

ROBERT IGNATIUS BURNS

The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror

Intellect and Force in the Middle Ages



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**THE WORLDS OF
ALFONSO THE LEARNED AND
JAMES THE CONQUEROR**



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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

THE WORLDS OF
ALFONSO THE LEARNED AND
JAMES THE CONQUEROR

*Intellect & Force in the
Middle Ages*

ROBERT I. BURNS, S.J.,
EDITOR

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NOT
EVERY YEAR
IS A KING OR A POET
BORN

LUCIUS ANNAEUS

FLORUS

De qualitate vitae

Contents

ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
PREFACE	xv
CHRONOLOGY CHART: The Thirteenth Century	xxi
1. Castle of Intellect, Castle of Force: The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror	
ROBERT I. BURNS, S.J.	3
2. Prelude to Power: Kingship and Constitution in the Realms of Aragon, 1175-1250	
THOMAS N. BISSON	23
3. Paths to Ruin: The Economic and Financial Policies of Alfonso the Learned	
JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN	41
4. Patronage and Piety: Catalan Letters from Lull to March	
JILL R. WEBSTER	68
5. Two Warrior-Kings and Their Municipal Militias: The Townsman-Soldier in Law and Life	
JAMES F. POWERS	95
6. James the Conqueror: Montpellier and Southern France	
ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS	130
7. Law and Politics: Alfonso's Program of Political Reform	
ROBERT A. MACDONALD	150
8. Epilogue: Apotheosis	
ROBERT I. BURNS, S.J.	203

APPENDIX: Genealogical Tables, Alfonso X and James I	211
BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY	217
CONTRIBUTORS	221
INDEX	225

Illustrations

MAP

Thirteenth-Century Spain	2
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FIGURES

1. Scenes from Daily Life	16
2. A Battle between Christians and Muslims	110
3. Alfonso as Patron	152

Abbreviations

<i>AEA</i>	<i>Anuario de estudios americanos</i>
<i>AEM</i>	<i>Anuario de estudios medievales</i>
<i>AHAM</i>	<i>Anales de historia antigua y medieval</i>
<i>AHDE</i>	<i>Anuario de historia del derecho español</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Annales du Midi</i>
<i>Annales: ESC</i>	<i>Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations</i>
<i>AUM</i>	<i>Anales de la Universidad de Murcia</i>
<i>BAE</i>	<i>Biblioteca de autores españoles</i> , 203 vols. to date (Madrid 1846ff.)
<i>BAH</i>	See <i>BRAH</i>
Ballesteros, <i>Alfonso X</i>	Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta, <i>Alfonso X el Sabio</i> (Madrid 1963)
Ballesteros, <i>Alfonso X emperador</i>	Antonio Ballesteros-Beretta, <i>Alfonso X emperador (electo) de Alemania</i> (Madrid 1913)
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes</i>
<i>BNM</i>	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
<i>BRAH</i>	<i>Boletín de la (Real) academia de la historia</i>
Burns, <i>Colonialism</i>	Robert I. Burns, <i>Medieval Colonialism: Post-Crusade Exploitation in Islamic Va- lencia</i> (Princeton 1975)
Burns, <i>Islam</i>	Robert I. Burns, <i>Islam Under the Cru- saders: Colonial Survival in the Thir- teenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia</i> (Princeton 1973)
<i>CEM</i>	<i>Cuadernos de estudios medievales</i>
<i>CHCA</i>	<i>Congreso de historia de la corona de Aragón</i>
<i>CHE</i>	<i>Cuadernos de historia de España</i>
<i>CHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
<i>CLC</i>	<i>Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Ca- stilla</i> , 5 vols. (Madrid 1861-1903)

<i>Col. dip.</i>	<i>Colección diplomática de Jaime I, el Conquistador, años 1217 a 1253</i> , ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda, 3 vols. (Valencia 1916-20)
<i>CPS</i>	<i>Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña</i> , ed. José M. Font Rius, 2 vols. in 3 to date (Madrid 1969ff.)
<i>Desclot, Crònica</i>	Bernat Desclot, <i>Crònica</i> , ed. Ferran Soldevila, in <i>Les quatre grans cròniques</i> (Barcelona 1971)
<i>DHEE</i>	<i>Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España</i> , 4 vols. (Madrid 1972-75)
<i>Documentos de Jaime I</i>	<i>Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón</i> , ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda and M. D. Cabanes Pecourt, 4 vols. to date (Valencia 1976ff.)
<i>EEMCA</i>	<i>Estudios de edad media de la corona de Aragón</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Espéculo</i>	<i>Espéculo de las leyes</i> , in <i>Opúsculos legales del rey Don Alfonso el Sabio</i> , ed. Real Academia de la Historia, 2 vols. (Madrid 1836)
<i>Espéculo MS</i>	<i>Espéculo de las leyes</i> , unpublished transcription by Robert MacDonald
<i>F</i>	<i>Fuero</i>
<i>HID</i>	<i>Historia, instituciones, documentos</i>
<i>Llibre dels feyts</i>	<i>Llibre dels feits del rei En Jaume, o Crònica de Jaume I</i> , ed. Ferran Soldevila, in <i>Les quatre grans cròniques</i> (Barcelona 1971)
<i>MHE</i>	<i>Memorial histórico español: colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades que publica la Real academia de la historia</i> , 50 vols. (Madrid 1851-1963)
<i>MMM</i>	<i>Miscelánea medieval murciana</i>
<i>MRAH</i>	<i>Memorias de la Real academia de la historia</i>
<i>Muntaner, Crònica</i>	Ramon Muntaner, <i>Crònica</i> , ed. Ferran Soldevila, in <i>Les quatre grans cròniques</i> (Barcelona 1971)

<i>Opúsculos legales</i>	See <i>Espéculo</i>
<i>PCG</i>	<i>Primera crónica general de España</i> , ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 2 vols. (Madrid 1906; repr. 1930, 1955, 1977)
<i>PMH, Leges</i>	<i>Portugaliae monumenta historica a seculo octavo post Cristum usque ad quintum decimum: leges et consuetudines</i> (Lisbon 1865)
<i>RABM</i>	<i>Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos</i>
<i>REP</i>	<i>Revista de estudios polítricos</i>
<i>RFE</i>	<i>Revista de filología española</i>
<i>RHCEE</i>	<i>Repertorio de historia de las ciencias eclesiásticas en España</i> , 7 vols. to date (Salamanca 1967ff.)
<i>RSB</i>	<i>Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions</i>

Preface

IN APRIL 1981 some forty Hispanist scholars gathered at UCLA from the far corners of the country, as well as from Canada and abroad, to celebrate the seventh centennial of two great monarchs. The year was approximately a halfway mark between their respective death dates—James the Conqueror in 1276 and Alfonso the Learned in 1284. These two were key “founders” of Hispanic culture and made unique contributions to Western civilization. To this day the two kings symbolize for their respective peoples the national spirit and aspirations. As friends, rivals, and in-laws, both men were as frequently at each other’s throat as at each other’s side. Neither is well known to Americans, imprisoned as we are in a nineteenth-century historiography, which centers on the remoter lands of medieval northern Europe and which scarcely notices the Mediterranean heartlands. The UCLA symposium proposed to focus attention on these neglected giants and their societies.

Promoted by the National Endowment for the Humanities, and sponsored by the university’s Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, the three-day bilingual interchange was also designed as a public event, attracting a large and enthusiastic general audience. Beneath its scholarly and general purposes, however, lurked a third, ulterior motive. It has been obvious for many years that the steadiest growing discipline in the humanities in American colleges and universities is medieval studies.¹ Within that burgeoning field, Spanish medieval history is experiencing a renaissance, with an ever-increasing volume of practitioners and publications, and with a correspondingly widening audience. This renaissance has been marked recently by the establishment and flourish-

¹ The *Chronicle of Higher Education* explored this phenomenon in a feature article in May 1974. The steady trends it noted have continued through this past decade.

ing of two national societies, the Academy of Research Historians on Medieval Spain (an affiliate of the American Historical Association) and the North American Catalan Society. The UCLA symposium marked a coming of age for this Spanish field, and simultaneously promoted its further development, by presenting representative historians from that growing circle whose publications have attracted international attention.

Study of the two kings offered a suitable stage to display those representatives, a topic ample but reasonably focused; by the same token, unhappily, the kings excluded many of the best historians of medieval Spain, whose own specialties lay before or after the time span or else had a different emphasis. Financial limits on the conference, and the myriad conflicting obligations of academe, effectively excluded others. The impressive cast of scholars finally selected was asked to display materials and directions characterizing this young field, both by overview and by new contributions, accessible not only to Hispanists but to other medievalists and even to some more general groups. Since this small book can offer only a sampling from the conference, it concentrates on the historical-political, with some framework of letters, finance, and especially law. It resolutely excludes papers on art, the Muslim and Jewish contribution to Spanish culture, and especially the broader fields of language and letters. Medieval Castilian literature is already well served in publications, while art and music are not neglected. Consequently such contributors as John Boswell (interethnic relations), Lloyd Kasten (Alfonso's language), John Keller (manuscript illumination), Edward Maeder (costume), Norman Roth (Jewish translators of Alfonso), and Larry Simon (castles) do not appear here.² An introductory chapter will supply some sense of that broader background. It will also explain how our celebration of two kings can function as an analysis of two di-

² Fordham University Press will publish a selection of the Alfonsine "cultural" papers as an issue of its quarterly *Thought*, projected for Fall 1985, under the title *Alfonso the Learned: Emperor of Culture*.

vergent models of society, not exclusive but variously mixed and balanced.

As for procedural minutiae, toponyms are given in Castilian, since maps and reference works usually present them so; exceptions are those places for which an English form is common (as with Cordova, Seville, and the variant Zaragoza). Names of persons may be Catalan or Castilian, as seems appropriate to each case. Kings of the realms of Aragon are not confined to the Catalan, Aragonese, Occitan, or Castilian versions, any of which would be offensive to modern clients of another of the tongues, but are simply put into a transcending English. Thus one of our protagonists is neither Jaime or Jaume or Jacme but James; his father and his son are neither Pere or Pedro or Pero but Peter. Since James's son, King Peter of Aragon, is simultaneously Peter I of Valencia, II of Catalonia, and III of Aragon, he will be known here simply by his identifying sobriquet "the Great." Such standard nicknames will identify other kings of the realms of Aragon, with one exception. The author of chapter 2, with that originality our symposium exemplifies and encourages, has resolutely set his face against the nomenclature Alfonso "the Troubadour" and Peter "the Catholic," as an unwarranted usage. Each king throughout that chapter will therefore appear only with chaste numbers (in the Aragonese rather than the Catalan sequence) as Alfonso II and Peter II. Castilian royalty, not suffering the multilingual confusion of its neighbors, will keep Castilian names. Fortunately Alfonso is as acceptably English as it is Castilian; Alphonse here will signal a French context, Afonso a Portuguese. The term Aragon is confusing, since it can mean the upland or hinterland kingdom of that name, whence James derived his main royal title, or else the entire complex of kingdoms, counties (especially Catalonia), and lordships (such as Montpellier). The complex itself is commonly called the Crown of Aragon, or less ambiguously the realms of Aragon, though simple Aragon and Aragonese can also serve. Cortes for the protoparliament and infante for prince are adopted into English, as is commonly done now.

The book has been conceived and edited as a structural

whole, despite the inevitable disjunctions as each scholar probes his own area. The interrelated nature of the offerings might have allowed differing sequences of the chapters. The present order hopes to maintain a tension of themes and also of historiographic approaches, to sustain a comparative focus on the two kingdoms by alternating our chapters on each, and finally to have a care for a lively variety to hold the reader's interest through this challenging play of scholarship. To mesh the whole, besides introductory and closing essays, I have provided chronological tables, a bibliographical note, and paragraphs or sections of linkage for easier transition between some chapters.

Enterprises such as this symposium and its book are the work of many hands. Fredi Chiappelli, director of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, devoted his considerable expertise and experience to their success. Among the Center's staff Clorinda Donato and Carol Horak as project coordinators deserve special notice. Carol Lanham as senior editor for the Center's publications oversaw earlier processing of the manuscript; at Princeton University Press, Joanna Hitchcock guided it through the later phases, with valuable suggestions and improvements. John Moniz, S.J., made a strong editorial contribution. Paul Padilla and Larry Simon labored generously in an editorial-secretarial capacity. The secretarial staff of the UCLA Department of History typed and retyped the manuscript. The UCLA Department of Music lent its facilities and presented a musical program for the conference; and the university's Research Library, particularly through Edward Shreeves, offered concomitant exhibits, with the cooperation of the Institute of Medieval Mediterranean Spain. Dean Philip Levine gave active support, as did the faculty of the Department of Spanish.

Among symposiasts from abroad, four merit particular thanks for their strong support: Jesús Lalinde Abadía of the University of Zaragoza, Charles Emmanuel Dufourcq of the University of Paris, Emilio Sáez of the University of Madrid and the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, and Federico Udina Martorell, director of the Arxiu de la Corona

d'Aragó at Barcelona (now Honorary Director in residence). Pressure of affairs has unfortunately delayed and thus excluded the papers of Professors Sáez and Udina, while Professor Dufourcq's untimely death has had the same effect.

The conference was financed as a project of the National Endowment for the Humanities, supplemented by a very generous grant from the Ahmanson Foundation. Subsidiary grants came from the Del Amo Foundation, and from the Spanish government through the good offices of the consul general, José Manuel Paz, who added both his formal sponsorship and personal participation. Editorial processes were facilitated by a second Del Amo grant, while actual publication has been subsidized by the treaty fund of the U.S.-Spanish Joint Committee for Educational and Cultural Affairs (Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano).

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University of California, Los Angeles

Chronology Chart: The Thirteenth Century

SPAIN

EUROPE

1200s

1208 James I born at
Montpellier

1202-4 Constantinople falls to
Fourth Crusade

1210s

1212 Las Navas battle cripples
Almohad Spain

1209-29 Main Albigensian
Crusade

1213 Muret battle: Peter the
Catholic killed

1210 University of Paris charter

1217 St. Fernando III, Alfonso's
father, begins rule
James begins actual rule

1212 Children's Crusade

Rheims cathedral begins

1214 Bouvines battle

1215 England's Magna Carta
Ghengis Khan in Peking
Fourth Lateran Council

1216 Innocent III dies

1220s

1220 James marries Leonor of
Castile, aunt of
Fernando III

1220 Frederick II Hohenstaufen
crowned emperor

1221 Alfonso X the Learned
born at Toledo

1221 St. Dominic dies

1223 Philip Augustus of France
dies

1225 James fails to conquer
Islamic Peñíscola

1225 Thomas Aquinas born

1225-28 Frederick II wars with
Lombard towns

1227 James triumphs over
barons: Alcalá Peace

1226 St. Francis of Assisi dies

1229 James invades, conquers
Majorca (Minorca
tributary 1232, Ibiza 1235)

Louis VIII invades
Provence, sieges
Toulouse, dies

1227-29 Fifth Crusade

SPAIN

EUROPE

1230s

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1230 Alfonso IX of León dies;
definitive union with
Castile</p> <p>1232 James begins Valencian
Crusade</p> <p>Ramon Llull born</p> <p>1234 Navarre to French dynasty
Ramon de Penyafort begins
<i>Decretales</i> of Gregory IX</p> <p>1236 Fernando III conquers
Islamic Cordova</p> <p>1238 Valencia city falls to James</p> <p>1239 Navarre Crusade to Holy
Land</p> | <p>1233 Origins of medieval
Inquisition</p> <p>1237-41 Mongols invade Europe</p> <p>1239-50 Frederick II vs. papacy</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

1240s

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1240 James's son Peter the
Great born</p> <p>1241-44 Alfonso takes Islamic
Murcia</p> <p>1244 Alfonso marries Violante,
James's daughter</p> <p>Almizra treaty between
Alfonso and James</p> <p>Islamic Játiva falls to
James</p> <p>1245 Biar falls: end of
Valencian Crusade</p> <p>1246 Islamic Jaén falls to
Castilians</p> <p>1248 Islamic Seville falls to
Castilians</p> <p>al-Azraq revolt in Valencia</p> | <p>1240 Painter Cimabue born</p> <p>1240, 1241 Alexander Nevsky's
victories over Swedes
and Teutonic Knights</p> <p>1242-43 Henry III of England
invades Occitania
(southern "France")</p> <p>1244 Jerusalem finally lost for
Europe</p> <p>1245 First ecumenical Council
of Lyons</p> <p>1246 Charles of Anjou marries
heiress of Provence</p> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

SPAIN

EUROPE

1250s

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1251 <i>Calila e Digna</i>, Alfonso's translation from Arabic fiction <i>Kalila wa-Dimna</i></p> <p>1252 Fernando III dies, as he plans African invasion
Alfonso X the Learned begins rule
Sancho born to Alfonso</p> <p>1253 Alfonso's war with Portugal</p> <p>1254 Alfonso founds Latin-Arabic university at Seville</p> <p>1255 <i>Fuero real</i> published</p> <p>1255-59 Baronial revolt against Alfonso</p> <p>1255(-60?) Alfonso's <i>Espéculo</i> redacted</p> <p>1257 Alfonso elected Holy Roman Emperor, attempts to validate claim until 1275</p> <p>1258 Corbeil treaty with France surrenders James's claim on Occitania (southern "France")
Second al-Azraq war in Valencia</p> | <p>1250 Frederick II dies
Sixth Crusade: Louis IX fails in Egypt and is captured</p> <p>1253 Grosseteste dies</p> <p>1254 Sorbonne founded</p> <p>1256 Venice vs. Genoa
"Hundred years' war"</p> <p>1256-73 Great Interregnum in Empire</p> <p>1258 Mongols destroy Abbassid Caliphate</p> <p>1259 Sculptor Nicola Pisano finishes Pisa pulpit</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

1260s

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1261 Valencian <i>Furs</i> code revised, confirmed</p> <p>1262 Astronomy researches at Toledo, for Alfonso
Prince Peter of Aragon marries Hohenstaufen heiress Costanza</p> | <p>1260 Mamluks stop Mongols: battle of Goliath Springs
Meister Eckhart, mystic, born
Chartres cathedral consecrated</p> <p>1260-94 Kublai Khan rules Mongols</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

SPAIN

EUROPE

1260s

(continued)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1263-65 Muslim revolts in
Andalusia, Murcia,
Valencia
1265 Islamic Cádiz falls
1266 Granada an Islamic
tributary of Castile
James helps Alfonso
reconquer Murcia
1269 James's abortive Crusade
to the Holy Land
Baronial revolt in Castile | 1261 Genoese power entrenches
on Black Sea and in
Constantinople
1261-73 Aquinas's <i>Summa
theologica</i>
1261-80 Michael Paleologos rules
restored Byzantium
1262, 1268 Battles of Benevento
and Tagliacozzo seal
Hohenstaufen fate, give
Charles of Anjou
victory in Italy
1264 Vincent of Beauvais dies
1265 Dante born |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

1270s

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1270 Alfonso's <i>Crónica general</i>
begins
1272 Baronial revolt in Castile
1274 James's triumph at second
ecumenical Council of
Lyons
1275 James's barons revolt
Ramon de Penyafort dies
Alfonso's heir Fernando
dies
Alfonso surrenders claim
to be Holy Roman
Emperor
1276 Alfonso's <i>Ordenamiento de
las taurerías</i>
Invasion of Castile by
Morocco
Muslim revolt in Valencia
French invasion of Castile
James dies on Valencian
frontier
1279 Alfonso's <i>Cantigas de Santa</i> | 1270 St. Louis IX dies on Tunis
(Seventh) Crusade
1274 Thomas Aquinas dies
Second ecumenical Council
of Lyons
1275 Marco Polo in China
1276 Giotto born |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

SPAIN

EUROPE

1280s

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1280 Alfonso's <i>General estoria</i> | 1284 Meloria battle: Venice
breaks the power of Pisa |
| 1281 Castilian civil war | |
| 1282 Alfonso deposed, Sancho
IV rules | 1289 Block printing, Ravenna |
| 1282-1302 Peter of Aragon
invades, takes Sicily in
War of the Vespers | |
| 1283 Alfonso's <i>Libro de ajedrez</i> | |
| 1284 Alfonso the Learned dies
at Seville | |
| 1285 French Crusade invades
realms of Aragon
Philip IV Fair comes to
French throne
Peter of Aragon dies | |

1290s

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1291 Alfonso III of Aragon dies | 1290 England expels Jews |
| 1291-1327 James II of Aragon | 1291 Acre falls: last of Crusader
Holy Land |
| 1295 Alfonso X's son and
successor Sancho IV dies | Genoese Vivaldi brothers
try to sail around Africa
to India |
| | 1294 Roger Bacon dies |
| | 1295 England conquers
Scotland; Model
Parliament |
| | 1298 Marco Polo to Genoa
prison, writes memoirs |