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The *Anacephaleosis* (1456) of Alfonso de Cartagena: How to Digest Chronicles

In the course of the 13th Century in Castile the production of historiographical texts led to a dramatic augmentation of historical knowledge. In the first half of the century Lucas de Tuy († 1249) and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1170–1247) composed comprehensive Latin chronicles. Alfonse the Sage (1252–1284) initiated two historiographical projects in vernacular language: the *Estoria de España* and the *Gran Crónica*, both of which strove to comprise the totality of history and historiographical relations from antiquity to the present.[1] In the second half of the 14th Century, historiography became institutionalized and official chroniclers composed the subsequent accounts of the reigns of the Castilian Kings. In the second half of the 15th Century official historiography changed in scope and function, partially due to an altered pragmatic frame, and reminiscent of humanist models in method.[2]

In this outline of Castilian historiography I have not yet mentioned the numerous summaries and abbreviations of the late Middle Ages. The production of those summaries commenced shortly after the death of Alfonse the Sage and continued throughout the following centuries. By the mid-15th Century, on the threshold of a distinctively changed historiographical discourse, Alfonso de Cartagena (1385/86–1456) authored one of those texts that sought to digest the abundant chronistic tradition. Like most of the abridged versions of official Alfonsine and post-Alfonsine historiography, his *Anacephaleosis* was frequently dismissed in modern scholarship for its lack of originality. Yet this text and its reception in the early 16th Century gives an insight into the practical aspects of historiographical work and the functions

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1 See the authoritative studies of Diego Catalán: De Alfonso X al Conde de Barcelos: cuatro estudios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía en romance en Castilla y Portugal, Madrid 1962.

2 See Michel García: Obra y personalidad del canciller Ayala, Madrid 1983, p. 97–201; Gerald Lee Gingras: The Medieval Castilian Historiographical Tradition: From Alfonso X to López de Ayala, in: RLA 2 (1990), p. 419–423; Robert Brian Tate: El cronista real durante el siglo XV, in: Homenaje a Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, Tom. 3, Madrid 1986, p. 659–668; Michel García: La crónica castellana en el siglo XV, in: Actas: II Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval, Ed. José Manuel Lucía Megías et al. Alcalá de Henares 1992, p. 53–70; Fernando Gómez Redondo: La crónica particular como género literario, in: Actas del III Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval, Ed. María Isabel Toro Pascua, Tom. 1, Salamanca 1994, p. 419–427.

the past could fulfill. The term »digest« in the title of my paper, on one hand, refers to the modern sense of »written epitome or synopsis«. »Digest«, on the other hand, can also be considered a basic metaphor for the activity of human memory throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era.[3] In Alfonso de Cartagena's *Anacephaleosis* both aspects of the metaphor of digesting historiographical texts are intertwined. The written text can be characterized as an outline of the Castilian historiographical tradition, which the author intended to be memorized by means of illuminations. Hence the mediator between prescribed reading and the interpretive community, to use Roger Chartier's terminology,[4] is in this particular case the book artist who himself is a »first reader« of Alfonso's text. The manuscript I will analyze, however, shows that the pictorial text is far more than an aide-mémoire: the *Anacephaleosis* implies an interpretative strategy in which the written text and the pictorial text have to be read together in order to actualize the mnemonic potential and practical purpose of the text. I contend that the *Anacephaleosis* requires reading strategies unfamiliar to the modern mind, strategies which perform a threefold mnemonic task: mastering vast historiographical data, imparting genealogical memory, and commemorating the Castilian rulers.

Therefore, this study has a double focus on the prescribed reading by Cartagena and the interpretation of a 16th-Century book artist. The mnemonic structure of *Anacephaleosis* is blurred in the printed versions, which do not heed the *ekphrasis* for the *imagines*. The *Anacephaleosis* and its transmission in the 16th and 17th Centuries indicate the impact which the shift in medium had on mnemonic culture; at the same time, the extant manuscript from the beginning of the 16th Century can be considered a testimony of the continuity of a traditional reading style, which emphasized the mnemonic interaction of the reader with the written text, into the 16th Century.

Alfonso García de Santa María, better known as Alfonso de Cartagena, is undoubtedly among the outstanding Castilian intellectuals of the first half of the 15th Century. A member of an illustrious *converso*-family, he enjoyed a succesful career at court and church, eventually becoming bishop of Burgos. He distinguished himself as a politician during the turmoil in the time of Juan II (1406–1454), as a representative of the crown of Castile at the Council of Basel, and as the author of a broad variety of writings.[5] Alfonso's biography, particularly viewed against the background of his *converso* identity, his

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3 See Mary J. Carruthers: The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture. Cambridge 1992, p. 164–169.

4 See Roger Chartier: Texts, Printing, Readings, in: The New Cultural History, Ed. Lynn Hunt, Berkeley 1989, p. 154–175, here p. 157–158.

5 For biographical information on the converso-clan García de Santa María see Luciano Serrano: Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena, Madrid 1942, Francisco Cantera Burgos: Álvar García de Santa María: historia de la judería de Burgos y de sus conversos más egregios, Madrid 1952, Silvia González-Quevedo Alonso: Alfonso de Cartagena: una expresión de su tiempo, in: Crítica Hispánica 4 (1982), p. 1–20.

work as a translator, and finally his political, theological and moral philosophical œuvre have been thoroughly studied. A particular interest has been shown in the impact of Humanism and »Prerenaissance« in his writings.[6]

Toward the end of his life Alfonso was especially dedicated to historiographical work. This aspect of his writings, however, has attracted less attention. Alfonso compiled material for two projects which his disciple Diego Rodríguez de Almela completed posthumously. In 1487 he published *Valerio de las estorias* and *Compilación de batallas campales* in Murcia.[7] Strictly speaking, the authentic historiographical œuvre consists of a text composed in Latin that modern criticism knows as *Anacephaleosis* (»summary«, »recapitulation«). Alfonso assembled this compilation in 1456, the year of his death. Already in 1463 Juan de Villafuerte rendered the text into Castilian, under the title *Genealogía de los Reyes de España*, glossed and augmented it.[8] The Latin version was published in 1545 in Granada with the title *Regum Hispaniae anacephaleosis*.[9]

Until the present day only two studies were dedicated to the *Anacephaleosis*. Robert B. Tate finds little originality regarding form and subject in the text. He contends that the interest of the text lies primarily in the fact that the *Anacephaleosis* marks the moment when Castile gained consciousness of its own past and historical role.[10] Tate further suggests that Alfonso de

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6 See Noel Fallows: Alfonso de Cartagena. An Annotated Tentative Bibliography, in: La Corónica 20 (1991), p. 78–93. This survey does not include id.: Chivalric manuals in medieval Spain: the Doctrinal de los caualleros (c. 1444) of Alfonso de Cartagena, in: JMRS 24 (1994), p. 53–87; id.: Just say no? Alfonso de Cartagena, the Doctrinal de Caballeros and Spain's Most Noble Past Time, in: Studies on Medieval Spanish Literature in Honor of Charles F. Fraker, Ed. Alan Deyermond et al., Madison 1995, p. 129–141. Maurice Kriegel: Autour de Pablo de Santa María et d'Alfonso de Cartagena: alignement culturel et originalité converso, in: Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 41 (1994), p. 197–205. Jeremy Lawrance: La autoridad de la letra: un aspecto de la lucha entre humanistas y escolásticos en la Castilla del siglo XV, in: Atalaya 2 (1991), p. 85–107. Olga Tudorica Impey: Alfonso de Cartagena, traductor de Séneca y precursor del humanismo español, in: Prohemio 3 (1972), p. 473–494.

7 See Rodríguez de Almela: Valerio de las estorias, Murcia [imp. Lope de la Roca Alemán] 1487 [Ed. facs. y estudio de Juan Torres Fontes, Murcia 1994]. Valerio is, as indicated by the title, a historical, moralistic work with didactic intention in the tradition of Facta et dicta by Valerius Maximus; Compilación consists of an enumeration of battles, the combatants and the respective laconic synopsis based on Biblical and profane sources; see Serrano p. 258f.

8 See Joseph Rodríguez de Castro: Biblioteca Española, Madrid 1781, p. 240–243.

9 Fallows (1994, p. 63) states that Nebrija published the text in 1522 with »sumptuous illuminations by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and Juan de Villafuerte«. In his bibliography (1991) he does not mention this editio princeps; see Nicolás Antonio: Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, Tom. II, Madrid 1788, p. 262: »Hanc primum in lucem emisit Xantus, seu Sancius Nebrissensis Antonii filius una cum Roderici Ximenii Toletani [...] Ioannis Gerundensis, eiusdem Antonii Nebrissensis Catholicorum Regum historiis, Granatae anno MDXLV in folio.« Also Cantera Burgos (p. 461f.) and Serrano (p. 248) attest that the text was first printed in 1545.

10 See Robert Brian Tate: La Anacephaleosis de Alfonso García de Santa María, Obispo de Burgos, 1435–1456, in: Tate: Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV, Ed. Jesús Díaz, Madrid 1970, p. 85–92; here p. 85. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations are mine.

Cartagena enlivened the so-called »neogothic theory« (»tesis neogoda«), which claimed a direct descending of the Castilian crown from the Visigoths.[11] Hence, continues Tate, he made a crucial step to a »concept of the destiny and the obligations of the Spanish nation, that would have its heyday in the Europe of the 15th and 17th Centuries«.[12] Likewise, Luis Fernández Gallardo regards Alfonso de Cartagena as a historiographer who advanced the formation of national identity based on a new historical awareness: »He elaborated in the *Anacephaleosis* earlier propositions [he had made in his political writings] and systematized them in a way that they could constitute the foundations of the Castilian historical consciousness«.[13] Diverging from Tate, however, he notices a »radical novelty« in Alfonso de Cartagena's introduction: »For the first time, a Spanish historiographer reflects, at the margin of the set of *topoi* consecrated by Jiménez de Rada and centered in the testimonial value of writing, about the epistemic nature of historical knowledge«.[14] According to the interpretation of Fernández Gallardo, Alfonso's preface expresses a humanist understanding of historiography which does not comprehend history as »the knowledge of lists of kings and princes, but of human affairs«.[15] He qualifies, however, that Alfonso did not wish, or was not able to take the appropriate step from this insight. In any case, the »humanist« portions of the prologue are, as Fernández Gallardo admits himself, reflected neither by conceptual nor by methodological innovations:[16] »In spite of a new sensitivity regarding the historical discourse, the cogitations of Alfonso do not at all introduce a new form of writing history, but a conti-

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11 Fundamental in this regard is José Antonio Maravall: El concepto de España en la Edad Media. Madrid [3]1981, here p. 299–337; Peter Linehan (History and Historians of Medieval Spain. Oxford 1992) unfortunately does not study the period after 1350.

12 Tate, p. 55.

13 See Luis Fernández Gallardo: La obra historiográfica de dos conversos ilustres, don Pablo de Santa María y don Alonso de Cartagena, Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia Medieval 6 (1993), p. 249–286, here p. 269.

14 Tate, p. 272.

15 Tate, p. 274; Gallardo's argument refers to the debate about the Spanish Renaissance, more specifically the Prerrenacimiento of the 15th Century. For a review of the positions on the subject see Ottavio Di Camillo: Humanism in Spain, in: Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy, Vol. II, Ed. Albert Rabil, Philadelphia 1988, p. 55–108. Gallardo's allegation that Alfonso de Cartagena was one of the presumed »pre-humanists« is, to say the least, contested. Tate emphasizes in his studies generally that the influence of Italian Humanism in 15th-Century Castile was only marginal (Ensayos). He considers the Anacephaleosis an expression of an »incipiente provincialismo« (Anacephaleosis, p. 67f.). Helen Nader even calls Alfonso de Cartagena the »head of an anti-Renaissance movement« (The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance: 1350 to 1550, New Brunswick, NJ 1979, p. 133). Di Camillo, on the other hand, underscores that Cartagena was positively the only »Spanish intellectual of his generation [...] who was acutely aware of the cultural trends of the time both at home and abroad« (p. 6f.).

16 The only tangible Humanist element of the prologue is the Terence quote »Homo sum nihil humanum alienum puto«; see Fernández Gallardo, p. 274.

nuance of the traditional historiographical practice – if not a restoration of already surpassed compilatory methods«.[17]

Tate and Fernández Gallardo approach the *Anacephaleosis* from the angle of the history of ideologies and ideas. As a consequence of this focus they show little interest in the w h o l e text, as it was set out by the author. Both Tate and Fernández Gallardo mention in passing that the *Anacephaleosis* cannot be understood without the illuminations intended by Alfonso. Yet they do not investigate this most intriguing aspect of the text.[18] It is not an accident that lavish illuminations »embellish« some of the manuscripts of Alfonso's digest: the uniqueness (as it were »originality«) of the *Anacephaleosis* rests on the fact that the author gives precise written instructions for the iconographic arrangement of the text. In medieval manuscripts it is not unusual that a scribe or rubricator added instructions for the book artist who worked afterwards. Yet Alfonso's method of recapitulating the *ekphrasis* in detail in the authorized text labels the pictorial elements, which are generally not more than paratexts, as an integral part of the work.

After the editio princeps, the *Anacephaleosis* was edited by Robert Bell in 1579 and by Andreas Schott in 1603. These reprints, which are the basis of modern scholarship on Alfonso's compilation, reproduce the written text, yet disregard the prescribed illuminations.[19] The complexity of Alfonso's writing, however, is only fathomable if we take into account the interplay between writing and images. In what follows, I will therefore not analyze the »naked writing« (»nuda scriptura«),[20] but a manuscript which identifies the following text, in accordance with the Castilian versions of the *Anacephaleosis* as »Liber genealogie regum hyspaniae compositus per modum arboris.«[21] It was

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17 Gallardo, p. 275.

18 See Tate, Anacephaleosis, 1970, p. 66. Fernández Gallardo even recognizes a »subordinación del texto a las necesidades de expresión icónica [...]« (p. 270 f.). However, he does not elaborate on this idea. It is incontrovertible that the creation of the written text was prior to the illuminations; see Elías Tormo: Las viejas series icónicas de los reyes de España, Madrid 1916, 221 not. 1. Therefore, Fernández Gallardo's assertion that the »extensión del texto queda condicionada por la ilustración a la que sirve de glosa [...]« (p. 271) misconstrues the actual production of the manuscripts and – as I will show – the structural hierarchy in the text.

19 See Regum Hispaniae anacephalaeosis, in: Andreas Schott: Hispaniae illustratae seu rerum urbiumque Hispaniae [...], Tom. 1, Frankfurt 1603, p. 246–291. Robert Bell: Rerum hispanicarum scriptores [...], Tom. 1, Frankfurt 1579, p. 611–664.

20 My analysis is based on MS. 9436 (= Vit. 192) of the BN Madrid. I will refer to this text with Liber genealogie. All quotations of the Anacephaleosis refer to this manuscript if not indicated otherwise. Tormo describes the manuscript and the iconographic text in detail (p. 241–256), for photographic reproductions see ib. Cf. Jesús Domínguez Bordona: Spanish Illumination. (repr.) New York 1969, plate 152. My indications of folios do not consistently correspond to Tormo. Alfonso refers with »nuda scriptura« to texts without »ymagines« (fol. 1v).

21 See Tormo, p. 220. Also Rodríguez de Almela refers to the translation of the Anacephaleosis in the preface to Valerio with »Libro de la genealogía de los reyes de españa«; see Fallows (1991) p. 89f. Alfonso's original has not come down to us. In my opinion, however, there is sufficient evidence to assume that the original title of the text read Genealogia Regum Hispaniae and that

presumably illuminated by Diego de Arroyo for the Spanish Queen Isabel of Portugal in 1535.[22]

Following the Aristotelian *Metaphysics* (I,1), Alfonso de Cartagena argues in the prologue that man is essentially characterized by a thirst for knowledge. Everybody follows his individual talents (»ingeniorum suorum acumen«); the learning of history, however, is useful to all (fol. 1r). He continues that it is not necessary to memorize the totality of historical knowledge. On the other hand, it is beneficial and »delightful« to retain the content of a brief compendium like the *Anacephaleosis*.[23] This is possible because this work eludes the »prolixitas« of a chronicle which cannot be mastered by the human memory.[24]

> Et licet hoc continue in memoria habere necessarium non reor. Utile tamen pariter ac delectabile censeo libellum aliquem tenere qui hec sub breui compendio contineat. Ut cum sermo ad huiuscemodi rebus ocurrerit aliqualem cognitionem apprehendere ualeamus. Hac itaque intentione motus conscribere feceram arborem quandam genealogie regum hispanie eorum gesta aliquantulum misceens: ut neque historie prolixitatem neque arboris breuitatem haberet. Sed quodam mediocri modo historiali latitudini & arboree breuitati responderet. (fol. 1r)

He explains that he extracted a genealogical tree of the Spanish kings from the chronicles which he larded with historiographical material in order to

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the editors of the editio princeps are responsible for the (equivocal) designation Anacephaleosis; see Tormo, p. 241f.

22 Tormo (p. 219–239) describes another manuscript of the Genealogía de los Reyes de España (MS. II–3009 of the Biblioteca del Real Palacio in Madrid) which was composed shortly after 1463. This text is not only close to the creation of the original by Alfonso, but also offers illustrations of primary artistic value; see Domínguez Bordona, plate 115. The manuscript of the Biblioteca del Real is an abridged version of Juan de Villafuertes's revision; see Tormo, p. 220. Moreover, the anonymous artist took greater liberty in the execution of Alfonso's ekphrasis than Diego de Arroyo. Cantera Burgos (p. 461f.) provides an inventory of the remaining manuscripts; Tate (Anacephaleosis p. 65, not. 19) mentions another Latin version preserved in the Philip Hofer collection of the Houghton Library in Harvard.

23 For a series of examples of the topos of »pauca de multis brevissime de amplissimis« in compilations see Gert Melville: Spätmittelalterliche Geschichtskompendien – eine Aufgabenstellung, in: Römische Historische Mitteilungen 22 (1980), p. 51–104, here p. 61–64. Melville underscores that the most important pragmatic aspect of these summaries is to map the unmanoeuvrable abundance of the historiographical tradition. However, he does not connect this »comprehensibility« (»Erfaßbarkeit«) due to succinctness (p. 59), renunciation of »interpretative investigation« (»interpretatorische Durchdringung«) and the graphical aids the compilers employed (p. 94–103) with the (intentional or resulting) mnemotechnical dimension of these texts.

24 See Jean Pierre Jardin: Contribution à l'étude des résumés de chroniques castillanes du XV^{e} siècle, in: Atalaya 17 (1991), p. 117–126. The multitude of epitomes of extensive historical works is characteristic for Castilian historiography in the 15th Century. For more examples of the topos brevitas versus prolixitas see Gertrud Simon: Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts, in: Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde 4 (1958), p. 52–119 and 5/6 (1959/60), p. 73–153, here p. 82–86.

provide the reader with a certain degree of historical knowledge (»aliqualem cognitionem«).[25] Afterwards he clarifies the different stages in the elaboration of his *Liber genealogie*.

> Illique excellentissime ac indebilis memorie regi honestorum studiorum auidissimo qui nuper ab humanis oculis ad superos euocatus est dedicaueram. At cum particula prima sue regie maiestati tradita transitus eius interuenisset quicuit opusculum illud annis temporibus per me uel alium altioris & habundationis ingenij forte si placuerit diuine mansuetudini prosequendum. Interim uutem ascendi in mentem ne ex toto calamus refrigesceret. Ex illis que tunc scripseram quantum ad tempora que attingerunt et alijs scriptis que sequentium temporibus actiones enarrant breuiorem arborem transplantare que neque historiam lato sermone contineat, neque ex toto sub silentio dimittat. (fol. 1r–1v)

Fernández Gallardo comments that Alfonso could not execute his original plan and that »we can see two discontinuous phases in the elaboration of the *Anacephaleosis* in which the interest of author was displaced from an universal perspective to a more local interest«.[26] The wording of the prologue, however, does not justify this interpretation. It is neither possible to infer which kind of historiographical work Alfonso originally intended to dedicate to Juan II nor to determine what kind of »particula« he had gathered when the monarch died. Furthermore, there is no evidence that he decided, after desisting in carrying out an ampler project, to write a local historical compendium which he dedicated after the death of the original addressee to the cathedral chapter of Burgos.[27] The preface rather indicates that Alfonso de Cartagena presented a draft of a historical work (possibly *Valerio de las estorias* which was posthumously completed and published by his *familiar* Diego Rodríguez de Almela) to his destined addressee, Juan II. Incorporating other sources,[28] he transplanted the material he had amassed for this purpose into a »tree« after the death of the king. He now dedicated this entirely new undertaking not to the Castilian king, but instead to the cathedral chapter of Burgos.

Thus, without further analysis, it would be incautious to consider the *Anacephaleosis* a »light version« which the author, *faut de mieux*,[29] devoted to a local ecclesiastical community. On the contrary, the conciseness of the

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25 Fol. 1r: »Reduxi ergo ad modum arboris omnes qui in hispania nostra regio diademate sunt positi«.

26 See Fernández Gallardo, p. 269. Tate asserts similarly: »El prólogo da a entender que se trata de un extracto de una historia más grande, pero que nunca completó« (Anacephaleosis, p. 66).

27 Nevertheless, the Anacephaleosis has been also classified as an »Universalchronik«; see Karl Heinrich Krüger: Die Universalchroniken, Turnhout 1976 (Typologie des Sources du Moyen ge Occidental 16), p. 45.

28 Rodríguez de Almela alludes in the preface to Valerio to the abundance of Alfonso's library and underscores the multitude of historiographical works; see Cantera Burgos, p. 443.

29 See Tate, Anacephaleosis, p. 66; Fernández Gallardo, p. 270. Both authors conjecture that Alfonso could not expect a positive reception at court because of a drastic change in the political climate under Enrique IV (1454–1474), the son of Juan II.

text, which Alfonso differentiates twice from the *prolixitas historiae*, rather is essential for the intended function of the *Anacephaleosis*. In the prologue of his widely known treatise *De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum*, Hugh of Saint Victor points out the significance of summaries of historiographical writings.

> Memoria brevitate gaudet, gesta autem temporum infinita pene sunt, oportet nos ex omnibus brevem quandam summam colligere quasi fundamentum fundamenti, hoc est primam fundamentum, quam facile possit animus comprehendere et memoria retinere.[30]

The human memory cannot grasp the nearly infinite number of historical facts. The student of history, however, is obliged to memorize fundamental data in order to make use of the *doctrinae*. Hence the archive of history requires summaries which communicate it to the individual's memory.[31] We find a similar argumentation in the preface to the *Anacephaleosis*. Alfonso denominates his work a »compendium breve« which, unlike the copiousness of the »historiarum noticia«, can be memorized (»continue in memoria habere«; fol. 1r). To achieve this goal it is imperative to scan the text mnemotechnically;[32] the subdivisions that Alfonso chooses are the abridged chapterlike »chronicles« of the Spanish rulers.[33] The second condition is that the complete text does not exceed the capacity of human memory. In order to ensure this Alfonso gives his readers visual mnemotechnical aids.[34] He argues that

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30 See Hugh of St. Victor: De tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum, Ed. William M. Green, in: Speculum 18 (1943), p. 484–493, here p. 491. In his introduction the editor labels the text a »schoolbook of history« (p. 484).

31 See Martínez de Toledo: Alfonso. Atalaya de las Coronicas, Ed. James B. Larkin, Madison 1983, p. 2: »Propuse e comedi de copilar los mas reyes asy godos comno españoles e castellanos que yo pudiese alcançar e saber, e so el mas compendio breue que a mi posible fuese, e segunt las coronicas que alcançar pudiese, tomando dellas las conclusiones de los fechos que en tienpos pasados contesçieron, porque aquellos que por estenso pasadas e leydas las ayan so breues menbranças puedan memorar los mas de los fechos en ellas contenidos tocantes a los fechos dEspaña«; compare Jardin: Diego Enríquez del Castillo (Historia del rey don Enrique el cuarto de este nombre, in: BAE 70 (repr. 1953), p. 97–222, here p. 99) emphasizes in the preface to his chronicle of Enrique IV that the written word is not more than a vehicle for the acquisition of the memory of the kings by individuals: »E usi aunque siglos tan luengos hayan transcurrido, y de tiempos tan antiguos pasados, siempre ante los ojos tenemos sus hazañas, no solamente figuradas, mas en nuestras fantasias imprimidas e señaladas«.

32 See Carruthers, p. 82f.

33 The term »coronica« is a contamination of »crónica« and »corona« which was used throughout the 15th Century. »Crónica/coronica« denotes »historiographical narration of any length with focus on the reign of a king.« In Atalaya, Martínez de Toledo designates each chapter »coronica«. I will similarly refer to the subdivisions of the Anacephaleosis with »chronicle«.

34 Another prominent example in Castilian literature is Juan Manuel's El conde Lucanor (Ed. José Manuel Blecua, Madrid [5]1990). After the narration, the enxiemplo, the author adds ver-

images (»ymagines«) foster the memory of things (»res«) better than the naked writing (»nuda scriptura«). Therefore he wants the kings to be fully portrayed »congrue arboris loco« in a straight line. Next to the kings should appear the head of those who distinguished themselves through their valor:

> Ac quia ymagines rerum forcius memoriam quoadiuuant: quam nuda scriptura reges ipsos congrue arboris loco depingi feci in recta linea regibus solis depictis. In marginibus uero aliquibus aliis quorum strenuitas non ab re iuxta Reges collocari petebat per sola capita figuratis. (fol. 1v)

Alfonso concludes the exposition to his work with the dedication to the chapter of the cathedral of Burgos. Yet, he designates the next seven chapters also as parts of the prologue. In the first chapter he delineates a *mapa mundi*. After only a few lines it becomes clear that the author only retrieves this world vision to memory (»in memoriam adduxi«) in order to locate the origins of the Goths.[35] Also the geographical description of Spain that follows just recalls well-known parameters of Castilian historiography.[36] The actual narrative opens with the colonization of Europe by the sons of Japhet. The earliest historical event on Spanish soil, which Alfonso dates to the year 1233 after the construction of the tower of Babel, is the combat between Hercules and the tyrants Gedeon and Cacus. The victorious hero endows Spain to a relative (»nepotem quendam«) who becomes the first Spanish king (fol. 4r). Thus, the origins of the history of Spain coincide with the institutionalization of a monarchy which has its grounds in military virtue. Alfonso then narrates briefly the various invasions of Spain until the arrival of the Goths. After a sketch of the roots of the Goths and their triumphant march through Europe which earned them glory and power, Alfonso emphasizes once more at the end of his »prologue« the continuity of the Gothic dominion on the Iberian Peninsula.

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ses »en que se pone la sentençia de los exiemplos« (60). He then announces an estoria, an illustration, which is not preserved in the manuscripts that have come down to us; see ib., not. 100. The idea was that recapitulating verses combined with a miniature, similar in structure to an emblem, should enable the reader to memorize the moral (»sentençia«) of the narration. For more examples of historiographical texts which use pictorial mnemotechnical aids see M. T. Clanchy: From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307. Cambridge ²1993, p. 172–177.

35 Fol. 2v: »Ego enim hanc solam primam europe partem breuiter in memoriam adduxi quia intra eam datia continetur et gothia.« The author alludes to other sources which treat the topic »sermone lato«.

36 Fol. 3r: »Que sic grose tetigi ut aliquam cognitionem horum nominum habeamus & aliqualiter de nominationibus correspondere quas hodie partem hispanie habent et ipsa propinquitate uocabulorum sentiamus«. Fernández Gallardo comments: »Notamos, pues, la insensibilidad de nuestro prelado burgalés hacia la exigencia de una depuración del material historiográfico, de una búsqueda de fuentes más fidedignas y cercanas a los hechos narrados« (p. 277); see also Tate, Anacephaleosis, p. 56. For the tradition of the laus Hispaniae see Isidor of Seville: Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum, PL 83. col.1057–1082,

Et ex illis profluunt hij qui hodie hispanie sceptra gubernant : licet a gothia quasi quodam solario cognomentum magnis temporibus seruauerint. Et etiam hodie realiter teneat: licet titulorum cognomina ex prelijs & alijs insignibus gestis que postea euenerunt sint mutata. Hec ad intelligentiam dicendorum premississe sufficiat: & iam quod mente concepimus exequamur. (7v-8r)

In the actual prologue and the introductory chapters Alfonso lays a foundation for his genealogy of the Spanish kings in world history. He traces the series of the rulers in the *dominium Hispaniae* and the origins of the Gothic people. Beginning with Athanaricus »primus qui gentis gothorum regium solium suscepit« (fol. 8r), in whose time the Goths adopt the Christian faith, the succession of the predecessors of the present king can be depicted »sub arboris figura.«[37]

Reduxi ergo ad modum arboris omnes qui in hispania nostra regio diademate sunt positi. Ab athanarico incipiens in quo stipitem genealogie huius rationabiliter ut puto construxi : usque ad insignem ac potentissimum Enriquum quartum hodie regnantem. (fol 1v)

Furthermore, Alfonso advertises that he will also list at the end of each chapter – *in concurrentia* – the popes, German emperors, French kings and bishops of Burgos that lived in the time of each respective Castilian monarch. He clarifies, however, that this is only a byproduct of his research and that he is primarily interested in the genealogy of the Castilian rulers (fol. 1v).

It is interesting to see how a 16th-Century book artist read the *Anacephaleosis* and in which way he executed the images the author assigned to portions of the written text in order to enable memorization of the series of Spanish kings and their most important deeds (»gesta aliquantulum«). The illuminator of Codex 9436 of the BN Madrid, Diego de Arroyo, carries out this plan by drawing a tree in the space between the two columns of the page.[38] This tree of changing aspect, mostly a palm-like plant, is shown in its entirety on every page. Hence, the pictures do not typify the succession of the rulers with the semblance of a »genealogical tree« and its branches. Rather,

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here col. 1057. Compare also Pedro Alfonso, Conde de Barcelos: Crónica de 1344, Ed. Diego Catalán y María Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1970 (Fuentes cronísticas de la historia de España 2), p. 31–84; Pedro's widely read chronicle (one of the sources of Alfonso de Cartagena) provides a description of the »terminos, tierras e prouincias e rrios e çibdades e lugares fuertes que en España son poblados«; see also the introduction of the editors p. 62-68.

37 See Gert Melville: Vorfahren und Vorgänger: spätmittelalterliche Genealogien als dynastische Legitimation zur Herrschaft. Die Familie als sozialer und historischer Verband, hg. von Peter-Hans Schuler, Sigmaringen 1987, p. 203–309, passim, particularly p. 249–254; Alfonso combines, like many other late-medieval genealogists, the arguments of the »Kontinuums des Blutes« and the »Kontinuums der Herrschaftsinstitution bzw. devolutio dominorum und surrogatio in dominio« (ib. p. 249 and p. 253).

38 For a detailed description of the polychrome, iconographic arrangement of the manuscript see Tormo p. 243–251.

each monarch is represented through his own tree. Right under each treetop, a shield with a coat of arms is fastened to the trunk. The illustrator assigns to the Spanish rulers from Athanaricus to the »Last Goth« Rodrigo, a coat of arms of his imagination which symbolizes the Visigothic period.[39] This shield embellishes also the front page and thus connects the Visigoths with their »legitimate descendants«, the Trastámara.[40] Pelayo, the guarantor of the Gothic Empire's continuity after the invasion of the Arabs, is tagged as the first ruler of León by his coat of arms. With Fernando I begins the series of the kings of Castilla y León with the corresponding heraldic symbols. Under the shields, which – »sub diversis titulis« (fol. 5r) – roughly organize the alternation of the »Gothic« rulers, the observer finds slightly bigger shields with the »ymagines« the author reflected on in the prologue. The illustrator Diego de Arroyo rendered the author's *ekphrasis* faithfully. The pictures use iconographic *topoi*: for example a halo bedecks the saint's head and martyrs hold palm branches in their hands. However, the attempt to individualize the portraits in order to make them more easily accessible to memorization is apparent. In some cases the observer encounters images – like Hermenegildus' head, chopped with an axe and streaming blood – which can rightly be described as *imagines agentes*.[41] Alfonso discriminates between the *imagines* of the kings which are painted in their entirety and the pictures »per sola capita figuratis« which are placed »in marginibus« (fol. 19v).[42] The illustrator integrates the »marginal« illustrations of the heads of memorable personalities in the columns of the written text.[43] These are neither related to the trees nor connected to the images of the monarchs and the genealogical tree through branches or other graphical elements.

The graphical arrangement reflects the fact that the series of marginal pictures (with the exception of the *ekphrasis*) does not correlate with the »chronicles« of the Spanish kings of the *Anacephaleosis*. The pictorial program is not totally subordinated to the written text, but rather conveys historical knowledge that was too complex to be mediated in a linearly written narra-

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39 It consists of four segments which represent Saxonia, Sweden, Flanders and León; see Tormo, p. 245.

40 Moreover, the first initial shows the coat of arms of Isabel. It thus connects Alfonso's genealogy with the Habsburger Karl V. Tormo describes the ornamentation of the title page (p. 243f.).

41 See Carruthers, p. 60. The anonymous illustrator of the Genealogía of the Biblioteca del Palacio produces an especially drastic effect by marking in red the (abundantly spilled) blood in his otherwise monochrome pen-and-ink drawing; see Tormo, p. 222.

42 The Cid and the Conde Fernán González also appear in entirety (»integre«) and in bellicose poses because of their »strenuitas et singularitas operum« (fol. 27r).

43 Fol. 19v: »Depinguntur etiam in margine iuxta eum [sc. Rodrigo] sceleratissimi prodictores Julianus comes, Et Oppa archiepiscobus. Decet enim ut sicut proborum virorum depingunguntur imagines ut ad memoriam nostram veniant laudandi: sic sceleratorum ut veniant execrandi: sicuti Judas in cena domini solet depingi«.

tive.[44] The portraits of the secondary personalities in the *Anacephaleosis* implement the function of highlighting or interweaving subplots.[45] Also the images of the genealogical trees of the Castilian kings accomplish more than presenting the content of the written text in a mnemotechnically efficient manner. *Ekphrasis* and *imagines* bring out a characteristic memorable or memorizable feature of the life or personality of each monarch. King Leongildus appears without armor, »in veste pacifica ac longa«, because he distinguished himself as a law-maker, yet he carries a naked sword because he was also a belligerent ruler.[46] Rodrigo, deprived of the insignia of power, is wearing a black penitential robe because in his time the Spanish monarchy was »humiliated« and had to renounce the title of Gothic kings. With castle Montiel in the background, King Pedro is falling down after being fatally stabbed by his half-brother Enrique of Trastámara.[47] These examples show that the illustrations convey information about the major events of the respective reigns in a synoptic form.

Alfonso de Cartagena introduces his *Liber Genealogie* in the prologue as a compendium that helps process the chronicles' overwhelming abundance of historical data. The *imagines* further differentiate this mnemonic digest of the archive of historical knowledge according to the importance and memorability of the data it provides. In the written text Alfonso tries to find a middle ground between the abundance of a chronicle and the paucity of a genealogical tree.[48] The arrangement of the illustrations indicates that genealogical memory is of the highest priority in his work.

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44 See Gert Melville: Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt. Beobachtungen zu einer spätmittelalterlichen Darstellungsweise. Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein im Spätmittelalter, hg. von Hans Patze, Sigmaringen 1987, p. 57–154, here p. 63: If the historiographer wanted to present »die Kohärenz des geschichtlichen Stoffes in seiner komplexen Gleichzeitigkeit und stringenten Kontinuität, so mußte er zwangsläufig von der Linearität des Texts wieder abgehen bzw. diese mit besonderen Darstellungstechniken überschreiten. Das Ergebnis war die Vorlage in graphischer Gestalt. Denn reichte das gleichsam ›eindimensionale‹ Nacheinander der Textlichkeit nicht aus, so bot sich folgerichtig nur das graphische Schema an, das zumindest die Zweidimensionalität der Schreibfläche sich zunutze machen kann und damit eine wesentlich höhere Potenz zur Darstellung von Zusammenhängen besitzt«.

45 On fols. 29v–30r (reproduced by Torrno, p. 248), for example, the Portuguese royal house arises as a collateral branch from the Castillian-Leonese trunk: »Depingitur et nobilis ximena concubina quam fuerunt de domo guzmanica fuisse. Ex qua reges portugalie processerunt« (fol. 30r). Moreover the reader/observer encounters numerous depictions of Spanish Saints; by way of illustrations the Liber genealogie functions also as a kind of mnemonic catalogus sanctorum: »Depingitur etiam magister Licentius ordinis predicatorum [Vicente Ferrer] qui huius regis tempore claruit. Cuius vita & doctrina taliter splenduerunt ut congrue mereatur canonizari & cathalogo sanctorum apponi« (fol. 40v).

46 Fol. 13r: »Et depingitur in veste pacifica ac longa quia leges condidit: quarum promulgatio auctoritatem & maturitatem desiderat. Sed habet ensem nudum sub manu quia bellicosus fuit«.

47 Fol. 37r: »Depingitur Petrus cum Enriquo pugnans: & in terra cadens alter occisus et in cacumine montis castellum positum per quod montiel figuratur«.

48 Fol. 1r: »Neque historie prolixitatem neque arboris breuitatem«.

However, the book artist Diego de Arroyo's reading indicates that mnemotechnical presentation and consequent memorization of the genealogy of the Spanish monarchs are not ends in themselves. Rather, the illustrations emphasize that the representation of the continuity, and therefore the evidence of the legitimacy of succession, are at stake. In other words, the *Anacephaleosis* is an apology for the »steadiness« (Beständigkeit) of the Gothic dominion of the Iberian Peninsula.[49] The author dates *ab incarnatione* the commencement of each reign at the beginning of its respective chapter. He also indicates the time passed since the foundation of the Gothic Empire (»regnum hispanie«), and the restoration by Pelayo (»ab reparatione«), and he states the duration of the reign. With that, he places the monarchs along a time axis. Since he tries painstakingly to eliminate gaps between the consecutive rulers, he establishes a continuum of royal authority which is also expressed in the illustrations of the codex. On the pages of Manuscript 9436/BNM where the written text does not give an explicit reason for inserting portraits (fol. 33r, 34v, 36v, 40v, 41r, 41v), the observer finds the tree alone with the coat of arms of the empire. Thus, the continuity of the succession is also represented visually. The *Liber genealogie* employs, like many genealogical works, the image of the tree. It is, however, remarkable that it uses the potential of the tree metaphor to generate complexity through branches and other »ramifications« only »marginally«: the sequence of kings is arranged *recta linea*. In most cases the king's closest relative succeeds him to the throne.

Yet, the continuity of lineage is not the basic principle of the transfer of power. It is significant that the transition from Rodrigo to the founder of the Asturian kingdom Pelayo, which is crucial for the *tesis neogoda*, cannot be justified through *generatio* but *successio*.

> Pelagius post cladem cepit rebellare agarenis et principatum hispanie inter Christianos obtinere [...]. Congruenter dici potest quod ex eo die quo Rodericus infeliciter regnum amisit Pelagium in regno nutu diuino feliciter subrogatum puternus. (fol. 19v–20r)

Pelayo conquers the throne like the Visigothic invaders, through military virtues, and becomes »nutu diuino« king of Asturias. He therefore deserves a place in the »arbor genealogie« of the Spanish crown. Alfonso repeatedly underscores the »steadiness« of the dominion on the Iberian Peninsula until the present in the introductory passages of the *Anacephaleosis*. The illustrations visualize the transition (*surrogatio*) from the Visigothic to the Asturian-Leonese period. The tree of Vitiza, whose depravity triggered the punishment

[49] The principle of surrogatio, and therefore the continuity of the office or institution, is crucial; see Melville (1987), p. 249; see also for examples of genealogies which show ruling lineages without considering biological descent (ib., p. 247f.); cf. Tate, Ancephaleosis, p. 72: »La Anacephaleosis es sobre todo una apología de la función rectora de Castilla en los asuntos peninsulares basada en una interpretación de la Historia Gothica«.

of God, appears wilted and is stripped of leaves (fol. 17v). The representation of the »good king« Costa, whose fortunate reign preceded the ultimate ruin, is adorned with the Visigothic coat of arms; the *arbor genealogie* has sprouted anew. The *imago* of his inheritor Rodrigo has the *subscriptio* »RODERICUS INFELIX« (fol. 18v). The shield is coming loose and is about to fall to the ground. The lower branches of the tree are without leaves and the treetop is wilted. Due to the length of Rodrigo's »chronicle«, the written text does not entirely correspond to the author's plan for illustrations. The book artist embellishes the »naked writing« on the pages after the illustrations according to Alfonso's instructions with a picture that envisions the consequences of the catastrophe. The shield with the coat of arms and the royal insignia are lying on the ground. Another shield shows the scene of the discovery of Rodrigo's weapons and horse in the river Guadelete.[50] In the background the observer notices a mountain range, the site of Rodrigo's death or, in the version of the *Crónica Sarracina*, of the *penitencia* of the last Gothic ruler.[51] The upper branches of the tree are withered, and the branches at the base of the tree are cut off. Above the picture of his successor Pelayo shines, »armatus in manu entem nudum habens« (fol. 20r),[52] now decorated with the Leonese lion, another shield attached to the tree which is once again full of sap. The catastrophe of the Guadelete, the defeat of the Visigoths, does not mean the destruction of their *dominium* but the consummation of divine providence. It is the precondition for a glorious *Reconquista* which is understood as a restoration of Gothic splendor.[53]

In Diego de Arroyo's interpretation of Alfonso de Cartagena's *Anacephaleasis*, the continuity of the Gothic dominion does not correspond to biological transfer but to a *surrogatio* of power on the Iberian Peninsula. The *arbor genealogie regum hispanie* does not appear in the form of one genealogical tree. The observer finds numerous trees which do not emphasize the aspect of natural growth and biological continuity which is inherent to the metaphor of the *arbor genealogie*. The artist rather conceives the genealogical alternation in terms of seasonal change. As a tree »dies« in fall and »rises« in spring

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50 See Alfonso X de Castilla: Estoria de Espana (= EE2): Escorial MS. Y.I.4. Transcribed by John J. Nitti and Lloyd A. Kasten (Electronic file of the HSMS Madison), fol. 192r: »Non sabe omne que fue de fecho del rey Rodrigo en este medio. Pero la corona & los uestidos & la nobleza real. & los çapatos de oro. & de piedras preciosas. & el su cauallo a que dizien Orella; fueron fallados en un tremedal cabo del Rio Guadalet sin el cuerpo«.

51 See Barcelos, p. 133: »E otros dixeron que moriera fuyendo a las montañas, e que lo comieran bestias fieras.« The central topic of the second part of the Crónica Sarracina is Rodrigo's penitencia; see Juan Ménendez Pidal: Leyendas del último rey godo. III: La penitencia, in: RABM 14 (1916), p. 353–370 and 13 (1905), p. 163–179.

52 Fol. 19v: »Nam licet hispanie reges a genere illo [sc. Rodrigo] descenderant titulum tamen gothiorum dimiserunt & alijs regijs titulis sunt insigniti«.

53 See Alan D. Deyermond: Death and Rebirth of Visigothic Spain in the Estoria de España, in: RCEH 9 (1985), p. 345–367.

so the death of king and the investiture of his successor means a change of form in the course of time. Even »sub diversis titulis« (fol. 5r), the continuity and legitimacy is not touched by this change. *Generatio*, i. e., continuation on the basis of kinship, is without a doubt the superior way to effect the transfer of power. However, the history of Spain with its consecutive invasions and violent changeovers of power from Hercules to the Visigoths, the *surrogatio* of king Pelayo through divine providence and, finally, the fratricide of Enrique II, demonstrate that other mechanisms of power transfer are also considered legitimate. Diego de Arroyo's illustrations suggest that the most important function of the *Liber genealogie* resides in revealing the continuity of rule in the *dominium Hispaniae* and proving that the present Castilian King, originally Juan II and at the time of completion of the text his son Enrique IV, are the legitimate progeny of the Goths.[54] Not only does the graphic outlay illustrate this train of thought, the *imagines* make it possible for individuals to memorize it. They also help to memorize crucial facts and events of Castilian history through additional attributes and representation of key situations of the lives and deaths of the kings. Approaching the text from the margins, the pictorial text, the series of trees and the shields establishes a set of ordered, clearly articulated, and readily recoverable background locations into which the reader can place and store portions of the written text. Still, the *arbor genealogie* provides the means to reconstruct mentally the uninterrupted succession of Spanish rulers, their »family tree«, in the first place.

Since genealogy means the transfer of primordial knowledge and authority, it is not sufficient that specialists, historians and scholars familiar with historical works are capable of verifying it in archives. It must also be present in individual memories in order to have an effect on society.[55] Hence, taking into account the prologue in which the author underscores the impor-

[54] Pictorial series of the popes in Saint Paul in Rome »proved« since the Early Middle Ages the legitimacy of apostolic succession and the truth of doctrinal tradition; see Otto Gerhard Oexle: Memoria und das Memorialbild, in: Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter, hg. von Joachim Wollasch und Karl Schmid, München 1984, p. 384–440, here p. 408.

[55] See Karl Schmid quoted after Melville (1987), p. 216, not. 51: »Genealogie als Geschichte gibt es nur in einer Zeit des Adels. Insofern dieser seine Potenz und seinen Anspruch auf Herrschaft in seinem natürlichen Leben bereits gegeben sah, bedeutet Genealogie in der Geschichte die Kunde vom adligen Geschlecht und von den adligen Geschlechtern. Die Existenz von Adel erfahren wir aus der Geschichte der Geschlechter. Deren Hineinwirken in die allgemeine Geschichte zeigt die geschichtliche Bedeutung des Adels«, see also Otto Gerhard Oexle: Memoria als Kultur, in: Memoria als Kultur, hg. von Gerhard Oexle, Göttingen 1995 (Veröffentlichungen des Max Planck Instituts für Geschichte 121), p. 10–78, p. 48, and id.: Aspekte der Geschichte des Adels im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Europäischer Adel 1750–1950, hg. von Hans Ulrich Wehler, Göttingen 1990 (Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft 13), p. 19–56.

tance that the reader memorizes data the written text provides, the insight that a »genealogy« like Alfonso de Cartagena's *Anacephaleosis* essentially conveys genealogical knowledge is not as trivial as it seems. He composed a compilation, a digest of the chronicles of the Castilian kings, in order to highlight information that is indiscernible in the *prolixitas* of chronicles. He basically processed the genealogical data of the older historiography. The use of mnemotechnical aids, however, makes it clear that this knowledge was important enough not only to be »archivally« conserved for the community, but also to be memorized by individuals.[56] The fact that the Spanish queen was the recipient of the manuscript illuminated by Arroyo points to the possibility that these individuals belonged to the upper strata of Castilian nobility with ties to the royal dynasty. Jeremy Lawrance's observation that Alfonso de Cartagena defended the traditional stratification of society which reserved intellectual tasks for the *oratores*,[57] yet admited that the *defensores* needed books corresponding to their intellectual abilities, is an argument that Alfonso did not conceive of the *Anacephaleosis* as a *chronica pauperum*.[58]

In this context it is, however, most significant that while the actual recipient of the text in the 16th Century was the high nobility, the explicit dedication of the *Anacephaleosis* is directed to an ecclesiastical interpretive community. This implies that there is a layer of memory inscribed in the text which addresses not laymen but memory professionals who could not only preserve the genealogical memory of the written text but also contribute to the salvation of the Spanish monarchs through religious commemoration.[59]

The bishop of Burgos explains in the conclusion of the preface why he dedicated his work to the cathedral chapter of his home town: »Nescio cui congruentius adaptari queat memoriam omnium regum tenere quam illis qui capita dicuntur & sunt illarum terrarum quarum monarchiam describi & in perpetuam recordationem reddigi breui stillo temptatur« (fol. 2r). Burgos, which he calls »caput diocesum castelle« (ib.) represents the totality of

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56 Although I have underscored the importance of the illuminations for the understanding of the text and the mnemonic surplus that Arroyo's work conveys, it must not be overlooked that medieval readers did not depend on the material manifestation of Alfonso's ekphrasis. Medieval bestiaries were not always illustrated: »This forced the students to make the pictures carefully in their minds, to ›paint‹ mentally [...]« (Carruthers, p. 127); see also Beryl Rowland: The Art of Memory and the Bestiary, in: Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy, Ed. Willene B. Clark et al., Philadelphia 1989, p. 12–25.

57 See Alfonso de Cartagena: Epistula ad Petrum Fernandi de Velasco: »Ipsi uero aliis leuioribus occupentur que nec ingenium excedant nec mentis sanitati honestatiue morum officiant« (cit. Lawrance, p. 88, not. 2)

58 See Lawrance, p. 103.

59 In the Epistola to the Conde de Haro, Alfonso maintains that those »scolasticam professionem sequuntur«, are in charge of the spiritual well-being of the entire society: »ut doceri assuescant qui sibi et aliis salubres doctrinas conetuare nituntur« (cit. Lawrance, p. 186, not. 1)

Castilian Christianity. Therefore, it is the most apt institution to preserve the memory of the Castilian kings.[60] Towards the end of his work, after the chronicle and the *imago* of the reigning Enrique IV, Alfonso reverts to the prologue and addresses once again the cathedral chapter.

> Reges hos quos descripsimus presertim illos qui fide ac virtutibus lucidius claruerunt in orationibus nostris ad memoriam reducamus numquam obliuioni tradi sinentes. Alfonsum sextum qui hanc honorabilem sedem ab Urbano secundo erigiat inmediate sedi apostolice subici precibus deuotis obtinuit. Illamque tam in capite quam in membris plurimis bonis denotauit. Nec non alios insignes reges ab eius femore descendentes a quibus diuersa beneficia predecessores nostri ac nos temporibus diuersis recepimus. (fol. 42r)

He commends the Castilian kings to the prayer community of Burgos because they were and are benefactors of the seed. Moreover, he clarifies that the popes are worthy of commemoration for the same reason.[61] From this point of view it is only natural to also include Alfonso's predecessors in the bishopric, who are mentioned in the *concurrentia* to the Castilian kings.[62] The prevalent scholarly interpretation of this as a sign of Alfonso's provinciality does not recognize how comprehensive the commemorative community Alfonso envisioned actually was.

> Caput enim principalis pars corporis est: quinimmo & totum corpus representare videtur: cuiusque mausoleum locum religiosum facere solet: ac si totum corpus cum capite ibi esset Sit ergo principium ibi seriosus memoriam ubi principalis pars regnorum in quibus principatus gesserunt constitit. (fol. 2r)

The Castilian king is the head of Spanish nation. To commemorate him means also to commemorate his subjects.[63] The chapter of Burgos is perfectly suited to preserve the memory of the Spanish kings because it is, according to Alfonso, the foremost Spanish ecclesiastical community. It therefore represents the entire clergy. The latter, in turn, is in charge of the commemorative activities for the totality of Spanish Christians. This claim was of cour-

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60 See Otto Gerhard Oexle: Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im frühen Mittelalter, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 10 (1976), p. 70–95; regarding the interplay between commemoration and historiography see Eckehard Freise: Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria, in: Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter, hg. von Joachim Wollasch und Karl Schmid, München 1984 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48), p. 441–577.

61 Fol. 42r: »Romanos quoque ponitifices quorum burgensis [presules] speciales suffraganei sunt pontifici futurorum honorum xpristo ihesu domino nostro specialiter comendemus.«

62 Fol. 42r: »Illos etiam dignum est ut orationum nostrarum memoria recipiat. qui hanc ecclesiam regentes in cathedra burgensi sederunt quos suis locis in concurrentie fine nominatur videtis«.

63 See Nicolas Huyghebaert: Les documents nécrologiques, Turnhout 1972 (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 4), p. 14; in early medieval necrologies the head of a clan represented his kinsmen.

se disputable, since Burgos never truly enjoyed a position of supremacy. Thus, with his *Anacephaleosis*, Alfonso strove to buttress the privileges of the chapter of Burgos and his own dignity as bishop of the city. However, since Burgos was a preferred place of burial of the Castilian kings it could indeed be considered the perfect commemorative community. Alfonso dedicated his digest to the chapter of Burgos because he pursued the interest of a local institution and, at the same time, the broader goal of guaranteeing that the list of Castilian kings he extrapolated from the chronicles was commemorated by the most appropriate religious community.

After all, it was the duty of every Castilian to commemorate his rulers and their succession.[64] Commemoration, however, presupposes anamnesis. In other words, the *Anacephaleosis* provided the commemorative community with a material textual basis, a means against oblivion, similar to the lists of kings (»nomina regum«) in *libri memoriales* and liturgical texts.[65] Both commemoration and anamnesis are supported in Alfonso de Cartagena's work through mnemotechnical aids.[66] The peculiarity of the *Anacephaleosis* is that the author makes explicit the mutual contingency of historiography, mnemotechnique and commemoration and that this interplay of different aspects of memory is essential for the pragmatics of the text.

The recipients Alfonso de Cartagena envisioned for his work were not scholars, who most certainly did not crave the commonplace historical knowledge his text supplies. Rather, his »digest« could be useful to clerics and nobles who did not enjoy the intellectual or material resources to consult manuscripts and »primary« texts. This audience in particular was crucial for

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64 Title thirteen of the second partida of Alfonso's great legal codification underscores the duty of the people to preserve the memory of their rulers: »Ley .xxiij. en quales cosas deue el pueblo guardar al rey. Guardar deue el pueblo assi rey sobre todas las cosas del mundo. ca la guarda es commo la llaue que ençierra: & tiene guardadas todas estas cosas que auemos dichas tan bien las conoçiençias commo el amor & el temor & la onra. ca pues el onbre conosçe la cosa & tiene que es buena ensi el yaze enella. pero derecho es que la guarde. ca si la no guarda ensu memoria veniendosele emiente toda via della por fuerça lo que conoçio ha de desconosçer por oluidança«; see Siete partidas de Alfonso X (Seville 1491), Transcribed by Ivy A. Corfis, in: Electronic Texts and Concordances of the Madison Corpus of Early Spanish Manuscripts and Printings, Ed. (CD-Rom) John O'Neil, Madison 1999, fol. 99r (I eliminate the mnemonics of the semi-paleographic transcription).

65 See Léopold Genicot: Les Généalogies, Turnhout 1975 (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental 15), p. 12f. For examples of nomina regum see Liber memorialis von Remiremont, Ed. Eduard Hlawitschka et al., Bd I, Dublin 1970 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libri memoriales I), fol. 3v; Liber vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Ed. Simon Keynes, Kopenhagen 1996, fol. 14v, 15r.

66 See Ulrich Ernst: Ars memorativa und Ars poetica in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, in: Ars memorativa: Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Gedächtniskunst 1400–1750, hg. von Jörg Jochen Berns und Wolfgang Neuber, Tübingen 1993, p. 73–100, here p. 91–92: In the late 10th-Century Spanish Carmen cancellatum a mnemotechnical grid is used as a plea for prayer for the author and the scribes of the codex, including King Ramimiro and King Sancho of León.

two practical aspects which the learned historiographer pursued for his prince: claim to power due to legitimate descent, and commemoration. On the other hand, the *Anacephaleosis* shows how a 15th-Century scholar could map the multitude of historical data official historiography had produced in a mnemotechnically efficient way. This suggests that Alfonso de Cartagena wanted to share with his readers a technique that grew out of scholarly practice: the association of a written text with mnemonic imagery.[67] The reception of the text in the 1530s indicates that the need for mnemonic guides and the practice of mnemonic digesting were still a concern after the historiographical tradition had become much more accessible due to the proliferation of printed editions of chronicles.[68]

[67] In my unpublished doctoral thesis (Generaciones y semblanzas: Memoria und Genealogie in der kastilischen Geschichtsschreibung des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, Rostock 1999) I contend that the portraits (semblanzas) at the end of the royal Castilian chronicles are non-pictorial transcripts of mnemonic images which fulfill, if »remembered« together by the reader familiar with the successive chronicles, a function similar to the series of imagines of the Anacephaleosis.

[68] I would like to thank Anna Larsson for her help in editing this paper.