).

⁵⁰M. H. Laurent, *Le bienheureux Innocent V (Pierre de Tarentaise) et son temps* (Rome 1947) 184–185. Cf. Socarras (n. 13 above) 242–243; and Burns, *Crusader Kingdom* or its Spanish translation (n. 2 above) chap. 2, n. 63 and text.

from North Africa to stir a new Mudejar revolt. By the time the Valencian Mudejar cause had finally collapsed at Montesa in late 1277, freeing Peter to attend to rebellious nobles and to his ambitions in North Africa and Sicily, Alfonso was slipping into the vortex of civil war.

Like France, Portugal, and Granada, King Peter gave some support to Alfonso's rebel son Sancho, a stance which later ensured the sympathy of that neighbor during Peter's own troubles with rebel nobles in Valencia. Moreover, since Alfonso's son and heir Fernando had died, and the grandson-heirs with their widowed mother Blanche of France had fled into Aragon, Peter was able to detain Castile's heirs from 1277, and from 1281 as guest-prisoners in Valencia's great castle of Játiva. Peter was thus able to manipulate, almost from the start of his reign, his neighbor King Alfonso, Alfonso's son Sancho (so restless to succeed him in place of the grandson-heirs), and France. But Peter's ambiguous Castilian policies are not particularly relevant to the story of Alfonso's connections with Valencia. Despite this general eclipse of Valencia by wider peninsular and international problems, Peter's registers display some fifty charters connecting Valencia to the Castile of the embattled Alfonso and his son. This is a considerable number, given the random and representative character of the registers. A mini-cartulary from unpublished entries has been appended to the present study.

The documents echo general preoccupations of the larger world: warfare, commerce, diplomacy, border incidents and boundaries, reprisals, restitution, and the Mudejars. Peter's first surviving communications with Alfonso on Valencian affairs come during the Mudejar war there. He informs Alfonso in January 1277 that "our Saracens of Chelva have surrendered the castle of Chelva to us"; the Castilian king must therefore tell "your men" of Moya and elsewhere "not to do any harm or evil to these Saracens." If these Castilians have any complaints about the Chelva Moors, "except the war," Peter will make legal settlement.⁵¹ In July, nine Castilian captains, "with other captains (*almocadenes*) and infantry, broke up our quarter of the Moors of Cocentaina, and carried off as many men and women Moors as they could" to Castile. Peter demanded his Mudejars back; just as the king of Castile wanted punishment for "our malefactors who go into Castile," so Peter wants these troops punished.⁵²

⁵¹Soldevila, *Pere* 2.1 (n. 1 above) appendix, doc. 54: "*quia* sarraceni nostri de Chelva reddiderint nobis castrum de Chelva et semet ipsos, . . . *rogamus* vos quatenus mandetis dictis hominibus vestris quod eisdem sarracenis de Chelva non faciant dampnum aliquod seu malum, nam si conquerentur ab eis de aliquibus maleficiis, exceptis *guerra*. . . ." The italicized words are my corrections to this somewhat garbled transcript (see ACA, Reg. Canc. 39, fol. 151v; Soldevila's comment—"manca evidentement un verb"—is incorrect). Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Angel Canellas López, 8 vols. to date (Zaragoza 1967–), lib. IV, c. 8 (1279): "Razón por qué vivía el rey de ordinario en Valencia." "Residia el rey lo más del tiempo en el reino de Valencia por dar favor a los suyos que estaban en frontera de Castilla y del reino de Murcia, y para resistir a cualquier armada que pudiese venir contra las costas de Valencia, con cuya ocasión los moros de aquel reino como gente fácil e infiel no intentase alguna nueva rebelión."

⁵²Soldevila, *Pere* 2.1, doc. 80: "con otros alcumatenes [*sic*] e pedones crebantaron el raval nuestro de los moros de Cocentayna, e levaron quantos moros e moras podieron"; "los malfeytores nuestros qui vengan en Castella." Cf. text, pt. 1. 2.253, 257. Peter's work to bring peace between France and Castile was cut short by Valencia's Muslims renewing their revolt: "era vengut en Aragó e avia desemparada la frontera e tots sos fets, e que ara, pus treves hi a, e peril no·y ha quant a ara, torna-

A subsequent letter from Peter to Murcia shows that the roving armed bands on both sides of the border were a menace to public peace—those raiding Valencia, and stealing Muslims and goods, taking refuge then “in Alicante, Villena, Elche, Ayora,” and elsewhere.⁵³ In another incident, receiving no satisfaction from Castile in the case of the Játiva citizen Juan de Barbastro, robbed by the men of Lope Díez, King Peter authorized the Jativan in April “to confiscate and take reprisals on the men of the king of Castile in the city of Valencia,” to a sum “including capital and interest.”⁵⁴ Peter wrote to his border castellans at Castielfabib, Alpuente, Arcos, and Ademuz in November, warning that “Juan Núñez and his entourage are doing and intending harm in the land of the illustrious king of Castile”; no one is to buy anything they have robbed from the Castilians.⁵⁵

From Valencia that same day, the king dispatched a more detailed version of this order to the Aragonese towns of Calatayud, Daroca, and Teruel.⁵⁶ A month or so later, in the new year, Peter ordered his “castellans and councils of the castles on the frontier of Castile to have diligent care for the custody of those castles.” They were to “place men, food, arms, and other necessities there,” in such wise that no unexpected “damage or scandal” ensue. One such letter went to Ariza (“Ferriza”) at the extreme western salient of Aragon into Castile. Others went to the Valencian castellans of Ademuz, Alpuente, Castielfabib, and Chirel.⁵⁷ The king also sent a draft notice broadcast to over a hundred fief-holders, to rendezvous as an army in order to “defend” Valencia. The first call set March 1, soon changed to April 1; the place was to be announced, “wherever we shall be in the said land.” This was on pain of losing their respective Valencian properties.⁵⁸ The crisis must have passed soon, diminishing into minor border incidents. One result of this was a flow of weaponry and arms from Valencia into Castile.

Peter also facilitated commerce in arms through his Valencian port. In May 1278 he gave two “arms manufacturers, citizens of Pisa,” general license “to export from the city of Valencia and carry into Castile, whenever you wish, armor for men and horses” including cuirasses, swords, maces, and other items detailed. They had to carry a written certification from the Valencian justiciar each time, “namely on

se'n la frontera . . . majorment que els sarrayns li han trencada la treva” (ibid., doc. 79 of 1277; and see pp. 39–40).

⁵³ACA, Reg. Canc. 39, fol. 231v (21 July 1277): “quilibet malefactores terre nostre sustinentur et recipiantur in Alacant, in Billena, in Elx, in Ayora”; “traderentur nobis cum Sarracenis et rebus nobis furatis.” This is a long, angry letter, citing specifics.

⁵⁴Ibid., fol. 188v (17 April 1277), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 15. The king did allow a baron, called to arms to the Valencian Mudejar war, to serve for Alfonso in Murcia at wages as long as his Valencian obligations were met: “Gaucerando de Pinos . . . illustris rex Castellae vobis dare vellet denarios ut sibi servicium in regno Murcie faceritis” (Soldevila, *Pere* [n. 1 above] 2.1, doc. 81 [22 July 1277]).

⁵⁵ACA, Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 43v (30 November 1277), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 16.

⁵⁶Ibid., fols. 43v–44 (30 November 1277), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 17.

⁵⁷ACA, Reg. Canc. 22, fol. 80 (13 January [1277] 1278), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 18.

⁵⁸Ibid., fol. 80 (9 March [1277] 1278): “nuper vobis scripsisse meminimus quod prima die mensis Marcii presentis essetis paratus sequi nos cum equis et armis et aliis apparamentis vestris, et ire quousque nos mandaremus, racione hereditamenti quod habetis in terra Valencie, in defensione ipsius terre”; “ubicumque fuerimus in dicta terra.”

the quantity and kind of arms"; a schedule of fees was attached, including four pennies per sword.⁵⁹ The merchant Buonocorso got an identical permit in October, apparently a routine form-letter.⁶⁰ We find this trade flourishing long after the earlier war had subsided in Valencia and Andalusia. In 1280 a Pisan "citizen of Valencia," Febus or Febes, received a similar license to export arms "from Valencia into Castile," paying "what the other Pisan merchants pay" who held similar licenses for exporting arms to Castile.⁶¹

In April 1279, still containing the postwar disorder, Peter enjoins the procurator of the kingdom of Valencia Rodrigo Eximeno de Luna to order the castellan of Zancarios on the Valencian border (at that time within Valencia) "to restore the confiscation" he had illegally "made from the men of Castille."⁶² In July Peter established a border commission to work with Alfonso and his heir Sancho "about the boundaries of castles, places, or lands," to determine which "belong or ought to belong to us," and which to Alfonso and his son; the commission was "to mark and bound" each such place.⁶³ At this time Blanche of France, the fugitive wife of Alfonso's dead son, is glimpsed briefly through the thicket of documentation, presumably with her sons whose claims were opposing Sancho's. Peter ordered that "on the day that the illustrious queen of Castile shall come into Murviedro" in Valencia, the district's bailiff was "to provide her with the [crown's] hospitality tax as her officials shall direct."⁶⁴ The appearance of this international pawn was not accidental. In response to initiatives from Sancho, Peter agreed in a letter full of flattery to meet him "at a place between Requena [in Castile] and Buñol [in Valencia]" in September to treat of Sancho's "many and great projects."⁶⁵ Letters also went out to the people of Paterna, Manises, and Torrente to provide animals "for carrying provisions to Buñol" for the visit of Peter and Sancho.⁶⁶

VIII

The themes of disorder along the Castilian Valencian border, of commerce, and of reprisals continue during these last years of Alfonso. "Footsoldiers of Castile banded together to attack the Moors of some of our places," Peter wrote angrily to the castellan of Mogente; unless the castellan wished to be considered "at fault or negligent," he was to take proper defensive measures, and also institute a search for stolen Muslims "from Ayora to Alicante." Peter formally protested the confiscation

⁵⁹ACA, Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 99v (4 May 1278), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 19.

⁶⁰ACA, Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 1v (11 October 1278), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 20.

⁶¹ACA, Reg. Canc. 42, fol. 224 (13 February [1279] 1280), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 26. King Alfonso proclaimed a public welcome in 1276 to all merchants of arms, horses, and victuals passing in the other direction, into Murcia (Torres Fontes [n. 27 above] doc. 70 [18 April 1276]).

⁶²ACA, Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 60 (20 April 1279), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 21.

⁶³Ibid., fol. 103 (10 July 1279), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 22.

⁶⁴Ibid., fol. 105v (12 July 1279), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 23.

⁶⁵ACA, Reg. Canc. 47, fol. 89v (25 August 1279): "super multis et magnis negociis ac diversis"; "ad ipsam [= ipsum] locum inter Rachenam et Bunyol." A version of this, from the Real Academia de Historia copies, is in *Memorial histórico español* 2 (n. 1 above) doc. 159.

⁶⁶ACA, Reg. Canc. 42, fol. 136v (8 September 1279), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 24.

by the Castilians at Requena of 118 rabbit pelts, from one of James's naval heroes "Pere Moragues of Valencia." At Peter's urging, King Alfonso ordered their return to Pere, but the local official resisted.⁶⁷ The king of Aragon ordered the authorities at Chirel "to return to certain merchants the goods and merchandise they were carrying from Valencia into Castile," since such goods "ought by no means to be impeded."⁶⁸ Safeguards or passports also went out to Castilian merchants coming into Valencia, including "merchant Saracens" and "merchant Jews."⁶⁹ The Martínez Ferrando catalog has Castilian merchants arriving also in March 1280 to purchase Muslim slaves; but these are instead Muslim merchants under the king's safeguard ("we have given safeguard to Saracen merchants coming under welcome into the kingdom of Valencia").⁷⁰ Already in February, the crown had specifically given welcome and protection to Muslim merchants coming overland, presumably from North Africa, through Castile or any part of Granada: "all Saracen merchants with all their goods who come from Castile or the regions of Granada by land into our land" of Valencia.⁷¹ Trouble broke out with Castile on the sea routes of this commerce in mid-1280. King Peter denounced King Alfonso's "pirates" (*pirate*), who robbed Abraham b. Galil, "a Jew of Valencia," as he was returning from a diplomatic mission for Peter to the sultan of Granada. Since Alfonso "repulsed" Peter's complaint, the king ordered Castilian goods seized and held for a month to enforce restitution, to be thereafter used if necessary as compensation. But even in this quarrel with Alfonso, Peter excepts merchants: "any merchants of Castile coming to Valencia with merchandise, lest the revenue of our weighing station at Valencia diminish."⁷²

Grievances over incidents on the Valencian border were not a monopoly of the Crown of Aragon. Castile too had its growing body of injuries and complaints. King Peter could not restrain his subjects from active hostilities. In early October 1278 he wrote the justiciar of Aragon: "We understand that many knights and others of Aragon had gone into Albarracín to help the noble Juan Muñoz [= Núñez] against the illustrious king of Castile or his knights." Immediately upon receipt of this letter, the justiciar must warn these groups "that they must retreat from there, and do no harm in Castile." Those who "do not want to stop" are to have their properties confiscated.⁷³

⁶⁷Ibid., fol. 177 (23 November 1279), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 25. Reg. Canc. 41, fol. 133v (21 July 1279): "quod Garcias Sancii de Sancta Cruce morans in Requena abstulit iniuste ipsi Petro centum et decem et octo penas cirogrillorum, quas idem Petrus emerat in Castella"; "licet ab illustri rege Castelle mandatum recepit."

⁶⁸ACA, Reg. Canc. 42, fol. 160v (27 October 1279): "reddat quibusdam mercatoribus res et merces quas portabant de Valencia in Castellam . . . quia merces que portarentur in Castellam minime debent impedire."

⁶⁹Ibid., fol. 230, three documents of 23 and 25 February (1279) 1280, transcribed below in appendix, docs. 27, 28, 29.

⁷⁰Ibid., fol. 231 (14 March [1279] 1280): "nos guidaverimus Sarracenos mercatores acolleratos [cf. *Catalan colla*] venientes in regnum Valencie, et velimus quod ipsi acollerati cum venerint transitum faciant per Montesiam."

⁷¹Ibid., fol. 230 (23 February [1279] 1280), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 27.

⁷²ACA, Reg. Canc. 48, fol. 83v (15 July 1280), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 30.

⁷³ACA, Reg. Canc. 40, fol. 167v (4 October 1278), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 31. Sixteen months later, in response to envoys from Murcia complaining of bad treatment of their people, apparently by the neighboring Valencians, Peter countered that "nostri subditi male

Two years later, at Alcira in Valencia, King Peter received a deputation bearing complaints from the aggrieved Castilians. Peter "considered carefully" the envoys' message—"and God knows that it saddens us greatly if any from our land brought annoyance or injury on you." The envoys had particularly suspected the king's close friend Conrad Llançà and his jurisdiction at the southwest border point of Biar. "And when Conrad was with us the next day," Peter continued, "we learned for certain that the evil deeds done to you were not ordered nor done at Biar or any other place of ours which Conrad knows about." Peter apologized that he could take no action against specific persons without such evidence, "especially since those of our council were not with us." However, "we propose to enter Valencia [city], where some of the said council are, and deliberate on the aforesaid with them; and we will proceed on the aforesaid in such wise that you will see us fulfil our duty in this."⁷⁴

Two weeks later an envoy of King Alfonso called on Peter at Teruel, to set a new date for a previously planned "interview" with the Castilian king early in the following month in Valencia at "a place between Villena and Biar." Outstanding border troubles would surely have been on the agenda. Peter expressed himself ready for such a summit encounter, "for we consider the meeting with you and the stated place agreeable, and indeed we accept it." An embarrassing delay would be necessary, however, as Peter explains here at length; he and the king of Majorca had already arranged a visit from the king of France, had canceled it abruptly due to "the war between us and the nobles of Catalonia," and only recently had invited the French king to set a new date. The French response had not arrived, "but we expect it shortly." Meanwhile Peter had "ordered" the Castilian envoy "to remain," in order to work out a suitable time for the encounter with Alfonso in the light of the French arrangements.⁷⁵ The Castilian meeting continued to be discussed in further correspondence between the two kings in the following year.

With the revolt of the barons in northwest Catalonia already over in July 1280, Peter finally got his meeting with Philip III "the Bold" of France, at Toulouse in mid-January 1281. Revolving around the Infantes de la Cerda, claims of both kings in southern France, and Peter's suspected projects for Sicily, the talks collapsed in general bad feeling. Peter took his impressive entourage of 400 knights and 400 beasts-of-burden back home. A little over two months later, at Campillo and Agreda at the end of March 1281, Peter did meet with Alfonso and his sons. Besides allying there to divide Navarre, the two kings agreed that Castilian Ayora should go to Valencia, as we shall see. Peter gave up his claims to Albarracín on the Valencian border; but in a secret treaty at the same time, with the Infante Sancho, Peter was promised both Albarracín and Requena at Alfonso's death!

tractantur, pignorantur, et detinentur in terra illustris regis Castelle, et malefactores cum maleficiis que fiunt in terra nostra receptantur cotidie et sustentantur in terra ipsius regis," and Peter had "sepis" complained to King Alfonso and his brother Manuel (Torres Fontes 2 [n. 27 above], doc. 70; Biar [2 February 1280]).

⁷⁴ACA, Reg. Canc. 47, fol. 98v (19 October 1280), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 32. Ballesteros notes the existence of this letter in his list of charters as no. 1,231, but erroneously translates its dateline as Algeciras instead of Alcira.

⁷⁵Ibid., fol. 99v (4 November 1280), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 33.

Even during the negotiations before this Campillo meeting, one result of the rapprochement between Peter and Alfonso was a renewed attempt by Peter to end anti-Castilian incidents throughout the Valencian kingdom and on its borders. In December 1280 he ordered the procurator of Valencia kingdom "to proclaim publicly" in the king's name "in Valencia, Játiva, Alcira, and other places of the kingdom of Valencia" that no one could "invade, detain, impede, or aggravate" the men and merchandise of the king of Castile, under heavy "penalty of body and goods." This confirmed the instructions previously announced jointly by Peter and Alfonso and in force already up to January 1, and extended them.⁷⁶

IX

In the tangled story of Castilian-Aragonese politics during Peter's reign, one important episode particularly concerned Valencia. In March 1281 Alfonso signed the Campillo treaty with Peter, aimed against Navarre. The price Alfonso paid was surrender of the Ayora region on Valencia's southern border. As a young prince Alfonso had lost southern Valencia at Almirra; as an old king, nearing the end of his life, he must have heard echoes of that earlier loss in this last of his Valencian defeats. The mutual assistance promised by both sides in this treaty included aid to the other signatory against "all the Saracens of the world" (qualified in a codicil as not always binding), a proviso with special relevance for threatened Valencia. The main agreement gave the Valencian kingdom "the valley, castle, and town of Ayora, and of Teresa, and of Jarafuel and of Cofrentes." Documents of accord on Ayora also came from the Infante Manuel and the Infante Sancho.⁷⁷ By April 1 Peter had sent "Ramon de Palau of our household" to take delivery of Ayora; and by May 21 he had authorized Juan Pérez de Ayerbe to take over Cofrentes.⁷⁸ Peter also announced that he would not interfere with the Valencian church's seizure of Ayora's ecclesiastical jurisdiction from Alfonso's Cartagena see. Peter asserted that previously the Valencian bishop had been "violently ejected illegally" by Cartagena. He piously noted, at the end of both his letters on the subject, that this was an "ecclesiastical" problem beyond his kingly jurisdiction.⁷⁹

The Ayora talks had also covered the recurrent mutual grievances of Castile and the Crown of Aragon, concerning border incidents and the harassing of merchants.

⁷⁶ACA, Reg. Canc. 48, fol. 196 (16 December 1280), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 34. Zurita (n. 6 above) lib. 4 c. 4 (Requena), c. 11 (Campillo treaty), c. 41 (Albarracín).

⁷⁷ACA, Reg. Canc. 47, fols. 103, 107 (both 27 March 1281), transcribed below in appendix, docs. 35, 36. See also the allied documents of the same date in *Memorial histórico español* 2 (n. 1 above) nos. 184, 185. Fols. 103 to 107 register the run of Campillo records, and end by consigning the originals to the crown's archival subdepository at Santes Creus monastery: "Undecim cartas supra registratas misit dominus rex, per Petrum de Sancto Clemente scriptorem suum, ad monasterium Sanctarum Crucum, ibi suo nomine deponendas." On the Campillo treaty see Ballesteros (n. 1 above) 937-940. Bejarano (n. 5 above) 143, 151-154, edits the three Campillo documents and supplies a map of the Ayora Valley and the frontier.

⁷⁸ACA, Reg. Canc. 49, fol. 62v (1 April 1281), and fol. 88v (21 May 1281); transcribed below in appendix, docs. 37 and 38.

⁷⁹ACA, Reg. Canc. 50, fol. 205 (5 December 1281), transcribed below in appendix, docs. 42, 43.

For his part King Peter in July ordered his officials in Valencia and Aragon to investigate and take measures "immediately" in such cases of "our subjects [against] the subjects of the king of Castile," as had been arranged "between both kings concerning restitution and correcting evil deeds."⁸⁰ He also dispatched to the kingdom of Valencia as his personal agent Gil Alvarez, to handle "mischief and damage inflicted by the men of the land of the illustrious king of Castile to the men of our land, and vice versa, according to the treaty and arrangement made between the same king and us." Plaintiffs were to present their cases to Alvarez, and the officials in the kingdom of Valencia were to hand over to him "charters, complaints, and all writings" connected with these problems.⁸¹

Among the repercussions and adjustments after the Campillo treaty was an attempt by the people of Almansa to extend their own district at the expense of Ayora. This had been a long-standing quarrel; so King Peter wrote from Alcira to Sancho Iñiguez, *adelantado* of Infante Manuel of Castile, suggesting an arbitration team of three—one chosen at Ayora by Peter, one at Almansa by Sancho, and a neutral selected by both parties.⁸² Another episode involved charges by the seneschal of Carcassonne and Beziers for the king of France that one of Peter's knights had robbed a French merchant on the Valencian border. Peter replied that a knight of Requena had "seized and detained" the merchant, "which knight and place are of the illustrious king of Castile" and merely adjoined his own borders. (Requena later became part of the Valencian kingdom.) The merchant "used to come to our land and used to carry his merchandise in our kingdom frequently," so that the king either felt a responsibility for him or else is adducing the relationship to explain his own innocent but insistent intervention in a purely Castilian matter. At any rate, "we wrote the said knight and the men of Requena often about this," until "at our great insistence they freed that merchant from prison, restoring his goods and money." The rhetorical construction here is confusing, so that a variant punctuation might indicate "frequently" writing to the knight and "often" writing to the municipality.⁸³

In yet another situation, when the castellan of Castielfabib held as prisoners the knight Juan Núñez and his soldiers (*pedites*), Peter demanded written assurances that "death or mutilation" did not await the deportees in Castile; if by an established date such assurances were lacking, the castellan was not to extradite but to free them all. This was the baron Juan Núñez de Lara, who had seized semi-autonomous Albarracín on Valencia's border, in his wife's name. Núñez was fighting Lope Díaz de Haro, among others; and King Peter was biding his time until Sancho's succession to the Castilian throne would activate the secret treaty giving Albarracín to Aragon. In 1284 Peter would simply conquer it.⁸⁴

⁸⁰Ibid., fol. 130v (29 July 1281), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 39. Among friendly contacts after the Ayora settlement was Peter's permission to Alfonso's son Sancho to allow the Franciscans of Murcia and Alicante to float timber down the Júcar River in Valencia from Castile "ad opus monasteriorum dictorum locorum"; Torres Fontes 2 (n. 27 above), doc. 76 (26 April 1282).

⁸¹Ibid., fol. 130v (29 July 1281), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 40.

⁸²Ibid. fols. 200v–201 (28 November 1281), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 41.

⁸³Ibid., fol. 245 (20 February [1281] 1282), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 44.

⁸⁴ACA, Reg. Canc. 46, fol. 73 (30 March 1282), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 45. Zurita (n. 6 above) lib. 4, caps. 33, 41, 44.

The seas off Valencia and Murcia offered another area of possible trouble. Coastal commerce from Valencia to Murcia could suffer from pirates or from occasional confiscation as reprisal. One such case occurred in October 1282, and was explained by the crown procurator of Valencia to King Peter. "A certain ship of Valencia, laden with merchandise of Giovanni da Procida, of the council and household of the lord king our father and of us, and [merchandise of others of our subjects]" was seized "at some port which is in the kingdom of Murcia by the port-pilot of the small galleys" or galiots. Procida was one of the more eminent men of his age, physician to the great emperor Frederick II, chancellor to the last Hohenstaufens, chancellor to King Peter and the key figure in his plans for the conquest of Sicily in 1282, and holder of extensive baronies in Valencia. A relatively small maritime incident thus became a major affair, preserving an account of the kind of troubles frequent along these coasts. King Peter threatened seizure "of the goods of the men of Castile." Presumably the Murcians prudently made satisfaction.⁸⁵

The same Murcian official seized the merchandise of two Valencian citizens, apparently in a corsair incident, off Cap Aljub in early 1283. The crown procurator of Valencia wrote protests to King Alfonso and to Murcian officials. Alfonso's reply seemed "insufficient" to King Peter, showing "he did not care to make satisfaction to our citizens." Peter ordered reprisals taken against the Castilians, to the value of 1909 pounds; after holding the Castilian goods for a month, to test Castilian good will, Valencian authorities should use them to recompense the victims.⁸⁶

X

An odd document, misunderstood by the published catalog as a prohibition to Valencians to trade in Murcia, is something much more significant. In late 1282, with Castile torn by the factions of Alfonso and his son Sancho, this public proclamation notes that Valencians were traveling to the kingdom of Murcia "to instigate and make and increase the war between them." Under penalties, "no one from the land of Valencia may dare to go to the kingdom of Murcia in order to mix himself into the said war"; those who have gone must now return; and King Peter is dedicating himself "totally to bring peace." The document is significant for what it tells of Valencian partisanship and participation in the war of Alfonso and Sancho. In the wider context of Peter's peninsular policies, he is not being honest.⁸⁷ By possessing the "prisoners of Játiva," alternate claimants to Sancho's

⁸⁵ACA, Reg. Canc. 59, fol. 128 (20 October 1282), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 46. Similarly in May 1280 King Peter was forced, "ex lacrimoso et ferventi clamore mercatorum et hominum in regno Valentiae habitantium," to protest the seizure by Castilian galleys (like "pirates") of a ship carrying a cargo of silk, leather, and pelts from Almería to the Valencian kingdom (*Memorial histórico español* 2 [n. 1 above] no. 172, misprinted 17 but in proper sequence).

⁸⁶ACA, Reg. Canc. 60, fol. 29r-v (16 February [1282] 1283), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 49.

⁸⁷ACA, Reg. Canc. 59, fol. 165 (22 November 1282), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 48.

throne, Peter had wielded great power during the preliminary disputes, for his own interests rather than for peace.

There would be further cases of reprisals and individual problems in the few years left to Alfonso; these were routine enough, though not of course to the Valencian individuals involved.⁸⁸ A final charter of general import for Alfonso's relations with Valencia came some six weeks before his death. The great king may never have seen it, since it was directed "to all officials of the king of Castile" without the name of either the dying king or of Sancho. The notice recalls that James the Conqueror had promised the men of Játiva the privilege of a market or fair (*nundine*). Peter wishes to stimulate this; and thus "we ask that you make public proclamation in all places to the subjects of your jurisdiction about the said fair, and we give you much thanks."⁸⁹

King Alfonso had lived long, and accomplished much—as a golden prince, as a cultural *Stupor mundi*, and even as a tragic King Lear at the end, bravely facing his surrounding enemies. In his story the kingdom of Valencia was not a major factor; but it was not a negligible element either. From his early public life as prince, to his final surrender of Ayora, Valencia was always at the corner of his eye. And on his deathbed his experiences there may have returned in memory: his dream of holding Játiva, the fine legal brawls over metropolitan jurisdiction, the peninsular echoes of the Mudejar troubles, the shared victories of the Murcian conquest, the long task of organizing and Castilianizing that conquest which lay under the shadow of a booming Valencia, and the grand visits when he toured the Valencian kingdom, hailed and feted alongside King James as two legendary heroes of Christendom.

If Valencia left its traces in the psyche of El Sabio, did the great king leave an impact on that kingdom? Certainly the fate of Valencia and Castile was joined there more than once against the common peril of Islam. The rivalries between the Crown of Aragon and Alfonso affected Valencia's patterns of revenue, defense, and settlement. And the ambience of Alfonso's great ambitions—in Africa, in the Holy Roman Empire, in an imperial view of Spain, in administering an almost impossibly vast conquest, in his legal and artistic monuments—were a framework and color to Valencia's own exciting early years. Certainly his visits were not soon forgotten. Ramon Muntaner relished their details as he devoted separate chapters to them in his chronicle. To this day Valencians relive these episodes, both in James's own words and in the stirring descriptions of Muntaner.

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⁸⁸For example, *ibid.*, fol. 128 (20 October 1282), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 47 (not to be confused with doc. 46 of the same folio and date). See also Reg. Canc. 43, fol. 18v (11 August 1284), transcribed below as doc. 51.

⁸⁹ACA, Reg. Canc. 46, fol. 168v (19 February [1283] 1284), transcribed below in appendix, doc. 50.