Alfonso X and the Classical World
Alexander the Great and Ideology in Medieval Iberia

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This is to certify that to the best of my knowledge, the content of this thesis is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or other purposes. I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis and sources have been acknowledged.

Abstract

This thesis proposes that Alfonso X of Castile used accounts of Alexander the Great's life in the *General Estoria* to create a symbol, laden with the grandeur and authority of antiquity, for socio-political reform and unification within his kingdom in response to a series of political setbacks. This connection between the *General Estoria*'s Alexander and Alfonso's ambitions is clearest in the *Siete Partidas* where Alfonso references Alexander and his teacher Aristotle to justify and give legitimacy to the legislation. These references in the *Partidas* are then reinforced by the complete account of Alexander's life in the *General Estoria*, where Alexander's image is curated by Alfonso to reflect the socio-legal prescriptions of the *Partidas.* Through unpacking the interplay between these two texts, Alfonso's all-encompassing aspirations for reform in the kingdom of Castile are brought to light, which would reshape not just Castilian law or politics, but its identity and spiritual and intellectual life. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates that Alexander was utilised by Alfonso X to generate renewed support for this program of reform, which had alienated powerful elements of Castilian society.

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Contents

Introduction

Alfonso X 'el Sabio' of Castile's (r. 1252–1284) account of Alexander the Great's life in his universal history, the *General Estoria,* is shaped by the domestic political issues that emerged over the decade preceding its composition between the 1270s and Alfonso's death.[1] By the time composition of the *Estoria* began, Alfonso was nearly twenty years into his reign and in that time his attempts to culturally and politically reform his kingdom had alienated powerful entrenched elements in Castilian society. It is my contention in this thesis that the account of Alexander's life served as a political rallying cry to these disaffected and hostile elements towards Alfonso's vision of a reformed kingdom.

To achieve this, Alfonso engaged in a contested historiographical tradition around Alexander that stretches back to Antiquity. Adopting and adapting understandings and arguments from this rich tradition, Alfonso constructed an idealised Alexander who could serve the aspirational role required of him. Source materials describing Alexander's life were carefully selected dependent on their perspectives, and then developed further to enhance Alfonso's preferred themes and combat traditions hostile to Alexander. This aspirational Alexander was then used through subtle framing and textual manipulation to argue for Alfonso's reforming vision for Castile.

The account of Alexander's life comprises a single section in one of the six books of the *General Estoria,* which endeavoured to cover the entire history of the world. However, in the context of Alfonso's political and cultural reformation the life of Alexander is of particular interest as the Macedonian king already had links to Alfonso's political program preceding the *General Estoria*. Several scholars have noted the influence of the Arabic-derived *Bocados de Oro*'s Alexander narrative on Alfonso's innovative law code known as the *Siete Partidas,*

[1] Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, "Introduction," in *General Estoria I* (Madrid: Bibliotecha Castro, 2009), xxix.

composed between 1255 and 1280.[2] This meant Alexander had already been connected to Alfonso's program of reform preceding the *General Estoria*, and that connection could then be developed in the *Estoria*. Alexander is also a uniquely revealing subject within the *General Estoria*'s content because so much of his life and legacy are deeply contested. When writing an account of Alexander, a historian constantly needs to make decisions between conflicting accounts and perspectives, which is revealing of their own beliefs and predispositions. It is something of a truism that what a historian says about Alexander says far more about themselves than Alexander, and Alfonso is no exception.[3]

Alfonso X's life and writings

Alfonso was in many ways a politically tragic figure. His reign was one of cultural exchange, innovation, and attempted reform. But it was also simultaneously marred by a series of political setbacks and failures that would ultimately see one of the intellectual beacons of his age infirm and incarcerated for the final years of his life as his son and usurper undid much of his life's work.[4] And while at the time of his death in 1284 Alfonso's efforts to reform his realm seemed largely in vain, over the following centuries it became clear that Alfonso had achieved much more than it initially seemed. He had set in motion forces and ideas that would continue to shape Iberian culture and society through to the modern age.[5]

Born in 1221 as the eldest son to Ferdinand III and Beatrice of Swabia, Alfonso was educated in the liberal arts and warfare for much of his young life to prepare him to rule. Much of this education was practical and hands-on, Alfonso witnessed his first military engagement at Jerez aged ten. Ferdinand III pursued an aggressive policy of expansion south against the

[2] Ghislaine Fournès, "La construction du paradigme royal des Bocados de oro à la Segunda Partida d'Alphonse X le Sage," *e-Spania*, no. 36 (2020), https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/35104. Hugo Bizzarri, "Miroirs du prince castillans et collections de sentences," in *La fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (Xe-XVIe siècle)*, ed. Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 972-980.

[3] Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander the Great* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), xxix.

[4] For biographical details on Alfonso's life I have largely relied on the excellent work of H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*, trans. Odile Cisneros (Leiden: Brill, 2010); However, both Simon R. Doubleday, *The wise king: a Christian prince, Muslim Spain, and the birth of the Renaissance* (New York: Basic Books, 2015). and Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The learned king: the reign of Alfonso X of Castile*, Middle Ages series, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) provide excellent insight into the life and mind of Alfonso X.

[5] Robert I. Burns, "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 1-2.

Islamic *taifa* realms, which provided extensive opportunities for the young prince to learn the art of war. Alfonso was witness as a young man to the fall of two of the great remaining Islamic centres in Iberia, Murcia and Sevilla, leaving only the rump state of Granada in the far south nominally independent. Salvador Martínez notes that in contrast to his siblings, who were sent to the church-dominated University of Paris to be educated, Alfonso received a comparatively humanistic and secular education that would inform many of the reforms he would later attempt during his reign.[6]

When Alfonso ascended the throne in 1252, he inherited from his father Ferdinand the most powerful kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula. By virtue of his father's acquisitions, his kingdom had grown to the extent it could begin to style itself as the hegemon of Iberia over the smaller realms of Portugal, Aragón, Navarra and Granada. The conquests had also brought into the realm significant numbers of Muslim, called Mudéjares, and Jewish subjects. The subjugation of these non-Christian populations, and their intellectual centres in Sevilla and Murcia, intensified an already underway process of translation and intellectual exchange.[7]

While he had secured Castile as the most powerful state in Iberia, Ferdinand's rapid expansionism had also sown the seeds of a political crisis for Alfonso. These newly acquired territories had little reason to support their new non-Muslim sovereigns, and securing the hostile territory required significant political investment. The issue would ultimately come to a head in 1264 with the Mudéjar revolt, where much of the territory conquered by Ferdinand III went into open revolt.[8] Aided by their co-religionists in Granada, the rebels were able to re-capture major Andalucian centres such as Jerez and Murcia. This rebellion took several years to subdue and was a major blow to Alfonso's efforts to secure and incorporate these territories.

Ultimately however, it was not Mudéjar disloyalty that would end Alfonso's reign, but the revolt of the kingdom's Catholic aristocracy. Frustrated by his increased centralisation, which they saw as infringing on their traditional privileges, through his reign Alfonso faced incrementally intensifying forms of resistance. Noble hostility to Alfonso coalesced around

[6] Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*, 47.
[7] Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*, 88-93.
[8] Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*, 164-73.

his son Don Sancho (later Sancho IV r. 1284-95), who would ultimately depose him in 1283 at the *cortes* of Valladolid.[9]

Alfonso cemented his prominent role in Spanish history through his cultural and intellectual achievements. He is today credited as the father of the Spanish language and national identity through his replacement of Latin in favour of sponsoring and producing intellectual works in the vernacular alongside an identical shift in legal and administrative matters.[10] His scholarly contributions, through both patronage and his own hand, covered a vast range of subjects. The *tablas alfonsís* – a series of astrological charts – for example, would remain one of the most comprehensive star charts available in Europe for centuries.[11] The *tablas* were not the only intellectual endeavour of Alfonso's that would outlive him. His contributions to legislative reform are comparable with other great historical lawmakers such as Emperor Justinian I and Alfred the Great. [12] This program of legislative reform is epitomised in his *Siete Partidas* which takes its name from the seven partitions from which it was comprised. Each section covers a different topic: the church, governance, justice, families, contracts, inheritance, and finally a penal code.[13] The *Partidas* were Alfonso's great intellectual legacy, they continued to serve in Hispanophone New World legal systems until the nineteenth century.[14]

Defining the exact genre of the *Partidas* can be problematic. Alfonso takes an entirely unique approach to writing a law code, hence the usage of the term "socio-legal" here. Burns, grappling with a similar issue in the introduction to his translation of the *Partidas,* refers to them not as a law code but as a "social and political encyclopedia."[15] This need to grasp for

[9] A *cortes* was a general assembly of notables broadly comparable with a pre-revolutionary English parliament or an Ancien Régime *États Généraux*.
[10] Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, "The King as Subject, Master and Model of authority: The case of Alfonso X of Castile," in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, ed. Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 272.
[11] José Chabás, "El Libro de las Tablas Alfonsies: El inicio de lenguaje astronómico en Castellano," in *Traducción y estandarización*, ed. Victòria Alsina et al. (Frankfurt a. M., Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2019); Patrick Robey Clark, "Translating Arabic Wisdom in the Court of Alfonso X, El Sabio" (Ph.D., The Ohio State University, 2015), 1.
[12] David Rojinsky, "The Vernacular Letter of the Law in the Siete Partidas," *Foro hispánico*, no. 37 (2010): 67.
[13] For translations I have used the series of volumes *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Scott Samuel Parsons and S. J. Robert I. Burns (University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc, 2012); orignal spanish quotes have come from Alfonso X, *Segunda Partida* (Salamanca: Andrea de Portonariis, 1555).
[14] S. P. Scott, Charles Sumner Lobingier, and John Thomas Vance, "Introduction," in *Las siete partidas* (Chicago: Commerce clearing House, 1931), liv-lv.
[15] Robert I. Burns, "The Partidas: Introduction," in *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 1: The Medieval Church: The World of Clerics and Laymen (Partida I)*, ed. Scott Samuel Parsons and S. J. Robert I. Burns (University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc, 2012), xi.

new terminology to describe the *Partidas* is the result of Alfonso's refusal to confine its subject matter to traditional fields of legislation. For example, alongside more traditional legislation regulating adoption (Part. IV. Tit. XVI) Alfonso also includes advice for the raising and educating of a child (Part. II. Tit. VII). This unique combination of legislative and didactic material creates a work that defies easy categorisation, but that also provides a multifaceted insight into Alfonso's domestic aspirations for his kingdom.

The *Siete Partidas* were at the forefront of Alfonso's highly contested program of political centralisation, and for this they faced significant resistance from Alfonso's aristocracy. He never managed to have them officially enacted during his lifetime, they would have to wait until Alfonso's great-grandson and namesake Alfonso XI formally incorporated them into Castilian law in the Ordinance of Alcalá in 1348.[16] This political resistance to Alfonso's socio-legal reforms, along with the violent aristocratic and Mudéjar resistance, is the context in which work on the *General Estoria* began in the 1270s.[17]

It is however worth noting that the *General Estoria* was not Alfonso's only foray into historical writing. He also commissioned the *Estoria de Espanna*, a text covering the history of the Iberian Peninsula from the Roman occupation through to the thirteenth century. The *Estoria de Espanna* was produced far earlier than the *General Estoria*, sometime in the 1260s, though it would be revised by Alfonso between 1282 and 1284 and yet again under Sancho IV after Alfonso's death.[18]

The *General Estoria* is in contrast an (unfinished) attempt at a universal history, beginning with the creation of the universe and intended to go until Alfonso's day. However, as the project was never completed, it ends short of this lofty ambition during the reign of Augustus, as the table below shows. It was originally divided into six parts by Alfonso, but the modern edition further subdivides these parts in an effort to manage the sheer enormity of the text. A project of this scale represented a significant investment of time and intellectual resources for Alfonso, requiring the collection and translation of a vast array of source materials.

[16] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "Alfonso X and the Partidas," in *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 1: The Medieval Church: The World of Clerics and Laymen (Partida I)*, ed. Scott Samuel Parsons and Robert I. Burns S.J (University of Pennslyvania Press, 2012), xl.
[17] Borja, "Introduction," xxix.
[18] Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, "El taller de las "Estorias"," in *Alfonso X el Sabio y las crónicas de España*, ed. Inés Fernández-Ordóñez (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2010).

Ultimately the task was too great. Despite continuous work on it for around a decade the *General Estoria* lay unfinished when Alfonso died in 1284. The table of contents below should give the reader some appreciation for the sheer scale of the endeavour.

First Part, Book One	Genesis
First Part, Book Two	Exodus. Leviticus. Numbers. Deuteronomy.
Second Part, Book One	Joshua. Judges.
Second Part, Book Two	Judges (con't). First Kings. Second Kings. Third Kings.
Third Part, Book One	Psalms. Gentiles from the times of David: Greeks and Trojans. Origins of the Goths and other gentile history. History of Solomon. Song of Songs. Proverbs. Wisdom. Ecclesiastes. Successors of Solomon.
Third Part, Book Two	Ahaziah and his successors. Isaiah. Hosea. Amos. Jonah. Successors of Uzziah. Nahum. Micah. Ahaz. Romulus and Remus. Hezekiah. Tobit. Job. Gentiles from the reign of Hezekiah. Manasseh and the gentiles. Amos. Josiah. Jehoahaz and Joachim. Zedekiah. Ezequiel. Chronicles.
Fourth Part, Book One	Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel. Obadiah. Zephaniah. Jeremiah. Baruch. Habacuc. Cambyses. Judith. Diocles - Hippias. Darius. Ezra. Nehemiah.
Fourth Part, Book Two	Haggai. Zechariah. Malachi. Darius I. Xerxes. Artaxerxes. Sogdianus. Darius II. Artaxerses II. Esther. Artaxerses III. Arses. Darius III. **Alexander the Great.** Ptolemy I Soter. Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Ptolemy III Euergetes. Ecclesiastics. Ptolemy IV Philopator.
Fifth Part, Book One	Maccabees
Fifth and Sixth Part, Book Two	Pharsalia. Julius Caesar's reign. Octaviun Augustus's reign.[19]

[19] Alfonso X, *General Estoria I*, vol. 1, ed. Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja (Madrid: Bibliotecha Castro), viii (translation my own).

Even this list of contents, despite its own considerable breadth, does not fully convey the depth of subject matter in the *General Estoria*. Many of the biblical sections are interspersed with gentile history, for example the first and second parts routinely include euhemerised accounts of the Greco-Roman pantheon. Alexander stands out in this vast list for how, both in the *General Estoria* and before it, Alfonso utilised him as a symbol for contemporary politics.

Can Alfonso X be considered the *General Estoria's* author?

Alfonso X was not an author of the *Siete Partidas* or the *General Estoria* in the modern sense of the word. This is a common problem with pre-modern texts, as Roland Barthes says in *La mort du l'auteur* "l'auteur est un personnage moderne" and because of this the idea is ill-suited to the medieval context.[20] In keeping with this, the majority of works attributed to Alfonso were collaborative projects produced by teams of scholars or jurists in what Diego Catalán refers to as a *taller*: a workshop of authors.[21] Discerning Alfonso's level of personal engagement with texts nominally attributed to him is a complicating factor in any attempted analysis around his personal ambitions for the text and this has provoked a variety of responses from historians ever since Antonio Solalinde first broached the topic in 1915.[22]

Alfonso himself describes his authorial relationship as akin to that of a modern editor or patron in the *General Estoria*:

el rey faze un libro non por quel él escriva con sus manos, mas porque compone las razones d'él e las emienda e yegua e endereça e muestra la manera de cómo se deven fazer, e desí escrívelas qui él manda,	The king makes a book, not because he wrote it with his own hands, but because he composes its arguments, and emends them, and makes them uniform, and rectifies them, and shows the way they should be done, and thus he whom he [the king] orders writes

[20] Roland Barthes, "La Mort de l'auteur," *Manteia* 5 (1968): 61.
[21] The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are the exception to this, as scholars agree Alfonso was sole author of many of the poems. For more on this, see Joseph T. Snow, *The Poetry of Alfonso X: an Annotated Critical Bibliography (1278-2010)* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012); Diego Catalán, "El taller historiográfico Alfonsí. Métodos y problemas en el trabajo compilatorio," *Romania* 84, no. 335 (1963).
[22] A. G. Solalinde, "Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras," *Revista de Filología Española* 2 (1915).

peró dezimos por esta razón que el rey faze el libro.	them, but we say for this reason that the king makes the book.[23]

However, despite Alfonso's claims of authorship, he does not fit into typical mono-author understandings of literary production and this has complicated the efforts of historians looking to interpret the works nominally attributed to him as reflective of his thoughts and feelings.[24] It remains entirely plausible, despite what he claims above, that Alfonso had almost no editorial involvement in the project and functioned solely as a patron to a largely independent *taller,* and makes these claims solely to benefit his reputation as a wise king. There are historians who are inclined to believe this, Rafael Cano Aguilar for example argued that Alfonso's personal engagement with the production of these works was minimal, and not enough to merit being considered the author.[25] Expanding upon this idea more recently David Assouline and Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja chose to refer to the author of the *General Estoria* as the Alfonsines or *los Alfonsinos* to indicate Alfonso's lack of personal authorship and acknowledge the collaborative nature of the text's production.[26]

Ultimately this conflict over the degree of Alfonso's authorial involvement, and therefore how reflective the text is of his own views, is not an issue unique to the *General Estoria*. Medieval texts were rarely products of sole authorship, which is why historians have moved towards understanding "authorship as an external condition of writing."[27] In the case of the *Estoria,* any analysis of the text could benefit from engaging with atypical multi-author theories of authorship, particularly in this case the ideas of Harold Love.[28] Love defines four forms of atypical authorship: precursory, executive, revisionary, and declarative. Precursory authorship occurs when a text is significantly influenced by or dependent on an older text,

[23] Alfonso X, *General Estoria I*, Vol. 2. 393. Translation from Anthony J. Cárdenas, "Alfonso's Scriptorium and Chancery: Role of the Prologue in Bonding the Translatio Studii to the Translatio Potestatis," in *Emperor of Culture*, ed. I. Burns Robert (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 92.
[24] Kristin Kennedy, *Alfonso X of Castile-León: Royal Patronage, Self-Promotion and Manuscripts in Thirteenth-century Spain* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 90-92.
[25] Introduction to Rafael Cano Aguilar, "Castellano ¿drecho?," *Verba. Anuario Galego de Filoloxía* 12 (03/21 1985): xxxv-xxxvi;
[26] David Assouline, "The utopian fictions of Alfonso X" (Yale University, 2009); Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, "La técnica de la traducción en la "General Estoria": la historia de Alejandro Magno en GE4" (paper presented at the Actas do IV Congresso da Associaçâo Hispânica de Literatura Medieval, Lisbon, 1991).
[27] Robert Edwards, *Invention and authorship in medieval England*, Interventions: new studies in medieval culture, (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2017), vii.
[28] Harold Love, *Attributing authorship: an introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 32-50.

and functions as an example of what Love refers to as "co-authorship" between the original author and adaptor. Executive authorship (perhaps the least relevant to Alfonso) encompasses the act of compiling and arranging verbal texts into print. Revisionary authorship is akin to an editor or censor, someone who refines an existing text to adjust meaning. The final authorial function, declarative authorship, is the most detached of the four authorial functions from the physical act of writing or editing, it is simply the act of a patron placing their name on the cover as author. Love believes this is an equally valid authorial function as any other, and still produces texts reflective of the author's agency and intent.[29] He argues that with a declarative author all ideas in the text are shaped in the shadow of the declarative author's ideas by the writers, regardless of an author's personal involvement. Love's ideas allow for understandings of authorship that, whilst alien to many modern conceptions, better reflect medieval realities of textual production and acknowledge the authorial presence of people who exerted significant influence of a text's creation.

To return to the previous quote from Alfonso describing his authorial role within this framework, it becomes clear several of Love's categories are pertinent. Alfonso tells us he "composes its [the text's] arguments" along with emending, rectifying and "show[ing] the way it should be done."[30] This fits closest with the category of declarative authorship – Alfonso has composed the arguments he wishes to see in the *General Estoria* but left the physical act of writing and compiling to others. He does, according to this quote, also appear to function in the role of a Lovian revisionary author through his work "emend[ing] them, and mak[ing] them uniform, and rectif[ying] them," which fits with the editorial nature of the category.[31] This statement could be either in reference to the finished work of Alfonso's own *taller,* or it could also be in reference to the source materials of the *General Estoria*, which were edited, translated, and adapted by Alfonso and his scholars.

Applying Love's ideas of atypical and collaborative authorship allows for an understanding of Alfonso as authorially present in the texts attributed to him no matter his level of physical

[29] For another example of declarative authorship, see Elena Bonollo, "The 'Co–Authorial' Role of Ancient Pupils, Excerptores, and Copyists in the Genuinely Menandrean Γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι," in *Defining Authorship, Debating Authenticity,* ed. Roberta Berardi, Martina Filosa, and Davide Massimo (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2020).
[30] Alfonso X, *General Estoria I*, 1, 393. Translation from Anthony J. Cárdenas, "Alfonso's Scriptorium and Chancery: Role of the Prologue in Bonding the Translatio Studii to the Translatio Potestatis," in *Emperor of Culture*, ed. I. Burns Robert (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 92.
[31] Ibid.

or intellectual engagement with their production. This allows for the circumnavigating of the balancing act Assouline and others have been forced to manage. The reader can firmly believe Alfonso was an active participant, or was completely detached, or may simply be agnostic on the matter. Provided they accept Love's ideas of authorship, Alfonso is fully present as an author in these texts regardless of their stance. Working within this framework, I refer to Alfonso here as the author of the texts attributed to him and treat them as reflective of his personal ideals.

Alfonso's socio-political reform in his historiographical writing

The vast majority of modern academic inquiry into Alfonso X's historical work traces its roots back to the seminal work of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, who organised and systematised the manuscript traditions of the *General Estoria* and its sister text, the Ibero-centric *Estoria de Espanna*.[32] Menéndez Pidal's ideas around Alfonso's historical significance as nation builder and father of the Castilian language fostered a new interest in the learned king and his histories, particularly the *Estoria de Espanna* (of which he produced a critical edition).[33] Menéndez Pidal's emphasis on the the *Estoria de Espanna* and its identitarian and nation-building themes underplays the themes of identity, culture, and authority being expressed in the *General Estoria*, which this thesis looks to some extent to balance. This emphasis would have implications beyond his own work as Menéndez Pidal's edition of the text, published as the *Primera Crónica General* in 1898, allowed for significantly broader academic engagement with this text since scholars were no longer dependent on surviving manuscripts.[34] His editorial work was further developed by his nephew, Diego Catalán, in concert with Inés Fernández-Ordoñez, who produced a new partial critical edition of the *Estoria de Espanna* in 1992.[35]

The *General Estoria* has not received nearly the same comprehensive editorial attention over the last century, which has in turn limited the scholarly, and more specifically historical

[32] Alfonso X, *Crónicas generales de España*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Real Bibliotecha, 1898).
[33] Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "Estudio sobre la Primera crónica general," in *Primera crónica general de España* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977), 845-92.
[34]Alfonso X, *Crónicas generales de España*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Real Bibliotecha, 1898).
[35] Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, *Versión crítica de la estoria de España: estudio y edición desde Pelayo hasta Ordoño II*, vol. 6, Fuentes cronísticas de la historia de España, (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 1993).

attention dedicated to it.[36] There are a few reasons for this: firstly, by virtue of being a universal (as opposed to Iberian) history the *General Estoria* was not believed to be as pertinent to the nationalist conception of Alfonsine historiography that had underpinned much of Menéndez Pidal's work.[37] The second reason is the enormity of the text itself: each of the six parts being individually significant bodies of text which made any attempt to publish a critical edition of the complete corpus a herculean challenge.[38] Philologists over the last century have taken steps to address this: Antonio Solalinde produced an edition of the first part in 1930, and then collaborated to publish the second part in 1957.[39] Historians interested in latter sections of the *General Estoria* have had access to these through various microfiche transcripts produced between 1978 and 1997, though these have also been piecemeal.[40]

It was in 2009 that a complete critical edition was finally published under the editorship of Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja in collaboration with Belén Almeida, Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, Raúl Orellana and Elena Trujillo Belso.[41] This has allowed for a new wave of historical engagement with the *General Estoria,* particularly with parts three through six which begin with the reign of the biblical King David and end with the reign of Octavian Augustus. Prior to this edition, historical analysis was often limited to the first two parts that had been edited by Solalinde. The publication of a comprehensive critical edition has opened the way for new analysis and engagement with the *General Historia* and Alfonsine historiography, just as Menéndez Pidal's edition of the *Estoria de Espanna* created its own wave of interest over a century ago.

David Zuwiyya referred to the latter books of the *General Estoria*, particularly the story of Alexander, as having "remained buried" before the critical edition in 2009.[42] This can no

[36] Access to manuscripts is further complicated by the lack of single complete manuscript of all six parts, and as such each part has a distinct manuscript tradition. For a guide to the manuscripts of part four, which contains the section on Alexander, see Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, "General Estoria," in *Diccionario filológico de literature medieval española*, ed. Carlos Alvar and José Manuel Lucía Megías (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 2002).
[37] Assouline, "The utopian fictions of Alfonso X," 7.
[38] Eisenberg, "The General Estoria: Sources and Source Treatment," 206.
[39] Alfonso X, *General estoria*, ed. Antonio G. Solalinde (1930); Alfonso X, *General estoria: segunda parte*, ed. Antonio G. Solalinde, Lloyd A. Kasten, and Victor R.B. Oelschläger (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas. Instituto "Miguel de Cervantes," 1957).
[40] Borja, "Introduction," cxii-cxiii.
[41] Borja, "Introduction," xxviii.
[42] Z. David Zuwiyya, "The Alexander Tradition In Spain," in *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition (Lieden: Brill, 2011), 231.

longer be said to be the case, and this thesis is heavily influenced by a recent series of studies looking at Alfonsine depictions of Alexander which includes works by Hugo Bizzarri (2014), Ghislaine Fournès (2020) and Robey Patrick Clark (2015).[43] In their examination of Alexander in precursor texts to the *General Estoria*, such as the commissioned translation of the *Bocados de Oro*,[44] these works all share an underlying consensus that the intent of Alfonsine historiography was the restructuring of socio-political fabric of Castile, though between them there is significant disagreement over what Alfonso was attempting to achieve through his utilisation of Alexander.

Bizzarri argues that Alfonso was promoting cultural reform in the form of a new aristocratic chivalry where the Alexander of the *Bocados de Oro* embodied an ideal "warrior and conqueror, model of fidelity to his men and his enemies."[45] He suggests that Alfonso used Alexander to promote a culture that would facilitate amongst his aristocracy a move away from a system of largely independent feudal lords in favour of a centralised monarchy. Fournès in contrast examined the link between the *Bocados*' Alexander and the Alexander of the *Siete Partidas*, exploring the creation of a royal paradigm centred around wisdom and learning.[46] Finally, Clark argues that Alfonso aspired to create a new aristocratic and royal culture that centred wisdom and learning as its highest virtue through the incorporation of Arabic cultural understandings of wisdom, of which the relationship between Alexander and Aristotle was a hallmark.[47]

One hispanicist who has paid attention to Alexander in the *General Estoria* is Amaia Arizaleta, but she sees the work through an international lens. Arizaleta examined the role of Alexander the Great in Alfonso's ambitions for both an Iberian Empire and the Holy Roman Empire. Arizaleta saw in the *General Estoria* an Alexander that functioned as a symbol of a

[43] Bizzarri, "Miroirs du prince castillans et collections de sentences."; Fournès, "La construction du paradigme royal des Bocados de oro à la Segunda Partida d'Alphonse X le Sage." Clark, "Translating Arabic Wisdom in the Court of Alfonso X, El Sabio."
[44] This was a translation commissioned by Alfonso X of an 11th century Arabic text, the Kitāb mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-maḥāsin al-kalim, that was composed in Fatimid Egypt.
[45] "guerrier et conquérant, modèle de loyauté envers ses hommes et ses ennemis" Bizzarri, "Miroirs du prince castillans et collections de sentences," 977 (translation my own).
[46] Fournès, "La construction du paradigme royal des Bocados de oro à la Segunda Partida d'Alphonse X le Sage."
[47] Clark, "Translating Arabic Wisdom in the Court of Alfonso X, El Sabio," ii-iii.

universal conqueror and ideal monarch that was intended to be analogous to Alfonso himself, thereby justifying and legitimising his imperial ambitions.[48]

The ideas of these scholars represent an exciting shift in understandings of Alfonso's utilisation of historical literature. However, while these authors agree that Alfonso's account of Alexander serves socio-political ends the links have not been made between Alfonso's Alexander in the *General Estoria* and his established domestic political program, as elaborated in the *Siete Partidas*. This is a significant gap in the literature, the *Estoria* contains the largest and most original[49] depiction of Alexander and was produced during a period of turmoil for Alfonso's program of reform as composition began after the political failures and setbacks of the 1260s.

Outside of studies that focus on Alfonso's historiography, there is valuable scholarship on wider European use of classical figures in political contests during this period. This thesis is heavily inspired by Gabrielle Spiegel's *Romancing the past.*[50] While not specifically interested in Alfonso X or Iberia, Spiegel's work provides a foundational framework for the use of vernacular accounts of classical figures as tools of thirteenth-century politics. She charts the development of new "chivalric ideas and codes of behaviour" couched in "continuity between [these new ideas] and the lay society of classical antiquity."[51] This new aristocratic culture, founded on the language and symbols of the classical world, especially the figure of Julius Caesar but also Alexander, was then used by the Flemish and French nobility to express their opposition to the encroaching power of King Phillip II in Paris, who had embarked on a program of systematic centralisation and land confiscation.[52] Spiegel argued that Caesar, Alexander, and classical culture more broadly served a unique function in thirteenth-century thought as the "authority and prestige" of the classical world were transferred onto the new ideas and aspirations that emerged in response to encroachment from Phillip II.[53]

[48] Amaia Arizaleta, "Le rêve de l'empire," in *La fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (Xe-XVIe siècle)*, ed. Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 987-8.
[49] When compared to the *Bocados de Oro*, for example, which was a translation of an existing Arabic text.
[50] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the past: the rise of vernacular prose historiography in thirteenth-century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
[51] Spiegel, *Romancing the past: the rise of vernacular prose historiography in thirteenth-century France*, 112.
[52] Spiegel, *Romancing the past: the rise of vernacular prose historiography in thirteenth-century France*, 15-20.
[53] Spiegel, *Romancing the past: the rise of vernacular prose historiography in thirteenth-century France*, 103.

There are distinctions between the Franco-Flemish usage of Caesar and Alexander, as observed by Spiegel, and the Iberian context. Spiegel's study demonstrates how classical figures were used by the aristocracy in a bottom-up attempt to change their socio-political surroundings in resistance to the monarch's centralising attempts. In contrast, Iberia under Alfonso X witnessed a top-down utilisation of classical figures as a monarch attempted to use the figure of Alexander in the opposite direction: to further subordinate and centralise his own aristocracy. In keeping with their differing cultural and ideological contexts, the two also relied upon different source materials on Alexander to achieve their contradictory objectives.

This difference does not however, diminish the value of Spiegel's work to an Iberian study; in both cases the audience that the texts are seeking to influence is the lay aristocracy, and in both cases, they turn to classical culture and heroes to communicate their ideas. The variation between the bottom-up use of Caesar and the top-down use of Alexander disguise deeper similarities between the two trends in vernacular historiography that allow Spiegel's ideas to be equally useful south of the Pyrenees.

Within the context of Iberia and the *General Estoria*, Francisco Rico's essay on Alfonso X's use of Jupiter to achieve foreign policy objectives provides a localised framework for a top-down use of classical culture. [54] Rico writes of Alfonso using the classical world and its mythology as a "source of legitimacy and form" through which he could advance his claims to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire.[55] Rico argues that Jupiter and the other great historical figures in the *Estoria* (including Alexander) function as both analogous to Alfonso himself and as a royal lineage of predecessors legitimising his claim to the throne. Rico's understanding of a top-down analogous use by Alfonso of a classical hero to speak to contemporary political ambitions forms a useful bridge into the Iberian context. This 'bridge' allows for a smooth connecting of Spiegel's bottom-up conception of the Franco-Flemish use of classical figures into an Iberian context.

Both Alfonso's Iberian engagement with Alexander, and the Franco-Flemish variant studied by Spiegel, form part of a wider tapestry of European medieval depictions of Alexander. The

[54] "Fuente de legitimidad y forma" Francisco Rico, "Alfonso X y Júpiter," in *Alfonso el Sabio y la "General estoria": tres lecciones* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984).
[55] "Fuente de legitimidad y forma" Francisco Rico, "Alfonso X y Júpiter," in *Alfonso el Sabio y la "General estoria": tres lecciones* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984), 120.

most comprehensive and insightful study on this remains George Cary's monograph *The Medieval Alexander*, which examines the evolving Italian, Spanish, English, French, and German understandings of Alexander across the Middle Ages.[56] Charting the competing sympathetic and hostile classical understandings of Alexander, and then tracing their evolution in medieval European thought through to the early Renaissance, Cary has a particular focus on a shift in attitude he observes in the fourteenth century as classicising Renaissance thought clashed with medieval conceptions of Alexander. Despite the prolific scope of the work, the *General Estoria* receives little attention from Cary.[57] However, Cary's otherwise exhaustive study of the competing trends and sources that were available to medieval historians remains an essential work for locating the authorial decisions of Alfonso within the context of wider contemporary intellectual trends in Europe.

As outlined above, contemporary scholarship on the *General Estoria* can trace its origin back to the end of the 19th century with the work of Ramón Menéndez Pidal. As noted above, Menéndez Pidal understood the effect of Alfonso's works through a nationalist lens: in them he saw the birth of the Spanish language and national consciousness.[58] Following him, Américo Castro and Francisco Márquez Villanueva further developed these arguments, suggesting varying influences and sources of Alfonso's new proto-national culture. Castro stressed the multi-faith aspect of Alfonso's court and suggested that much of Alfonsine scholarship was the product of Jewish and Islamic scholars.[59] Márquez Villanueva suggested instead that the new Alfonsine culture was a blending of three religions in his court through a humanist framework, consciously aimed at bringing together Jewish, Islamic, and Christian subjects.[60]

These early interpretations of Alfonso's literary legacy often represent Alfonso's works as detached from his immediate political concerns, merely an expression of the cultural trends of his time. Alfonsine ambitions, if even present, are distant, nebulous, and aesthetic rather than political. Two historians are credited for establishing counter-narratives to this: Diego

[56] George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).
[57] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 65.
[58] Menéndez Pidal, "Estudio sobre la Primera crónica general," 845-92.
[59] Américo Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948).
[60] Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El concepto cultural alfonsi* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1994).

Catalán and Robert Burns.[61] It was Catalán who "first recognised that Alfonso manipulated the telling of history to suit his immediate political needs", while Burns "destroyed the myth of [Alfonso's] pure aesthetic goal."[62] The work of these two men in the mid and late 20th century moved historians away from viewing Alfonsine texts as academic endeavours that were disconnected from immediate political conflicts towards the now dominant understanding that sees Alfonso's works as tools for the development of his immediate political ambitions. In contrast to earlier emphasis on intellectual humanist and aesthetic ideas, Burns saw Alfonso's historical writings as aimed at placing his kingdom "into the mainstream of high civilisation" on par with other European powers as a "united, educated, artistic, and religious people" through the creation of a "proto-national identity."[63]

While historians over the last few decades have generally agreed that Alfonso's writings were created as tools towards political ambitions, there has been no such consensus around what these ambitions were. One of the influential arguments on the matter has been made by a historian who was deeply involved in the editing of the *General Estoria,* Inés Fernández-Ordóñez. Fernández-Ordóñez has written extensively on Alfonsine historiography, and two of her most insightful studies are "The imperium in Alfonso X's historiography," and the much more expansive *Las "Estorias" de Alfonso El Sabio.*[64] Fernández-Ordóñez disputes some of Burn's understandings, specifically that these projects were designed to thrust "Castile into the European mainstream" arguing that the fact that all major Alfonsine literary projects, including those of international interest such as the *General Estoria* and the *Siete Partidas,* were composed in the vernacular not the more internationally accessible Latin, suggesting their intended audience was primarily domestic.[65] Instead, Fernández-Ordóñez identifies two key objectives in Alfonsine literature: securing the political supremacy of monarchs and establishing Castile as the hegemon of Iberia.

[61] Burns, "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned."; Jerry R. Craddock, "The Legislative Works of Alfonso el Sabio," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990). Diego Catalán, *La estoria de España de Alfonso X: creación y evolución*, vol. 5, Fuentes cronísticas de la historia de España, (Madrid: Seminario Menéndez Pidal, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1992).
[62] Clark, "Translating Arabic Wisdom in the Court of Alfonso X, El Sabio," 263; Scorpo, "The King as Subject, Master and Model of authority: The case of Alfonso X of Castile," 282.
[63] Burns, "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned," 6-8.
[64] Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, "The imperium in Alfonso X's historiography," in *The Medieval Chronicle, 13*, ed. Erik S. Kooper and Sjoerd Levelt (Leiden: Brill, 2020). Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las "Estorias" de Alfonso El Sabio* (Madrid: Istmo, 1992).
[65] Fernández-Ordóñez, "The imperium in Alfonso X's historiography," 23-4.

Castilian hegemony over Iberia, or the assumption thereof, is most directly visible in the *Estoria de Espanna* and its narrative structure. Using the kingdom of Asturias-León (the precursor to the Iberian Christian kingdoms) as an intermediary step, Alfonso seeks to create a clear line of succession for Castile as the sole successor of the Visigothic Empire in Iberia, the last Christian state to fully control the Iberian Peninsula. Successfully proving this would entitle Alfonso and his successors to claim rightful overlordship over the other Iberian Christian kingdoms. Meanwhile, the histories of Aragón, Navarra and Portugal are told separately, distancing them from any claim to Visigothic heritage.[66]

Fernández-Ordóñez identifies multiple avenues through which Alfonso uses his literary projects to advance the political supremacy of the monarch. To distinguish the monarch from the aristocracy, Alfonso works to establish a divine origin for monarchies from which he was personally descended. To this end in the *General Estoria* Alfonso traces a lineage from the first king of the world, Nimrod, from whom in the Bible all major monarchs are descended and receive their divine right to rule.[67]

Following Fernández-Ordóñez, Alfonso also uses these texts to insulate Iberia from claims of Imperial-Papal authority.[68] As a former province of the western Roman Empire there was an idea, though not a universally accepted one, that Alfonso owed loyalty to the Holy Roman Emperor as the papally recognised successor to the Caesars. Castilian monarchs before Alfonso X, such as Alfonso VII of Castile, had resisted this by developing the concept of an *Imperium Hispaniae*, that the rulers of Iberia belonged to a distinct Imperial tradition that placed them on equal footing with the Byzantine, Holy Roman and Papal authorities.[69] This reading by Fernández-Ordóñez, that Alfonso was working to establish Iberia as separate and equal to the Holy Roman Empire is of particular importance as Alfonso X also spent much of his reign, with considerable political and financial investment, claiming the title of Holy Roman Emperor.

Of these political themes Fernández-Ordóñez identifies in Alfonso's work, in Alexander's life it is the political supremacy of the monarch that shapes the narrative. As mentioned

[66] Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las "Estorias" de Alfonso El Sabio*, 24.
[67] Fernández-Ordóñez, *Las "Estorias" de Alfonso El Sabio*, 34.
[68] Fernández-Ordóñez, "The imperium in Alfonso X's historiography," 18.
[69] For further reading on the concept of the Imperator Hispaniae see Hélène Sirantoine, *Imperator Hispaniae* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2013).

previously, the *General Estoria* was produced against the backdrop of political fragility at the centre of the Castilian kingdom. When writing the life of Alexander, it was this fragility that forced Alfonso and his *taller* to use the narrative to advocate for the supremacy of the monarch in domestic politics. In contrast to the understanding of Arizaleta, this thesis argues international ambitions such as Castilian hegemony in Iberia, Alfonso's claim to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire and the concept of an *Imperium Hispaniae* are not prominent features of the Alexander narrative.[70]

Structure and Methodology

Discerning Alfonso's authorial presence in the Alexander narrative, which is often subtle, requires a close comparison of the *General Estoria* against its source materials to reveal what has been changed in translation, added, or excluded. This parallel format is how these texts were originally examined for variations as this thesis was being written. Once changes had been identified, they were then contextualised within both Alfonso's ambitions for reform, of which the *Siete Partidas* are considered emblematic, and within the backdrop of the political crises that preceded its composition. This then allows Alfonso's Alexander narrative to be understood in its proper role, as a tool for political communication.

It is because of this subtlety that in this thesis the *General Estoria* is presented alongside its source to reveal exactly where Alfonso has intervened. Typically, the source in parallel will be the *Historia de Preliis*, an account of Alexander's life that enjoyed widespread popularity in medieval Europe. The importance of the *Preliis* in this discussion on the *General Estoria* is derived from its role as the backbone to Alfonso's Alexander narrative, providing much of the structure and content. Alfonso as an author is characterised by his 'soft touch,' he manipulated source texts and their themes without overtly declaring his presence. Changes can be as subtle as repetition of a word, or a word choice in translation that ever so slightly adjusts the meaning of a sentence. In cases such as the latter, I have included the original Latin of the *Preliis* to further highlight what has been done to the text.

This thesis will begin with a thorough examination of the competing understandings and traditions surrounding Alexander that Alfonso inherited from classical and late antique

[70] Amaia Arizaleta, "Le rêve de l'empire," in *La fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (Xe-XVIe siècle)*, ed. Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 987-8.

writers. Doing so will allow the reader to situate the later changes Alfonso made in his own narrative in their proper historiographical context. Alfonso engaged deeply with these competing trends in the *General Estoria*, and this only becomes clear with a firm understanding of the conversation in which he is partaking. The second chapter will demonstrate how Alexander was transformed in the *Estoria* into an ideal monarch and aspirational figure through the thorough analysis of a series of relevant passages. Having established how Alfonso transformed Alexander into a powerful aspirational symbol, laden with authority, the third chapter will explain how Alfonso utilised the authority he cultivated around Alexander to buttress his failing political visions. Having done all this, the thesis will have clearly demonstrated how Alexander the Great was moulded and then employed by Alfonso to respond to his political dilemmas.

Chapter 1. Medieval Understandings of Alexander and their Classical Roots

From the moment Alexander died onwards how he has been remembered has always been principally shaped by the contemporary conditions. The reception of Alexander is often less about Alexander himself and more about the writer's own society and politics. Over the centuries two broad traditions have emerged around Alexander, one favourable and one hostile. The contemporary cultural implications of a positive or negative understanding of Alexander varied with time and place, but the two traditions are broadly defined by their shared repertoire of arguments and examples. Inspired by George Cary's foundational work on medieval understandings of Alexander, where he distinguished two broad schools of Alexander thought, Stoic and Peripatetic, I have similarly attempted to define two broad sympathetic and hostile trends that characterise understandings of Alexander across the centuries.[1] It should be noted that my two camps are far less distinct than Cary's, he understood Peripatetics and Stoics to each have both positive and negative interpretations of Alexander, although the Stoic school was the more hostile of the two. In contrast, in this work the division is between a generally sympathetic understanding of Aristotle and Alexander and a conversely hostile corpus of critiques. There were no consistent wider sympathetic or hostile beliefs, they shifted over time to reflect the culture of the writers, the two camps are instead delineated by the shared tropes and themes they use to depict Alexander. In the Roman Empire, where the two schools begin to clearly emerge as distinct groups, a historian's view on Alexander was highly correlated with their outlook on Aristotle and more broadly Greek culture and education. In the early Christian world of Late Antiquity, the debate shifts to a writer's view on the status of pagan heroes and culture. Instead of fixed ideological beliefs, each trend is defined by the shared tropes, examples, and arguments that are adopted and adapted across the centuries to suit each new cultural context. This division into sympathetic and hostile is a less nuanced definition compared to Cary's distinctions, but better suited to a discussion centred around the *General Estoria* where

[1] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 80-83.

Alfonso's engagement with sources is principally determined by their sympathy towards Alexander.

The medieval world inherited these contradictory Alexander traditions and continued to actively participate in the then millennium old argument. This chapter will demonstrate how Alfonso actively engaged in this ongoing tradition through a careful selection of competing and contradictory sources to build his account of Alexander's life, which I argue was done with the ambition of cultivating an idealised version of Alexander. To this end, we will start with an exploration of the sympathetic and hostile sources that defined the two understandings around Alexander in the Classical world and Late Antiquity, to then show how they influenced the later medieval sources that Alfonso would himself use for the *General Estoria*. As will be demonstrated, Alfonso reveals through his citations elsewhere in the *Estoria* the access he had to the vast majority of both sympathetic and hostile sources discussed in this section. Both the sources he chose and the sources he omitted speak to the Alexander Alfonso wanted to portray in the *General Estoria.* Demonstratively of this the chapter will conclude with Iberian examples, contemporary to Alfonso, who utilised these same sources and traditions to their own unique ends.

Hostile Sources

The earliest influential critiques of Alexander the Great come from Roman authors of the first century A.D., primarily Seneca the Younger and Quintus Curtius Rufus. Diana Spencer, who has written the most comprehensive account of the Roman reception of Alexander, attributes this newfound interest to the cultural contact with Greece and the eastern Mediterranean brought about by the Roman conquests.[2] Greek language and culture, of which Alexander was seen as emblematic, held positions of prestige in fashionable Roman society. As such, much of the hostility to Alexander functioned as part of the ongoing negotiation within Roman society around the role of Greek culture within the empire. Alexander also served as a safe proxy following the fall of the Republic to critique autocratic and tyrannical rulers, as these authors often characterised him, without offending the emperors.[3]

[2] Diana Spencer, *The Roman Alexander: reading a cultural myth* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), 2-3.
[3] L. Gilley Dawn, "The Latin Alexander: Constructing Roman Identity," in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, ed. Kenneth R. Moore (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 303-6.

Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Historiae Alexandri Magni* (*Histories of Alexander the Great*) was, and in many ways still is, the most influential of all the hostile sources. His account would serve as the source material for many of the *General Estoria*'s contemporaries, such as the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon; one of Alfonso's own sources as will be discussed below.[4] The *Alexandreis* would become one of the most popular and enduring medieval accounts of Alexander's life in the Middle Ages, serving as source and inspiration for Alexander narratives all over Europe and disseminating the ideas of Curtius Rufus.[5] This made Curtius Rufus the most influential hostile source in Alfonso's day, and therefore the principal anti-Alexander source for any hostile account that was produced during the period.

Curtius Rufus' presents Alexander as murderous, wrathful, and tyrannical, the antithesis of an ideal monarch. This characterisation shaped his presentation of Alexander's life at several key moments in ways that would have lasting influence on later understandings. One illustrative example is the murder of Alexander's friend and officer Kleitus the Black, which Spencer identifies as "central to certain strands of a Roman Alexander-discourse" that served as a "political paradigm for Rome."[6] Spencer's observation is particularly apt. How a writer understands Kleitus' death is typically indicative of an author's views on Alexander more generally, and as such Kleitus' death and the myriad interpretations that formed around it will also form a central strand of this chapter. Curtius Rufus tells us trouble began when Alexander, "heated by an abundance of wine," began to belittle the deeds of his father Phillip in comparison to his own.[7] Kleitus, who Curtius reminds the reader saved Alexander's life at the Battle of the Granicus and whose sister had been a wet nurse to Alexander as a child, took offence at this and the two began to argue:[8]

> [43] By now Alexander was filled with such great wrath as he could hardly have mastered when sober. In fact, his senses having long since been overcome by wine, he suddenly leaped from his couch. [44] His friends, in a panic, having not even put down their cups but thrown them aside, arose in a body, their thoughts centred upon the result of the act which he was about to commit with such

[4] Walter of Châtillon, *The Alexandreis*, ed. R. Telfryn Pritchard, Mediaeval sources in translation, 29, (Toronto, Ont., Canada: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 9.
[5] Maura Lafferty, "Walter Of Châtillon's Alexandreis," in *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. David Zuwiyya, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 183-84.
[6] Spencer, *The Roman Alexander: reading a cultural myth*, 85.
[7] Curtius. History of Alexander. 8.i.23-25 (trans. John. C. Rolfe).
[8] Curtius. History of Alexander. 8.i.20-21 (trans. John. C. Rolfe).

> impetuosity. [45] Alexander, wrestling a lance from the hands of one of his guards, and attempting to kill Kleitus, who was still raging with the same unbridled language, was prevented by Ptolemy and Perdiccas. [46] Throwing their arms around his waist, they kept holding him back while he continued to struggle; Lysimachus and Leonnatus had even taken away the lance; [47] the king, invoking the loyalty of his soldiers, cried that he was being seized by his closest friends, as had lately happened to Darius, and ordered the signal to be given with the trumpet for the soldiers to take to their arms and come to the royal quarters. [48] Then truly Ptolemy and Perdiccas threw themselves at his knees and besought him not to persist in such unrestrained anger, but rather to take time for reflection; for tomorrow he would manage the whole matter with more justice. [49] But his ears were closed, deafened by wrath; and so, beside himself, he rushed into the vestibule of the royal quarters, and snatching a lance from the sentinel on guard, stood at the entrance where those who had dined with him must pass out. [50] The rest had gone, and Kleitus was coming out last without a light, when the king asked who it was. Even his voice indicated the ferocity of the crime which he meditated. [51] And Kleitus, no longer mindful of his own anger, but remembering that of the king, replied that it was Kleitus and he was leaving the banquet. [52] As he was saying this the king ran the lance into his side, and bespattered with the blood of the dying man, cried "Go now to Phillip and Parmenion and Attalus."[9]

Curtius' Alexander is an arrogant, hot-tempered despot whose worst traits are exacerbated by his love of wine.[10] It was characterisations of Alexander in this manner that inspired Seneca's writings on the subject. Likely writing in a similar period to Curtius, Seneca cast Alexander as an antithesis of Stoic and Roman virtue: insatiable, greedy, and violently wrathful.[11] He understands the killing in a similar way to Curtius and is blunt in his condemnation:

[9] Curtius. History of Alexander. 8.i.20-52 (trans. John. C. Rolfe).
[10] For another example of this characterisation, see the burning of Persepolis. Curtius. History of Alexander. 5.vi.1-7 (trans. John. C. Rolfe).
[11] Celotto Giulio, "Alexander the Great in Seneca's Works and in Lucan's Bellum Civile," in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, ed. Kenneth R. Moore (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 327; Spencer, *The Roman Alexander: reading a cultural myth*, 86-93.

> Think of Alexander of Macedon, who stabbed Clitus, his dearest and most loyal friend, at a banquet; after Alexander understood what he had done, he wished to die, and assuredly he ought to have died.[12]

Seneca makes explicit links between Alexander's moral failings and his education by Aristotle, allowing him to demonstrate the superiority of Stoic virtue and teachings over Aristotle's Peripatetic philosophy, a connection that is explicitly made in Seneca's *De Ira:*

> Such, in their anger, was the savagery of barbarian kings, who had not been steeped in learning and literary culture. Now I'll give you— from the bosom of Aristotle— king Alexander, who killed [Kleitus], his dearest friend from childhood, with his own hand while feasting, because [Kleitus] was insufficiently fawning, and loath to pass from freedom as a Macedonian to slavery as a Persian.[13]

This passage highlights the contrast between the two philosophies' understandings of anger. Typically, Stoics viewed anger as fundamentally destructive and counterproductive.[14] However Peripatetics understood anger differently, believing that through moderation anger could be a productive emotion.[15] Seneca is targeting this permissive attitude towards anger by linking it to the excesses of Alexander's rage and implying it to be a product of his education under Aristotle.

This hostile understanding of Alexander developed by Curtius Rufus, Seneca and other Roman authors was adapted into a new context, and given new purpose, with the advent and spread of Christianity. Alexander had become a popular cult figure in the late pagan world, and therefore as Christianity struggled for supremacy during late antiquity he became a target for the Church fathers. Early Christian writers attacked Alexander as an embodiment of the failures of not just Aristotelian philosophy, but of all pagan thought. A good example of this anti-pagan and anti-Aristotelian sentiment may be found in Tatian's third century attack on

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[12] Seneca the Younger, *Seneca: Vol. II: Epistles 66-92.*, ed. Richard M. Gummere (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), 83.19.
[13] Seneca. *De Ira.* 3.17 (trans. Robert A. Kaster).
[14] Bertrand Russell, *A history of western philosophy* (New York, N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 255-6.
[15] That is not to say a Peripatetic philosopher would condone Alexander's actions, nor would they believe Alexander as Curtius depicts him is behaving as a Peripatetic. Russell, *A history of western philosophy*, 173-5.

pagan (and specifically Hellenistic) philosophy the *Oratio ad Graecos,* which repurposes the hostile narratives of Seneca and Curtius:

> And Aristotle, who absurdly placed a limit to Providence and made happiness to consist in the things which give pleasure, quite contrary to his duty as a preceptor flattered Alexander, forgetful that he was but a youth; and he, showing how well he had learned the lessons of his master, because his friend would not worship him shut him up and carried him about like a bear or a leopard. He in fact obeyed strictly the precepts of his teacher in displaying manliness and courage by feasting, and transfixing with his spear his intimate and most beloved friend, and then, under a semblance of grief, weeping and starving himself, that he might not incur the hatred of his friends.[16]

One of the most influential hostile writers on Alexander from Late Antiquity was an Iberian-born theologian, priest, and historian: Paulus Orosius. Active in the fourth and fifth centuries and a contemporary and collaborator to St. Augustine, Orosius' *Seven Books of History against the Pagans* preserved the hostile understandings of Alexander in their most virulent form for later Medieval scholars, among whom he was highly influential.[17] This influence is particularly pertinent to the *General Estoria* as the second interpolator of the *Historia de Preliis*, one of Alfonso's principal sources, added elements of Orosius' Alexander tradition into the J^2 recension to such an extent that J^2 is sometimes referred to as the 'Orosius Recension.'[18] Alfonso also certainly had access to Orosius, he serves as a source for the geographical descriptions in the first book of the *General Estoria,* but Alfonso avoided using Orosius as a source on Alexander.[19]

Orosius aspired in his *Books of History against the Pagans* to characterise pagan history as violent, cruel and bloody and pagan heroes such as Alexander as immoral tyrants. He introduced Alexander as "truly that whirlpool of evils and most horrible hurricane sweeping the entire East" and later characterises him after the murder of Kleitus as "insatiable for

[16] Tatian. *Ad. Gr.* 2.1 (trans. J.E. Ryland).
[17] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 17. For more information on Orosius' (largely speculative) biography, see David Rohrbacher, "Orosius," in *The Historians of Late Antiquity* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2002), 135-37.
[18] Richard Stoneman, "Primary Sources from the Classical and Early Medieval Periods," in *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Z. David Zuwiyya, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition (Lieden: Brill, 2011), 18.
[19] Alfonso X, *General Estoria I*, 1, 78.

human blood, whether of enemies or even allies, was always thirsting for fresh bloodshed."[20] Cary goes as far as to suggest Orosius characterises Alexander as symbolic of the Devil.[21] This intensely hostile depiction justified any violence or disaster in the contemporary Christian empire as an improvement on the destruction and misery of the pagan past.[22]

Sympathetic Sources

Classical and Late Antique

Just as the hostile understanding of Alexander flourished during the first century A.D., so too did a sympathetic counter-narrative. These early writings, principally Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, would establish many of the more favourable understandings that would carry through into the Middle Ages. Plutarch, an ethnic Greek who worked in the Imperial Roman administration, was far more sympathetic to Greek culture and education of which he saw Alexander as representative (or even aspirational).[23] Plutarch's Alexander is a heroic figure. Brave, clever, and talented, his Alexander is an exemplary figure worthy of emulation. Accounts such as Curtius Rufus' depiction of the murder of Kleitus clash with this understanding of Alexander, and Plutarch expresses his apologetic ambitions in a preamble to the incident:

> "the affair of [K]leitus, which those who simply learn the immediate circumstances will think more savage than that of Philotas; if we take into consideration, however, alike the cause and the time, we find that it did not happen of set purpose, but through some misfortune of the king, whose anger and intoxication furnished occasion for the evil genius of [K]leitus."[24]

[20] Orosius. Seven Books of History Against the Pagans. (trans. Roy J. Deferrari). 3.7 & 3.18.
[21] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 141. George Cary, "Alexander the Great in Mediaeval Theology," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17, no. 1/2 (1954): 99.
[22] Peltonen Jaakkojuhani, "Church Fathers and the Reception of Alexander the Great," in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, ed. Kenneth R. Moore (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 489.
[23] Sulochana R. Asirvatham, "Plutarch's Alexander," in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Alexander the Great*, ed. Kenneth R. Moore (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 357.
[24] Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 50.1 (trans. Bernadotte Perrin). See also Asirvatham, "Plutarch's Alexander," 368.

Within Plutarch's narrative, several key details are presented differently from the hostile accounts such as the *Historiae Alexandri Magni.* Firstly, the disagreement no longer begins with Alexander's boasting, instead Kleitus is offended by the singing of a poet.[25] When Alexander defends the poet Kleitus insults the king, at which point the two men begin to argue. Similarly to Curtius' account, Alexander loses his temper in the face of Kleitus' insults and becomes violent, at which point Kleitus is dragged from the tent by his friends. Unlike Curtius depiction of the event, according to Plutarch Alexander does not follow him. Instead Kleitus returns to the tent and throws a final insult, quoting Euripides' *Andromache* to say "Alas! in Hellas what an evil government!" at which point Alexander finally slays him.[26] Plutarch's Alexander is then immediately remorseful, only being prevented from taking his own life by his bodyguards.

Plutarch's description of the event adds numerous layers of moral ambiguity and doubt to the harsh and clear-cut versions of Curtius and Seneca, allowing for a much more morally nuanced Alexander. As he made clear in his preamble, Plutarch sees this as a tragic misfortune prompted by unfortunate circumstances and the malevolence of Kleitus, but not something that Alexander should be condemned for.

A final classical source that would have significant influence in the medieval understanding of Alexander were the writings of the first century Romano-Jewish author Flavius Josephus. In his work, *Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus produced the first account of an event that would become a mainstay of sympathetic Abrahamic sources: Alexander's visit to Jerusalem. Josephus tells us that Alexander came to Jerusalem intent upon sacking the city but changed his mind upon seeing the High Priest Jaddus because he had seen him in a prophetic dream whilst still living in Macedonia:

> And when he went up into the temple, he offered sacrifice to God, according to the high priest's direction, and magnificently treated both the high priest and the priests. And when the Book of Daniel was showed him wherein Daniel declared that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended.[27]

[25] Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 50.4-5 (trans. Bernadotte Perrin).
[26] Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 51.4-5 (trans. Bernadotte Perrin).
[27] Josephus. *Antiquities.* 11.8.5 (trans. William Whiston).

Josephus' description of Alexander sacrificing to the Abrahamic God and being the subject of Daniel's prophecy provided sympathetic Christian writers a tolerable Abrahamic conduit for the similarly favourable understandings of Plutarch. The Church fathers were not unified in their hostility to Alexander. Indeed one of the most authoritative Christian voices of the period, Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus (more commonly known as St. Jerome) was open in his admiration for Alexander.[28] Likely inspired by Josephus, Jerome used the Biblical book of Daniel to develop an understanding of Alexander that fit within a Christian worldview. He took a prophetic verse from Daniel "After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it our wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it" and worked to link this prophecy to Alexander's conquests in his commentary:[29]

> The third kingdom was that of the Macedonians, of which we read in connection with the image, "The belly and thighs were of bronze." It is compared to a leopard because it is very swift and *hormetikos* [impetuous], and it charges headlong to shed blood, and with a single bound rushes to its death. "And it had four wings...." There was never, after all, any victory won more quickly than Alexander's, for he traversed all the way from Illyricum and the Adriatic Sea to the Indian Ocean and the Ganges River, not merely fighting battles but winning decisive victories; and in six years he subjugated to his rule a portion of Europe and all of Asia. And by the four heads reference is made to his generals who subsequently rose up as successors to his royal power, namely Ptolemy, Seleucus, Philip, and Antigonus. "And power[30] was given to it" shows that the empire did not result from Alexander's bravery but from the will of God.[31]

[28] Written in response to Rufinius, an adherent of Orosius' understanding of Alexander, Jerome says: "And furthermore, I had the desire to imitate the deeds which I had read about in Alexander and Scipio; not because they had related their own adventures, but because I read about their deeds in the works of others and I admired them for such deeds." Jer. *C. Ruf.* 3. 40 (trans. John N. Hritzu). For a summary of Jerome's life and his admiration for Alexander, see Christian Thrue Djurslev, *Alexander the Great in the Early Christian Tradition: Classical Reception and Patristic Literature*, Bloomsbury Studies in Classical Reception, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 32-3.
[29] KJB Daniel 7:6.
[30] Dominion in KJB.
[31] Jer. *Comment. In. Dan*. 666 (trans Gleason L. Archer).

Jerome credits Alexander' success as a world conqueror as the result of his selection by God and in effect Alexander is rendered into an instrument of divine will. This is done with two simultaneous intentions: to subordinate Alexander the Great and his accomplishments to the Christian God, and to rehabilitate Alexander to make him palatable for a Christian audience. Jerome saw Alexander as worthy of emulation and aspiration and his subordination of Alexander to a Christian framework would allow Alexander to retain his status as an inspirational figure, defending his reputation from hostile Christian authors such as Orosius.

Arabic

While understandings of Alexander were contested within Christendom, for a variety of reasons understandings of Alexander in the Islamic world were typically uniformly sympathetic. One reason for this more positive outlook on Alexander was the elevated standing of Aristotle compared to in Christendom. In the Islamic world Aristotle was "First Teacher/Philosopher epitomizing the paradigm of the ancient philosopher."[32] This positive understanding of Aristotle had an effect on Alexander's own reputation, the master and student relationship between himself and Aristotle in turn generated a reputation of Alexander as an idealised philosopher king.[33] Secondly, Alexander's status as a pagan outsider was made palatable by his inclusion into the Quran as Dhulqarnayn, the two-horned one, which led Alexander to be categorised as a friend of God.[34] This adoption of Alexander into an Islamic framework avoided the hostility seen in Christendom by writers such as Tatian and Orosius on theological grounds.

The Arab sources on Alexander that were most influential in Alfonso's Iberia were typically *adab* literature.[35] These were didactic texts, similar to a Christian *specula principum*, that explored ideal forms of rulership and ethics through (mostly apocryphal) dialogues between Aristotle and the young Alexander. Alexander and Aristotle's discussions on ideas of rulership, ethics, and philosophy, would enjoy lasting popularity amongst European rulers

[32] Ahmed Alwishah and Josh Hayes, "Introduction," in *Aristotle and the Arabic Tradition*, ed. Ahmed Alwishah and Josh Hayes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1. The title of first teacher was given to Aristotle by the philospher Ibn Sina, known in the west as Avicenna.
[33] Faustina Doufikar-Aerts, "Alexander in Medieval Arab Minds: Archetype of Kings, Magnificent Warrior, and Custodian of Philosophy and Divine Principles," in *A History of Alexander the Great in World Culture*, ed. Richard Stoneman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 313.
[34] Zuwiyya, "The Alexander Romance In The Arabic Tradition," 74-75. Quran. 18:83-101.
[35] Clark, "Translating Arabic Wisdom in the Court of Alfonso X, El Sabio," 14-21.

following their translation from Arabic.[36] Both Aristotle and Alexander are idealised archetypes of master and student respectively, Alexander in particular is shown to be highly receptive to Aristotle's teachings.[37] These sources, and the ideas they contained, were unavailable in Europe for much of the Middle Ages. This changed as the Christian kingdoms began expanding south in Iberia, bringing them into contact with Islamic architecture, science, and culture.[38]

Medieval Sources of the General Estoria and their perspectives

The sources discussed so far, and the ideas developed in them, would go on to form the basis for later medieval understandings of Alexander the Great. By the medieval period, the conflicts between Hellenistic and Latin culture or Pagan and Christian beliefs were no longer immediate issues for historians. As such, new account of Alexander's life began to emerge from the tenth century that reflected a new, medieval, relationship with Alexander. This section will look at the three sources Alfonso utilises for his own account of Alexander, all produced between the tenth and thirteenth centuries and reflecting this need to recontextualise Alexander for their own purposes.[39] These are the *Historia de Preliis*, the *Alexandreis* and the *Libro de Buenos Proverbios*, each of which would draw upon different traditions discussed above to produce a unique understanding of Alexander.

Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni

The *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni* is the principal source for Alfonso's Alexander.[40] Written in the tenth century by an Italian writer, Leo the Archpriest (also referred to as Leo of Naples), the *Preliis* was itself derived from the *Romance* tradition of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Leo had encountered the Greek *Romance* tradition on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople

[36] Steven J. Williams, "Giving Advice and Taking It: The Reception by Rulers of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Secretum Secretorum as a Speculum Principis," in *Consilium: teorie e pratiche del consigliare nella cultura medievale.* (Firenze: SISMEL, 2004), 139-43.
[37] Hunayn ibn Ishaq al-`Ibadi, *The Libro de los buenos proverbios; a critical edition*, ed. Sturm Harlan Gary (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971), 103-05.
[38] Faustina Doufikar-Aerts, "“Afin que jamais il ne tombe dans l'oubli” influences arabes sur l'historiographie occidentale d'Alexandre," in *L'Historiographie médiévale d'Alexandre la Grand*, ed. Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 112-13.
[39] The *Libro de Buenos Proverbios* does not entirely fit with this statement, having been written in the ninth century. It was however translated in Iberian vernacular in the thirteenth century.
[40] Wilhelmine Jonxis-Henkemans, "Alexander the Great in "General Estoria" I, II, IV, V and VI. A discussion on his image," *Revista de filología románica* 3 (1985): 251.

and had brought copies back with him to Italy for translation.[41] Over the subsequent centuries that followed Leo's work, the *Preliis* incorporated several Norman, Jewish and Italian traditions local to southern Italy and Sicily transforming the text to such an extent that historians now classify three distinct recensions, J^1,J^2 and J^3.[42] By Alfonso's day the contemporary J^2 recension had absorbed many of the sources mentioned above, namely Josephus, Jerome, and Orosius.[43] Of these incorporations Josephus has the clearest indirect impact on Alfonso's *Estoria*, inspiring the addition of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem.

It is the first and third books of the *Preliis* that Alfonso would draw upon extensively, the second was largely omitted. The first book provided Alfonso the details of Alexander's childhood and his first steps into the Persian empire, his conception by Nectanebo, his taming of Bucephalas, his fight with Lysias and Phillip at the wedding and his visit to Jerusalem. The second book, which has Alexander break off his invasions of Persia and return to subjugate Greece, before again returning to Persia is almost entire overlooked by Alfonso, who completely removed Alexander's subjugation of Greece. This is likely done either because the section lacked suitable material to develop Alfonso's vision for Alexander, or because Alfonso felt an ahistorical detour back to Greece in the middle of his invasion of Persia interrupted the flow of the narrative. The third book is utilised as extensively as the first for its details of the mythic peoples and fauna of India, though as will be explored in further detail events such as the Brahmin dialogues with King Dindamus are almost entirely removed. With such a heavy footprint in the *Estoria*'s narrative the presence of the *Preliis* is significantly greater than the other two sources, the *Alexandreis* and the *Libro de Buenos Proverbios*. In substance it forms the backbone of Alfonso's narrative.

It is perhaps not surprising that Alfonso leaned so heavily on the *Preliis*, it enjoyed widespread popularity during the high Middle Ages and spread well beyond southern Italy. Richard Stoneman claims that between 1000 and 1300 A.D. "the *Historia de Preliis* was translated more times than any other text except the Gospels."[44] But its popularity was certainly not the only reason it was selected as a source. Despite the influence of Orosius on the text, the *Preliis* is deeply sympathetic in its understandings of Alexander. The shared

[41] Richard Stoneman, "The Medieval Alexander," in *Latin Fiction*, ed. Heinz Hofmann (London: Routledge, 1999), 207.
[42] Charles Russell Stone, "Proud Kings, Polyglot Scribes, and the I^3 "Historia de preliis": The Origins of Latin Alexander Romance in Norman and Staufen Italy," *Speculum* 91, no. 3 (2016).
[43] Sometimes alternatively identified as the "I" recensions. Stone, "Proud Kings, Polyglot Scribes, and the I^3 "Historia de preliis": The Origins of Latin Alexander Romance in Norman and Staufen Italy."
[44] Stoneman, "The Medieval Alexander," 202.

elements with Plutarch in Alexander's childhood, his visit to Jerusalem from Josephus and Jerome and apparent favourable outlook of Leo and the compilers of later recensions produced a text that was highly sympathetic to Alexander, and therefore highly compatible with Alfonso's own vision. In the *Preliis* Alfonso found a sympathetic source that was both accessible and popular and could easily be moulded towards the understanding of Alexander he wished to convey.

Alexandreis

Walter de Châtillon's *Alexandreis* is the second major source Alfonso uses for the *General Estoria*. Written in twelfth century France in hexameter verse, like the *Historia de Preliis* it enjoyed widespread popularity across Europe. In Iberia it served as the principal source for the *Libro de Alexandre*, which was produced around the same time as the *General Estoria.* The *Alexandreis* occupies an interesting middle ground between the sympathetic and hostile camps of Alexander thought. It is principally informed by the Quintus Curtius Rufus' *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, which was noted above for its hostile attitude to Alexander.[45] However, the majority of hostile elements from Curtius Rufus are removed or brushed over. The list of events omitted is substantial, including the cruel dragging of the governor of Gaza around the walls of his city, the accusation that Alexander drunkenly burned Persepolis to the ground at the suggestion of a courtesan and the murders of Kleitus, Hermolaus, and Callisthenes are never described in detail.[46] Walter is far more admiring of Alexander than his source and this conflict of opinion between author and source gives the *Alexandreis* a unique hybridity.

Alfonso is relatively selective in what he takes from the *Alexandreis*. De Châtillon is used in the main narrative as a source for one of Alexander and Darius' battles and for a letter that Alexander sent to the Queen of the Amazons.[47] The largest section most heavily influenced by the *Alexandreis* is placed as a quasi-appendix, where Alfonso establishes the scholarly

[45] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 202.
[46] R. Telfryn Pritchard, "Introduction," in *The Alexandreis*, ed. R. Telfryn Pritchard (Toronto, Ont., Canada: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986), 10.
[47] Zuwiyya, "The Alexander Tradition In Spain," 241.

credentials of *Maestro Galter*, as he is referred to in the *Estoria*, and then includes de Châtillon's reflection on Alexander's life, ambition, and death.[48]

De Châtillon has a generally positive understanding of Alexander, but there is far more nuance to the Alexander of the *Alexandreis*. This comes through in his reflection on Alexander, where he speaks of his insatiable greed for "deceitful glory," saying "a five foot house constructed of hewn marble inside a deeply-dug grave sufficed for the man who had previously found the whole world insufficient."[49] For de Châtillon, while their Alexander had admirable qualities and amazing accomplishments, he was ultimately brought down by his pride and greed. This more complicated relationship with Alexander may go some way to explain why Alfonso utilised the text so sparingly, preferring instead the more unambiguous approval of the *Historia de Preliis*.

Libro de Buenos Proverbios

The *Libro de Buenos Proverbios* is a product of the Kingdom of Castile's contact with Islamic culture. The *Buenos Proverbios* is a translation of the *Kitab adab al-falasifa*, a ninth century work produced in the Baghdad house of wisdom by Hunayn ibn Ishaq, himself a renowned translator of ancient texts. The *Kitab adab al-falasifa*, as the title suggests, is an example of the *adab* literary genre of didactic texts discussed above.[50] It contains a series of anecdotes of ancient philosophers and their teachings, notably Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle alongside letters between Aristotle, Olympias, and Alexander. Most importantly for the *General Estoria*, it contains a series of anecdotes about Aristotle teaching the young Alexander how to rule and live wisely.

The *Kitab adab al-falasifa* was anonymously translated into Romance as the *Libro de Buenos Proverbios* sometime in the early thirteenth century.[51] From there, sections were adopted into the *General Estoria* as a quasi-appendix, together with the segment from the *Alexandreis*, situated after the death of Alexander. Alfonso begins with the education of Aristotle under

[48] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, ed. Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, vol. 2, ed. Inés Fernández-Ordóñez and Raúl Orellana (Madrid: Bibliotecha Castro), 440-42.
[49] De Châtillon, *The Alexandreis*, 230-31 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard).
[50] Clark, "Translating Arabic Wisdom in the Court of Alfonso X, El Sabio," 14-21.
[51] Christy Bandak, "Testimonios árabes de Adab al-falásifa," *Memorabilia: boletín de literatura sapiencial* 5 (2001), https://parnaseo.uv.es/Memorabilia/M5/LBP-Navarra.html.

Plato, before moving on to Aristotle's own wisdom and as a teacher of Alexander. In the segments adopted by the *Estoria* both Aristotle and Alexander, in keeping with the positive Arabic understandings of Alexander, are depicted as idealised teacher and student.[52] Also included are the series of letters exchanged between Aristotle, Alexander, and Olympias, along with a philosophical dialogue around Alexander's tomb.

In the recently translated Arabic *adab* texts, Alfonso encountered a kindred understanding. The tradition of using Alexander as an idealised figure who could be used for inspiration and guidance was what Alfonso himself aspired to transform Alexander into in the *General Estoria*. In this sense, the *General Estoria* can be seen as an attempt to harmonise European and Arab understandings of Alexander to produce a uniquely sympathetic European perspective.

Alternate understandings: Contemporary Iberian Alexander texts

The *General Estoria's* life of Alexander was one of several competing accounts of Alexander's life produced during the Middle Ages. They each drew upon different sources and presented their own vision of Alexander, through typically through a highly sympathetic lens. These accounts, the most notable of which being the works of Jiménez de Rada and the *Libro de Alexandre*, demonstrate both the wide variety of source materials around Alexander available, and the didactic trend which underpins Iberian Alexander writing during the Middle Ages.

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada

Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada was a leading Iberian intellectual figure during first half of the thirteenth century for his historical writings and translations. De Rada produced two accounts of Alexander's life, each with a differing emphasis: *De rebus Hispaniae* and the *Breviarium Historie Catholice*. The more famous of the two texts, *De rebus Hispaniae*, is primarily based on Isidore of Seville's *History of the Goths* and Jordanes' *The Origin and Deeds of the Goths*. The Gothic theme of the sources was motivated by the Spanish focus of the wider work, the Goths being the ancestors of the Catholic kings of Iberia in the Middle

[52] Sturm Harlan Gary, "Introduction," in *The Libro de los buenos proverbios; a critical edition*, ed. Sturm Harlan Gary (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971), 11.

Ages. Using this source material, de Rada produces a portrait of Alexander as a model monarch, with particular emphasis on his wisdom and valour.[53] Arizaleta posits that this Alexander was likely intended to reflect a contemporary Castilian monarch, either Alfonso VIII or Alfonso X's father Ferdinand III, under both of whom de Rada served.[54]

De Rada also authored a second account of Alexander's life with a different emphasis and source selection in the *Breviarium Historie Catholice*. This is a history of the Catholic church modelled on Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, upon which de Rada also relies as a source for Alexander's life alongside the *Preliis*, Orosius, Justin, and Jerome. With the exception of the *Preliis* this list, in keeping with the text's theme, is overwhelmingly Christian in outlook and this religious emphasis is used to adopt Alexander into a proto-Christian framework.[55] In doing so, de Rada brought the ideas of Jerome and Josephus (whom Peter Comestor utilises extensively in his own Alexander account) into contemporary Iberian intellectual consciousness.

Libro de Alexandre

The *Libro de Alexandre* is a vernacular prose account of Alexander's life written anonymously sometime in the thirteenth century, with historians disagreeing on any specific dating.[56] Despite surviving in only two manuscripts today, the *Libro* appears to have been a popular and influential text, serving as an inspiration for both later historians and establishing a literary genre of prose referred to as *mester de clerecía*.[57] The majority of sources used will by now be familiar, the *Libro* principally relies on *Alexandreis*, which is augmented with elements of Josephus, Curtius, and the *Historia de Preliis*. There are, however, some unique sources, the *Libro* also contains segments sourced from Ovid, Cato and Homer via the *Ilias Latina.*[58]

[53] Amaia Arizaleta, "Las "estorias" de Alexandre: Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, historiador de Alejandro Magno," in *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, ed. Mercedes Pampín, Carinen Parrilla, and S.L. Toxosoutos (A Coruña: 2005), 344.
[54] Arizaleta, "Las "estorias" de Alexandre: Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, historiador de Alejandro Magno," 359.
[55] Arizaleta, "Las "estorias" de Alexandre: Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, historiador de Alejandro Magno," 358.
[56] For a summary of current views on authorship and chronology, see Florence Curtis, "'Mensaje fue de Dios': Transformative Christian Vision in the Libro de Alexandre," *La Corónica* 42, no. 1 (2013): 205.
[57] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 64-5. For more on the genre, and the Libro's role therein, see Raymond S. Willis, "'Mester de clerecía.' A Definition of the "Libro de Alexandre"," *Romance philology* 10, no. 3 (1957).
[58] Simone Pinet, "Toward a Political Economy of the Libro De Alexandre," *Diacritics* 36, no. 3/4 (2006 2006): 44.

The *Libro* adds Christian moralist themes into the narrative to present an understanding of Alexander falling into sin. For much of his life in the *Libro*, Alexander is more closely aligned with Christian thought. Aristotle teaches him to respect God, and the visit to Jerusalem is expanded well beyond Châtillon's own depiction. However, while the *Libro* shows Alexander to belong in a pseudo-Christian framework following the ideas of Jerome in the early years of his life, as Alexander reaches greater and greater heights, he becomes increasingly arrogant and sinful. At the height of his success Alexander attempts to visit the bottom of the ocean and fly to the heavens. The hubris of these actions sees Alexander condemned by God, who allows a personification of Nature to collude with Satan to bring about Alexander's ultimate demise through treason. The anonymous author of the *Libro* evidently has great admiration for Alexander's achievements, Alexander is portrayed positively, and as ordained by God, for the majority of the text. But despite this admiration, Alexander is still understood to be a tragic figure, brought down by his lack of Christian values.[59] This moralising tone puts the *Libro* at odds with both the work of Jiménez de Rada and the later Alfonso X, who avoid characterising Alexander as increasingly arrogant and do not suggest his death was ordained by God for sinful behaviour.

Conclusion

Ulrich Wilcken once observed that "every student has an Alexander of his own."[60] It is equally as true that every student of Alexander sees him as representative of something different, usually something that pertains to themselves. Despite the grouping of Alexander historians into sympathetic and hostile camps, they are united only by their shared talking points. For Curtius, Seneca, and Plutarch, Alexander represented either the glory or the folly of Hellenic culture. For St. Jerome, Tatian, and Orosius, the conflict had instead become the place of pagan culture and heroes in a newly Christian world. For men like Ibn Ishaq and other Arab authors, Alexander was a friend of God and an embodiment of pre-Islamic virtue. Alexander by the high Middle Ages carried with him over a millennium of intellectual and cultural baggage. This millennium of contesting traditions forced writers in the Middle Ages to make calculated choices around the source materials they drew from.

[59] Marina S. Brownlee, "Romance at the crossroads: medieval Spanish paradigms and Cervantine revisions," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. Roberta L. Krueger, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 255.
[60] Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander the Great* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), xxix.

Alfonso, in keeping with his sobriquet *el Sabio*, had a depth of knowledge of the Alexander tradition, from both sympathetic and hostile perspectives. Familiar with the sources explored in this chapter and contemporary developments in the Alexander tradition, the presence of this intellectual legacy can clearly be felt in the *General Estoria*. This engagement may seem self-evident in regard to the sympathetic sources, Alfonso carefully selected from the *Historia de Preliis, Alexandreis and Libro de Buenos Proverbios* to cultivate his image of an idealised Alexander. However, the hostile accounts of Curtius, Seneca, and Orosius have equally left their mark on Alfonso's work, something that will be more fully explored in the following chapter as Alfonso uses the *General Estoria* not just as a tool to elevate Alexander, but also to defend and refute the long legacy of criticism accrued over the previous centuries.

Chapter 2. The Idealisation of Alexander in the *General Estoria*

Having judiciously selected from the suitably favourable sources and translated them into Castilian vernacular, Alfonso was not content with a translated collation of suitable source materials. As Alfonso explicitly states elsewhere in the *General Estoria*, the Alexander narrative has undergone a thorough intervention alongside its translation. Having brought together sources sympathetic to his vision of Alexander, he then "composes [the text's] arguments, and emends [the sources], and makes them uniform."[1] The theme Alfonso has constructed his Alexander narrative to consistently espouse is that Alexander was an ideal monarch, worthy of emulation. To this end, he subtly alters and intervenes in his source's narratives to foster his preferred topics and ideas. This is typically done through minute changes and omissions that can make it difficult to locate Alfonso's presence in the text, as Nancy Joe Dyer perceptively observes "[his] force as an author derived from his manipulation of the personae of events, the use of sources to empower or marginalize its actors, and his decisions on defining the flow of history."[2]

In this chapter, I argue that where Alfonso chooses to exercise his authorial power is never arbitrary, but instead evidence of careful communication with and refutation of the hostile understandings that were readily available in Iberia, alongside creating a clear articulation of an idealised Alexander. Alfonso's *General Estoria* is self-consciously engaged in the ongoing historiographical debate discussed in the previous chapter and looking to defend Alexander's reputation from the numerous allegations that had been levelled against him.

This chapter takes four examples of Alfonso's textual interventions, each pertaining to different areas of dissent around Alexander's personality. The first section will look at Alexander's transition into adulthood and the role Aristotle's education plays in this

[1] *General Estoria* I, Vol. 2. 393. Translation from Cárdenas, "Alfonso's Scriptorium and Chancery: Role of the Prologue in Bonding the Translatio Studii to the Translatio Potestatis," 92.
[2] Nancy Joe Dyer, "Alfonsine Historiography: the Literary Narrative," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 141.

transition from child to idealised monarch. The second section examines Alfonso's recasting of the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*[3] as an unambiguous affirmation of Alexander's philosophic wisdom and virtue through careful omissions. In the third example Alfonso develops the ideas first espoused by Jerome of Alexander's conquests being ordained by God through his account of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and his relationship with its Jewish population. Finally, this chapter looks at how Iberian and contemporary wider European ideas around royal anger may have changed how the debates concerning Alexander's wrath were received. All of the authorial choices Alfonso made in his account of Alexander endeavour to elevate Alexander to an aspirational status, which necessitated not just a positive depiction of Alexander, but an active refutation of centuries of hostile historiography.

Educating an ideal monarch: the role of Aristotle

There existed a strong narrative tradition, originating with the works of Plutarch, of Alexander demonstrating his right and destiny to rule early in his life through his taming of the warhorse Bucephalas. Within the *General Estoria* and its source material the *Historia de Preliis*, the taming of Bucephalas is altered to give the narrative a new emphasis on Alexander's education and wisdom.[4] This emphasis on education, which Alexander acquired under the tutelage of Aristotle and other famous Hellenic philosophers, engages with historical arguments discussed above around the value of Aristotelian wisdom, an argument in which both sides treated Alexander as an embodiment of Aristotelian teaching. Alfonso was deeply invested in protecting the didactic authority of Aristotle, something that will be fully explored in the next chapter, and this necessitated the development of an idealised Alexander.

With this objective in mind, Alfonso used the *Historia de Preliis* as his source for the taming of Bucephalas. The *Preliis*' account is already highly suitable for his intended messaging as it has previously built upon Plutarch's favourable narrative and added themes Alfonso could emphasise. This meant Alfonso did not need to make dramatic alterations to the narrative but could instead utilise subtle alterations to further amplify the themes he wanted. The taming of Bucephalas functions in these texts as a coming-of-age moment for Alexander, where his

[3] The meeting of Alexander and Dindamus.
[4] Bizzarri, "Miroirs du prince castillans et collections de sentences," 977.

extraordinary nature is recognised for the first time. Foundational to this recognition is the connection between Alexander's education under Aristotle and Alexander becoming recognised as a ruler. Alfonso wants his readers to see Aristotle's education as absolutely fundamental to the royal nature, and in particular the wisdom, Alexander demonstrates.

The *Estoria* and *Preliis'* account begins with a Cappadocian prince bringing Bucephalas to the Macedonian court as a gift for Phillip II. The horse is described as having "*dos inchazones quell tanto a fuera quel semejavan cuernos*" and as being a man-eater.[5] This was in keeping with a wider tradition that had emerged around Bucephalas, over the centuries his reputation escalated dramatically. Bucephalas had begun his textual journey a wild and untameable horse but by the thirteenth century he had evolved in ferocity, becoming a horned man-eating monster that Alexander's father Phillip kept in an iron cage and fed convicts.[6] However, having introduced Bucephalas, the narrative then detours to describe Alexander including – most importantly – his qualities and education. It is this detour, quoted here, which sets the stage for Alexander's taming of Bucephalas:

General Estoria	Translation	Historia de Preliis
E Alexandre cuando llegó a los quinze años de cuando naciera, salió fuert e osado e atrevudo e sabio, ca aprendiera de Aristótil e de Calisten e de Maximene, filósofos de Atenas, las artes liberales donde era ya este Alexandre muy sabio. E un día passava por el logar do estava aquel cavallo y víol cómo lo	And when Alexander turned fifteen, he had become strong, daring, bold and wise. Having learnt from Aristotle, Callisthenes and Anaximenes, the Athenian philosophers, he was now very wise in the liberal arts. And one day he passed by the place where there was a horse and saw how they had locked it in	By the time he was fifteen years old, Alexander had become strong, brave and wise, for he had acquired deep knowledge of the liberal arts from Aristotle, Callisthenes and the Athenian Anaximenes. One day, as he passed the place where the untamed horse was standing, he saw it penned inside the iron bars,

[5] "Two protrusions so large that from afar they resembled horns" Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 315 (translation my own); Leo of Naples, *The history of Alexander's battles: Historia de preliis, the J1 version*, ed. R. Telfryn Pritchard, Mediaeval sources in translation, (Toronto, Ont: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992), 21.
[6] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 21 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard).

tenién encerrado en aquellas redeziellas de fierro, e muchas manos e pies de omnes que yazién ant'él quel dieran a comer e comiera él lo ál de los cuerpos de los omnes e yazié allí aquello quel fincara. Maravillóse é ende mucho e metió las manos por los forados de las redeziellas para tañer a aquel cavallo. El cavallo luego quel vío meter la mano tendió la cerviz e llególla boca a las manos e començó de besárgelas e de lamérgelas, e ayuntó todos los cuatro pies e echósse en tierra ant' él, e alçava la cabeça e catava a Alexandre. E començó luego allí el cavallo a seer más manso a Alexandre que non aun el can a so señor cuandol falaga ca assí falagava el cavallo a Alexandre como el can a su señor. Cuando Alexandre esto vía, cavalgól e salió fuera en él. E cuando el rey Filippo vía aquello, dixol: - Fijo Alexandre, agora

an iron cage and the many hands and feet of men who had been eaten. Astounded, he therefore inserted his hands through the iron bars to touch the horse. The horse, seeing the hands held out to the neck brought his head to them and began to kiss and lick them, and lay down on all fours on the ground before him before raising its head and looking at Alexander. And the horse began from this to be docile towards Alexander and treat him as a dog treated his lord.

When Alexander saw this, he mounted and rode out on him. And when the King Phillip saw him, he said "Alexander my son, I now recognise in you the responses of the gods, that you will reign after my death." Alexander replied "Well, father, send me away seated in a chariot as is customary for the heir of the king. The king said, "Son, I will do this to a

and lying before it he also saw it all the fragments of human hands and feet left over from its meal. Alexander was astounded and he inserted his hand through the bars. At once, the horse, extending its neck, began to lick his hand and looked at Alexander. And so, from these actions Alexander understood the animal's good intentions. He opened the enclosure, and, going inside, approached the horse. He began to stroke its back gently with his right hand, and the horse immediately became very tame for him; just as a dog fawns upon its master, so that horse fawned upon Alexander. Seeing this, Alexander mounted the horse and rode out of the enclosure on its back. And so, when King Phillip saw him he said to him "Alexander my son, I now detect that all the god's replies point to your being the one to be king after my death." After this,

coñocí yo en ti todas las respuestas de los dioses, que tú deves regnar después de la mi muerte. Dize Alexandre -Pues, padre, si esto se puede fazer endereça a mí e asiéntame en el carro, como es costumbre de seer y asentado el heredero del regno. Dize el rey: -Fijo, que lo faré muy de grado. Toma cient cavalleros e cuarenta mill sueldos d'oro e ve con buena ayuda.	great extent. Take one hundred horses, forty thousand gold coins and go with good aid."[7]	Alexander said to Phillip, "Father, if it is possible, send me away seated in my chariot." The king answered, "My son, I do this with pleasure. Take for yourself one hundred horses, forty thousand gold coins, and go equip with plenty of supplies."[8]

The positioning of this narrative detailed description of Alexander's education, whilst perhaps seeming discordant with its surrounding context, is a deliberate and considered decision aimed at connecting Alexander's royal status to his education and wisdom. Having become wise and well educated under the tutelage of Aristotle, Callisthenes and Anaximenes, Alexander has become worthy of kingship. This new status is recognised immediately by Bucephalas who performs ritual acts of submission, kissing his hand, prostrating himself, and treats him as a master.

In the *Preliis* and *Estoria's* shared narrative Bucephalas' acknowledgement of Alexander forms the catalyst for wider acknowledgement and his transition into functioning as a leader. Phillip, upon seeing his son ride Bucephalas, acknowledges Alexander as his successor and grants him command of an army to take south into the Peloponnese to fight King Nicolaus.[9] His regal nature being recognised by Bucephalas has triggered recognition in turn by his father.[10] Indeed, the relationship between Phillip and Alexander takes a dramatic turn from

[7] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 314 (translation my own).
[8] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 21-22 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard).
[9] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 314 (translation my own).
[10] Paul H. Rogers, "Rediscovering the Horse in Medieval French Literature," *Neophilologus* 97, no. 4 (2012): 635.

this moment. Having been acknowledged and been given quasi-regal authority he will treat Phillip as his equal, even saying to him later in the story "*llámote assí non como conviene a fijo llamar a padre, mas fáblóte como amigo a amigo*."[11]

The intended link in the Bucephalas narrative between Alexander's Aristotelian education and his royal nature is clearest when contrasted with the same event in its earliest surviving form, Plutarch's *Lives.* Plutarch's *Lives* lack the *Estoria's* emphasis on Aristotle or wisdom, instead using the taming of Bucephalas as foreshadowing for the intelligence and decisiveness that would so characterise Alexander's unparalleled battlefield decision making later in life.[12] In the *Lives'* account as a young prince Alexander sees what no adult can, he realises the horse is unrideable as it is scared of its own shadow. With this insight he takes the risk of betting a small fortune with his father Phillip that he can tame the horse when nobody else can. Having seen his son tame Bucephalas, just as in the *General Estoria* and the *Historia de Preliis,* Phillip recognises Alexander's quality. There is however a fundamental difference, Phillip does not recognise Alexander as an equal who is ready to exercise authority, but as a child with potential.

> [Philip said] 'My son, seek thee out a kingdom equal to thyself; Macedonia has not room for thee.' And since Philip saw that his son's nature was unyielding and that he resisted compulsion, but was easily led by reasoning into the path of duty, he himself tried to persuade rather than to command him; and because he would not wholly entrust the direction and training of the boy to the ordinary teachers of poetry and the formal studies … he sent for the most famous and learned of philosophers, Aristotle, and paid him a noble and appropriate tuition-fee:[13]

Seeing Alexander riding Bucephalas does prompt a shift in the power dynamic between father and son, just as it does in the *Preliis* and *Estoria*. This is initially signalled by the quote from Phillip "My son, seek thee out a kingdom equal to thyself; Macedonia has not room for thee", where Alexander is acknowledged not just as worthy of kingship, but worthy of more than Phillip's current kingdom. This change in status is further cemented in the following

[11] "I speak to you now not as a son to a father, but as a friend to a friend" Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 317 (translation my own).
[12] Collomia Charles, "On such horses Gods and heroes ride" (Boston University, 2007), 126-27. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 6.2-5.
[13] Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 6.5-7.2 (trans. Bernadotte Perrin).

paragraph where Plutarch tells us Phillip could no longer command Alexander as a father might normally instruct a son in the ancient world, but instead must "persuade rather than to command him."[14]

However, the father-son dynamic is not completely upended by this event in the way it is related in the *Estoria* and the *Preliis*. The passage culminates in Phillip hiring Aristotle as a tutor for Alexander. This creates an interesting contrast between Plutarch and the later versions of this event. In Plutarch Alexander riding Bucephalas prompts recognition and the hiring of Aristotle, while in the *Preliis* and the *General Estoria* it is Aristotle's teaching that predicates the taming of Bucephalas. As he is already educated, through his taming of Bucephalas Alexander makes the transition from child to leader. The opposite construction in the *Lives*, where he tames Bucephalas and is therefore recognised as worth educating as a ruler, is a far less significant transition. In Plutarch Alexander is an exceptional child, necessitating the hiring of such a prolific tutor as Aristotle, but he remains a child who needs to be educated and develop before assuming authority.

In this passage, the *General Estoria* shares much of its narrative with its primary source, the *Historia de Preliis.* However, more so than a direct translation, at various key instances within the narrative Alfonso has made small, often subtle, adjustments to the text to further highlight certain themes he is interested in. This practice has been noted in scholarship as a hallmark of Alfonsine textual manipulation, Sánchez-Prieto Borja refers to the practice as Alfonso's "*tendencia a la amplificatio."*[15] The first example in this passage of this textual amplification or manipulation comes from the description of Alexander's education and virtues. In the *Historia de Preliis*, this section reads as follows:

Alexander autem cum esset annorum quindecim, factus et fortis, audax et sapiens; didicerat enim pleniter liberales artes ab Aristotile et Callistene et ab Anaximene Atheniense.[16]	By the time he was fifteen years old, Alexander had become strong, and brave, and wise, for he had acquired a deep knowledge of the liberal arts from Aristotle, Callisthenes and the Athenian Anaximenes.[17]

[14] Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 7.1 (trans. Bernadotte Perrin).
[15] Borja, "La técnica de la traducción en la "General Estoria": la historia de Alejandro Magno en GE4," 221.
[16] Leo of Naples, *Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni: (der lateinische Alexanderroman des Mittelalters)*, ed. Bergmeister Hermann-Josef Leo (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain, 1975).
[17] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 21 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard)

However, in the *Estoria*, the language has been subtly adjusted:

E Alexandre cuando llegó a los quinze años de cuando naciera, salió fuert e osado e atrevudo e sabio, ca aprendiera de Aristótil e de Calisten e de Maximene, filósofos de Atenas, las artes liberales donde era ya este Alexandre muy sabio.	And when Alexander turned fifteen, he had become strong, daring, bold and wise. Having learnt from Aristotle, Callisthenes and Anaximenes, the Athenian philosophers, he was now very wise in the liberal arts.[18]

Here in the General Estoria an alteration has been made "*ca aprendiera de Aristótil e de Calisten e de Maximene, filósofos de Atenas, las artes liberales donde era ya este Alexandre muy sabio*".[19] Through the most subtle of shifts, Alfonso is giving emphasis to what is from his perspective the most important of the traits Alexander has acquired from his education: his wisdom. In the *Preliis* the virtue of wisdom appears as a component part of a wider list "[Alexander] had become strong, daring, bold and wise". However, in the General Estoria Alfonso has added this additional detail, "Having learnt from Aristotle, Callisthenes and Anaximenes, the Athenian philosophers, he was now very wise in the liberal arts."[20] Alfonso has taken the *Preliis'* description of Alexander's education "*didicerat … pleniter*" (widely educated) and given it a new emphasis that highlights Alexander's wisdom, specifically in the liberal arts. In the General Estoria Alexander is no longer solely widely educated in the liberal arts, but instead through education with the philosophers he has emerged as "muy sabio", very wise. By repeating the term *sabio* (wise) in isolation Alfonso is working to bring wisdom to the foreground in the readers mind as primary among the virtues nurtured by Aristotle and the philosophers that will qualify the young Alexander to be acknowledged by horse and father alike as ready to lead. This adjustment builds upon the change away from Plutarch already made in the *Preliis*, Aristotle's education now predicates, instead of being instigated by, the taming of Bucephalas. Alfonso takes this change and further elaborates upon it, connecting even more strongly the wisdom Alexander has received from his education under Aristotle with his newfound royal nature.

[18] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 314 (translation my own).
[19] Having learnt from Aristotle, Callisthenes and Anaximenes, the Athenian philosophers, he was now very wise in the liberal arts. (translation my own) Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 314.
[20] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 314 (translation my own).

This amplification of Alexander's new status is again seen in his request to Phillip at the end of the passage. Alfonso does not want his reader to miss the significance of the newfound status Alexander's education has afforded him. In the *Preliis* Alexander simply asks to be sent "seated in my chariot."[21] However, in the *General Estoria* Alfonso takes this opportunity to state the symbolism of this request explicitly by having Alexander request his father to:

endereça a mí e asiéntame en el carro, como es costumbre de seer y asentado el heredero del regno.	Send me away sitting in a chariot, as is customary for the heir of the kingdom.[22]

Following this event, even though Phillip is still alive, the chapter headings in the *General Estoria* refer to Alexander for the first time as king, subtly acknowledging his new status.[23] Both the wisdom Alexander acquires from his education and the status this new wisdom provides him are consistently and subtly enhanced throughout the text. Alfonso has seized upon a pre-existing theme in the – already sympathetic – *Historia de Preliis* and through his "*tendencia a la amplificatio"* has nurtured the connection between Aristotle, wisdom, and rulership onto centre stage for his audience.[24]

A clash of cultures: the Brahmin dialogue as an affirmation of Alexander's wisdom

Through his emphasising of Alexander's wisdom, education and good virtue Alfonso directly engaged with the contemporary historiographical debate around Alexander's character. However, the textual traditions that Alfonso removes or ignores in his account are equally indicative of Alfonso's understandings of Alexander as they demonstrate the traditions that he felt went against his vision for Alexander. Exemplary of this is an ahistorical event present in most of Alfonso's sources that originated sometime around the fourth or fifth century known as the *Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi*.[25] The *Collatio* contains a series of letters between Alexander and Dindamus, a mythic Indian monarch whose people – referred to as

[21] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 22 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard).
[22] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 315 (translation my own).
[23] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 316.
[24] Borja, "La técnica de la traducción en la "General Estoria": la historia de Alejandro Magno en GE4," 221.
[25] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 14.

the Brahmins – practised asceticism and self-denial.[26] This text experienced ongoing popularity in later Alexander accounts, Dindamus and the way of life he advocated for were used by authors as a foil for Alexander and his own cultural, religious, and moral understandings.[27] The two monarchs explain and justify their conflicting worldviews to one other, one grounded in the material world and Hellenistic ideals, the other advocating for poverty, humility, and abstinence. Because of this ascetic perspective, later Christian variations of these letters found in Dindamus an ideal avenue to insert proto-Christian ideas into the text.[28] The *Historia de Preliis* is demonstrative of this, it uses this clash of world views over five letters to contrast Alexander's actions and beliefs with a proto-Christian ascetic philosophy. Dindamus tells Alexander of the Brahmin way of life:

> "We Brahmins lead a simple and pure life. We commit no sins, and we wish to possess only that which is vital to our way of life … we sing perpetual praises to God and long for the life of the world to come … we have no need to overlook someone's faults, just so that through them God may overlook our own sins, nor do we offer wealth to atone for our sins as you do."[29]

Dindamus also criticises Alexander personally:

> "You eat everything yet you look hungry. When you offer sacrifice you kill your own sons. You force your own mothers to commit adultery. You cause discord between kings. You make even the humble arrogant … You do not serve the one God who reigns alone in heaven, but many gods."[30]

These letters in the *Preliis* are presented as an equal dialogue between two irreconcilable world views. To this end Alexander responds with criticisms of the Brahmin ascetic isolation and the enforced poverty Dindamus describes to him. In the final letter, he says:

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[26] Attempts have been made to find historical fact within the myth and to locate the Brahmins within known Indian polities from the period. For more on this, see Richard Stoneman, "Naked philosophers: the Brahmans in the Alexander historians and the Alexander Romance," *The Journal of Hellenic studies* 115 (1995).
[27] For an early medieval example of this popularity, see Yitzhak Hen, "Alcuin, Seneca and the Brahmins of India," in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. Rob Meens et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
[28] Beverly Berg, "Dandamis: An Early Christian Portrait of Indian Asceticism," *Classica et mediaevalia* 31, no. 1 (1970).
[29] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 90-91 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard).
[30] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 91-93 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard).

> "Being unable to leave your land you praise it and declare that it is through self-control that you endure the deprivation that you suffer. And so by your teaching those in prison are also to be declared fortunate since they face a life of punishment in prison up to old age. For your teaching is very reminiscent of such people and the blessing that you say that you enjoy resemble the tortures of those in prison"[31]

As noted above, the *Preliis* is typically sympathetic in its perspective of Alexander, if not to the extremes of the *Estoria*. Several less sympathetic authors in the thirteenth century began to use the Brahmin dialogues as an opportunity to present their own Abrahamic critiques of Alexander through the mouth of Dindamus. An example Alfonso was keenly aware of, and one he makes use of as a source elsewhere in the *Estoria,* is Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*.[32] Godfrey's Alexander meets a clear articulation of Christian theology from Dindamus, who has been developed into an unmistakably proto-Christian figure.[33] Dindamus is also given an additional letter, allowing the Brahmin king to have the final word in the encounter.[34] In contrast, Alexander's letters have been significantly diminished, his critiques of Dindamus' excessive asceticism are replaced with "the arrogant trumpet blasts of the man who calls himself the son of Jupiter."[35] Godfrey's Alexander is thoroughly pagan, and reveals his spiritual and moral deficiencies through his inability to answer the Christian critiques being put to him.

While Godfrey intensifies the criticisms found in accounts like the *Preliis,* the *General Estoria* does the exact opposite. The *Estoria* breaks most obviously from the *Historia de Preliis* through its removal of the majority of the letters. Alfonso reduces the five letters down to three, two by Alexander and one by Dindamus, and the letters that remain have been further stripped of much of their content. Dindamus' sole letter to Alexander makes no

[31] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis,* 100-01 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard).
[32] Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, "Introduction," in *General Estoria I* (Madrid: Bibliotecha Castro, 2009), xciii.
[33] Thomas Hahn, "The Indian Tradition in Western Medieval Intellectual History," *Viator (Berkeley)* 9 (1978): 213-34.
[34] Irene Villaroel Fernández, "La Collatio Alexandri et Dindimi según Vicente de Beauvais. Estudio y edición crítica de la versión del Speculum historiale," *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos* 36, no. 2 (2016): 236-8.
[35] Cary, *The Medieval Alexander,* 95.

mention of a singular God nor does he criticise Alexander. He praises Alexander for seeking the wisdom of the Brahmins:

Entendimos por las tus letras que desseas saber qué cosa es sapiencia acabada, e sobr'esto entendemos en aquello que tú demandas que tú mismo eres muy sabio, e alabámoste mucho porque desseas saber sapiencia acabada, que es mejor que regno, ca emperador que non sabe sapiencia non señorea sus vassallos, mas los vassallos señorean a él.	We understand from your letter that you wish to know what is complete wisdom, and on this we understand in this which you ask you are also very wise, and we praise you greatly because you desire complete wisdom, which is better than a kingdom, for an emperor who does not know wisdom does not rule his vassals, but is ruled by them.

However, he then explains that the philosophies of their two cultures are too different to explain in the time that they have:

Peró non me semeja que seer pudiesse que vós podades tener la nuestra vida e las nuestras costumbres, ca el nuestro enseñamiento mucho es apartado del vuestro, ca nin aoramos nós a los dioses que vós nin tenemos nós la vida que vós tenedes.	But it does not seem to me to be possible for you, being powerful, to have our life and our customs, for our teachings are much apart from yours, for we do not honour the gods that you do, nor do we live the lives that you do. [36]

While Dindamus' letters now lack any meaningful criticism of Alexander, Alexander's attacks on the Brahmin way of life are preserved. Just as in the *Preliis,* Alexander condemns the Brahmins, claiming that because of their lack of agriculture and development they are therefore little more than prisoners in their asceticism and are incapable of making a meaningful moral choice.[37] The conversation has been transformed into a denunciation of Brahmin beliefs by Alexander, to which Dindamus has no reply. Having exchanged three letters, Alexander departs.

[36] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 388-89 (translation my own).
[37] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 289-90.

Omitting sections of his principal source occurs repeatedly in the *Estoria* for a variety of reasons, for example much of the second book of the *Preliis* is not used, possibly because Alfonso recognised them as ahistorical.[38] What makes this dialogue section significant in its omissions is the context in which these omissions took place. More specifically, the removal of Dindamus' pointed critiques of Alexander's paganism, rapacity, and hubris are informed by the contemporary hostile trends that were coalescing around this passage. Just as Godfrey neutered Alexander's arguments into "arrogant trumpet blasts," in turn Alfonso has removed any hostility from Dindamus turning the conversation into an intellectual victory for Alexander. Alfonso has transformed a cultural and moral foil, or an outright critique, into an affirmation of Alexander's personal wisdom and morality.

Alexander's visit to Jerusalem

Alfonso does not settle for defending Alexander's education and character; he also uses the *General Estoria* to incorporate him into an Abrahamic or proto-Christian context. To achieve this, Alfonso incorporates an encounter Alexander has with the Jewish high priest Jaddus and their negotiation for the surrender of Jerusalem, during which Alexander acknowledges and sacrifices to the Abrahamic God. This event is largely agreed to be a fabrication. None of the early biographies of Alexander, such as those by Quintus Curtius Rufus or Arrian, make any mention of Jerusalem nor the Jews in their accounts. The earliest surviving account of Alexander's meeting with Jaddus comes from Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities.*[39]

Josephus' account lays out the structure that later descriptions will largely follow: Alexander, whilst besieging the city of Tyre in modern Lebanon, sends a letter to Jaddus asking for auxiliaries, supplies, and the tribute the city had previously paid to Darius. Jaddus refuses this request, citing his oaths to the Persian throne. Alexander, having occupied the city of Tyre through a now famous feat of engineering, turns his army upon the city of Jerusalem to punish them for their disobedience. God appears in a dream to the terrified Jaddus, telling him not to fear but to clean the city, open the gates, dress in his ceremonial robes, and go out to meet Alexander.

[38] The second book of the *Preliis* has Alexander return to Greece in the middle of his invasion of the Persian empire to fight with the Thebans and Spartans and establish his control there.
[39] Josephus. *Antiquities.* 11 (trans. William Whiston).

Alexander approaches Jerusalem, and upon seeing the High Priest forgets his previous rage and instead salutes Jaddus and honours the name of God. He later explains his actions to one of his generals as prompted by a divine vision he had received whilst still in Greece where he had seen Jaddus, dressed exactly as he was here, promising to guide his army and give him dominion over the Persians. Alexander then enters Jerusalem and is shown by Jaddus how to sacrifice to God. He is also shown the biblical Book of Daniel, which prophesises the usurpation of Persian power by a Greek.[40] Having done all of this, Alexander and Jaddus negotiate the future status of the Jews in his empire, guaranteeing religious freedom and legislative autonomy, along with tax breaks every seventh year.[41]

Just how this tradition made it to Iberia is a contested topic. The initial link is clear, Alexander's interactions with Jaddus are present in all J^2 recensions and some J^1 variations of the *Historia de Preliis*. However, the source material for the *Preliis* is unclear, particularly as the event is included in some J^1 manuscripts but not others. Some have suggested it was present in the (now lost) δ recension of the *Romance*, which formed Leo of Naples's primary source.[42] Others suggested that Jewish scholars in southern Italy added the tradition, drawn from Josephus and Talmudic accounts, into the wider Alexander narrative around them.[43]

Whilst the ultimate origin and the provenance of the Alexander Jerusalem tradition is obscure and full of missing links, there is remarkable continuity between Josephus' account and the one found in the *Historia de Preliis* and Alfonso's *General Estoria*. It starts the same way,

[40] This is one of the signs this account is fictitious, the prophetic section of the Book of Daniel being shown to Alexander is believed to have been written in the second century B.C., more than a century after Alexander's death. For more, see Michael Segal, *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions: Textual, Contextual, and Intertextual Approaches to the Book of Daniel*, vol. 455, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, Inc, 2016), 7.

[41] Whilst Josephus' account is the oldest surviving description of this event, it remains unclear if he was its original source. A similar version of this event exists in the γ recension (produced during the 10th century A.D.) of Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* which some academics believe preserves an older, now lost, tradition of Alexander's conversion. Richard Stoneman has suggested an anonymous Jewish or Juedo-Christian author may have fabricated the event in a version of the *Romance*, which then inspired Josephus. Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, trans. Richard Stoneman (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 14-15.

[42] Aleksandra Klęczar, "The Gate of Alexander in Hebrew Alexander Romances," *Classica Cracoviensia* 19 (2016): 104, https://doi.org/10.12797/CC.19.2016.06.

[43] Stone, "Proud Kings, Polyglot Scribes, and the I^3 "Historia de preliis": The Origins of Latin Alexander Romance in Norman and Staufen Italy," 729. For more on the Talmudic Alexander tradition, see Saskia Dönitz, "Alexander the Great in Medieval Hebrew Traditions," in *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition (Lieden: Brill, 2011).

with Alexander besieging the city of Tyre and Jaddus refusing his request for supplies, tribute, and submission to Macedonian authority:

Alexandre, cuando este mandado le llegó, fue muy irado contra'l obispo e dixo que el tomarié tal vengança d' él e de los suyos, que por allí aprendiessen todos los otros que lo oyessen cómo deviessen guardar mandado de príncep. E peró dixo assí: -Non quiero yo agora por toda dexar a Tiro.

Alexander, when this message came to him, was very angry with the bishop and said that he would have such vengeance on him, that from then everyone else who would hear about it would learn to follow the prince's order. But he also said this, "I would not for anything abandon Tyre for now."

Aquella misma noche del día en que del mandadero del obispo de Jerusalem le llegó a Alexandre e fue él muy sañudo por la respuesta quel enviava all obispo, soñó quel semejava comó que toviesse un razimo de uvas en la mano el echasse en tierra el diesse coces e sacasse ende vino. E pues que Alexandre espertó del sueño, fizo venir ante sí un so adevino que trayé él, e era el omne sabio con qui fablava Alexandre sus paridades yl dizié las cosas que avién a venir, e contól todo aquel sueño que viera.

This same night, following the day in which the messenger from the bishop of Jerusalem came to Alexander, whom Alexander was very angry with because of the response he had sent to the bishop, he had a dream in which he seemed to hold a bunch of grapes in his hand which he threw into the ground crushed them, extracting wine. And after this Alexander awoke from the dream, and summoned a soothsayer whom he had brought with him, who was a wise man to whom Alexander told his visions so that he would tell him what was to come, and related the whole dream he had had.

El adevino cuando lo oyo, dixol assí: Rey Alexandre, sepas por cierto que la uva que tú teniés en la mano e la echeste en tierra que esta cibdad es que deves prender e crebantar la tierra, e el vino de la uva que feziste es la sangre de los omnes que deves esparzer en ella matándolos.

And the soothsayer, when he heard this, told him as follows: "King Alexander, know for certain that the grapes that you had in your hand and threw onto the ground, this is the city that you must seize and raze to the ground, and the wine that the grapes made is

the blood of the men which you will shed by killing them.[44]

Alexander, inspired by this interpretation, marshals his army and sacks the city as predicted. Having done so, he is now free to enact his promised vengeance against the Jews. This throws the city into a state of panic, and Jaddus leads the city in ritual fasting and sacrifice to pray for divine deliverance. Following this, Jaddus is then also the recipient of a divine vision:

E aquella noche misma después del sacrificio pareció Dios a Jadó en sueños e dixol: --Obispo non as por qué temer nin temas, mas luego man a mano en este día, assí como te levantares, manda a limpiar todas las plaças e las calles de la cibdad e afeitarlas as de buenos afeitos cuantos pudieres por toda la cibdad; e abre las puertas d'ella e assí las manda estar abiertas; e manda al pueblo se vistan todos de vestidos blancos e tales salgan de la cibdad contigo, e tú e los otros sacerdotes menores que vos vistades de las vestimentas del tiemplo con vuestras estolas e compuestos, e ondrados d' esta guisa, salid de la cibdad con vuestro pueblo e id a recebirle, e non dubdedes ende ninguna cosa.

And that same night after the sacrifice God appeared to Jaddus in a dream and said: "Bishop, don't have any fear or concern, but later this morning, as soon as you get up, order all the squares and the streets of the city to be cleaned and adorned with beautiful adornments as much as you can in the entire city, and open the city gates and order them to remain open, and order the people to all wear white clothes and to leave the city with you, and you and the other lesser priests will wear the vestments of the temple with your stoles and chasubles, and ornamented in this manner, leave the city with your people and go to receive him, and do not have any doubts about anything.[45]

After Jaddus does this and Alexander honours both him and the Abrahamic god, Alexander explains his actions as the result of a dream he had back in Macedonia:

[44] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 325 (translation my own).
[45] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 326 (translation my own).

E non sabes tú que non aoré yo a este obispo, mas a aquel de cuyo obispado él usa, ca en visión vi yo a él vestido d' esta manera en que yo agora veo a este, e esto fue en Macedonia, e cuedava en mio coraçón por qué manera podría vencer a Assia, ca me movía yo de non despreciar por ninguna guisa el fecho de Assia, mas passar a ella con grand esfuerço e grand feúzia, e dixo él muchas vezes que él me aduzrié grand poder por que yo non vi aún fata aquí a ninguno otro en tal vestido como aquel, si non a este obispo; por ende le aoré en esta guisa en razón del obispo del cielo. E sobr'esto asmo yo con el ayuda de Dios que vençre a Dario e crebantaré el poder de los persianos, e todas aquellas cosas que el mio coraçón esperan confío yo en Dios que me vernán.[46]

What you don't know is that I didn't honour this bishop, but rather the one from whom he received his bishopric, because I saw him in a vision in those robes and in that manner that I now see this man dressed, and this was in Macedonia, and it stayed in my heart as the means through which I would be able to conquer Asia, that for he moved me to not sway for anything from the objective, but to enter Asia with great effort and great confidence, and he said many times that he would grant me great power. Until now I have never seen anybody else in robes like these, but for this bishop, because of this, I honoured him in this manner the bishop of heaven. And because of this I estimate that I, with the help of God, will defeat Darius and shatter the power of the Persians, and all of these things that in my heart I hope for I trust God will bring me.

Having honoured God in front of Jaddus and his army, Alexander is saluted by the Jewish people and taken into the temple to sacrifice to God:

fuesse con los sacerdotes acompañado d'ellos e entró d'esta guisa en la cibdad de Jerusalem, e desí en el tiemplo de Dios que era ý e fizo allí sus sacrificios a Dios segund quel mostró el obispo. E porque sabié el obispo Jadó cómo era Alexandre natural de Grecia, tomó el libro de Daniel en que seyé profetado e escrito que uno de los reis

Alexander went with the priests, accompanying them into the city of Jerusalem, and from there in the temple of God located there and he made sacrifices to God following the advice of the bishop. And because the bishop Jaddus knew how Alexander hailed from Greece, he took the book of Daniel in which it is prophesised

[46] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 327-28 (translation my own).

griegos abrié a quebrantar e conquerir el poderío de los persianos e mostról a Alexandre. E Alexandre pues que aquello vío allí escrito, fue muy alegre por ello teniendo que él era aquel griego.

and written that one of the Greek kings would come to break the power of the Persians and conquer them, and he showed this to Alexander. And so Alexander, seeing what was written, was very happy for they believed he was this Greek man.[47]

I argue that much of what occurs in this passage is intended to absolve Alexander of his pagan faith in the eyes of a thirteenth-century Christian audience in keeping with the argument discussed above, first made by Jerome, that Alexander and his conquests were orchestrated by God.[48] This is achieved in two ways: firstly, Alexander acknowledges the Abrahamic god, and even offers sacrifices to him.[49] Secondly, Alexander is shown to be the subject of divine favour, only achieving everything that he achieved because God chose him to do so. This mutual endorsement between monarch and God works to smooth over Alexander's rougher pagan aspects by transforming him into an instrument of God's will, with his achievements and conquests only happening as part of God's plan. This ultimately serves to secure Alexander's status as an ideal monarch against Christian critique, which had a long tradition stretching back to the church fathers.[50]

The Jerusalem account gives three pieces of evidence that Alexander is the subject of divine favour. The first of these comes from the beginning of the passage, when Alexander is besieging Tyre and has asked Jaddus to swear allegiance to him:

soñó quel semejava comó que toviesse un razimo de uvas en la mano el echasse en tierra el diesse coces e sacasse ende vino.

he had a dream in which he seemed to hold a bunch of grapes in his hand which he threw into the ground crushed them, extracting wine.[51]

This dream, and the subsequent soothsaying that follows it (quoted above), is an anomalous scene in both the *General Estoria* and the *Historia de Preliis*, both of which feature a version

[47] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 328 (translation my own).
[48] See pp. 28-9.
[49] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 328.
[50] Jaakkojuhani, "Church Fathers and the Reception of Alexander the Great," 480-86.
[51] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 325 (translation my own).

of this event which has no equivalent in Josephus. Alexander has several divinely inspired dreams throughout the *General Estoria*, but they typically take the form of "audio-visual dreams" known in classical Greek literature as εἴδωλα, where a divine figure will appear to Alexander and speak to him. This happens in the *Estoria* between Alexander and Serapis, an Egyptian deity.[52]

The vision before Tyre breaks this mould in several ways. Alexander is no longer in dialogue with a divinity he can see but is instead spectator to his own actions. Upon waking, he requires the assistance of a soothsayer to interpret the dream, whereas in the other dreams he does not. Finally, this dream is seen to directly contribute to Alexander's military successes, as he and his men are inspired by the dream to assault the city. This clarity of meaning and consequence is markedly different from other divine advice he receives, which tend to be more mysterious in its significance and less immediate in its consequences.[53]

This prophetic dream appears to have been inserted to mirror the two subsequent divinely inspired dreams in the Jerusalem tradition and to foreshadow the divine assistance which God has promised Alexander. The Abrahamic context of this dream, in contrast to the other Hellenistic visions, goes a long way towards explaining why it is so different in form to the other examples in the *General Estoria*.

It seems likely that the implied 'sender' of Alexander's dream is the Abrahamic God. The structure of this dream parallels Augustine's schema for divine visitations, itself derived from the experience of Daniel and the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar. Augustine proposes that the Abrahamic God cannot be physically perceived, if such a term can be applied to dream visions, which accounts for the break from the previous narrative convention of having a Hellenistic god appear and speak directly to Alexander. Similarly, Alexander's initial lack of understanding, which forces him to seek out the assistance of the soothsayer, fits within Augustine's schema and parallels the dynamic between Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar.[54]

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[52] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 321. R. G. A. van Lieshout, *Greeks on dreams* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1980), 21.
[53] Alexander's dream conversation with Serapis concerns the details of his fated death, to which the god refuses to comply, only telling him that he will succumb to poison. Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 321.
[54] Augustine, *Contra Adimantum* 28, 188-90. Jesse Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400–900*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 139-41.

This parallel with the biblical prophet Daniel also serves as foreshadowing for the second way Alexander is marked as an instrument of God's will. Having entered Jerusalem, Alexander is shown passages from the book of Daniel that predict the four great empires of the world:

> "… four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lion, and had eagles' wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it. And behold another beast, a second, like a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus onto it, arise, devour much flesh. After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads and dominion was given to it. After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake into pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns."[55]

This is presumably the passage Alexander is shown when Jaddus presents to him containing Daniel's prophecies about a conquering Greek king. This passage had a variety of interpretations throughout the Middle Ages but most readings agreed that one of the beasts, typically the leopard, referred to Alexander.[56] By fitting Alexander's conquests into the divinely inspired prophecies of Daniel, Alexander is being further transformed from rampaging pagan conqueror into an instrument of God's will.

Interestingly, this account of Alexander being presented with Daniel's prophecy is discordant with a local Iberian tradition for the event. In the *Libro de Alexandre,* Alexander is shown the prophecies of Daniel but is unable to understand them.[57] Whilst in keeping with Augustine's ideas around the interpretation of visions, this domestic tradition has been excluded from the

[55] KJB. Daniel. 6:2-7.
[56] Claudia Wittig, "Political Didacticism in the Twelfth Century: the Middle-High German Kaiserchronik," in *Universal Chronicles in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Henry Bainton and Michele Campopiano (Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 107.
[57] Fernando Riva, ""De obscura materia obscurament" dictadas": El Libro de Daniel y la incomprensión profética en dos pasajes del Libro de Alexandre," *La Corónica* 46, no. 2 (2018): 44-5.

General Estoria's account. This was likely done to avoid further highlighting Alexander's non-Christian nature, moving him away from being perceived in the same vein as Nebuchadnezzar, who himself could not understand this vision without Daniel's aid.

This obscuring of Alexander's paganism, along with his characterisation as an instrument of God's will, is done to preserve his status as an ideal monarch. Alexander's moral failings and his pagan faith had been linked by Christian writers from Tertullian in the 2nd and 3rd centuries through to Walter de Châtillon, author of the *Alexandreis*.[58] In the *General Estoria* Alexander is cushioned from these attacks by his incorporation into an Abrahamic framework, preserving his ability to function as an aspirational monarch.

Royal Anger

A final example will demonstrate how, in changing cultural contexts, previous critiques of Alexander could be repurposed to serve Alfonso's conception of an aspirational Alexander. Polemics against Alexander would often cite his violent, and often drunken, rage. Alexander was famous for his hot temper, which repeatedly flared up with fatal consequences even in supportive sources. As was explored in the previous chapter, hostile historians such as Seneca the Younger would constantly attempt to demonize Alexander for his temper, and then link that temper to his Peripatetic education under Aristotle. In his own depictions of Alexander's royal anger Alfonso is engaging in the most enduring debate around Alexander's character and the defining distinction between the original sympathetic and hostile perspectives, Alexander's wrath, and attempting to recontextualise it as a virtue.

One of the earliest examples of this rage in Alexander's life is the confrontation at his father's wedding. This story first appears in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, in fact he is the only ancient source to include the potentially apocryphal event, and it has made its way into the *General Estoria* through the *Alexander Romance* and the *Historia de Preliis*. As the text had been transmitted the details had been exaggerated and Alexander had become more wrathful. Alfonso includes this event, based on the account of the *Preliis*, largely unchanged. *Prima facie* this example of Alexander's temper seems to clash with Alfonso's vision for an

[58] Tert. *Apol.* 46.15 (trans. T. R. Glover, Gerald H. Rendall). Châtillon, *The Alexandreis*, 223-4.

monarch worthy of emulation, but when put in the context of new understandings of royal anger that were coming out of northern Europe alongside pre-existing native Iberian traditions a new narrative begins to emerge. Within the context of this new understanding, Alfonso uses this example of Alexander's rage at the wedding to frame Alexander's anger as righteous and just. This characterisation aimed to subvert the long history of attacks against Alexander around his temper by reframing the conversation on more favourable grounds.

Alfonso's characterisation of the conflict at the wedding is clearest when contrasted against the earliest version of the story. This event happens early in the narrative, not long after the taming of Bucephalas, which was spoken about at length above. Alexander is in his teenage years and is beginning to function as a ruler while his father Phillip is away and has led minor military campaigns.[59] However, conflict arose when Phillip took a new (polygamous) wife named Cleopatra. Cleopatra, unlike Alexander's own mother Olympias who was from Epirus, was a native Macedonian and therefore any child produced by Phillip and her would be a full-blooded Macedonian and therefore a preferred candidate for the throne by the aristocracy. This tension boils over on the wedding night, as Plutarch tells us:

> Attalus, now, was the girl's uncle, and being in his cups, he called upon the Macedonians to ask of the gods that from Philip and Cleopatra there might be born a legitimate successor to the kingdom. At this Alexander was exasperated, and with the words, "But what of me, base wretch? Dost thou take me for a bastard?" threw a cup at him. Then Philip rose up against him with drawn sword, but, fortunately for both, his anger and his wine made him trip and fall. Then Alexander, mocking over him, said: "Look now, men! here is one who was preparing to cross from Europe into Asia; and he is upset in trying to cross from couch to couch.[60]

Alexander then flees from the Macedonian court with his mother, but later returns after Phillip is persuaded by a courtier that disharmony within his family was politically unsound. For Plutarch this event shows Alexander's impetuous and brash nature, whilst still justifying his actions by framing them in response to a questioning of his own legitimacy.

[59] Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 9.1 (trans. Bernadotte Perrin).
[60] Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 9.7-10 (trans. Bernadotte Perrin).

The *Historia de Preliis* and *General Estoria*, however, treat this event very differently. Chronologically, it remains in a similar place in the narrative, following the taming of Bucephalas and the assumption by Alexander of royal duties. However, the scale of Alexander's authority at this young age has been amplified from Plutarch's heir apparent, being allowed access to some power in his father's absence. In the *General Estoria* by contrast, Alexander functions as Phillip's co-monarch and equal. In Plutarch, Alexander, in his capacity as regent, subdues a rebellious barbarian tribe, whereas Alfonso's Alexander takes an army to fight the Peloponnesian King Nicholas, whom he personally slays in battle. Before Alexander leaves for this campaign, his father tells everybody to treat Alexander as their lord.[61] Having won his first victory, Alexander returns to the Macedonian court to find King Phillip has divorced his mother and is in the process of marrying Cleopatra. Alexander enters the wedding to protest, before being insulted by a man named Lysias:

E uno d'aquellos grandes homnes que seyén allí a comer a essas bodas con Filippo que e avié nombre Lisias oyó estas palabras de Alexandre e dixo assí contra'l: -Rey Filippo, de Galleopatra te naçrá a ti fijo que te semejará que deve regnar depués de la tu muerte. Alexandre oyó esta palabra que dixiera aquel Lisias e fue muy irado, e arremetiósse a él e diol d'un palo en la cabeça e echól muerto en tierra. El rey Filippo cuando aquello vío, ovo ende grande dolor e alçós, e él, que iva apressurado pora ferir de la espada a Alexandre entrepeçó en la carrera e cayó. E víolo Alexandre e dixo: -Felippo, que conqueriste Heuropa e una partida de Assia, ¿por qué non estás sobre tus pies? E esto fecho, bolviéronse las bodas

And one of these great men who were sat eating in the corner of this wedding to Phillip, who had the name Lysias, heard the words of Alexander and said this in reply: "King Phillip, from Cleopatra will be born to you a son that will resemble you and who can rule after your death." Alexander heard the words of this Lysias and was furious, and lashed out at him, striking him in the head with a club and leaving him dead on the ground. King Phillip, having seen this, felt great pain and anger and he rushed to harm Alexander with his sword, but tripped on the way and fell. Seeing this, Alexander said, "Phillip, who would conquer Europe and a part of Asia, why are you not on your feet?" Having done this, he left the wedding and its

[61] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 316.

e fueron conturbadas; e enfermó allí luego el rey Filippo e cayó d'ello en lecho.	guests deeply disturbed. After this King Phillip fell ill and was bedridden.[62]

Besides the name change, from Attalus to Lysias, several key elements of the event have been changed. Firstly, in reference to Alexander's mythic parentage in the *Preliis* and *General Estoria*, Attalus/Lysias no longer simply implies that Alexander is a less preferable heir. Instead, by the line "a son that will resemble you," Lysias implies that Alexander is neither Phillip's son nor heir through reference to Alexander's disputed heritage, the *Romance* tradition that he had been fathered by Nectanebo, the king of Egypt.[63] This is followed by the most striking change to the story of Alfonso's Alexander—the killing of Lysias. Whereas Plutarch's Alexander throws a cup and insults at Attalus, Alfonso's Alexander summarily executes Lysias.

Alfonso's support for Alexander's actions is made clear through the reconciliation of Alexander and his father. In the *Preliis* and *General Estoria* Alexander visits the sick Phillip and speaks to him directly, in his words: "I speak to you now not as a son speaks to his father, instead I address you as a friend to a friend."[64] Alexander advises Phillip to re-unite with Olympias, Alexander's mother, and reprimands his father for drawing his sword against him. Regarding the execution of Lysias, Alexander reinforces his right to do so, saying: "do not worry about the death of lovely Lysias whom I killed, it was not permissible to say these things which he said in front of me."[65] Phillip accepts this statement of Alexander's rights without contest, the two break into tears and are reconciled. Alexander's justification is accepted by Phillip – and therefore presented to the reader – as self-evident.

Despite this treasonous act by Lysias, Alexander's immediate and lethal response would not strike most readers as appropriate behaviour for an ideal monarch. Ideal royal behaviour in the Middle Ages was based upon the Christian virtues of temperance, mercy, and calm, something Alfonso himself espoused.[66] However Alexander's actions, which cannot be described as temperate nor merciful, fit instead within a newly emerging framework of royal

[62] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 316 (translation my own).
[63] Stoneman, "Primary Sources from the Classical and Early Medieval Periods," 2.
[64] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 318 (translation my own).
[65] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 318 (translation my own).
[66] Siete Partidas. Book 2. Tit. V. Laws X-XI.

behaviour that had gained increasing popularity across Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the idea of righteous royal anger.[67]

Gerd Althoff observed the development of new understandings of royal anger in neighbouring France and the Holy Roman Empire, where "Just anger, anger in a just cause, anger in the battle for justice and right, all find themselves in the twelfth century more frequently included in the praise of the ruler."[68] Richard Barton takes this a step further in his examination of Plantagenet English anger, where he believes it had come to form one of the "components of kingship."[69] The question then becomes whether Lysias' insult constitutes a sufficiently treasonous act for Alexander's lethal response. Kate McGrath, who also examined the role of anger in the English monarchy, thought anger in response to insults was a form of what she refers to as "good anger."[70] English monarchs were expected to react in anger to defend their honour, particularly against "personal insults, especially those that questioned their status as kings."[71]

Iberia had its own unique cultural relationship with ideas of royal anger, for which the thirteenth century may be considered something of a highpoint. Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo found examples of royal anger in the autobiography of Alfonso's uncle Jaime I of Aragón's *llibre dels feyts.*[72] Hilda Grassotti also found examples of Alfonso himself engaging with the idea in the *Siete Partidas*.[73] The anger in these examples is called *ira regia,* an Iberian variation on royal anger identified by Grassotti, where ritualised anger legitimised royal actions. It is worth noting however, that Iberian *ira regia* appears to have far earlier origin than northern European equivalents, Grassotti places its origins in the early tenth century when it begins to appear in royal proclamations.[74] When Jaime I and Alfonso X invoke ideas

[67] For a good overview of the range of academic views on royal anger, which does contain dissenting views to what I have presented here, along with an examination of its development in the Scandinavian context, see Orning Hans Jacob, "Royal Anger between Christian Doctrine and Practical Exigencies," *Collegium medievale* 22 (2009).
[68] Gerd Althoff, "Ira Regis: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger," in *Anger's Past*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 70.
[69] Richard E. Barton, ""Zealous Anger" and the Renegotiation of Aristocratic Relationships in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century France," in *Anger's Past*, ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).
[70] Kate McGrath, "Righteous Royal Rage," in *Royal Rage and the Construction of Anglo-Norman Authority, c. 1000-1250* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 129.
[71] McGrath, "Righteous Royal Rage," 129.
[72] Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, "Emotional memory and medieval autobiography: King James I of Aragon (r. 1213-76)'s Libre dels fets," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2018).
[73] Hilda Grassotti, "La ira regia en León y Castilla," *Cuadernos de historia de España* 41 (1965): 40.
[74] Grassotti, "La ira regia en León y Castilla," 13.

of royal anger, as Alfonso's Alexander does in the *General Estoria*, they are developing a well-established Iberian cultural understanding.

Lysias' insult "from Cleopatra will be born to you a son that will resemble you and who can rule after your death," directly brings into question Alexander's claim to the succession.[75] By suggesting that Alexander, who we are told elsewhere does not resemble Phillip, is not Phillip's child and therefore cannot be his heir, Alexander's status as heir and co-monarch is under direct attack. It is unlikely that Alfonso intended this story to ever be literally reflected in reality, he personally never attempted to kill a noble in response to an insult nor does it seem reasonable to assume he believed he had the right to do so. This account is an extreme example that does not advocate for a monarch's right to kill without trial in response to an insult, but instead wishes to impart upon the reader the importance of Royal dignity and the foolishness of insulting it.[76]

This brings us back to what Spencer referred to as a central strand of Alexander discourse: the murder or Kleitus, which also appeared extensively in the previous chapter.[77] The murder of Kleitus was not included in the *Preliis*, but it was attested to in the other source Alfonso used for his Alexander section, the *Alexandreis.* Beyond this, the murder was also described at length in sources used elsewhere in the *Estoria*, most notably by Orosius. The suggestion that Alfonso and his *taller* were unaware of such a central and hotly contested event of Alexander discourse seems an implausible one.

There are however noticeable parallels between the killing of Lysias and the killing of Kleitus. Both Lysias and Kleitus (according to Plutarch) insult Alexander by questioning his legitimacy as a monarch. Both are killed on the spot by a furious Alexander. However, in the *General Estoria'*s killing, many of the unsavoury elements have been removed. Alexander does not owe Lysias his life as he does Kleitus, who saved him at the battle of the Granicus. There are no familial connections with Lysias like there are with Kleitus. Having just arrived at the wedding, Alexander is most likely sober when he strikes Lysias down.

[75] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 318 (translation my own).
[76] The importing of French and Angevin ideas on anger to Iberia does not however seem to have been successful in the long term, as Alfonso X's alleged anger and lack of restraint appear to have been one of the major justifications used by his son and usurper, the infante Sancho, to legitimise his rebellion against his father. For more on this, see Simon R. Doubleday, "Anger in the Crónica de Alfonso X," *Al-Masaq* 27, no. 1 (2015).
[77] See pp. 21-5. Spencer, *The Roman Alexander: reading a cultural myth*, 85.

Stripped off these offensive elements, the killing of Lysias is a much morally cleaner act than the killing of Kleitus. By including this, and ignoring the Kleitus story, Alfonso has extracted from the *Historia de Preliis* an example of Alexander acting with righteous anger instead of the destructive drunken rage that killed Kleitus. This allows him to simultaneously explore ideas of righteous Royal Anger that were entering Iberia at the time and create a counter-narrative to the hostile accounts of Alexander's wrath that were a mainstay of hostile critiques.

Conclusion

Alfonso created his idealised Alexander through both the careful selection and omission of source materials along with the subtle amplification and manipulation of themes. This process renders Alfonso's own presence in the narrative imperceptible to readers without intimate knowledge of competing Alexander traditions and the texts from which Alfonso is drawing. This is ultimately a façade, Alfonso's life of Alexander is a carefully cultivated and presented narrative where the themes and concepts have been carefully developed to produce an Alexander befitting Alfonso's vision.

This intended vision of Alexander informs every authorial intervention Alfonso makes in the *General Estoria*. Every adjustment, whether they are minute details, such as his adjusting of the Bucephalas narrative, more heavy-handed culling of the Brahmin dialogues, or recontextualising of royal anger, Alfonso's presence in the narrative as an author is consistently pulling in one direction: the exaltation of Alexander. In doing so Alfonso is participating in a millennia old debate, his Alexander narrative directly and deliberately contests many of the key ideas and understandings that have defined the historical debates around Alexander.

Alfonso built upon previous sympathetic arguments to create his own unique idealised version of Alexander. It is this desire to build an idealised Alexander that informs Alfonso's emphasis of Aristotle's education. Alfonso emphasised the role of Alexander's wisdom education under Aristotle and how it qualified Alexander as a ruler, developing the account of Plutarch and incorporating the Arabic tradition. Similarly, he expands upon the ideas of St. Jerome to incorporate Alexander into an Abrahamic framework as a tool of God moving

Alexander away from a purely pagan figure and making him more acceptable for a Christian audience.

Beyond this, as stated in the previous chapter, the *General Estoria* does not singularly engage with sympathetic ideas. Alfonso is looking to refute and subvert the hostile accusations levelled at Alexander. In his recontextualization of Alexander's rage Alfonso sought to subvert morally unsuitable examples such as the much discussed murder of Kleitus through the more acceptable killing of Lysias as an example of justified royal anger. Similarly in the removal of the majority of the Brahmin dialogues, despite their origins in an ostensibly sympathetic source the *Historia de Preliis*, Alfonso reacted to the evolving critique of Alexander centred around the dialogue, notably in Godfrey of Viterbo's *Pantheon*.

As will be explored in the next chapter, Alfonso's careful construction of an idealised Alexander was not an aesthetic choice or matter of personal sentiment, but on the contrary it served an overt political purpose. By presenting Alexander as an aspirational monarch worthy of emulation, Alfonso was crafting a symbol that he would invoke repeatedly to buttress his failing political projects. This political utilisation is itself only possible because of the process of idealisation Alfonso had undertaken in the *General Estoria* to present Alexander as a ruler with prestige and authority.

Chapter 3. Alfonso's Alexander in the *General Estoria*: recovering from the crises of the 1260s.

By establishing Alexander as an aspirational monarch, Alfonso created a symbol laden with prestige and authority. I argue that Alexander is then used through the narration of his life to reinvigorate the arguments for Alfonso's program of cultural and legal reform by imbuing it with the prestige and authority he has cultivated around Alexander. This idea is not in and of itself original, several historians over recent years have made similar claims. Scholars have in particular examined the translations of Arabic texts commissioned during Alfonso's reign, especially the *Bocados de Oro,* recent opinion has seen Alexander as an aspirational symbol used by Alfonso as part of an attempted program of cultural reform. Understanding of the nature of this cultural reform has varied between authors. Hugo Bizzarri, for example, saw Alexander as speaking principally to Alfonso's aristocracy, embodying for them an ideal "warrior and conqueror, model of fidelity to his men and his enemies."[1] For Bizzarri, Alfonso was using Alexander in the *Bocados de Oro* to supplant the existing norms of localised loyalties in favour of a more centralised chivalric culture. Ghislaine Fournès, building on the work of Bizzarri, looked at the influence of the *Bocados de Oro* and *Secretum secretorum,* another recently translated Alexander text, on Alfonso's legislative program, specifically the second *Partida.*[2] Fournès saw Alexander as a paradigm of royal wisdom, a model for royal behaviour, who was used to justify Alfonso's legislation in the second *Partida,* which discusses royal behaviour and virtues.

Despite the historical attention paid to the *Bocados de Oro,* the connection between the Alexander account of the *General Estoria* and Alfonso's cultural and legislative reform has been hitherto underexamined by historians. This is a significant gap in the field for several reasons. Firstly, the *General Estoria* is the most comprehensive account of Alexander's life

[1] "guerrier et conquérant, modèle de loyauté envers ses hommes et ses ennemis" Bizzarri, "Miroirs du prince castillans et collections de sentences," 977 (translation my own).
[2] Fournès, "La construction du paradigme royal des Bocados de oro à la Segunda Partida d'Alphonse X le Sage."

produced under Alfonso, it covers his life in its entirety and draws on multiple sources. Secondly, unlike the translations examined by the previous studies mentioned above, the *Estoria*'s account is the most original depiction of Alexander's life produced under Alfonso, and therefore more personally reflective of its author. This makes the *Estoria* is the best available source for Alfonso's personal vision of Alexander as a symbol. Finally, the chronology of the texts is important. The *Bocados de Oro* is believed to have been translated in the 1260s, which makes it contemporary with the *Siete Partidas,* of which production began in 1256.[3] This timeline is important because, according to Fournès, the *Bocados* serves as inspiration to the *Partidas*. In contrast, the *General Estoria* was produced significantly later, with production beginning in 1270s'.[4] This means the *Estoria* has a very different relationship with the *Partidas* and Alfonso's cultural reform programme than the *Bocados de Oro*. By the 1270s when the *General Estoria's* production began Alfonso had suffered a series of political setbacks. His attempts to implement the Roman-style law of the *Partidas* had generated resistance from entrenched interests and Alfonso's rule had been shaken by the mudéjar revolt of 1264.[5] I argue Alexander in the *General Estoria* is designed as a symbol to demonstrate the value and virtue of the *Siete Partidas*' ideas in response to the resistance Alfonso had faced over the preceding decade.

To this end, Alfonso weaves into the account of Alexander's life themes and imagery that re-enforced the ideas of the *Partidas*. In particular, as this chapter will demonstrate, Alfonso emphasises the legislation in the *Partidas* that look to build new bonds of loyalty centred around the monarch. This idea draws in part upon the ideas of Bizzarri discussed above, who suggests that Alexander was a symbol to re-orientate aristocratic loyalties around the monarch. However, inspired by David Assouline's thesis, according to whom "Alfonso proposed a political religion with himself at the centre" through which a monarch "could be the instrument of a collective national conversion" I propose that in the *General Estoria* Alfonso is looking to re-orientate the loyalty of not just the Catholic aristocracy, but of all of his subjects. [6] This concept also draws inspiration from Villanueva's study of Alfonso's 'cultural concept,' a program of cultural reformation which he saw as explicitly aiming at bringing the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim subjects of his realm together.[7] Having just

[3] Rojinsky, "The Vernacular Letter of the Law in the Siete Partidas," 67.
[4] Borja, "Introduction," xxix.
[5] O'Callaghan, *The learned king: the reign of Alfonso X of Castile*, 181-97.
[6] Assouline, "The utopian fictions of Alfonso X," 31.
[7] Márquez Villanueva, *El concepto cultural alfonsi*.

survived a major Mudéjar revolt, the danger disloyal non-Christian subjects presented could not be more apparent. Alexander was uniquely qualified to serve as a universally acceptable symbol for Alfonso's subjects. As a pagan he did not belonging to any of the dominant faiths in Iberia, but nonetheless had prestige and authority in all three communities. Alfonso synthesised Jewish, Islamic, and Christian traditions to create an idealised Alexander to whom all faiths could aspire.

This chapter examines three examples of the utilisation of Alexander in the *General Estoria.* The first section, drawing upon the work of Fournès, looks at the use of Aristotle as an authority figure in the *Partidas,* on which the *General Estoria* elaborates. By using Aristotle, an authority by virtue of his role as a teacher to Alexander, Alfonso is grounding his legislation in a figure respected across sectarian boundaries. The second section looks at Alfonso's formalising and universalising the positions of non-Christian administrators in the *Siete Partidas*. This idea is explored in the *General Estoria* through Alexander's relationship with the Jewish High Priest Jaddus, who functions as an idealised minority leader. The final section examines Alfonso's attempt to replace local and sectarian loyalties of his subjects with a new framework for loyalty based on the concept of *naturaleza.* This is expressed in the *General Estoria* through Alexander's treatment of Darius' betrayers, in which he speaks on the nature of treason against a natural lord. As these sections suggest, the *Partidas* and the *Estoria* work in tandem in their use of Alexander to re-orient loyalty and authority towards a central monarch.

The *Siete Partidas*, Aristotle, and Legal Reform

Aristotelian thought and intellectual authority were essential cornerstones for Alfonso's ambitious reformation of his realm. Alfonso's dependence on Aristotle can be seen clearly in both the *Siete Partidas,* where the philosopher functions as a source of moral authority for the legislation and was prominent the curricula of Alfonso's new universities at Salamanca and Seville.[8] Alfonso envisioned an intellectual reformation in his realm, and as Linehan says "central to the entire enterprise was a reverence for Aristotle."[9] The emphasis of Alfonso's

[8] Peter Linehan, *Spain, 1157–1300: a partible inheritance*, 1st ed., A history of Spain, (Chicester: Wiley, 2008), 136.
[9] Vicente de la Fuente, *Historia de las universidades, colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1884), 128-31. Linehan, *Spain, 1157–1300: a partible inheritance*, 134.

reverence was given specifically to Aristotle in his role as the teacher of Alexander, and thus as an authority on ideal rulership and governance.

Historically Aristotle's education of Alexander has been a divisive issue, as has been discussed at length in the previous chapters. Alfonso's embrace of Aristotle generated backlash within certain strata of his realm, notably the clergy whose influence was undermined by the newfound prominence of natural philosophers at court. Perhaps the most overt refutation of Alfonso's new socio-political program came after his death from his son and usurper, Sancho IV. In works such as the *Lucidario* and *Castigos* Sancho unpicks the cultural project of his father to restore the old order. Ana M. Montero says of the shift between father and son "Sancho would not be the new Salomon, the next Alexander or the last Aristotle— as his father had been regarded— if anything he was the new Messiah."[10]

As observed in her study of the relationship between the *Bocados de Oro* and the *Siete* Partidas, Fournès demonstrated how Alfonso's use of the moral authority of Aristotle as a teacher, which he also worked so hard to cultivate in the *General Estoria*, is central to the *Siete Partidas.*[11] This is clearest in the second *Partida*, which relates to justice and governance. Here Aristotle is cited in twenty-two different laws, the next closest being the Biblical King Solomon who is cited in eighteen.[12] These two are the most prevalent, the next figure most frequently invoked is St. Augustine who is cited in three laws.[13] Within these twenty-two citations approximately half are framed in the context of Aristotle teaching Alexander proper governance and behaviour as a monarch. This example, for the law "A king should be gracious and liberal" is typical of a construction that is used repeatedly in the second *Partida*:

[10]Ana M. Montero, "The vision of Heaven and knowledge in Castillian Literature: From Alfonso X to Alfonso de la Torre," in *Dreams and Visions : An Interdisciplinary Enquiry*, ed. Nancy Van Deusen (Boston: Brill, 2010), 196.
[11] Fournès, "La construction du paradigme royal des Bocados de oro à la Segunda Partida d'Alphonse X le Sage."
[12] Alfonso cites Aristotle in: Part. II. Tit. I. Law. VI & X. Tit. IV. Law. II & IV. Tit. V. Law. IX, XIV & XVII. Tit. IX. Law. I, II, V, IX, X, XIV, XVI & XXI. Tit. X. Law. III. Tit. XII. Preamble. Tit. XIII. Preamble & Law. I, XIII & XVIII. Tit. XX. Preamble. Solomon in Part. II. Tit. II. Law. II. Tit. III. Law. V. Tit. IV. Law. III. Tit. V. Law. II, III, XI, XIV, XV, XVI & XXI. Law. VI. Law. II. Tit. VII. Law. I. Tit. IX. Law. V. Tit. XII. Law. IV, V, VIII, IX & XIV.
[13] Part. II. Tit. XII. Law. II, III & IV.

E porende dixo Aristoteles a Alexandre, que el que usasse, e punasse de auer en si franqueza, que por ella ganaria mas ayna el amor, e los coraçones de la gente.	For this reason, Aristotle said to Alexander, that he should practise, and endeavour to acquire liberality, because, by means of it, he would the more readily gain the love and hearts of the people.[14]

Justifying legislation through the phrase "Aristotle said to Alexander," as seen above, is the most common Aristotle construction in the *Partida,* being used in about a third of all references to Aristotle.[15] Other variations on this formula include Aristotle writing to Alexander,[16] advising him,[17] reproving him,[18] and instructing him through parable.[19] When Alexander is not named, the most common phrasing is "Aristotle and other wise men said," but this construction is used significantly less.[20] I would contend however that, even when cited without mention of Alexander, Aristotle's authority on the subject of ideal behaviour for a ruler is still couched in his role in educating an ideal monarch. Alexander's purported excellence reenforces the validity of Aristotle's teachings on royal behaviour, even without direct reference needing to be made every instance he is cited.

The dynamic of student and teacher between Aristotle and Alexander is cited most heavily in three sections in particular. These are Title IV "What a King Should Be in His Speech" (twice), Title V "What a King Should Be in His Works" (twice), and Title IX "What a King Should Be to His Officers, and to the Members of His Household and His Court, and What They Should Be to Him" (five times). The emphasis given to Aristotle the teacher in these sections is a reflection of the close thematic connection between the subject matter of these sections – royal qualities, behaviour, and the management of vassals – and the lessons Aristotle teaches Alexander in the *Bocados de Oro*.[21]

Beyond the legislation of the *Partidas,* Aristotle also played an important role in Alfonso's reformation of university *curricula* in Iberia. Alfonso emphasised the importance of

[14] Part. II. Title. V. Law. XVIII (trans. Scott Samuel Parsons).
[15] It is used in Part. II. Tit. IV. Law. II. Tit. V. Law. XIV & XVIII. Tit. IX. Law. V & X, XI.
[16] Part. II. Tit. IX. Law. I.
[17] Part. II. Tit. IX. Law. II.
[18] Part. II. Tit. IV. Law. IV.
[19] Part. II. Tit. X. Law. III.
[20] Part. II. Tit. V. Law. IX. Tit. XII. Preamble. XIV. Preamble & Law. XIII. Tit. XX. Preamble.
[21] Fournès, "La construction du paradigme royal des Bocados de oro à la Segunda Partida d'Alphonse X le Sage."

Aristotelian natural philosophy in the *curricula* of the universities he would establish, most notably being the school in Seville in 1254, where Alfonso was deeply involved.[22] In these institutions Alfonso prioritised secular learning, with an emphasis on Arabic, Latin, the sciences and philosophy.[23] Those educated in these universities would go on to partake in the translation and transmission of knowledge, as well as serve as a base of recruitment for Alfonso's bureaucracy. Universities do also appear in the *Partidas,* as Alfonso dedicated an entire section of the second *Partida* to universities. The section laid out the process for establishing a university, the special legal rights for students and masters, pay structures for masters, and the importance of establishing bookstores to support the institution.[24]

The prevalence of Aristotelian natural philosophy at court and in the universities stood in contrast to other European realms, notably France. The study of his natural philosophy had been banned repeatedly in Paris in the thirteenth century.[25] Much of the surviving corpus of Aristotelian philosophy had only recently become available thanks to Christian expansion in Iberia, which had brought Christendom into contact with the Islamic philosophical tradition. Muslim scholars had preserved many classical authors that had been lost in Europe, including works by Aristotle. Iberia became a hub of translation of Arabic works into Latin, transmitting these rediscovered classical texts across Christian Europe. With these classical texts also came the commentaries and ideas of the great Islamic philosophers, Alkindi, Alfarabi, Avicenna, and Averroes.[26] These men had developed their own interpretations of Aristotle, Plato and other classical scholars and built upon the ideas they found.[27] It was the Islamic philosophy that came with the study of Aristotle, perhaps more so than the pagan thought of Aristotle himself, that concerned the clergy of Paris.[28]

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[22] Linehan, *Spain, 1157–1300: a partible inheritance*, 136-8.
[23] Jessica Katherine Zeitler, "Intellectual cartographic spaces: Alfonso X, the wise and the foundation of the "Studium Generale" of Seville" (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2013), 175-85. Fuente, *Historia de las universidades, colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España*, 1, 128-31.
[24] Part. II. Tit. XXXI.
[25] Stephen Brown, "The intellectual context of later medieval philosophy: universities, Aristotle, arts, theology," in *Routledge History of Philosophy Volume III : Medieval Philosophy*, ed. John Marenbon (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 1998), 191.
[26] Richard Taylor, "Ibn Rushd/Averroes and "Islamic" Rationalism," *Medieval encounters : Jewish, Christian, and Muslim culture in confluence and dialogue* 15, no. 2-4 (2009): 226.
[27] For more on the Islamic building upon Aristotelian thought, see the collection of essays *Aristotle and the Arabic Tradition*, ed. Ahmed Alwishah and Josh Hayes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[28] John F. Wippel, "The Parisian Condemnations of 1270 and 1277," in *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jorge J. E. Gracia and Timothy B. Noone (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005), 65-6.

Evocative of the hostile reaction to Aristotle that began to emerge in the thirteenth century is the *Lai d'Aristote* likely written by Henri d'Andeli in France.[29] The *Lai d'Aristote,* a precautionary tale, is demonstrative of the same scepticism to Aristotle's wisdom that had informed restrictions on reading Aristotelian thought. In the *Lai,* Aristotle warns Alexander about paying too much attention to a woman[30] and neglecting his royal responsibilities. Aristotle however fails to abide by his own advice and is seduced by Alexander's lover. She humiliates him by placing a saddle onto him and riding him around a garden while Alexander watches.[31] Aristotle is depicted not just as a poor teacher but as incapable of living by his own principals, with the end result being his public humiliation. The *Lai* is not, unlike other hostile sources, a text that Alfonso references elsewhere and there is little evidence to suggest he had access to it or knew of it. It does however serve to demonstrate how discordant the reputation of Aristotle was during the thirteenth century and illustrates some of the hostile trends in Europe that were reacting to Aristotle's newfound prevalence.

This suspicion of Aristotle was certainly not limited to France, and Alfonso faced resistance to his cultural reforms in Iberia that channelled the hostility of Paris. During his lifetime, this resistance came from his clergy. In 1279, they wrote a *gravamina* to Pope Boniface VIII with a list of grievances and requesting a papal legate come to Iberia and arbitrate their disputes with the king. In language that, according to Linehan, was deliberately evocative of the Parisian ban on Aristotelian natural philosophy, the clergy complained of the influence of philosophers at court and their heretical ideas.[32] Alfonso's cultural program and patronage of secular courtiers had undermined their traditional influence at court and over intellectual life.

After his deposition, Alfonso's embrace of Aristotle was again rebuked by his son and usurper Sancho IV.[33] Sancho's rebellion against his father had been a reactionary movement backed by the nobility and clergy who were frustrated with Alfonso's attempted reforms and political failures. Once in power, he commissioned texts such as the *Lucidario* and *Castigos* that aimed at re-establishing the supremacy of the Church over Aristotelian philosophy and

[29] Glyn S. Burgess and Leslie C. Brook, "Lai d'Aristote," in *Twenty-Four Lays from the French Middle Ages* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), 130.
[30] She is commonly referred to as Phyllis but is anonymous in the referenced edition.
[31] Burgess and Brook, "Lai d'Aristote," 139-40.
[32] Peter Linehan, "The Spanish Church revisited: the episcopal gravamina of 1279," in *Authority and Power. Studies on Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ulman on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Brian Tierney and Peter Linehan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 135-7.
[33] Maribel Fierro, "Alfonso X "The Wise": The Last Almohad Caliph?," *Medieval Encounters* 15, no. 2-4 (2009): 191.

rebuking his father's cultural reform.[34] The effort Sancho invested into rebuking and undoing these Aristotelian reforms speaks to how central they were to Alfonso's own conception of how he wanted to change his kingdom. By supplanting Aristotle's authority, that Alfonso had so carefully cultivated in the *General Estoria,* Sancho was consciously removing the lynch pin from Alfonso's reformation.

Within this context of resistance and hostility, Alfonso's amplification of the consequences of Aristotle's education in the *General Estoria* discussed in the previous chapter acquires a significance beyond the historiographical debate it engaged in. The story's significance becomes that Aristotle, with the assistance of the other philosophers, has given Alexander the wisdom needed to become a ruler. This buttresses Alfonso's project of legal reform, embodied in the *Siete Partidas,* which derives authority from the teacher and student.

The connection between the *General Estoria* and the *Partidas* is further developed between the parallels between the sections of the *Estoria* derived from the *Libro de Buenos Proverbios* and the references to Aristotle's advice in the *Siete Partidas.* As discussed above, the sections from the *Buenos Proverbios* (and the *Kitab adab al-falasifa* it was translated from) focus on Aristotle's development as philosopher under Plato and then his teaching of Alexander. These sections inspired by the *Buenos Proverbios* allow Alfonso to more expansively demonstrate to the reader the idealised student-teacher relationship he cites so extensively in the *Partidas.* Take for example the advice in Title IX Law V "What Kind of Men the Counsellors of a King Should Be" where Aristotle instructs Alexander:

E por esto dixo Aristoteles a Alexandre come en manera de castigo, que se aconsejasse con omes que amassen buena andança del, e que fuessen entendidos, e de buen seso natural.	Aristotle said to Alexander, by way of advice, that he should take counsel with men who desired his good fortune, and were men of intelligence and good, natural judgment.[35]

This advice in the *Partidas* finds clear parallel in the *General Estoria,* where a young Alexander asks Aristotle for advice on the same subject.

[34] Juan Escourido, "Política alfonsí de la alegría: Juegos de tablero, subjetivación y control social," *La Corónica* 46, no. 1 (2017): 79-80. Montero, "The vision of Heaven and knowledge in Castillian Literature: From Alfonso X to Alfonso de la Torre," 195-6.

[35] Part. II. Title. V. Law. XVIII. (trans. Samuel Parsons Scott)

E dixo Alexandre a so maestro Aristótil: "Consejadme de qué guise puedo escoger omnes que me fagan servicio." E el dixol: "Cata omnes que ovieron vassallos e que los sopieron mandar e guiar e a aquel faz señor de tu cavallería, e aquel que ovo heredad e la sopo bien adeliñar, a aquel faz señor de tus rendas.	And Alexander said to his master Aristotle: "Advise me in what manner I should select the men that will serve me." And he said to him: "Seek men who have vassals who know how to lead and organise, how to be a leader to your knights, how to care for their estates and how to be a lord to your tenants.[36]

The inclusion of the sections inspired by the *Libro de Buenos Proverbios* allows Alfonso to explore Alexander's education through the highly sympathetic Arabic-derived lens. The many references in the *Partidas* to Alexander being instructed in ruling by Aristotle are fleshed out with each acting as an idealised student and teacher respectively.[37] This idealisation can be seen as the passage cited above continues, Alexander absorbs Aristotle's teaching and produces his own aphorism on leadership where he extolls ruling for the benefit of the many and appointing positions without regard for wealth.[38] The inclusion of the *Proverbios*-inspired quasi-appendix with its aspirational student and teacher, along with the earlier in-text manipulation to emphasize the impact of Aristotle's education, form Alfonso's intellectual argument for how he has treated Alexander and Aristotle as authority figures in the *Partidas.*

The *General Estoria* and *Siete Partidas* are complementary texts, with the *Estoria* designed to restate and re-enforce Alfonso's program of reform through analogy. The *Estoria* provides the justification for the moral authority of Aristotle as a teacher and contextualises the teaching to which the *Partidas* refer. Alfonsine engagement with the historiographical debate around consequences of Alexander's education under Aristotle was never a purely academic exercise, but instead the calculated cultivation of a moral authority for political purposes. Aristotle, by virtue of being the teacher of Alexander the Great, serves as a pillar of the legislation in the *Partidas* Alfonso wanted his realm to adopt.

[36] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 247 (translation my own).
[37] Gary, "Introduction," 11.
[38] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 247.

Jewish and Muslim Leaders in a Multi-Faith Realm

The scholars who brought Aristotelian thought into the kingdom of Castile and who performed much of the translation work were largely non-Christian. Alfonso relied upon Jewish and Muslim scholars for their language skills, academic capabilities, and their intellectual links to the Islamic world.[39] The Jewish translator, rabbi, and astronomer, Yehuda ben Moshe, embodies this class of non-Christian scholars with whom Alfonso surrounded himself, serving as Alfonso's personal physician and as a collaborator on the translations and texts that Alfonso sponsored.[40] The prominence of non-Christians created tension, the *gravamen* mentioned above complained about the influence of Jews over public affairs.[41] Alfonso therefore had to maintain a political balancing act. Non-Christian populations were culturally and economically valuable to the realm.[42] However, their loyalties to their new conquerors were dubious and friction with Christian communities needed to be managed.[43] Alfonso attempts to address this issue in both the *Siete Partidas* and the *General Estoria* through legal reform. In these two texts Alfonso elaborates a vision for the happy and peaceful minority communities enjoying the right to practise their faith and the integration of Jewish and Muslim community leaders into the administrative apparatus of the kingdom.

Inspired by Islamic law around *dhimmi* populations religious minorities in Christian-ruled Iberia typically functioned as autonomous social and political bodies within the wider kingdom.[44] They were allowed to practise their religion in peace, albeit with some limitations on public displays. Social interaction between sects was restricted. For example: minorities would typically live in their own settlements, or if they did live in a mixed settlement, they would occupy a designated district. Public baths would have schedules, days for Christians, days for Muslims, days for Jews, to avoid unwanted intermixing. These rules were typically mutually endorsed, all parties had an interest in maintaining their community's identity and

[39] Fierro, "Alfonso X "The Wise": The Last Almohad Caliph?," 188-9.
[40] Norman Roth, "Jewish collaborators in Alfonso's scientific work," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 62-69.
[41] Linehan, "The Spanish Church revisited: the episcopal gravamina of 1279," 135-6.
[42] A contemporary Iberian idiom went, quien no tiene moro, no tiene oro – no moors, no money. Robert I. Burns, "Jews and Moors in the Siete Partidas of Alfonso X the Learned: a Background Perspective," in *Medieval Spain*, ed. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 2002), 55.
[43] Linehan, *Spain, 1157–1300: a partible inheritance*, 149-52.
[44] Ana Echevarria, "Islamic influence on Christian legislation in the kingdom of Castile," *Journal of medieval history* 45, no. 3 (2019): 302.

autonomy. Within these districts or settlements, Jews and Muslims would continue to live under Halakha and Sharia law respectively adjudicated by their own religious authorities with only extra-communal disputes being judged by royal authorities.[45] However, the rights and restrictions on minority faiths could vary from city to city depending on the city charter, a document that had been issued by the monarch called a *fuero*.

Fueros were charters issued to both Christian and non-Christian settlements guaranteeing certain rights, responsibilities, tax obligations and specific regulations.[46] The content of a *fuero* could vary dramatically depending on the location, conditions, and monarch responsible. For example the *Fuero viejo de Vizcaya* in the Basque Country entitled all residents of Vizcaya regardless of status to the privileges of a *hidalgo*, a minor noble.[47] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Castilian monarchs issued so-called *fueros de moros* in the newly acquired southern territories. These documents established the rights and responsibilities of newly conquered populations and created incentives for Christian migration from the north into the region. However, the tradition of issuing *fueros* could cause headaches for Iberian monarchs. Each community having their own rights and legal privileges created an administrative nightmare. The privileges guaranteed by a *fuero* were jealously guarded, presenting a major obstacle against any attempts to centralise power or administration. By the thirteenth century *fueros* being issued in newly conquered territories began to be significantly reduced in scope. García Díaz, looking at the *fuero* issued to Seville, suggests this reduction of *fueros* was a deliberate omission that allowed space for a universal legal code to be imposed over the top without conflict or contradiction.[48]

The centralised legal structure intended to sit above these more barebones *fueros* was the *Siete Partidas,* through which Alfonso looked to make uniform the legal system in his realm. Among other things, the *Partidas* would create a uniform overarching legal structure guaranteeing the rights of religous minorities. Jews and Muslims were promised in the

[45] David Nirenberg, "Muslims in Christian Iberia, 1000–1526," in *The Medieval World* (Routledge, 2018), 56.
[46] For a summation of the development of *fueros* over the preceding centuries, see Teofilo F. Ruiz, *From Heaven to Earth*, The Reordering of Castilian Society, 1150-1350, (Princeton University Press, 2004), 60-65.
[47] José Ramón Díaz de Durana and Arsenio Dacosta, "The role of the past in late medieval hidalgo historical writing and memory," *Journal of Medieval History* 44, no. 5 (2018): 597.
[48] Jesús García Díaz, "El reflejo del ideario jurídico-político de Alfonso X de Castilla en su proyecto legislativo," *Revista de estudios histórico-jurídicos*, no. 42 (2020): 301-02.

Partidas the right to practise their own religious rites, albeit "quietly and without disorder."[49] Beyond this, synagogues were offered legal protection from defacement or disruption, forced conversions were forbidden, and the right to be undisturbed on the sabbath was enshrined in law.[50] Beyond protecting Islamic and Jewish rights to worship, Alfonso also developed a new inter-communal structure for administration and justice. The *Partidas* lay out a two-tiered parallel hierarchy for appointed officials that would manage their own communities.[51] Jewish *rabs* and Muslim *almoxarifes* preside over extensive districts or major settlements, while *adelantados* manage smaller districts or assemblies.[52] These were intended to be official positions in the Castilian administration and were centrally appointed by the monarch from prominent members of the community. Alfonso was thereby formalising and regulating a practise that had been in common use during the Christian expansion over previous centuries. It was common practise to appoint someone educated in Islamic law and loyal to the role of *alcalde* (a role derived from the Islamic *al-qadi*), as can be seen in the *fuero* given to Toledo in 1101, or Jaime I's more contemporary *fuero* for Valencia in 1238.[53] Alfonso's inclusion and structuring of non-Christian authorities in an increasingly centralised fashion was an innovation, but one rooted in centuries-old traditions of local community leaders. The *Partidas*, as was often the case, looked to regulate and make uniform a pre-existing practise.

The status of non-Christian populations was an area of concern for Alfonso. His father's conquests had incorporated into the kingdom large swathes of previously Muslim territories. The loyalty of the new mudéjar subjects who remained, and therefore the security of these new territories, was always viewed with suspicion. These suspicions were only confirmed when Alfonso's reign had nearly been toppled by a major Islamic revolt in the 1260s, backed by the Emirate of Granada and the Marinid Sultanate, called the Mudéjar revolt. Caught unprepared and off guard, Alfonso suffered serious loss of territory in the initial month of the

[49] Scott Samuel Parsons and S. J. Robert I. Burns, *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 5: Underworlds: The Dead, the Criminal, and the Marginalized (Partidas VI and VII)* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc, 2012), 1433.
[50] Samuel Parsons and Robert I. Burns, *Las Siete Partidas, Volume 5: Underworlds: The Dead, the Criminal, and the Marginalized (Partidas VI and VII)*, 1434.
[51] Echevarria, "Islamic influence on Christian legislation in the kingdom of Castile," 309.
[52] Part. III. Tit. XX. Law. VIII.
[53] James F. Powers, "Privilege Given by Alfonso VI to the Mozarabs of Toledo (1011)," in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 136. S. J. Robert I. Burns, "Three Charters from the Kingdom of Valencia (1238-1259)," in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 280.

revolt.[54] It then took years of bloody and expensive warfare to recover the captured cites and fortresses and left an indelible mark on his reign. By the time Alfonso composed the *Estoria*, the revolt had been suppressed and Castilian hegemony restored, but its legacy would live on.

Alexander's life, occurring as it did in a mostly non-Abrahamic world, does not contain many events through which to speak about relations between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Iberia. There was one opportunity to explore Alfonso's ideas for interfaith co-existence centred around the monarch: Alexander's visit to Jerusalem. As seen in the previous chapter, the passage describing Alexander's visit to Jerusalem was used to incorporate Alexander into an Abrahamic framework. There is however, a second element of interest to the passage, namely the negotiations between Alexander and Jaddus for the rights of the Jews in his empire. This is the only negotiated surrender that is explored in the narrative. The cities of Egypt welcome Alexander as the son of their king Nectanebus and liberator from the Persians, but there are no local representatives or negotiations.[55] Similarly, settlements that resist such as Damascus, Tyre, and Sidon are sacked without any elaboration or negotiation.[56] In contrast, Jerusalem and Jaddus are singled out for special treatment for the emotional value Christian authors gave to the city and the Jewish population. This gave Alfonso an opportunity to show how his idealised Alexander ruled over, and negotiated with, the other Abrahamic faiths. I contend that Jaddus serves as an idealised embodiment of Jewish and Muslim minorities in Iberia for Alexander to negotiate with.

Alexander's negotiations with Jaddus over the status of Jerusalem under his rule speaks to several cultural and legal practices that Iberians would have recognised. The direct negotiation between a surrendering community's leaders and military officers, often a *qadi*, and the victorious monarch was an established practice.[57] The negotiations between Alexander and Jaddus are reminiscent of these negotiations, with a Jewish High Priest replacing the *qadi* as a spiritual leader. Jaddus asks Alexander for two conditions, both of which were mainstays of Iberian negotiations: religious rights and tax privileges:

[54] O'Callaghan, *The learned king: the reign of Alfonso X of Castile*, 182-93.
[55] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 323-4.
[56] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 324-6.
[57] Echevarria, "Islamic influence on Christian legislation in the kingdom of Castile," 302.

Buen rey, pues pedímoste que te plega que nos des que vivamos nós segund nuestros padres e que usemos de las leyes d' ellos, e sobr' esso que nos franquees que el seteno año que non demos tributo ninguno.	Good King, we would ask of you that you accept to allow us that we will be able to live our lives according to our fathers and using their laws, and in addition to this that every seventh year you do not demand any tribute from us.[58]

Both of Jaddus' requests to Alexander, "that we will be able to live our lives following our fathers and using their laws" and that "every seventh year you do not demand any tribute from us" are common subject matters for the *fueros* issued by Alfonso X and his predecessors.[59] The first of these two requests, following the laws of our fathers, carries with it a series of implications no Iberian reader would miss. The term *ley*, or law, used here does not imply as the modern usage might secular legal codes and justice. Instead, the term is far more inclusive of concepts of faith, culture, and tradition along with justice. For a minority religious group in Iberia, to follow the laws of their father's meant autonomy for internal matters, allowing them to continue living following the customs, or law, of their culture. This internal autonomy and religious freedom is what Jaddus is requesting of Alexander when he asks to live by the laws of his fathers.

Through his securing of religious freedom and internal autonomy for the Jews, and by maintaining his local authority as High Priest of the Jews, Jaddus appears in line with the position of a Jewish *Rab* or Islamic *almoxarifes* as seen in the *Partidas*. The text makes clear Jaddus is to be a solely civil authority, Alexander appoints a prince named Andromachus 'to guard' the city. This description probably implies the role of a military governor.[60] Limiting Jaddus' authority in this way brings his role closer in line with an Iberian *Rab*, whose role was an administrative and legal one.

In this passage, Alfonso amplifies many of the pre-existing textual elements found in the *Preliis* which is indicative of his investment in the passage. For example, instead of

[58] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 328 (translation my own).
[59] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 328.
[60] An Andromachus is also mentioned in the role of military governor by Quintus Curtius Rufus, who tells us that whilst Alexander was campaigning in Egypt "Andromachus, who was governor of Syria, had been burnt alive by the Samaritans". This adds credence to the idea that Andromachus "guarding" the city is referring to his appointment as a military governor. *Andromachi, quem praefecerat Syriae: vivum Samaritae cremaverant*." Curtius. History of Alexander. 4.8.9-10 (trans. John C. Rolfe).

Alexander promising to simply fulfill their demands, he instead promises to do so to the greatest degree.[61] Beyond minor amplifications, such as making Alexander more emphatic in his generosity during the negotiations he also has Alexander take an active role in Jerusalem's administration. Alfonso tells us that before leaving Alexander "*ordenó la cibdad e la tierra*," meaning he organised the city and the land.[62] *Ordenar* can convey several meanings, mostly to do with organisation and management, though also with governance and rulership.[63] This organisation of Jerusalem and surrounds, along with the appointment of Andromachus as military governor, seems to limit the potential authority of Jaddus. Jaddus would have, if we accept him as analogous to an Iberian *rab* or *almoxarife*, internal authority over the Jews of Jerusalem. However, as Alexander's reorganising of the city and its territory reminds the reader, Jaddus and his people are ultimately subordinate to the monarch and his law.

The virtue of Alexander's taking personal responsibility for administering Jerusalem and the productive relationship he has cultivated between the Jews, embodied by Jaddus, and the crown is further emphasised by Alfonso by expanding upon a line from the *Preliis.* In both texts when Alexander marches out of Jerusalem following his good treatment of the Jews cities eagerly open their gates for him, but Alfonso gives this a new prominence in the narrative of the *General Estoria*:

General Estoria	Translation	Historia de Preliis
E a cuantos logares e yentes vinié, … recibiénle cada logar muy bien em paz e sin toda guerra e lo más ondradamient que ellos podién.	And no matter how many cities and peoples [Alexander] came to … each place received him well in peace and without any war and	Alexander led his army towards the other cities, and, reaching them, was greeted with affection by all.[65]

[61] The *Preliis* has Alexander "iussit eos petere quas vellent donationes accipere," which Pritchard renders as he "commanded them to ask for whatever they wished." Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 31 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard). In the *Estoria* Alexander is more emphatic, saying "e desí mandóles quel demandassen quequier que ellos quisiessen e él que gelo darié." Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 328.
[62] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 328 (translation my own).
[63] Martín Alonso Pedraz, *Diccionario medieval español: desde las Glosas emilianenses y silenses (s.X) hasta el siglo XV* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1986), 1454.
[65] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 31 (trans. R. Telfryn Pritchard).

with the greatest honour
they could.[64]

I suggest that beyond constituting a 'happy' ending that seeks to emphasise Alexander's success as an integrator and mediator this passage also looks to separate the ideal monarch Alexander, who had a good relationship with the Jews, from his successors in the region the Seleucids. The Seleucid dynasty, who took control of a large swath of Alexander's empire including Jerusalem, faced serious unrest from the Jewish population. This unrest culminated in a violent uprising, referred to as the Maccabean revolt, which was in large part driven by a sense of Jewish identity being under threat of Hellenization, with the catalyst being Antiochus IV placing pagan statues in the Temple.[66] The Maccabean revolt would be written down and included into Jewish, and to a lesser extent Christian, religious scripture giving it significant cultural value.[67] It was therefore essential for Alfonso not just to distinguish Alexander's treatment of Jerusalem from that of his successors, but to emphasise how his respectful treatment of the Jews had secured peace in Judea.

I suggest the mutually beneficial relationship between Alexander and Jaddus depicted in the *General Estoria* was intended by Alfonso to be an aspirational example for minority community leaders in Iberia. Jaddus serves to reassure the wary Christian aristocracy (and perhaps Alfonso himself) that the integration of the territories acquired under Ferdinand III is both desirable and achievable. Crucial in the achievement of this integration, the story of Alexander and Jaddus tells us, is the figure of the monarch and his personal relationship with the non-Christian leaders. Only through the monarch, the "instrument of collective national conversion," can this peaceful and mutually beneficial relationship emerge.[68] Alfonso is both demonstrating the virtue of incorporating these new subjects into the kingdom and placing the monarch at the centre of the process.

Loyalty and the *Señor Natural*

In the *Siete Partidas*, Alfonso developed a new framework for loyalty and identity with the monarch at its centre. The bond between the monarch and his subject is called *natural* and

[64] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 328 (translation my own).
[66] Jeremiah W. Cataldo, "*The Maccabean Revolt*," (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2018), 88.
[67] The Maccabean revolt is also present in the fifth volume of the *General Estoria*.
[68] Assouline, "The utopian fictions of Alfonso X," 31.

Alfonso saw it as sacrosanct, second only to one's loyalty to God. [69] Alfonso developed two intertwined concepts that he would repeatedly utilize in the *Partidas*: *naturaleza* and a *señor natural*. *Naturaleza* describes a membership of a civil society by virtue of either their birth, family ties, or long residence in a realm.[70] A *señor natural* was the rightful lord of this natural social collective, referred to as his *señorio* or *tierra,* and the bond between a lord and his natural subjects superseded any feudal ties.[71] The intent behind these twin concepts is clearest when Alfonso, citing Aristotle, lays out the hierarchy of loyalties a subject should have: first God, then ones natural lord, and then finally one's country.[72] Natural obligations are described in the *Partidas* as the "greatest obligation which men can be under to one another."[73] This new construction was intended to subvert old local and sectarian loyalties in favour of a more centralised loyalty to a natural lord, namely the king.

In the fourth *Partida,* Alfonso describes how someone can 'denaturalise' themselves.[74] Of the four ways this can occurs, three result of royal abuses. These include unjust killing, the unlawful seizing of property, or sleeping with his wife. There is also one way for a subject to denaturalise themselves according to the *Partidas,* and that is through treason. The *Partidas* say "where the dependent commits treason against his lord or his country, for, by his act alone, he is deprived of the property and [honours] of his lord and of his country."[75] Treason is the only act that can rupture the natural bond between monarch and subject.

This newly invented concept of loyalty is then given the prestige and authority of antiquity through Alexander, who evokes the concept within a discussion on treason in the *General Estoria*. This happens when the Persian emperor, Darius, had been betrayed by his generals having lost their confidence following his third and final major defeat on the plains of Gaugamela in 331B.C. The officers, who were led by the satrap of Bactria Bessus, arrested then later executed Darius whilst fleeing to the eastern provinces of the empire after their defeat by Alexander. Both the *Historia de Preliis* and the *General Estoria* interpret Bessus and his co-conspirators as looking to curry favour with Alexander, an idea to which

[69] Part. II. Tit. XII. Preamble.
[70] Part. IV. Tit. XXIV. Law. II.
[71] O'Callaghan, *The learned king: the reign of Alfonso X of Castile*, 18. Georges Martin, "Le concept de « naturalité » (naturaleza) dans les Sept parties, d'Alphonse X le Sage," *e-Spania* 5 (2008), https://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/10753.
[72] Part. II. Tit. XII. Preamble. Rojinsky, "The Vernacular Letter of the Law in the Siete Partidas," 80.
[73] Part IV. Tit. XXIV. Preamble.
[74] Part. IV. Tit. XXIV. Law. V.
[75] Part. IV. Tit. XXIV. Law. V.

Alexander initially seemed receptive.[76] However, there are some key changes between the *Preliis* and the *Estoria* that become important as the passage continues:

General Estoria	Translation	*Historia de Preliis*
Varones de Persia, sabet aquellos de vós que mataron a Dario mio enemigo e vengan ante mí que los vea yo e yo les daré por ende ondrá cual fuere derechera. E non dubden ende nada, e vengan ante mí que buen servicio me fizieron aquellos que lo mataron. Yo lo yuro por los muy poderosos diosses e por la mi amada madre la reína Olympias que los yo faré muy nobles en todos los persianas.	"Lords of Persia, let it be known those of you who killed Darius, my enemy, come before me so I may see you and I will then give you an honour that will be deserved. And do not have any concerns, let them come before me who have done me a great service by this killing. I swear by the great powerful gods and my beloved mother Olympias that I will treat you as the most noble of all the Persians."[77]	"Men of Persia, hear me. Let those among you who slew my enemy Darius come and stand before me, so I may see them and show them the honour they deserve. Let them not hesitate at all, but come before me, for, whoever they were that killed Darius, they did me a favour. I swear by the most powerful gods and by my mother Olympias that I shall make them the more famous and powerful of all the Persians."[78]

Both oaths are deceptive, Alexander has no intention of rewarding the regicides in either text. However, in the *Preliis* Alexander outright lies in his oath, which he later justifies as an unfortunate necessity.[79] However, in the *General Estoria* Alexander appears to engage in

[76] Following Rufus Quietus the *Alexandreis* suggests that this was not an act to gain Alexander's favour, but that Bessus instead declared himself the new Persian King of Kings and planned to continue resisting. De Châtillon, *The Alexandreis*, 176-7.
[77] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 357-8 (translation my own).
[78] *Viri Perses, audite! Qui ex vobis fuerunt interfectores Darii, inimici mei? Accedant ante me, ut videam illos et dignum honorem exhibeam eis. Leo of Naples and Paulus Orosius, Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni: (Der lateinische Alexanderroman des Mittelalters) : synoptische Edition der Rezensionen des Leo Archipresbyter und der interpolierten Fassungen J¹, J², J³, (Buch I und II), vol. Heft 65., ed. Hermann-Josef Bergmeister, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1975).* Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 69-70.
[79] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 69-70.

misleading wordplay when he promises that they will be given "*cual fuere derechera*."[80] I have translated this as "that [which] will be deserved," but the term *derechera* can be read in many different ways. It brings with it not just the idea of deserving, but also of justice, moral correctness, and legality.[81] The wording of this promise is an Alfonsine manipulation of the original passage from the *Historia de Preliis*, where instead Alexander promises only to treat them honourably or appropriately using the Latin term *dignum*.[82] This change saves Alexander from outright lying in his oath, behaviour that hardly befits an ideal monarch, and instead has him outwit Bessus and the co-conspirators through subtle wordplay.

This is another example of Alfonso's subtle "*tendencia a la amplificación,"* where a pre-existing narrative's theme is taken and given greater significance in the overall story to alter the meaning of the original text.[83] In this case, Alfonso is working to bring to the fore the idea that Alexander is promising Darius' assassins a just and legal response, the importance of which becomes clear as the narrative progresses and Alexander's trick is revealed.

When Darius's killers arrive, Alexander reveals they have been deceived. He has no intention of rewarding them and instead orders them to be executed. Bessus and Nabarzanes, the two named co-conspirators, protest: "And we, trusting in your oath and your promise, came to you, and you now wish to kill us. If you are loyal and just, what are you doing?"[84] This differs noticeably from the *Preliis*, where they simply ask Alexander to remember the oath he swore on his mother.[85] The question, "if you are loyal and just" is another Alfonsine addition to the text where the term *derecho* reappears in parallel to Alexander original oath. This is done to again foreground the idea of royal justice and suggest that Alexander, at least from their perspective, is acting unjustly. This situation presents an obvious moral quandary for Alexander – and Alfonso – as an ideal monarch should not give false oaths and betray people.

[80] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 357.
[81] Alonso Pedraz, *Diccionario medieval español: desde las Glosas emilianenses y silenses (s.X) hasta el siglo XV*, 889.
[82] Worthy or deserving, as per D. P. Simpson, *Cassell's Latin-English, English-Latin dictionary*, 5th ed. (London: Cassell, 1968), 190; Naples and Orosius, *Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni: (Der lateinische Alexanderroman des Mittelalters) : synoptische Edition der Rezensionen des Leo Archipresbyter und der interpolierten Fassungen J¹, J², J³, (Buch I und II)*, Heft 65., 137.
[83] Borja, "La técnica de la traducción en la "General Estoria": la historia de Alejandro Magno en GE4," 221.
[84] "E nós fiando en la tu yura e en la tu promesa, viniemos a ti, e tú agora quieres nos matar, e tú cata si es lealtad e derecho o que fazes!" X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 358 (translation my own).
[85] Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 70.

Alexander therefore decides to explain himself, ostensibly for the benefit of the watching soldiers, but also to the reader:

> Non conviniera a mí fablar a tales como vós, mas por el pueblo que esta aderredor óvevos de fablar, e dígovos que este vuestro manifestamiento que por ninguna guise non fuera fecho, si yo tal yura non oviesse enviada en mis cartas. E el mio pensamiento tal fue del comienço d' este fecho, que si los que a Dario mataron fuessen fallados e tomados que fuessen descabeçados por ello, ca los que a so señor natural mataron, al estraño ¿quél farién?
>
> "I am not obliged to explain myself to those such as you, but for the people who are around I will explain this, in response to your protests nothing will be done that I did not guarantee in the letters I sent out. My thought, from the beginning of this, was that those who killed Darius were to be taken, bound, and decapitated for this [their crime], for those who killed their natural lord, what would they do to a foreigner?"[86]

This tricking of Darius' assassins is also an Alfonsine innovation, in the *Historia de Preliis* Alexander simply justifies himself by saying "You would not have been exposed had I not sworn such an oath."[87] This pragmatic oath-breaking does not seem to have sat well with Alfonso's idea of a just monarch, so the narrative is altered in favour of Alexander out-witting Bessus through his ambiguous promise to give the traitors an honour that will be just or legally correct.

The inclusion of the term *señor natural* into the *General Estoria*'s discussion of treason is reflective of what the concept was intended to address, loyalty to the monarch. Alfonso directly invokes the term natural lord, placing into the mouth of Alexander, who asks Darius' killers rhetorically that if they would betray their natural lord, what would they do to a foreigner?[88] Through the anachronistic inclusion of a term developed in the *Siete Partidas* Alfonso gives the concept a classical pedigree and the personal authority of Alexander

[86] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 358 (translation my own).
[87] *manifestatio vestra nullantenus facta fuerat, si tale sactramentum non fecissem* Leo of Naples, *Historia de Preliis*, 70.
[88] *ca los que a so señor natural mataron, al estraño ¿quél farién?* Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, 358 (translation my own).

himself alongside the authority of Aristotle he utilised in the *Partida*.[89] Bessus and Nabarzanes have violated the loyalty they owed to Darius as their natural lord and are punished accordingly. Even though Alexander benefitted from their crime, they have committed too reprehensible an act to be allowed to live.

Subversive or treasonous subjects were a growing concern during Alfonso X's reign as his aristocracy became increasingly frustrated and resentful with him. As seen above with the *gravamen*, Alfonso's cultural and legal reforms threatened the privileges and authority of traditional elites in favor of a centralized monarchy, which was a major point of contention between the King and his magnates.[90] At the time the *General Estoria* was being written this resistance was yet to coalesce into the outright opposition that would erupt in favor of his son Don Sancho in the 1280's. There were, however, signs of the trouble to come. A striking example of this building tension was the political scandal of 1269 when Don Nuño Gonsalvez de Lara, the head of one of the most powerful noble families in the kingdom, attempted to defect and swear his allegiance to the neighbouring King Jaime I of Aragón.[91] Although Jaime rejected Don Nuño's offer, the de Lara clan's chafing against Alfonso's political reforms were plain for all to see.[92]

The *Partidas* describe treason as "one of the most serious and odious crimes a person can commit."[93] Against the background of his aristocracy chafing against a reform program and becoming increasingly rebellious, the anachronistic invocation of Alfonso's new conception of loyalty by Alexander in a monologue aimed at two treasonous vassals speaks directly to contemporary Iberian politics. Alfonso is attempting to confer a heritage with authority and prestige, one that he has endeavoured to cultivate around Alexander, onto his new conception. Since the *Partidas* had been commissioned the issue of aristocratic loyalty had become more and more pressing, as scandals such as the De Lara family's attempted defection speaks to. The *General Estoria* was attempting to reenforce the idea of *naturaleza* from the *Partidas* in response to the political developments of the preceding decade.

[89] Part. II. Tit. XII. Preamble. Rojinsky, "The Vernacular Letter of the Law in the Siete Partidas," 80.
[90] Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*, 294-95.
[91] James I of Aragón, *The Chronicle of James 1, King of Aragon, surnamed the conqueror*, vol. 2, ed. John Forester (London: Gregg International Publishers, 1968), 614-15.
[92] Simon R. Doubleday, *The Lara family: crown and nobility in medieval Spain*, Harvard historical studies; 141, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001), 75-78.
[93] Part. VII. Tit. II. Preamble.

Conclusion

Alfonso's Alexander champions his vision for a new Castilian order and identity that superseded old local and sectarian loyalties. With the monarch at its centre, in the words of Assouline, as "instrument of a collective national conversion," Jews, Christians, and Muslims were to be brought together into a shared Castilian identity.[94] Alexander's life, expressed not in Latin but in the more accessible Castilian vernacular, serves as an aspirational symbol culturally accessible to all of Alfonso's subjects. This is the "proto-national identity" described by Burns – the bringing together of Christian, Jewish, and Islamic Alexander traditions around an aspirational figure with prestige in all three communities.[95]

Alfonso's ambitions for cultural and legal unification in Castile are embodied in the *Siete Partidas*. It is in the *Partidas* that Alfonso attempts to bring together the Castilian people under one law code regardless of location or sect. Equally, he attempts to use the *Partidas* to draw the Jewish and Islamic communities into closer ties with the monarchy. To this end he formalises hierarchy of minority authorities between *rabs*, *almoxarifes* and *adelantados* and includes them in the official administration of the realm. He also attempts to cultivate the direct loyalty of his subjects through his fostering of the concept of *naturaleza.* However, in the decades after Alfonso's commissioning of the *Partidas*, he faced a series of domestic political setbacks. Most pertinently, his reforms faced resistance from entrenched interests, and the Mudéjar revolt had undermined trust between the religious groups in his kingdom.

These political setbacks are, I believe, the principal motivation behind Alfonso's use of Alexander in the *General Estoria*. Alexander the Great serves as a symbol of proto-national unification that can be implemented to address Alfonso's political needs. To this end, Alexander is used to lend authority to the *Siete Partidas* as the universal and Roman-style law was facing hostility and resistance from entrenched interests. Similarly, in the wake of the Mudéjar Revolt, Alexander is used as a model for both a happy and loyal relationship between minority leaders and the monarch, and as an advocate for the new proto-national identity of natural subjects Alfonso was trying to foster. Alexander is being employed to face

[94] Assouline, "The utopian fictions of Alfonso X," 31.
[95] Burns, "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned," 6-8.

some of Alfonso’s major domestic policy concerns, which speaks to his perceived value as a symbol with emotional pull and authority amongst the people of Iberia.

Conclusion

This thesis aimed at demonstrating how, through his carefully crafted narration of Alexander the Great's life, Alfonso X reveals to his reader his vision for Castilian society and politics. As with almost anything the Learned King attempted, this vision had tremendous scope. Alfonso endeavoured to mould a new national identity centred around the monarch, one that included all his subjects, overriding sectarian and regional distinctions.

Just as Alfonso's political projects can be characterised by their vast scope and ambition, so too can they be characterised by failure and defeats.[1] In the face of these political setbacks, Alfonso used Alexander as an aspirational symbol for his reformist vision. Using Alexander in this role made sense, Alexander and Aristotle were already used as authorities in the *Siete Partidas* due to the influence of the *Bocados de Oro* on the law code and the *General Estoria* could build upon this pre-existing connection.[2]

Alfonso engaged with a vast array of source materials from late Antiquity to his own day to cultivate an idealised Alexander with sufficient gravitas to serve in this aspirational role. The *General Estoria* deliberately cloaks Alexander in the "authority and prestige" of the classical world that Spiegel saw being employed in French political contests.[3] To this end Alfonso built upon previous sympathetic perspectives collected in a careful process of source selection and omissions, to then elevate their themes through subtle manipulations of the text. His Alexander emerges from this process wiser, more virtuous, a better suzerain of the Jews, and more righteous in his royal anger than in any of Alfonso's sources. Alfonso's Alexander becomes an ultimate authority on rulership and royal behaviour, a model for all monarchs to aspire to.

[1] These two trends are likely not unrelated.
[2] Fournès, "La construction du paradigme royal des Bocados de oro à la Segunda Partida d'Alphonse X le Sage."
[3] Spiegel, *Romancing the past: the rise of vernacular prose historiography in thirteenth-century France*, 103.

This authority is directed at the resistance Alfonso had faced for so much of the 1260s. For Alfonso's visions of a new Castilian order, the 1260s were a decade of continual setbacks. He faced opposition from nearly every element of Castilian society. The clergy, the lay aristocracy, the Mudéjares all pushed back in various ways. For the clergy, this took the form of *gravamina*, letters of complaint, to the Pope to protect their influence at court against Alfonso's increasing promotion of natural philosophers.[4] Similarly, the Castilian lay aristocracy resisted through politically embarrassing ceremonial acts of protest, such as Don Nuño Gonsalvez de Lara's attempt to publicly abandon Alfonso and swear allegiance to his father-in-law King Jaime I of Aragón.[5] Finally, the Mudéjares adopted the most dramatic form of resistance out of these three groups, rising in open revolt in a war that would leave thousands dead and shatter any Castilian complacency about their new southern acquisitions.[6]

In the face of this resistance, Alfonso's Alexander endorses Aristotle and the role of pagan philosophy in guiding royal behaviour, the growing influence of which had prompted the *gravamina* of 1279. He also provides a model for successful and harmonious relationships between monarch and non-Christian vassals, embodied in the relationship between Alexander and the High Priest Jaddus. Finally, he invokes the idea of *naturaleza* in Alexander's monologue against treasonous vassals, attempting to revitalise a concept intended to centre loyalty around the monarch by associating it with his aspirational Alexander. Each of the dissenting groups and their issues are addressed in the *General Estoria* as Alfonso argues through Alexander for his reformation of the kingdom.

The Alexander narrative in the *General Estoria* exists as a rallying cry for Alfonso's reforming ambitions in the face of these setbacks and crises. While many recent commentators on the Alexander narrative have agreed that it exists as a tool for domestic social and political reform, for example Bizzarri and Fournès, this thesis has demonstrated the need to understand the *General Estoria*'s political and social themes in the context of Alfonso's own setbacks in the 1260s, which I argue are Alfonso's Alexander narrative's principal inspiration. By demonstrating the clear links between Alfonso's visions for reformed Iberian society, this thesis also reinforces the idea that the *Estoria*'s intended readership was Iberian, not international. This conflicts with the understanding that the

[4] Linehan, "The Spanish Church revisited: the episcopal gravamina of 1279," 135-7.
[5] Jaime I of Aragón, *The Chronicle of James 1, King of Aragon, surnamed the conqueror*, 2, 614-15.
[6] Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*, 164-68.

General Estoria was designed to speak, at least in part, to a wider European audience as espoused by historians such as Burns and Arizaleta.[7] In the specific case of Alexander, I do not see this to be substantiated in the text, where the focus appears to me to be entirely domestic.

This thesis only addresses a small portion of the *General Estoria*, the life of Alexander is only a section of one of the six volumes. This however leaves numerous exciting possibilities for applying the idea of contextualising the narratives within Alfonso's decade of crises to the accounts of other classical figures present in the *Estoria*, for example Caesar or the Ptolemies, or of the euhemerised Hellenistic gods such as Jupiter, whom Francisco Rico saw as analogous to Alfonso himself.[8] The *Estoria's* vast scope allows for near endless opportunities to test this framework. Or perhaps, more ambitiously, a comprehensive examination of the political and social messaging of the *General Estoria* in its entirety within its appropriate domestic political context? This thesis has demonstrated the degree to which Alfonso interfered with his Alexander text to achieve his domestic political ambitions, and the techniques he used to do so. This new lens for Alfonsine historiography, with its emphasis on domestic political ambitions, merits wider application in Alfonso's historical texts.

[7] Burns, Robert I. "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned." In *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, edited by Robert I. Burns, 1-13. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990. & Arizaleta, Amaia. "Le Rêve De L'empire." In *La Fascination Pour Alexandre Le Grand Dans Les Littératures Européennes (Xe-Xvie Siècle)*, edited by Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, 981-90. Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.
[8] Rico, "Alfonso X y Júpiter."

Appendix: Alexander in the *General Estoria*

The table below summarises the life of Alexander as it is narrated in the General Estoria, on the basis of the chapter headings found in surviving manuscripts, following the critical edition edited by Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja.[1]

This appendix will help to orient the reader within Alexander's life as the analyses performed in this thesis moves between the relevant subject matter. Sections specifically studied in the pages above have been highlighted in bold.

Del rey Neptanabo de Egipto e de Arcaxerses, rey de Persia	On King Nectanebo of Egypt and Arcaxerxes, King of Persia.	303-4
De cómo cató otra vez el rey Neptanabo por sos saberes los poderes del rey Arcassesses que aquel su príncep dixo e los falló por verdat, e se dessemejó él e se fue de la tierra	How King Nectanebo met again with his magnates for this advice on King Arcaxerxes who's prince said this and their true verdict, and he disguised himself and left the land.	304-5
De cómo fizieron los egipcianos cuando non fallaron a Neptanabo	What the Egyptians did when they could not find Nectanebo.	305-6
De cómo este Neptanabo se vío con la reína Olimpias e fizo en su vista con ella	How Nectanebo lived with the Queen Olympias and what he did in his visit with her.	306-7
De cómo Neptanabo obró de sus saberes ante la reína Olimpias, e se razonaron él e ella	How Nectanebo worked his wisdom in front of her, and how he persuaded her.	307-8
De cómo obró Neptanabo por so saber, e fue preñada la reína	How Nectanebo worked his wisdom and the queen was impregnated.	308-10
De cómo fizo el rey Filippo sobre la razón d'este sueno	What Phillip did about his dream.	310-12
De cómo fizo el rey Alexandre pues que llegó a la edad de dolze años et mató a Neptanabo so padre	What Alexander did when he reached twelve years of age and killed his father Nectanebus.	313-4
De Bucífal, el cavallo de Alexandre	**Bucephalas, the horse of Alexander.**	**314-16**
De la primera cavallería que ell rey Alexandre fizo	**The first battle of King Alexander.**	**316-18**
De cómo vinieron los mensajeros del rey Dario al rey Filippo e de cómo fizo Alexandre con ellos	How the messenger of King Darius came to King Phillip and what Alexander did with them.	318-19
De cómo ayuntó el rey Alexandre sus pueblos después de la muerte de Filippo	How Alexander assembled his people after the death of King Phillip.	320-21
De lo que los romanos fizieron contra Alexandre cuando oyeron que andava d'aquella guisa en aquellas conquistas	What the Romans did to Alexander when they heard in what manner he conquered.	321-23

[1] Alfonso X, *General Estoria IV*, 2, xxiii-xxix. For an example of these headings in original manuscripts, they are written in red ink in Urb. Lat. 539. Bibliotecha Vaticana, Roma 1290.

De la entrada del rey Alexandre en Egipto	King Alexander's entrance into Egypt.	323-25
Del sueño que padeció Alexandre yaziendo sobre Tiro	**The dream Alexander had about Tyre.**	**325-26**
De la venida del rey Alexandre a Jerusalem e de cómol recibieron los judíos e fizo él y	**The coming of Alexander to Jerusalem, and how the Jews received him and he them.**	**327-29**
De los dichos de la carta del rey Dario al rey Alexandre	The first letter from King Darius to King Alexander and what it said.	329-32
De la carta que el rey Dario envió a los sos poderosos en que dize assí	The letter King Darius sent to his magnates.	332
De la carta de Prino et de Antíloco al so rey Dario	The letters of Prino and Antiloco to their King, Darius.	332-33
De la segunda carta que Dario envió a Alexandre e de lo quel y diz	The second letter Darius sent Alexander and what it said.	333-34
De la segunda carta que envió Alexandre a Dario e de lo quel dize y	The second letter that Alexander sent Darius and what it said.	334-35
NO SUBTITLE	NO SUBTITLE	335-38
De cómo coñocieron a Alexandre en casa de Dario e de cómo fizieron y él e los cavalleros de Persia	How Alexander was recognised in the house of Darius, and what the knights of Persia did.	338-40
De cómo se guisó Dario pora lidiar con Alexandre e otrossí de cómo fizo Alexandre	How Darius fought Alexander, and what Alexander did against him.	340-41
De las letras que envió el rey Alexandre a sus príncipes después d' esta batalla	The letters Alexander sent to his princes after this battle.	341
De cómo fizo otrossí Dario después d'esta batalla	What Darius did after the battle.	342
De la carta del rey Poro a Dario	The letter from King Porus to Darius.	342
De cómo fizo empós esto el rey Alexandre	What King Alexander did after this.	342-44
De cómo fizo Dario entre tanto, e lidiaron él e Alexandre, e fue vençudo Dario	Alexander and Darius fight, what Darius did in this battle, and how Darius was vanquished.	344-45
De la presa que el rey Alexandre ganó en esta segunda batalla et cómo priso y a la madre e a la mugier e al fijo de Dario, e de cómo oviera un príncep Dario de matar a Alexandre	The prize Alexander won in this second battle and how he captured the mother, wife, and son of Darius, and how a prince of Darius' attempted to kill Alexander.	345-46
De cómo fizo Dario después d'esta batalla	What Darius did after the battle.	346-47
De la carta que el rey Dario envió al rey Alexandre	The letter King Darius sent to King Alexander.	347-48
De las razones de la carta que el rey Dario envió al rey Poro	The reasons for the letter Darius sent to King Porus.	348-49
De cómo fue mostrado a Alexandre ell ardimente de Dario	How the bravery of Darius was demonstrated to Alexander.	349

De la carta que su madre envió a Dario	The letter his mother sent Darius.	349-50
De cómo fizo Alexandre empós esto e fue contra Dario	What Alexander did after this, and going after Darius.	350
De cómo fizo Dario cuando estas nuevas sopo	What Darius did with this new information.	351-53
De cómo passó Alexandre el río Tigre e moró allí una parte del ivierno e de lo que fizo y	How Alexander passed the Tigris River and what he did at the winter palace they found there.	353-54
De cómo prisieron los suyos al rey Dario e lo firieron donde murió, e murió en las manos de Alexandre el soterró él	How they took King Darius prisoner and how they injured him to death, and how he died in the arms of Alexander and he buried him.	354-57
De las cartas que el rey Alexandre envió por todas las provincias de Persia que andudiessen seguros todos los mercados	The letters Alexander sent to every province of Persia gave guarantees to all the merchants.	357
De cómo envió el rey Alexandre por todas las provincias de Persia a segurar a los que mataran a Dario que viniessen ant' él	**Alexander sent to every province of Persia guarantees for the killers of Darius to come before him.**	**357-58**
De cómo casó el rey Alexandre con doña Roxane, fija del emperador Dario, e la fizo eguar e la asentó en la siella del imperio	How Alexander married Roxanne, daughter of the emperor Darius, made her equal and ascended the throne of the empire.	358-59
De cómo Alexandre envió mostrar a su madre Olimpias e a su maestro Aristótil cómol iva	What Alexander sent to show his mother Olympias.	359
De cómo salió Alexandre de Persépolis con su huest depués de sus bodas, e de las tierras que conquirió	Alexander leaves Persepolis with his army after his wedding, and of the territories that he will conquer.	360-62
De cómo paró Alexandre tierra de Albania e se fue d'allí a India	How Alexander conquered the land of the Albans, and went from there towards India.	362-64
De las cartas e las razones que el rey Poro envió a Alexandre	The letters Porus sent to Alexander.	364-65
De la carta que envió Alexandre al rey Poro e de la respuestad'ella	The letter Alexander sent to Porus, and the reply from him.	365-66
De cómo fizo el rey Poro empós esta carta de Alexandre	What Porus did after receiving Alexander’s letter.	366-69
De la carta que el rey Alexandre envió a la reína de las Amazonas	The letter Alexander sent to the Queen of the Amazons.	369
De la carta que la reína Talestris envió al grand Alexandre en quel dixo assí	The letter Queen Talestris sent to the Great Alexander.	369-70
De la segunda carta que el rey Alexandre envió a Taléstrida, reína de las amazonas en que dize assí	The second letter that Alexander sent to Talestris, Queen of the Amazons.	371
De cómo se guisava Poro para lidiar otra vez con Alexandre e de cómo fizo Alexandre a ello e de los periglos quel acaecieron	How Porus prepared to fight with Alexander again and what Alexander did to him and the dangers present in this.	371-73

De otras maravillas e peligrús que acaecieron a Alexandre en aquellos desiertos que ovo a lidiar con las bestias fieras	The marvels and dangers that Alexander encountered in the desert, where he had to fight fiery beasts.	373-76
De la ordenança que Dios sufrió en el grand Alexandre en razón en los sos fechas, e de la yent de los seres, e de cómol retibieron essos pueblos a Alexandre	On the reasons God suffered Alexander the Great, the peoples that were there, and how these peoples received Alexander.	376
De cómo vino el rey Alexandre allí do era el rey Poro, e de cómo fizieron amos	Alexander came to King Porus, and what they did.	377-78
De las imágines que el rey Alexandre falló	On the statues that King Alexander broke.	378-79
De cómo conquirió Alexandre a las yentes a que dizién dacas	How Alexander conquered the peoples that are called Dacas.	379-80
De cómo vino el rey Alexandre a una tierra e fallóla toda poblada de mugieres e ningún barón	How King Alexander came to a land and found a population of all women and no lord.	380-81
De cómo el rey Alexandre vino a otra tierra ó moravan otras mugieres estrañas	How Alexander came to another land and found other strange women.	381-82
De cómo fue Alexandre a otras selvas de India e falló y las lamias, e se le mostraron y otros muchos avenimientos	How Alexander came to other Indian forests and encountered the Lamias, and they showed him many things to come.	382-84
De la carta que el rey de los gimnosofites envió a Alexandre e de las razones d'ella	The letter the king of the Gymnosophists sent to Alexander.	384-85
De cómo fizo el rey Alexandre a la razón de los gimnosofites	Alexander and the logic of the Gymnosophists.	385-86
Del rey Alexandre e de los árvoles del sol e d'unas aves que echavan fuego	King Alexander and the sun-trees and some birds who threw fire.	386-87
De cómo vino el rey Alexandre al río Tanges, e d'unos omnes que andavan por esse río	Alexander comes to the river Tanges, and some men walk in the river.	387
De la carta que el rey Alexandre envió a los bracmanos en quel dixo assí	**The letter Alexander sends to the Brahmins.**	**387-88**
De la carta que envió Dímdimo, rey e maestro de los bracmanos, al rey Alexandre en quel dixo assí	**The letter of Dindamus, King and Master of the Brahmins to King Alexander.**	**388-89**
De la segunda carta quel rey Alexandre envió al rey de los bracmanos e de las razones d' ella, e dize assí	**The second letter Alexander sent to the King of the Brahmins.**	**389-90**
De cómo vino el rey Alexandre a un campo que dizién Actea, e salieron de las montañas unos omnes a lidiar con él allí	How Alexander came to a field named Actea, and men came out of the mountains to fight with him.	390-91
De cómo vino Alexandre a un río cuyo nombre non pone la estoria, e	How Alexander came to a river whose name history does not give, and to him	391-92

salió allí a él un omne de cuya fechura aquí oiredes	came a man, who deems of whom you well hear.	
De cómo vino Alexandre d'allí al mont ó estavan los árvoles del sol e cómolle conteció y	How Alexander came from there to mountain with the sun-trees and what he asked them.	392-95
De la carta que el rey Alexandre envió a la reína Cliofil Candacis	The letter that Alexander sent to the Queen Cleofil Candacis.	395
De la carta que la reína Cliofil Candacis envió al grand Alexandre e de las razones d'ella	The letter that the Queen Cleofil Candacis sent to the Great Alexander.	395-96
De cómo Candaulo, fijo de la reína Cliofil, salió con su mugier e sus privados a asolazarse y prisieron allá la mugier	How Candaulo, son of Queen Cleofil, left with his wife and his companions to be entertained and how his wife was captured.	396-98
De cómo fizo la reína Cliofil Candacis en la venida que el rey Alexandre fizo a su casa	What Queen Cleofil Candacis did when Alexander came to her house.	398-401
e cómo fizo este Carator e de sí la reína con Alexandre e Alexandre por sí	The actions of Carator, and what the queen and Alexander did with this.	401-02
De cómo Alexanddre víno empós esto a un valle ó falló unas culuebras maravillosas, e d'allí a otro logar ó avié unas bestias	How Alexander came to a valley where he found some miraculous snakes, and from there to another place with some beasts.	403
De donas e presentes que envió una yent a Alexandre e d'unas mugieres d'essa tierra que vívién en un río allí	The gifts and presents that a people sent to Alexander and the women of this land who lived by a river there.	403-04
De cómo víno Alexandre al cabo de la tierra e al mar Océano ó son los quiciales del cielo a la part de mediodía	How Alexander came to the edge of the earth and the ocean where the hinges of heaven are at the sun’s zenith.	404-05
De cómo víno Alexandre a los pueblos de los mardos e a los subagras e los venció	How Alexander came to the towns of the Mardos and of the Subagras and they fought.	405-06
De cómo cercó Alexandre al rey Abira en su cibdad	How Alexander encircled the King Abira in his city.	406-08
De las cosas que acaecieron al rey Alexandre en las riberas d’aquel mar Vermejo, a ó nace la pimenta	On the things that happened to King Alexander on the banks of the red sea, and where the colour comes from.	408-09
De otras maravíllas que se mostraron a Alexandre en la otra possada d'adelant	On the other miracles that Alexander saw in another inn ahead.	409
De cómo parecieron al rey Alexandre e a su huest unas formigas grandes	How Alexander and his army saw some giant ants.	410
De cómo víno el grand rey Alexandre a la tierra de la yent de los cíclopes	How Alexander came to the land of the cyclopes.	410
De cómo falló Alexandre a los omnes que non avíéncabeças	Alexander and the headless men.	410-11
De la fechura d'unas bestias d' essa isla	On the beasts of the island.	411

De cómo fue Alexandre adelant, el murió y el so caballo Bucífal	How Alexander went forward, and the death of his horse Bucephalas.	411
De cómo vino el rey Alexandre al río quel dizién el Sol, el recibieron y	How Alexande came to the river that they call the sun, and his reception.	411
De cómo vino Alexandre al palacio del rey Xerses e de las cosas que y falló	Alexander arrives at the palace of Xerxes, and the things they found there.	412
De cómo víno el rey Alexandre empós todo a Babiloña	Alexander arrives at Babylon.	412-13
De las imágines que el rey Alexandre fizo fazer	The statues that Alexander had built.	413
De la maraVílla que parió una mugier e fue mostrado a Alexandre	The miracle that happened to a woman and was shown to Alexander.	413-14
De Antípater de Grecia cómo avié puesto de matar a Alexandre e envió poçón con quel matassen	Antipater of Greece and how, wishing to kill Alexander, he sent poison.	414-15
De cómo Jobas, fijo de Antípater, mató a Alexandre con aquella poçón	How Jobas, son of Antipater, killed Alexander with this poison.	415-17
Del testamiento que el rey Alexandre fizo en su finamiento	The dying will of Alexander.	417
De las maravíllas que parecieron a la muerte de Alexandre	The marvels that followed the death of Alexander.	418-20
Del cuerpo e de las costumbres del rey Alexandre el Grand	The body and manner of Alexander the Great.	420-21
D 'unos dichos de Plato	The teachings of Plato.	421-24
De los dichos de Aristótil el Grand en razón de sesos e proverbios	The teachings of Aristotle the Great on the mind and proverbs.	424-26
De los dichos e de los enseñamientos del rey Alexandre	On the sayings and teachings of the King Alexander.	426-29
De la carta que el rey Alexandre envió a su madre	The letter that King Alexander sent to his mother.	429-30
De la segunda carta que envió Alexandre a su madre por conortarla aun más	The second letter that Alexander sent his mother to console her.	431-32
De lo que dixo la madre de Alexandre pues que ovo leída la carta quel él envió	What the mother of Alexander said having read the letter he sent her.	432-33
De lo que los filósofos dixieron sobre la muerte de Alexandre por castigo e exiemplo a los que eran estonces e a los que vernién	What the philosophers said on the death of Alexander as punishment and as an example of those who were there and would see.	433-35
De lo que dixo la madre de Alexandre sobr' el so ataút	What Alexander’s mother said by his coffin.	435-36
De la carta que envió Aristótil a la madre de Alexandre pora conortarla de so quebranto en que era	On the letter Aristotle sent to the mother of Alexander to console her.	436-38
De la respuesta que envió la madre de Alexandre a Aristótil	The response Alexander’s mother sent to Aristotle.	439
De la razón de la muerte del rey Alexandre el Grand, e del cosso que los omnes fazen en este mundo	On the cause of the death of Alexander the Great and the cause of things men do in this world.	440

Del castigo que maestre Galter da a tod omne sobre razón de la muerte del rey Alexandre el Grand que diz assí	Master Walter's lecture to all men on the reason for the death of Alexander the Great and what [Alexander] said.	440-42

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