

PETER LINEHAN

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With his first book, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy* (1972), Peter Linehan revolutionised the study of relations between church and state in Spain in the high middle ages. His magnum opus, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (1994), covering a vast temporal span, showed, among other things, that medieval chronicles were historical artefacts written not to ‘tell the truth’, but to present as such the particular agendas of the powers that be. Perhaps his greatest legacy will be the two massive collections of documents and pontifical diplomatic studies included in his *Portugalia Pontificia* (2013) and *España Pontificia* (2023).



D. C. W.

I

Peter Linehan (b. 11 July 1943) was brought up in East Sheen, in a firmly Catholic household. His father John was a brokerage clerk and his mother Kathleen a primary school teacher. His grandparents had come from Ireland in the early part of the century, his mother's parents from Co. Meath, his father's from the city of Cork. He was the second of three children, with Mary his elder sister (b. 1939) and Christopher his younger brother (b. 1946). Peter's education began at the Sacred Heart primary school in Roehampton, opposite what is now its university. In due course, he won a scholarship to St Benedict's School, Ealing, a monastic foundation. He wrote of his time there:¹

I was rather often punished; indeed, I was just about the most regularly beaten boy. This was not because I was the most feral. It was because I was one of the most noticed. This was a distinction I was later to find helpful when dealing with undergraduate offenders as Dean of St John's. The school had excellent history masters, of whom C.S. Walker made the greatest impression on me. Amongst those who would go on to make a mark as medievalists were Edmund King, David d'Avray and Peter Biller.² King had been admitted to St John's Cambridge in 1960, and I followed him there as a minor scholar at my second attempt in 1961, the first member of my family to go to university.

His Tutor at St John's was to be Ronald Robinson, wartime bomber pilot and historian of the scramble for Africa, who became a 'chum'³ and something of a role model,⁴ and his Director of Studies, F.H. Hinsley, subsequently Master of the College, whose war had been spent intelligence gathering at Bletchley Park.⁵ Medieval supervision was provided in College, 'admirably' by Edward Miller,⁶ and less to his consistent satisfaction by Geoffrey Barraclough.⁷

Peter had not as an undergraduate envisaged continuing with research until, with another First in Part II of the History Tripos following the same result in Part I, he decided on a late change of direction. He had become intrigued by Spain and its 20th-century history when visiting the country in summer 1959 while still at school. The Cambridge History Faculty had no expert in that field, so he was sent to Raymond Carr in Oxford as supervisor, with Herbert Butterfield, the Cambridge Regius Professor,

¹ This quotation, as with all others in this section unless indicated to the contrary, is taken like much of the other biographical material from Peter Linehan's 'Autobiography', an unfinished and unpublished fragment.

² See Biller, *The Measure of Multitude. Population in Medieval Thought* (Oxford, 2000), p. viii.

³ As in the dedication of Linehan, *The Ladies of Zamora* (Manchester, 1997).

⁴ Obit. (Linehan), *The Independent*, 25 June 1999.

⁵ Obit. (Linehan), *The Independent*, 19 February 1998.

⁶ Obit. (Linehan), *The Eagle* (2001), 80–86; also (with Barbara Harvey), *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 138 (2006), 231–56.

⁷ Obit. (Linehan), *The Eagle*, 70 (1985), 48–50.

keeping a close and frequent eye on him. Despite striking an abidingly happy rapport with Carr, nothing else much in that first term of postgraduate work (Michaelmas 1964) went particularly well. 'More to the point however', as he himself put it, 'I had spent long enough in Spain's 1930s to discover that there was very little prospect of my or anyone else's discovering anything worth discovering while Franco and his system remained in charge.'

Accordingly, having taken various medieval options in the Tripos, he switched to the Spanish Middle Ages. He had consulted Christopher Cheney, who was 'cautious', and Walter Ullmann, 'who knew nothing at all about medieval Spain', but – he guessed – would let him get on with things as he himself wanted. And indeed 'Ullmann proved an excellent supervisor, ever ready to put the goad to me when it was needed.'⁸ One book on the subject he came across was the *Iglesia castellano-leonesa y curia romana en los tiempos del rey San Fernando* (Madrid, 1945) of Demetrio Mansilla Reoyo, by then bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo. He wrote to Mansilla, who advised that for monasteries and parishes there were plenty of institutional and liturgical issues to work on, although papal material was much better known. Nonetheless he made his start on microfilms of papal registers recently acquired by Cheney. 'The combination of a sense of being at the coal-face of medieval research with access to things like teapots, decent beer and proper pipe tobacco made these some of the happiest research times of my life.'

Towards the end of 1965 he put in a short dissertation for Cambridge College Research Fellowships. He was elected in May the next year at St John's. In August he set off for Spain. There:

I spent the next seven months or so either in Madrid or driving my mini around the provinces, seeking, and sometimes securing, admission to cathedral archives from Santiago and Urgel in the north to Córdoba in the south (not excluding a brief excursion to Braga, preliminary to my later longer involvement on the Portuguese front).

Terrorism was returning to Spain at this time. On one occasion in Zamora he had a brush with security police suspicious of his 'investigaciones'. When obstacles to research in Madrid itself became too difficult, he escaped to the provinces, where again he met what he perceived as suspicion and incomprehension. With more experience, he could interpret such a reception as often enough 'merely a preliminary gesture which leads before long to most generous assistance and co-operation'.⁹ Toledo supplied a favourite example:

Toledo cathedral, repository of most of the materials essential for an understanding of

⁸ With Brian Tierney, he would edit a Festschrift in Ullmann's honour: *Authority and Power: Studies presented to Walter Ullmann on his 70th birthday* (Cambridge, 1980). It was a matter of continuing sadness to him that Ullmann was later to fall out with him, as had frequently occurred with Ullmann's former doctoral students.

⁹ P.A. Linehan, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. x-xi.

the history of medieval Christian Spain, was an obvious alternative centre. Here though there were other problems in store. ... On my first visit, D. Juan Francisco [the archivist] informed me that the archive was open for an hour a day (excepting feast-days) and then proceeded to request me to provide translations of a batch of letters and to get me to admire the postage stamps he had harvested from his correspondents' unavailing envelopes. And so the precious hour passed, documentless.

But help was at hand. On leaving the archive:

I fell in with a cleric who had been working there. ... He revealed himself as a doctoral student at the Gregorian University, Rome. I invited him to join me for lunch in the local bar: no great Lucullan blow-out in 1966 but the standard Francoist repast of noodle soup, fried hake and an orange, I guess. Still, it did the trick, for as I was about to sample the blackish wine my companion reached into a pocket of his soutane and fished from it an enormous key which he placed ceremoniously beside his fork, explaining that it was his 'invariable custom' to return to the archive in the afternoon to read his breviary. Would I care to accompany him? *Would I?* ...

Thereafter as often as Peter returned to Toledo, the same pattern repeated itself without variation, '*all as if always it was happening for the first time ...*'

Back home he had to think it all out and write it up. After completion of the PhD thesis his position at St John's was converted from 1969 into a teaching Fellowship and College Lectureship in History, Edward Miller having departed to a chair in Sheffield in 1965. The thesis had already been awarded a major University prize (Thirlwall with Seeley Medal), and the revolutionary and hugely influential book based on his research (see Part II below) appeared in 1971. 1971 was also the year of his marriage to Christine Callaghan, who had been the editor for his book at Cambridge University Press. They set up home in Impington, a village just north of the city, where their three children – Gabriel, Frances and Samuel – were brought up, and where they entertained friends, students and scholars from the continent with a crackling fire in winter, leisurely Sunday lunches in the garden in summer, and lavish pre-graduation suppers there too for graduands and their families.

Peter was to remain at St John's to the end of his days, as a College don in an old style. There he was tireless in pressing upon those in office forcefully (if not altogether successfully) issues on which he felt strongly, such as tourist control (or its absence). His rather oblique contributions to the deliberations of the Governing Body, on the other hand, might sound more like mild scholarly observations addressed to a seminar. His participation in the work of the History Faculty was limited. He enjoyed strong friendships with some of its members, who held him in high regard, and particularly latterly was to become a generously supportive unofficial mentor sought out by research students with medieval interests neighbouring on his own. But for whatever reasons, applications for University Lectureships were unsuccessful. At subsequent stages, attempts were

made unproductively to secure a senior position for him. His only University appointments were first as an additional Pro-Proctor in 1973, which resulted in his successfully prosecuting the University for underpayment (he conducted his own case and was awarded £304.15 with costs), and then as Senior Proctor in 1976–7, greatly appreciating and appreciated by his ‘bulldogs’, with the highlight a presentation at the Palace of a Loyal Address on the occasion of the Queen’s silver jubilee, followed by a leisurely and convivial progress homewards. More incognito he penned dispatches by Mercurius Cantabrigiensis (a fictive local 17th-century Protestant divine), which appeared in the *Spectator* in 1975–6 and occasionally in later years in the *Cambridge Review*.

For St John’s he was efficient and effective in administration. He relished the role of Secretary to Group 3 of the examinations for Cambridge colleges’ entrance scholarships from 1974 until their final demise in 1986. In College itself, he served as Director of Studies in History from 1977 to 1987 (and in 1996–97), Tutor from 1977 to 1997, and Tutor for Graduate Affairs from 1983 to 1997. Under his aegis, the numbers of women research and other graduate students, first admitted upon ‘co-residence’ in 1981, quadrupled. By 1988 St John’s was one of the colleges most sought after by applicants for postgraduate study. He was particularly attentive to the provision of accommodation for graduates, and was largely responsible for the conversion of their annual summer lunch in Hall into a buffet for families in the Fellows’ garden, complete with bouncy castle and children’s entertainer.

Despite such commitments, the medieval history of the Iberian peninsula continued to absorb much of Peter’s time, energy and boundless sharply-focused curiosity; he returned regularly to Spain, with or without his family, latterly Portugal too. His phenomenal rate of production of research publications never slackened (see again Part II), and he was also in demand as a never bland book reviewer, for national broadsheets and weeklies as well as for learned journals.¹⁰ In 1993 his magnum opus, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, appeared; further books and articles followed rapidly, ranging in tone and character from the racy *Ladies of Zamora* (1997) to the monumental two volumes of edited documents *Portugalia Pontificia* (2013).¹¹ He had served as principal organiser of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (held in College) in 1984, taking his habitual pleasure in the quirks of academic and clerical behaviour, and as co-editor of the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* from 1979 to 1991 (he subsequently chaired its board, one of the several journal boards of which he became

¹⁰ He was himself an avid reader of daily and weekly papers, with the *Daily Telegraph*, and not only but in particular its obituaries, specially to his taste.

¹¹ To be followed by a posthumously published collection of similar Spanish material, *España Pontificia*. He often hosted a postprandial seminar (Magnus Ryan and Patrick Zutshi with himself) which rotated between their three colleges, whose help he would sometimes seek in making sense of the documents he was currently tackling. Or he would call on the expertise of Michael Reeve in palaeography and plausible Latin.

a member). He frequently gave invited lectures and seminar presentations in Britain (notably the Birkbeck Lectures in 1999), on the continent, and occasionally in the USA. He facilitated appointment of a good number of his European colleagues as Visiting Scholars of the College. He himself was offered but declined the chair of medieval history at Leeds in 1994, thereby incidentally avoiding many of the mounting horrors of modern academic bureaucracy, for which – as for airports – his fierce loathing never abated. Honours came his way, notably with election to Academies in Siena (1988) and Madrid (1996), and to the British Academy (2002).¹² A final accolade was award of an Honorary Doctorate by the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (2018), followed by a particularly happy private occasion when its contributing authors presented him with a Festschrift.¹³

Peter had been asked to produce a new College History for its quincentenary in 2011. He duly persuaded an expert team of authors to write chapters on the centuries on which they were authorities. One or two of the contributors originally assembled found themselves having to withdraw, and for the 20th century he ended up composing the bulk of the account himself, a witty exercise in micro-history relatively light on broader developments in education. His narrative was founded on his medievalist's capacity to extract illumination and entertainment from a huge volume of disparate mostly archival material – whose custodian, the College Archivist Malcolm Underwood, he held in highest regard. He was able to present a copy of this handsomely produced volume to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, when she visited the College for its celebrations that summer.¹⁴

After his venerated St John Fisher (martyred by Henry VIII in 1535), his modern hero proved to be the gentle E.A. Benians, Master of Fisher's college from 1933–52: pioneering and well-travelled imperial and commonwealth historian with worldwide contacts especially in Asia and America, who 'stood for the casting off of provincial shackles', who had 'a genius for friendship' with young and old alike – and who had dedicated his life to the College. That sounds rather like Peter himself. While to Benians 'a degree of remoteness forever attached',¹⁵ with his established colleagues Peter's own persona tended to the studiously world-weary. His conversational forte was the unexpected one-liner fired instantaneously. There were circumstances when he did *froideur*, but he would go the second or third mile for someone who needed it, and younger or more temporary members of the community recognised undemonstrative friendliness.

¹² Where he was very soon taking up the cudgels with wonted vigour against a perceived threat to the continued funding of the Medieval Latin Dictionary project.

¹³ Francisco Hernandez, Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, and Emma Falque (eds), *Medieval Studies in Honour of Peter Linehan* (Firenze, 2018).

¹⁴ P. Linehan (ed.), *St John's College, Cambridge: A History* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011).

¹⁵ Quotations on Benians from Linehan, *St John's College, Cambridge*, 442, 515, 514.

His smile was characteristically mischievous, while his face would light up with a broad grin when encountering an old friend.

Soon after his period as a Tutor was over, he had become the College's Dean of discipline (1999–2010), exercising the role vigilantly, firmly, idiosyncratically, and enjoyed more than feared. He knew what was going on, or with his clientele maintained the inscrutable bluff that he knew. Penalties, occasionally bizarre, were customised to fit offences. He had a soft spot for the more colourful of the miscreants, and dispensed his customary hospitality to the good-hearted among them. Many of his old pupils kept in touch with him. In his rooms one might sometimes encounter them enjoying a glass of Rioja with him on visits to Cambridge, as also younger scholars from the continent who came to draw on his knowledge, wisdom and support. But his concern was not restricted to his pupils or young academics. For many members of the College support staff, too, in his eyes the institution's bedrock, he had a particular affection, translated into action for any in trouble.

He had increasingly seemed to have become part of the fabric of the College as his portly figure made a stately progress through its courts. His health declined however in his 70s, and after cardiac arrests in the first months of 2020 he died two days short of his 77th birthday (9 July 2020). He had remained steadfast in his Catholic faith and attendance at mass. A Latin requiem mass, attended under Covid-19 restrictions only by family and close friends and colleagues, was celebrated for him later in July in the College Chapel before cremation.

II

Peter's first book, *The Spanish Church and the Papacy* (Cambridge, 1971), an offshoot of his PhD dissertation of 1968,¹⁶ made a splash. The novelty of its claims and the mass of previously unknown archival records used to support them astonished everyone, but it raised a few eyebrows. Father Robert I. Burns SJ, whose work on the diocese of Valencia in the 13th century had appeared four years earlier,¹⁷ warned that 'the relations between the several Iberian kingdoms and the long series of thirteenth-century popes would require expertise in a combination of local contexts probably beyond that of any living scholar',¹⁸ and described Monsignor Demetrio Mansilla's *Iglesia castellano-leonesa y curia romana en los tiempos del rey San Fernando* (completed by 1938, but not printed until 1945) as 'a monumental effort toward such a goal'. The implicit

¹⁶ *Reform and Reaction: the Spanish Kingdoms and the Papacy in the Thirteenth Century*.

¹⁷ *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*, 2 vols (Cambridge MA, 1967).

¹⁸ Review in *Catholic Historical Review*, 61 (1975), 69–71.

comparison is worth pursuing. Mansilla had attempted to assess the political, economic, and ecclesiastical effect of papal policies during 1217–52 on the kingdom of Castile-León. To that end, he had culled the ‘Castilian-leonese’ items found in the fourteen volumes (9–23) of the Vatican Registers from the pontificates of Honorius III (1216–27), Gregory IX (1227–41) and Innocent IV (1243–54), as well as sundry Vatican materials also related to the reign of Fernando III (1217–1252). As is well known, the registers contain chancery *copies* of papal letters, which, in this case, had already been indexed, if not published in full.¹⁹ In his review of the book, Professor Julio González welcomed the Roman cache, but missed the many *original* letters, ecclesiastical and lay, preserved in Spanish archives and absent from the Vatican Registers.²⁰

True, Mansilla continued to gather ‘Spanish’ papal letters from the Vatican, and, in 1955, published 567 items spanning from 965 to 1216;²¹ ten years later he issued his volume on Honorius III, with 640 letters.²² In 1968, with his PhD thesis completed, Peter provided an *addendum* of 69 original items from 41 Spanish archives, which Mansilla had missed (items and archives), and located another group of 62 *original* letters, whose texts Mansilla had reproduced from old *copies* or modern secondary sources.²³

But publishing documents, and to do it as accurately and comprehensibly as possible, is, of course, only the first step towards understanding their wider historical significance. Looking back to the preceding century from the height of 1971, Peter could rightly remark that no one had provided any general perspective of the ‘possibly humdrum history of the thirteenth-century Spanish Church’,²⁴ just as he was about to offer his own version and to challenge the subject’s expected dullness.

He had begun his research in the waning years of Franco’s Spain, when he was still deeply interested in the Civil War, a subject for a PhD thesis which he had abandoned as impossible at the time, but whose knowledge coloured the way he saw local authorities, be they police, civil servants, or canon-archivists. Despite cool or hostile receptions,²⁵ he left no document unturned as he went all over Spain, hopping from archive to archive, collecting the sort of materials Julio González had found wanting in Mansilla’s survey. As Williell R. Thomson put it: ‘Linehan has unearthed an enormous mass of arcane rescripts, charters, and inventories in Spanish and Portuguese archives. Anyone acquainted with the painful procedures that block even admission to those collections

¹⁹ Pressutti (1888–1895), Auvray (1896–1908), and Berger (1884–1921).

²⁰ *Hispania*, 6 (1946), 304–8. As many as 70% of all papal letters went unregistered under Honorius III: Jane E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England During the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* (1984), p. 67.

²¹ *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III* (Rome, 1955).

²² *Documentación pontificia de Honorio III* (Rome, 1965).

²³ ‘La documentación Pontificia de Honorio III (1216–1227): unas adiciones a la regesta de don Demetrio Mansilla’, *Anthologica Annua*, 16 (1968), 385–408.

²⁴ *Spanish Church* (1971), p. 2.

²⁵ Cf. ‘History in a Changing World’, St John’s College Hull Lecture 1992, pp. 8–9.

must applaud his success. Of almost fifty archives assaulted, only Lerida withstood his entreaties.²⁶

The hostages taken were mercilessly interrogated. Beyond rank and number, Peter not only extracted information about their administrative niches and political allegiances, he also exposed the contradictions between their actions and the religious and secular values they claimed to share with European Christianity, defining in so doing the character of a 'frontier' culture in the western fringes of the western world. The resultant picture was shockingly new but entirely convincing, fleshed out with overwhelming footnoted detail. He was not only interested in the wider legal (customary, canon and common law), economic, and socio-cultural implications of his archival materials, he was infinitely curious about the small, often-enigmatic symbols and scribbles inscribed in the backs and folds of letters, especially papal letters, which he carefully copied, and which would eventually allow him to identify the clerks who made the chancery run: the scribes, *taxatores*, *distributores*, and, most specially, the *procuratores*. He was particularly interested in the latter, the proctors who were present at the Curia 'to get and to receive bulls' on behalf of individuals and institutions, and whose importance in the development and functioning of the Papal Chancery had been shown by Rudolf von Heckel in 1924, disregarded by Mansilla in 1938/1945, and was also being studied from English materials by Jane E. Sayers, another of Ullmann's disciples.²⁷

Peter's observations on curial procedure and personnel, derived from Spanish sources and put forward to great effect in his first book,²⁸ would be much amplified later in several innovative articles on proctors and curial procedure published in 1979, 1980 and 2019.²⁹ The chancery's inner working continued to fascinate him for the rest of his life, as may be seen in his brilliant piece on '*Fiat A*: the earliest known roll of petitions signed

²⁶ Review of the *Spanish Church and the Papacy*, in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 3/4 (1973), 768–70: 769. In 2010, the Lleida archive claimed to have 'about 9000 parchment documents', of which 5226 had been classified. Source: https://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arxiu_Capitular_de_Lleida

²⁷ Jane E. Sayers, 'Canterbury Proctors at the court of *Audientia litterarum contradictarum*', *Traditio*, 22 (1962), 311–45. *Eadem*: 'Proctors representing British interests at the papal court, 1198–1415', in Stephan Kuttner *et al.* (eds), *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of the Medieval Canon Law, Strasbourg 1968* (Città del Vaticano, 1971), pp. 143–63: 143. Both articles reprinted in Sayers, *Law and Records in Medieval England. Studies on the Medieval Papacy, Monasteries and Records* (London, 1988), Pt. III and IV.

²⁸ *Spanish Church* (1971), pp. 280–90.

²⁹ 'Proctors representing Spanish interests', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 17 (1979), 69–123; 'Two unsealed papal originals in Spanish archives', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 25 (1979), 240–55; 'Spanish litigants and their agents at the thirteenth-century papal curia', in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Salamanca 1976*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington (Vatican City, 1980), pp. 487–501. Repr. in Linehan, *Past and Present in Medieval Spain* (1992). With Patrick N.R. Zutshi, 'Found in a corner: the activity of proctors in the papal chancery in the first half of the thirteenth century', in *Le discret langage du pouvoir: les mentions de chancellerie du Moyen Âge au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Olivier Canteaut (Paris, 2019), pp. 195–232.

by the pope (1307)', of 2007,³⁰ and, most notably, in his monumental surveys of original papal letters, the *Portugalia Pontificia* of 2013,³¹ and the posthumous *España Pontificia*,³² both of which are crucial contributions to the study of the later medieval papacy, its relations with the Iberian kingdoms, and the evolution of the papal chancery, by itself and in relation to the history of Spain and Portugal. In fact, later in life he often returned to the topics sketched in his first book, so that an extended survey of its contents may be used as an initial guide to his prodigious historical output.

Its main protagonists are the Papacy, the Spanish Church, and the kings of the four peninsular kingdoms—although focusing mostly on Castile and Aragon. Expanding on Bishko's idea of the Spanish *Reconquest* 'as a frontier movement in the authentic American sense',³³ Peter presents Spanish laymen and ecclesiastics as *frontiersmen*, with 'their contempt for distant authority—papal authority included—and their peculiar institutions [... such as] clerical concubinage' (p. 2). The directives of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 ('the most important single body of disciplinary and reform legislation of the medieval Church'³⁴) had little effect on them. The lower clergy kept their concubines and refused to pay for distant crusades — their own *Reconquista* had taken enough out of them. Their leaders were worse: the saintly King Fernando III was a predator of the Church's income, and for the famous archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo 'peculation preceded reform'.³⁵ The view cherished by earlier ecclesiastical historians of a harmonious co-operation between the Papacy, the Spanish Church and the monarchs was shattered, shown to be a baseless myth.

The reception of papal legates, nuncios, and collectors, representatives and manifestations of Roman authority, is examined in three chapters (2, 3, and 9). They include two exemplary case studies, exposing the tension between ideal and praxis which Peter was so good at portraying. The first two of this trio deal with Cardinal Jean d'Abbeville's legation in 1228–1229, a figure absent from Mansilla's book. A former Parisian master, Abbeville attempts to impose the Lateran reforms in Castile without regard to local

³⁰ (with P.N.R. Zutshi) 'Fiat A: the earliest known roll of petitions signed by the pope (1307)', *EHR*, 122 (2007), 998–1015. Repr. in Linehan, *Historical Memory and Clerical Activity in Medieval Spain and Portugal* (2012).

³¹ *Portugalia Pontificia. Materials for the history of Portugal and the Papacy 1198–1417*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 2013).

³² *España Pontificia. Papal Letters to Spain 1198–1303* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2023).

³³ 'The Castilian as plainsman: the medieval ranching frontier in La Mancha and Extremadura', in *The New World Looks at its History*, ed. A.R. Lewis and T.M. McGann (Austin, 1963), pp. 47–69; repr. in Charles Julian Bishko, *Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History* (London, 1980), IV, p. 47.

³⁴ *Spanish Church* (1971), p. 4, quoting S. Kuttner and A. García y García.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

conditions and with greater rigour than originally intended; he is ‘an academic out of his depth’³⁶ and his dictates, even if quoted for a long time, become dead letter as soon as he leaves.³⁷ But he does have some success in Aragon, where he finds a competent assistant in Ramón de Penyaafort OP (compiler of Gregory IX’s *Liber Extra* [1234]) and a devout follower in Pere de Albalat: of whom more shortly.

Other papal envoys are depicted in chapter 9: the nuncios sent to collect crusade subsidies, and one of the legates, Pietro, bishop of Rieti, directed by Nicholas III to chastise King Alfonso X’s abuse of the Church. As in the case of Abbeville, the bishop of Rieti’s voice was heard in 1279 and forgotten by 1280. But his list of charges, partially known from a previously printed Vatican register, was used most effectively by Peter to highlight the tensions between King and Church. After his book was published, Peter discovered a twenty-page booklet related to the same legation and compiled in Alfonso X’s Court. Preserved in Toledo’s Archive, it contains two Latin memoranda of charges against the king, an abbreviated Spanish translation, and answers to some of those charges, intended to placate Nicholas III, all of it published and brilliantly analysed by Peter in the Ullmann Festschrift of 1980.³⁸

After Abbeville’s intensive but failed mission, whose paper trail from Coimbra to Girona Peter will follow in a paper published in 2001,³⁹ he turns his attention to Pere de Albalat, archbishop of Tarragona (1239–51), the subject of chapters 4 and 5, and ‘the greatest reformer in the thirteenth-century Spanish Church’, practically unknown to Spanish historians until then. Albalat was the author of a disciplinary treatise, also discovered and published separately by Peter,⁴⁰ who shows how the archbishop implemented Abbeville’s reformist agenda as well as he could, but how much was lost when he died and was succeeded by his rival, Benet de Rocabertí, as archbishop in Tarragona.

The next three chapters (6–8) are dedicated to the economic interaction between Church and Crown. They ‘are stiff reading, but they contain Mr. Linehan’s most original contribution to his subject’, according to Evelyn Procter.⁴¹ Fifty years later they have become so successfully embedded in the current historiography of medieval Spain that it is hard to imagine the revolutionary impact they had in 1971. In 1971, Peter began by juxtaposing the 18th-century regalist image, still prevalent amongst

³⁶ Ibid, p. 48.

³⁷ Ibid, pp. 50–3.

³⁸ ‘The Spanish Church revisited: the episcopal *gravamina* of 1279’. Repr. in Linehan, *Spanish Church and Society, 1150–1300* (1983).

³⁹ ‘A papal legation and its aftermath: Cardinal John of Abbeville in Spain and Portugal, 1228–1229’, in *A Ennio Cortese. Scritti promossi da Domenico Maffei*, ed. I. Birocchi et al., vol. 2 (Rome, 2001), pp. 236–56. Repr. in Linehan, *Historical Memory and Clerical Activity in Medieval Spain and Portugal* (2012).

⁴⁰ ‘Pedro de Albalat, arzobispo de Tarragona y su *Summa septem sacramentorum*’, *Hispania Sacra*, 22 (1969), 1–22. Repr. in Linehan, *Spanish Church and Society, 1150–1300* (1983).

⁴¹ *History*, 57 (1972), 417.

leading mid–20th-century Spanish historians, of an affluent medieval Spanish Church and Papacy, with the laments of 13th-century Castilian bishops who had sacrificed much to underwrite the conquest of Andalusia (as Mansilla began to show⁴²) and expected a payback, but, when the time came, they got practically none. Then, things got worse. After the economy of the annexed territories started to collapse by 1250, the king requested further funds from the papacy, and Rome helped with Castilian cash. King Alfonso was granted a third of the Church's tithe (*tercias*) for three years, a period the king and his successors extended by two hundred more.

The dynamics of medieval Spanish history had never been exposed so convincingly and starkly. The papacy saw the kings as defenders of the faith in the frontier with Islam, and tolerated there what they would not accept closer to home. Meanwhile, the bishops had no political power in Castile and the Aragonese were not much better off. This view of the Spanish medieval kings, as de facto masters of the Church, supported by massive archival evidence, has not been surpassed since it was presented more than fifty years ago.

But the most innovative section of his book was probably chapter 7, which deals with the pattern of indebtedness that plunged many peninsular churches into poverty. A multitude of little-known financial documents issued by the papal chancery, Italian bank-lenders, and local borrowers, reveals that state of affairs. King Alfonso X blamed the bishops for ruining their churches with their trips to, and prolonged sojourns at, the Curia, but Peter shows that 'it was the king who drove them into the hands of bankers by refusing to allow them to take funds with them out of the country' (p. 138). The best documented and most complex case is that of Gonzalo Pérez, known as *Gudiel*, notary and chancellor to King Alfonso and to his son, Sancho IV (1284–1295), successively bishop of Cuenca, Burgos, and Toledo. Peter offered a preview of his debt-ridden career in 1971, and would return to it with a short article in 1993, and a long book, published in co-operation with F. Hernández, in 2004.⁴³ His 1993 article appeared in a collective book on *The Growth of the Bank as Institution*, and was heralded as an significant contribution to our understanding of how, already by the 13th century, credit had become one of the motive forces of economic life, 'as [Linehan] reveals a politico-financial interlacement which, starting from Spain, unravels through Italy and through France, involving kings, popes and Florentine bankers, with, at its centre, a cultivated bishop of Toledo plunged into debt'.⁴⁴ His case is not atypical. What is unusual is the sheer volume of records related to him that have survived, including a large cache of documents and drafts of letters, hidden before 1971 and uncovered by the present writer while participating in the

⁴² *Iglesia castellano-leonesa* (1946), pp. 52–8.

⁴³ *The Mozarabic Cardinal* (Florence: Galluzzo, 2004).

⁴⁴ *The Growth of the Bank as Institution and the Development of Money-business Law*, ed. Vito Piergiovanni. (Berlin, 1993), p. 5.

reorganisation of the Toledo Cathedral Archive (1979–1983).⁴⁵ It was after the discovery was shared with Peter that he generously suggested the idea of writing the already mentioned book on *Gudiel*.

Back again to the 1971 book: King Alfonso's actions and policies are shown to be the root cause of the economic crisis facing the Castilian Church (chapter 8). And yet the bishops stood by the king whose creatures they were and whose exactions they suffered in silence, and only became vocal when asked by Rome to support yet another crusade, as they did in 1262/63.⁴⁶ Such selective grievances, amplified by Voltairean regalists in the 18th century and by anticlerical historians in the 20th, are thus placed in their proper context.⁴⁷ By the end of the 13th century the political situation changed, but the bishops' situation did not (chapter 10). Most had abandoned King Alfonso expecting better from his rebel son, Sancho IV (1284–1295), only to discover a new master no better than the old. Peter presents three of them as case studies. *Frater* Munio of Zamora, Master-General of the Dominicans in 1285, deposed for unspecified reasons by Nicholas IV in 1290, and made bishop of Palencia with Sancho's backing in 1294, was recalled to Rome by Boniface VIII after Sancho's death in 1295, and resigned again in 1296, staying in Rome, where he died and was buried in 1300. Peter demonstrated that his removal in 1290 had been related to a riotous sex scandal involving the Dominican nuns of Zamora, and uncovered a wonderful tale with wide social and historical implications, which he would later develop into his most popular book, *The Ladies of Zamora*, of 1997, translated into French, Portuguese, and Spanish. On the other side in that tale, as told back in 1971, was the bishop of Zamora, Suero Pérez, a stern prelate who served King Alfonso, initially supported rebellious Sancho, but soon fell out of favour. He would also become the protagonist of another book, written in collaboration with José Carlos Lera Maíllo, archivist of Zamora Cathedral.⁴⁸ The last of this group is Juan Ibáñez, bishop of the frontier diocese of Jaén, elected in 1283 and immediately denounced for his ignorance of Latin, but defended by King Sancho, who placed loyalty above literacy and kept him in place.

Peter went on to examine the relations with the Curia during the 13th century's final years. Two hitherto overlooked Vatican registers, insightfully unpacked by him, reveal the activities of papal collectors, how they got far less than they hoped for, and how they

⁴⁵ We published one of those documents in 'Animadverto: a recently discovered *consilium* concerning the sanctity of King Louis IX', *Revue Mabillon*, 5 [66] (1994), 83–105.

⁴⁶ Ed. Eloy Benito Ruano, 'La Iglesia española ante la caída del Imperio latino de Constantinopla', *Hispania Sacra*, 11 (1958), 3–20: 813. Peter offers emendations to this edition.

⁴⁷ Peter had already published some crucial supporting documents in 1970: 'The *gravamina* of the Castilian Church in 1262–3', *EHR*, 85 (1970), 730–54. Repr. in Linehan, *Spanish Church and Society, 1150–1300* (1983).

⁴⁸ *Las postrimerías de un obispo alfonsino. Don Suero Pérez: el de Zamora* (Zamora, 2003).

often spent more than they got as they trudged across the harsh geography of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon. They received no help from the bishops, subservient to kings; while the kings treated popes, their letters, and legates with barely disguised disdain.⁴⁹ Finally, Peter completes his picture of the Spanish Church by looking at the flow of clerics who hastened to the Curia ‘as flies to the jampot’ (p. 254). They went to request benefices, to appeal elections, to act as proctors, to be confirmed as bishops, and often spending money borrowed on the security of their churches. A few, very few, became cardinals of the Roman Church and paid attention to national and family interests, keeping an eye on proctors and Chancery business, and piling up benefices on their friends and relations. Peter concludes (p. 324): ‘Despite the eloquent assurances of the eighteenth-century regalists [...], papal nuncios did not succeed in bleeding Spain white. Instead, they encountered in both king and clergy the attitude that the Roman Church was a Welfare State to be sponged on but not contributed to.’ The situation became endemic. In the 16th century, it was (p. 330) ‘due in large part to [saint] Fernando III that [King] Felipe II could be described in 1566 as “the greatest prelate in ecclesiastical rents that there is in the world, after the pope.”’

The *impact* of the book was not immediate in Spain. Aside from the fact that English was not too widely known there by 1971, the book was written in Peter’s idiosyncratic style, witty, learned and packing a maximum of significance in a minimum of words. Teo Ruiz calls it ‘thick description’,⁵⁰ Roger Collins sees it as ‘demanding, but [...] always free of jargon and the baleful influence of “theory” in its manifold forms.’⁵¹ Some of us enjoy it, others don’t.⁵² For a non-native speaker of English, Peter’s prose was not easy to grasp ... until 1975, when his book was translated into Spanish. Bishop Mansilla read the translation and was not pleased; but university students loved it. Suddenly ecclesiastical history was sexy in Spain, and PhD candidates, who had avoided the field like the plague unless they were men of the cloth, began to enter that field.⁵³ Professor Carlos de Ayala explains how he and ‘the young [Spanish] historians who were in the university during

⁴⁹ These same Vatican registers would be at the core of an important article published a decade later by Peter on the same topics: ‘The Church, the economy and the *reconquista* in early fourteenth-century Castile’, *RET*, 43 (1983), 275–303. Repr. in Linehan, *Past and Present in Medieval Spain* (1992).

⁵⁰ Review of *At the Edge of Reformation*, *Church History*, 89:2 (2020), 443–4: 444.

⁵¹ *Speculum*, 96:4 (2021), 1200.

⁵² Joseph O’Callaghan: ‘Mr. Linehan’s flippant style is irritating and creates unnecessary obstacles to the reader’s willingness to accept his judgments as sound and objective’, *Speculum*, 51 (1976), 335–6.

⁵³ For example: Juan Manuel Nieto Soria: *Las relaciones monarquía-episcopado castellano como sistema de poder (1252–1312)* (U. Complutense, Madrid, 1982); Ana Arranz Guzmán: *Cortes medievales castellano-leonesas: participación eclesiástica y mentalidades religiosas*, (U. Alcalá de Henares, 1988); Iluminado Sanz Sancho: *La iglesia y el obispado de Córdoba en la baja edad media (1236–1426)* (U. Complutense, Madrid, 1989).

the decisive years of the transition [to democracy (1975–1978)] were enchanted by it [Peter's book], with its wide open view of history and its interdisciplinary dimension, hostile to thematic overspecialization.⁵⁴ The history of the Spanish Middle Ages would never be the same again.⁵⁵

The new political climate helped. Following Franco's death, editions of medieval documentary collections began to multiply like mushrooms after a storm. The fifty Spanish provinces had regrouped into seventeen autonomous regions (1979–83) and subsidised any historical projects that would potentially prop up their identities with as-old-as-possible written proof. With a different agenda, Peter was way ahead of them. In 1975, twelve years before León's wealthy cathedral embarked upon the systematic publication of its medieval records—the volume corresponding to 1230–60 only appeared in 1993—he brought out his masterful study of the economic tensions experienced by that church during the second half of the mid-13th century, combining once again unpublished documents from León and the Vatican.⁵⁶

After León, Segovia. In 1980 and 1981 Peter produced three important articles on the Church of Segovia. First he edited and contextualised the previously unknown and crucial *acta* of a synod held there in 1166, when a bishops' assembly imposed feudal practices which may have saved Castile as an independent kingdom. Equally important was Peter's detailed identification of a major work of medieval canon law⁵⁷ which was included in the 12th-century manuscript where the *acta* are found.⁵⁸ Although Peter's earlier work already displays his grasp of canon law, this is his first important contribution to a field which he will enrich both as editor of the *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Cambridge 23–27 July 1984*,⁵⁹ and with further personal contributions, culminating in the legal texts (*consilia*) edited and annotated as appendixes in his *At the Edge of Reformation* of 2019. In the two other articles

⁵⁴ 'Profesor Peter Linehan (1943–2020)', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 50:2 (2020), 895–905: 896.

⁵⁵ Writing in 1992, Peter noted that 'when I first tentatively suggested that perhaps the Spanish Church had not profited to the extent that it was alleged to have profited from the Christian victories of the thirteenth century, I was quite properly taken to task. Yet by 1982 this extraordinary thesis was being peddled as orthodox opinion, which was chastening.' Preface to his *Past and Present in Medieval Spain* (Aldershot), p. ix.

⁵⁶ 'La iglesia de León a mediados del siglo XIII', *León y su historia III* (León, 1975), pp. 11–76. Repr. in *Spanish Church and Society, 1150–1300*. Cf. José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León. VIII. (1230–1269)* (León, 1993); J.M. Ruiz Asencio and J.A. Martín Fuertes, *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León. IX. (1269–1300)* (León, 1994). The texts from Appendices 9 and 10 transcribe Archivo Segreto Vaticano, *Collectoriae*, 397, ff. 85v–87v and 113v–153.

⁵⁷ The *Panormia*, attributed to Ivo of Chartres. Cf. *Panormia* Project, dir. Bruce Brasington and Martin Brett. <https://www.wtamu.edu/~bbrasington/panormia.html> [2015–09–02].

⁵⁸ 'The Synod of Segovia (1166)', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, 10 (1980), 31–44. Repr. in Linehan, *Spanish Church and Society, 1150–1300* (1983).

⁵⁹ *Monumenta Iuris Canonici* C/8 (Vatican City, 1988).

on Segovia, Peter refined the definition of a ‘frontier’ diocese beyond Burns’ and Thomas F. Glick’s proposals, and offered as proof and illustration two hitherto unpublished 13th-century surveys of Segovia’s diocese, local Domesday books preserved in the British Library.⁶⁰

By 1982, Peter had decided to change tack, from medieval manuscripts to printed books. He explained the decision ten years later:

In view of the coincidence of English school holidays and Spanish archivists’ vacations, by then I had reconciled myself to a future with the published records of the Spanish past and to the study of how our understanding of that past has developed over time. The results of that enquiry, originally intended as a brief study of revisionism in the Spanish medieval camp since the death of General Franco, are about to be published by the Clarendon Press as *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*.⁶¹

But while working over the next decade on that ‘brief study of revisionism’, he also continued to produce a rich crop of articles, some related to that study, others not. Pride of place amongst the latter should be given to his extraordinary excursion into 20th-century English historiography, ‘The making of the *Cambridge Medieval History*’.⁶²

Then came *History and the Historians* itself. There is no better brief description than the one offered by the publisher, with some assistance no doubt by the author:

This is a study of medieval Spain and its historians, from the chroniclers of the middle ages to the revisionists of the post-Franco era. The history of medieval Spain has long been perceived as a tale of original sin followed by a long-drawn-out process of atonement. *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* traces the development of that perception. It is a formidably researched tour de force which reveals history in the making during the eight hundred years which separated the end of the Roman period from what is now described as the birth of the modern state. In the differing aspirations of the inventors of the past both then and now – from the restoration of Toledo’s Visigothic hegemony in the 1240s to the feudalization of medieval Castile and the sacralization of its kings since the death of Franco – an underlying sense of purpose emerges. In their contest for control of the present through mastery of the past, and the expression of their local loyalties, the historians of the seventh to the fourteenth centuries

⁶⁰ ‘Segovia: a “frontier” diocese in the thirteenth century’, *EHR*, 96 (1981), 481–508; ‘A survey of the diocese of Segovia (1246–7)’, *Revista española de teología*, 41 (1981), 163–206. Both in *Spanish Church and Society, 1150–1300* (1983).

⁶¹ Intro. to *Past and Present in Medieval Spain* (Ashgate, 1992), p. vii. He had already moved that way when he wrote ‘Religion, nationalism and national identity in medieval Spain and Portugal’, *SCH*, 18 (1982), 161–99. Repr. in *Spanish Church and Society, 1150–1300* (1983).

⁶² *Speculum*, 57 (1982), 463–94. Repr. in *Past and Present in Medieval Spain* (1992). The most prominent articles from this period are also reprinted in the same collectanea and in Linehan, *The Processes of Politics and the Rule of Law* (2002).

and the authors of the *False Chronicles* in the early 1600s have their counterparts in the contemporary Spain of the *autonomías*.

This time, the book's *impact* was immediate and lasting. In fact, the words Peter had used to describe the effect of Jean d'Abbeville's legation in 1228–1229 could be applied to himself in 1993: '[...] he hit the place like a tornado and decades later fragments of the old order dislodged by him were still floating down to earth.'⁶³ In the most detailed and thoughtful review of the book, Professor Ladero Quesada says: '[...] it is possible to predict that the book will have many readers in this and future centuries: medievalists will simply not be able to do without it.'⁶⁴ Twenty years later, the same prediction was taken up by a reviewer of *Historia y los Historiadores*, the translation published in 2012.⁶⁵ Down the road ten more years yet, Carlos de Ayala says: 'If one had to choose a work of historical research that would serve as *the* handbook for medieval Spanish studies, this would be it, no doubt.'⁶⁶ As for Peter's impact in Spain itself, Ayala also points out that peninsular historians working up to the time it was published had either accepted medieval chronicles as reliable sources of 'facts' or rejected them as secondary sources, useful only to 'illustrate' charter-based evidence. Peter showed that they are historical artefacts written not to 'tell the truth', but to present as such the particular agendas of the powers that be (and are therefore liable to be modified as those powers change, becoming new versions meant to serve them)—an insight equally applicable to modern historians.

So, that is how Peter faced eight centuries of narratives as well as the modern constructions based on them. In his review, Brian Tate said of Peter: 'What is important is his stance of perennial questioner of longstanding assumptions. He not only explains why the assumptions should be rejected but asks why they are adopted in the first place.'⁶⁷ And, of course, he was also interested in *who* was responsible. The *cui bono* principle served him well. That is how, for example, he identified the clerical *mafia* who falsified the chronicles to promote Toledo's interests. He had denounced them in his 1988 article on the 'Toledo Forgeries'⁶⁸ and now he returned to the topic with a vengeance. It is just one case amongst a legion of others. The Augean task of cleansing false chronicles and their descendants, all the way to the 20th century, was not accomplished in a day, but the result was well worth it.

⁶³ See p. 422 n. 39 above.

⁶⁴ '[...] se puede predecir que el número de sus lectores será grande, en éste y en los siglos venideros, porque es una obra cuyo conocimiento va a ser imprescindible para los medievalistas', in 'Una reflexión y algunas observaciones sobre nuestra historia y nuestra historiografía medievales', *Medievalismo*, 4 (1994), 199–205: 199.

⁶⁵ F. Abad Nebot, *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie III, Historia Medieval*, 27 (2014), 555–58: 558.

⁶⁶ *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 50:2 (2020), 895–905: 897.

⁶⁷ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), 136–9.

⁶⁸ 'The Toledo forgeries c.1150–c.1300', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae historica, München, 16.–19. September 1986*, vol. 1 (Hannover, 1988), pp. 643–74. Repr. in *Past and Present in Medieval Spain* (1992).

Commenting on *History and the Historians*, R.A. Fletcher, who was Peter's boon companion when both were research students in Spain, said:

There is an enormous amount of learning and reflection tucked away here on such widely different subjects as the non-participatory architecture of Visigothic churches (pp. 47–8), and the desirability of study of the writings of Alvarus Pelagius OFM, bishop of Silves, who has been 'significantly less well served than his lavishly indulged contemporaries Marsiglio of Padua and William of Occam' (p. 560). [...] This splendid book deserves to be widely read.

It was. Like his *Spanish Church*, *History and the Historians* inspired a new generation of young scholars who were going through the grind of the Spanish university system and saw that book as a revelation, a difficult text that, once cracked, revealed a new and fresh vista of their past. They were also interested in meeting the author, and many made the pilgrimage to Cambridge to meet the congenial Englishman who could teach them how to look at the history of their own medieval past.

As *the* expert in that field, he contributed substantial surveys on Spain in *The Medieval World*, a collaborative work he edited with Janet Nelson,⁶⁹ and in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*.⁷⁰ In 2008 he also published *Spain, 1157–1300. A Partible Inheritance*. This work, part of the Blackwell History of Spain, is not your usual survey, but a typical Linehan product. It is erudite, iconoclastic, and witty, perhaps too witty for the translator in charge of a Spanish version, who failed so badly that the printed result had to be retired from the marketplace.

Finally, unfortunately finally, Peter published *At the Edge of Reformation* in 2018. Although it incorporates results from Peter's fruitful 'Portuguese' decade leading to the *Portugalia Pontificia*, the book has roots that go back much further. In 1975, at the same time as the Spanish translation of his first book was issued by the Pontifical University of Salamanca, Peter published a piece that was surprising even for him: a long text recording the historical arguments in favour of Scottish independence prepared to be used in the negotiations with the English held at Bamburgh in 1321.⁷¹ The document appears in the miscellaneous notebook, or *zibaldone*, compiled by one Pedro de Casis, who was King Alfonso XI's agent in Avignon during the 1340s. Preserved nowadays in

⁶⁹ 2001, second, expanded edition in 2018.

⁷⁰ 'Spain in the twelfth century', in vol. IV.2, *c.1024-c.1198* (2004), pp. 475–509; 'Castile, Portugal and Navarre in the thirteenth century', in vol. V, *c.1198-c.1300* (1999), pp. 668–99; and 'Castile, Portugal and Navarre in the fourteenth century', in vol. VI, *c.1300-c.1415* (2000), pp. 619–50.

⁷¹ 'A fourteenth-century history of Anglo-Scottish relations', *BIHR*, 48 (1975), 106–22. Cf. E.L.G. Stones, G.G. Simpson, *Edward I and the Throne of Scotland 1290–1296, an edition of the record sources for the Great Cause* (Oxford, 1978); G.S. Barrow, *Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 14–15.

Córdoba Cathedral (ms 40), the manuscript was being catalogued at the time by Antonio García y García, Peter's friend at the Pontifical University.⁷²

Peter used the notebook again in the 1987 colloquium on the 'Genèse médiévale de l'Etat Moderne: La Castille et la Navarre (1250–1370)'. Commenting on the royal coronation oath's promise 'not to alienate the kingdom's goods' (*de non alienando bona regni*), as reported by Álvaro Pais c. 1340, Peter rejected the view that it was intended to guarantee ecclesiastical properties, as argued by Álvaro himself. On the contrary, Peter read it as a pledge to defend and recover previously alienated crown rights, even if they had been gifted by earlier monarchs to the Church. Such was also the regalist advocate's view at the Vincennes Assembly of 1329, whose proposal eventually became known at the Castilian Court, since it was included in Pedro de Casis' *zibaldone*. Nevertheless, events thwarted 'progress' towards the Modern State. The seeds of the Modern State may have been planted in Castile and Navarre during 1250–1370, as the colloquium organisers implied, but come 1370 they were a very long way from yet flowering.⁷³

In 1993 Peter reopens Pedro de Casis' notebook at the end of *History and the Historians*. After rereading the Vincennes regalist proposal and other potentially revolutionary pronouncements, which culminate in the last page of the manuscript with verses predicting the Papacy's demise and 'Caesar's' triumph, Peter looks at what actually did happen afterwards and observes that, once more, events in Iberia did not conform to reformist expectations, and that 'despite the claims made on behalf of the Modern State to a foundation date at about this time, again the old order held.'⁷⁴ Reformation would have to wait.

In *At the Edge of Reformation* (2018), Peter contemplates the story of that frustration as it played itself out during the first half of the 14th century in Castile and Portugal. The central issue of Alvaro Pais' coronation oath was *inalienability*, an essential attribute incongruously claimed at the same time by Church and Crown. The Church's rights and titles were ancient and firmly based on canon law, but they had been progressively eroded by two factors: by the privatisation of assets by priests, archdeacons, and bishops, who in turn bequeathed them to their concubines' children; and, secondly, by royal annulment of previous kings' grants, which could include whole cities and their hinterlands, as in the case of Braga, whose archbishop claimed sovereign rights over the city and whose king, Afonso IV (1325–57), would have none of it. Full sovereignty was also incompatible with papal appointment of foreign prelates to cities in the king's domain. Alfonso XI of Castile (1311–1350), Afonso IV's son in law and the 'Caesar' who would displace the

⁷² Antonio García y García, F. Cantelar Rodríguez, M. Nieto Cumplido, *Catálogo de los manuscritos e incunables de la Catedral de Córdoba* (Salamanca, 1976): Ms 40, with 289 items (pp. 45–98), §211.5, p. 79.

⁷³ 'Ideología y liturgia en el reinado de Alfonso XI de Castilla', in *Génesis del Estado moderno: Castilla y Navarra (1250–1370)*, ed. A. Rucquoi (Valladolid, 1987), pp. 229–43.

⁷⁴ *History and the Historians* (1993), p. 663.

Pope according to Pedro de Casis' *zibaldone*, held those same points of view. But, as already anticipated by Peter in 1993, the future they expected never materialised. The Black Death, universally regarded as God's punishment for a Europe errant in the eyes of God, no doubt had a dampening effect on the *esprit laïque* which had surged in Vincennes and the Castilian Court before 1350.

Peter's five appendices illuminate with enthralling detail his book's main topics. The first three contain archbishop Gonçalo Pereira's elaborate defence of his lordship over Braga and the favourable judgement given by Avignon. The papal Camera's rejection of the demands of relatives of an Italian archdeacon of Toledo, who had claimed a sizable part of his properties as their inheritance on the (demonstrably false) grounds that they were his private property before becoming archdeacon, is edited as appendix iv. Finally, we see Alfonso XI elevated to a level equal or even superior to the pope in bishop Bernat of Huesca's extravagant sermon preached at Avignon in praise of the king after his capture of Algeciras in 1344. But all that promise comes crashing down when he dies of the plague six years later at Gibraltar. And so, Peter ends:

For all the superficial resemblances between Iberia in the 1340s and Henry VIII's England two centuries later regarding the monarchs' matrimonial problems, and despite [...] the loutish brutality of peninsular Thomas Cromwells and the rest of it, the process of cutting free from Avignon was destined to remain altogether as complex as that of leaving the European Union.⁷⁵

Peter gave new life to ecclesiastical history in Spain, taught two generations of Spaniards how to read their chronicles and history books, recreated worlds within the world of medieval Spain and Portugal, and has left behind his most durable and lasting contribution to scholarship: the two massive collections of documents and pontifical diplomatic studies included in his *Portugalia Pontificia* (2013) and *España Pontificia* (2023).⁷⁶

Acknowledgements

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⁷⁵ *At the Edge of Reformation* (2018), p. 167.

⁷⁶ As mentioned above. For a detailed description of *Portugalia* see A. Paravicini Bagliani's review in *JEH*, 68 (2017), 583–4.

Note on the authors: Malcolm Schofield is Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge; he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1997. Francisco Hernández is Distinguished Research Professor at Carleton University, Ottawa, and was elected Corresponding Member of Spain's Real Academia de la Historia in 1996.

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