

RIFLESSI DI PORPORA

Declinazioni di potere femminile tra Roma,
Bisanzio e l'Occidente Medievale

a cura di

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FONDAZIONE
CENTRO ITALIANO DI STUDI
SULL'ALTO MEDIOEVO
SPOLETO
2023

ISBN 978-88-6809-398-3

prima edizione: luglio 2023

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La pubblicazione di questo volume è stata finanziata col contributo del Ministerio de Economía y Competividad per mezzo del progetto di ricerca: “Materializando a una Augusta: Historia, Historiografía e Historiología de las emperatrices Leónidas (457-518) (PCG2018-093729-B-100)”.



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CARMEN TRILLO SAN JOSÉ

THE NAŞRID PRINCESSES, SISTERS OF KING ŞA'D:
THEIR ECONOMIC INFLUENCE AND FUNCTION
IN THE DYNASTY'S POWER NETWORK ACCORDING
TO TRANSLATED ARABIC DOCUMENTS (1460 AND 1469)

INTRODUCTION¹

The women of the Naşrid court often appear in archival documentation written in Arabic, translated from Arabic and in Castilian immediately after the conquest of the emirate. This is not accidental; it is because these women, even within the Islamic traditions that marginalise them to specific spaces and functions, exercise specific and useful roles for the maintenance of the Naşrid dynasty. These roles explain why they were allowed to be owners of certain assets, especially in Granada and its peri-urban area, and perhaps to a lesser extent in rural areas. They owned significant properties that enhanced their status and that of the ruling lineage, such as farms, orchards, mansions, and other properties that were especially profitable, such as baths, shops, inns, bakeries, etc., most probably part of a higher institution, as was the royal heritage. Regarding the specific topic that concerns this article, developed based on five unpublished documents dated 1460 and 1469, translated from Arabic in 1509 by the public notary Mişer Ambrosio Xarafí, we analyse the specific case of three women: the sisters of King Şa'd in the Granada court (1454-55/1455-62/1463-64). They are described as owners of certain agricultural estates in the North-West of the Vega de Granada,

1. Research project *The peri-urban area of an Islamic city: the Vega de Granada (14th-16th centuries)*. Ministry of Economy, Knowledge, Companies and University, of the Junta de Andalucía, P18.RT.3588.

where they sell and barter properties. Documents such as these can serve to learn about the economic activity of these women and their functions in the royal patrimony. The importance of these types of documentation translated from Arabic is enormous, both because of their scarcity and the fact that they are a contemporary testimony of the time at which they were written, such that we have considered their edition essential.

In the Naṣrid kingdom (13th-15th centuries), as in any other areas of Islam, women were hidden, especially if they belonged to an elite group, as a way to protect family honour and to preserve them for a good marriage. Of course, this was also the case for female members of the royal family, whose mention in documented sources is unusual. However, there are sometimes mentions of elderly women who have gained family, courtly and social prestige throughout their lives. This is the case of Fátima bint al-Aḥmar (d. 1349), daughter of Muḥammad II (1273-1302)². However, it is also true that the females of the dynasty might have acquired a greater role given the difficulties the emirate was experiencing at that time, the weakness of its rulers and the short duration of each reign. This was seen in cases where the cognatic line allowed emirs to ascend to the throne, as happened Ismāʿīl I (1314-1325) and Yūsuf IV Ibn al-Mawl³, although agnatic kinship was the usual form of succession in al-Andalus during the Emirate era. This situation of female empowerment might have been accentuated when the rivalry between candidates for the throne grew and intervention by the Kingdom of Castile increased, such that relations with a Naṣrid princess served to reinforce her legitimacy⁴. It is also clearly detectable from an economic perspective, given that women from the royal family often had a rich patrimony, as well as income, especially in the capital and in the Vega de Granada, but also further afar, such as the Malaha and Motril salt flats, and the Sierra Nevada pastures.

We find traces of these noble women in archival documentation⁵,

2. B. BOLOIX, *Mujer y poder en el reino nazarí: Fátima bint al-Aḥmar, la perla central del collar de la dinastía nazarí*, in «Anuario de Estudios Medievales», XLVI-I (2016), pp. 269-300.

3. M. J. RUBIERA MATA, *El vínculo cognático en al-Andalus*, in *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía: Andalucía Medieval*, Córdoba, 1978, pp. 121-124.

4. A. ECHEVARRÍA Y R. SALICRÚ, *The "bounorable ladies" of Naṣrid Granada*, in *A companion to global Queenship*. WOODACRE (ed), Leeds, 2018, pp. 257-258: pp. 255-270.

5. A. MALPICA CUELLO and C. TRILLO SAN JOSÉ, *Los infantes de Granada. Documentos árabes*

where they often appear as owners who sell and barter, sometimes even as donors of assets to the family, as well as those who pass on inheritances. In this article we will discuss three princesses, named Haxa, Enamaxcoa and Omalfata in the aforementioned translated Arabic documents – sisters of King Ṣa'd – and the sales and barter of their properties in the North-West of the Vega de Granada, between 1460 and 1469.

The documentation, and its edition and study that we present below, comes from a very specific type of written source: documents translated from Arabic, within Castilian documentation dated after the conquest of the Naṣrid kingdom. It is common knowledge that there is a scarcity of Arabic archival documents regarding al-Andalus⁶, and the reason for this has been attributed to a variety of factors: destruction due to wars and displacement, verbal agreements on issues such as conflicts over water in rural areas, local strategies to preserve heritage, actions by the Inquisition, etc. The above has resulted in a lack of translated Arabic documents and documentation written in Arabic. However, we can be certain that the Kingdom of Granada⁷ and, specifically, the capital and the Vega, were completely privileged in this aspect compared to the rest of al-Andalus. This may be due to one of two reasons: first, to the presence of royal patrimony that left vestiges in both Arabic and Castilian documentation; and second, to the transfer of these coveted properties to Castilian hands, either to the Catholic Monarchs, or to noblemen or civil servants of the Kingdom of Granada who purchased them⁸. Based on the above, we believe that the edition of these translated Arabic documents presented herein is exceptional, and noteworthy because of their scarcity and because they give us a glimpse into the world of women in the court of the Alhambra.

romanceados, in «Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino», VI (1992), pp. 361-421.

6. P. GUICHARD, *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana. Los musulmanes de Valencia (siglos XI-XIII)*, Valencia, 2001, pp. 27-30.

7. C. BARCELÓ and A. LABARTA: *Los documentos árabes del reino de Granada: bibliografía y perspectivas*, in «Cuadernos de la Alhambra», XXVI (1990), pp. 113-120.

8. C. TRILLO SAN JOSÉ and M. ESPINAR MORENO, *El río Cubillas (Granada), según documentos árabes romanceados*, Granada, 2022.

2. ROYAL PATRIMONY AND THE WOMEN OF THE NASRID DYNASTY

The royal patrimony was one of several state financial institutions. It coexisted with the public treasury (*bayt al-māl*), which is fed by taxes, and the charitable trusts-*waqf*-treasury (*bayt al-māl al-muslimīn*), which in turn is fed by the management of these. The royal patrimony received different names: *mustajlaš* or *jaššiyat bayt al-māl* or *amlāk al-ġānib*⁹. We know that it had an inalienable character, that is, the concessions made from it by kings could be revoked¹⁰. In 1468, Muley Hacén recovered assets that had been disposed of by his predecessors for the royal treasury¹¹. Regarding this inalienability, any sale made from the royal patrimony had specific characteristics that were reflected in the deeds, probably to avoid their definitive transfer¹².

It is difficult to differentiate between assets of the royal treasury and those that privately belonged to the different members of the family of the Naşrid dynasty. However, this difference did exist and was acknowledged in the particular capitulations (1491) that the Catholic Monarchs made with Boabdil¹³. Throughout the emirate there was a permeability between these different treasuries, and the king would often use resources from them for war, payments, etc. and conversely, use their own finances to defray State expenses¹⁴.

The royal treasury was made up of various types of assets, registered in different books. The *çultanía* books contained the land closest to the

9. E. MOLINA López, *El Mustajlaš andalusí (I) (s. VIII-XI)*, in «Revista del Centro de Estudios Histórico de Granada y su Reino», XIII-XIV (1999-2000), pp. 99-189; p. 104.

10. R. G. PEINADO SANTAELLA, *El patrimonio real nazarí, y la exquisitez defraudadora de los principales castellanos*, in *Aristócratas nazaríes y principales castellanos*, ed. de R. G. PEINADO SANTAELLA, Málaga, 2008, pp. 211-230; p. 215.

11. Archivo General Simancas, Consejo Real, legajo 651-9, 1.

12. Archivo General de Simancas, Consejo Real, legajo. 651-9, 30.

13. M. SALVÁ AND P. SAINZ DE BARANDA (eds.), *Capitulación ajustada entre los Reyes Católicos y el último Rey de Granada Baaudili*, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, VIII, Madrid, 1846, pp. 411-420; pp. 415-416.

14. L. SECO DE LUCENA PAREDES, *La administración central de los nazaríes*, in «Cuadernos de la Alhambra», X-XI (1974-75), pp. 21-26. TRILLO SAN JOSÉ, *Agua, tierra y hombres en al-Andalus. La dimensión agrícola del mundo nazarí*, Granada, 2004, pp. 226-227; E. MOLINA López and M. C. JIMÉNEZ MATA, *Documentos árabes y el patrimonio real nazarí*, *Documentos y Manuscritos árabes del Occidente musulmán medieval*, in N. MARTÍNEZ DE CASTILLA, (ed.), Madrid, 2010, pp. 225-248.

city¹⁵; the *tavquia* books registered the orchards and farm properties¹⁶ near the city, which yielded 60,000 *pesantes*, and the estates in La Vega, El Quempe and meadows of the Sierra¹⁷; and the *bagüela* books recorded the income from the mills, baths, orchards, shops, *albóndigas* [markets], etc¹⁸.

The formation of the royal patrimony was carried out in several ways: confiscation, purchase, the revival of dead lands and inheritance. The functionality of the royal treasury was to ensure the kings had a patrimony independent of the taxes that came in, allowing them to satisfy their private expenses, flee abroad, rescue relatives and servants, and even, as mentioned, pay civil servants and their supporters. A fundamental part of this treasury was financing for the king's relatives, as occurred in the Emirate of Córdoba, thus ensuring children or siblings were not tempted to assist in government. Interestingly, we found that in Naṣrid Granada, beneficiaries of this treasury were often the women of the dynasty wives, sisters, daughters. This might have occurred with three objectives in mind: first, by allowing single women to benefit from lifetime assets, they would ensure their support; second, to provide women with a dowry in order to achieve a good marriage, since the relationship with other power groups was essential to maintain the royal dynasty; and third, to ensure the management of the *mustajlas* resources. The inheritance law and the revocable nature of these assets ensured they almost always returned to the royal treasury. Thus, we find that the Escóznar farm properties belonged to Meriem, sister of Yūsuf I (1333-1354)¹⁹; the villages of Ánzola and Zujaira belonged to Zahr al-Riyād, wife of Muḥammad IX (1419-1427, 1430-1431, 1432-1445

15. A. GALÁN SÁNCHEZ and R. G. PEINADO SANTAELLA, *De la madina musulmana al concejo mudéjar. Fiscalidad regia y fiscalidad concejil en la ciudad de Granada tras la conquista castellana*, in *Fiscalidad de Estado y fiscalidad municipal en los reinos hispánicos medievales*, D. MENJOT and M. Sánchez Martínez (coords.), Madrid, 2006, pp. 197-223; pp. 202-203.

16. There are two types of farm properties (*alquerías*): those that can be considered villages as they include a group of houses and farms (*alquerías-village*), and those that can be considered a house with land (*alquerías-finca*).

17. Cfr., nota 14.

18. Ibidem.

19. A. MALPICA CUELLO, *Sobre el mundo agrícola nazarí: la alquería de Escóznar en el siglo XIV*, in *Poder y Sociedad en la Baja Edad Media Hispánica: estudios en homenaje al profesor Luis Vicente Díaz Martín*, M. REGLERO DE LA FUENTE (ed.), Valladolid, 2002, t. II, pp. 1007-1024.

and 1447-1453) the Left-handed²⁰; the Huete farm properties belonged to Omalfata, wife of Boabdil²¹, and the farm properties of Beas, to “the Moorish queens”²², among many other places and assets.

3. THE EDITED DOCUMENTS

The five documents that we edited in the documentary appendix are part of a larger set corresponding to properties that were part of the Bazán family, and specifically those that Álvaro de Bazán acquired in the Vega de Granada. They are stored in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, in Nobleza, Santacruz²³. It is a document from 1739 that contains a legal dispute between Bazán and King Carlos I (1516-1556) over the lands he usurped from Bazán in the demarcation he made in the Soto de Roma, which took place between 1526 and 1536; the ruling was favourable to Álvaro de Bazán. Copies of a series of translated Arabic deeds of the properties acquired by Bazán in this area of the Vega de Granada are contained in the set. Among them, five stand out, as they expose the sales and barter carried out by three princesses, sisters of King Şa’d, in Daragedid. They are the documents we have presented in this article, translated from Arabic to Spanish in 1509 by the public notary Miçer Ambrosio Xarafí, who was from a family of translators from Toledo.

We previously noted a later copy of these documents, from 1780²⁴. Thus, in 2020 we edited a set of 22 documents, from the Municipal Archive of Granada, which contained 80 deeds, of which 65 were written in translated Arabic. The transfer of these deeds took place in 1780 through a legal dispute between the Marquis of Santa Cruz and the Admiral of Aragon, Count of Sástago, and the Marquis of Los Trujillos, for the use of waters from a canal that was sourced from the Velillos and Cubillas rivers. Five of these documents, No. 5.12, No. 7.1, No. 7.2,

20. P. CARRILLO HUETE, *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II*, CARRIAZO Y ARROQUIA, J. M. (ed.), Madrid, 1946, p.100.

21. M. ESPINAR MORENO, *La alquería de Huete: desde Juan de Haro a Fernando de Zafra*, in «Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales», XXIII (2021), pp. 143-198.

22. Archivo General de Simancas, Consejo Real, 651-9, 3.

23. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Nobleza, Santacruz, C 0002, D 0001.

24. C. TRILLO SAN JOSÉ, *La Vega de Granada a partir de documentación árabe romanceada inédita (1457-1494)*. *Estudio, edición e índices*, Helsinki, 2020.

No. 7.3 and No. 7.4²⁵, were a later copy of the ones we present in this documentary appendix.

The translated Arabic writings contained in both the legal disputes 1739 and 1780 are very similar to each other. However, there are some differences: the prices of the properties sold were included in the oldest.

4. THE PROPERTIES OF THE NAŞRID PRINCESSES

The analysis of these five translated Arabic documents, which we include in the documentary appendix, will shed light on the owners of these rural properties, and their relationship with the king and probably with the royal patrimony. It will also help us to better understand the characteristics of these properties and their price, as well as who the buyers were. First, it is worth noting that the owners were the princesses Haxa, Enamaxcoa and Omalfata in all five cases – sisters of King Şa'd. Furthermore, it is known that there were other cases of sales of goods from the royal treasury during this eventful government, which could indicate a need for money to satisfy the pariahs of Castile, and any of its supporters, etc.

The princesses are represented in all cases by an *alcaide*²⁶, also called a servant and steward, which is usual in the case of transactions between the king and his family. In this case, the *alcaide* was Halid Abulcazín, son of the old alfaquí Halid Mahomad Abdalá Benzelamo. The *alcaide* usually acted as manager of the royal estates, responsible for the collection of rents and the transfer of fruits to the houses of their owners in the city of Granada. It is possible that all this is because they were royal patrimony, however, as we have already pointed out, it is very difficult to distinguish these from those that belonged exclusively to the governing family.

All the estates were located in Daragedid (al-Dār al-Ŷadīda), today Casanueva, 22 km North-West of Granada, in the region of Pinos Puente. Appearing in the *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II*, in the 1431

25 Ibid., pp. 79, 82-86.

26. In the Naşrid kingdom, the *alcaide* is normally a military commander, tax collector and/or judge for criminal offences. In this text, we refer to the *alcaide* as someone who carries out the role of servant butler in the royal estates and properties.

campaign against the Vega de Granada, as Daralichet²⁷. It is mentioned along with other 'villages', part of which belonged to the king, the royal family, and certain agents of the State. Daragedid is named as a farm property and also as a "royal house", with pastures, meadows, farmland, a main house and other dwellings in another translated Arabic document dated 1477. In it, this property, which was in the hands of the *alcaide* Abulxaxe Yucaf Vencomixa, is sold to the merchant Abuljafar Amette, son of Farax Adamasquí²⁸.

Another piece of information that might show that the plots sold and exchanged could be part of the royal treasury is the fact that, in one of the deeds of sale, the king consents to his sisters carrying out the operation. Thus, document No. 2 of the appendix states that on 21 March 1460 «the king, our lord, advanced, mighty, just king, frank, virtuous, blessed, Caad²⁹ brother of the said princess sellers, from lands above, granted, ratified and considered said sale to be true and good».

The five deeds correspond to five plots of irrigated land, of which four were to be sold and one bartered in exchange for a store in Granada, which might have been part of the royal patrimony, since it adjoined another that was. The first two documents specifically indicate that the plots have water for irrigation, although all of them are said to be irrigated.

The first deed of sale does not contain the date of the Muslim almanac because the document is torn and cannot be read. The correspondence is reflected only in the Christian calendar, which is the year 1460. The buyer is an individual, Abiuzmín Coad Abrahén Benadurazmén, nicknamed the Mudéjar, which could refer to the fact that he had immigrated from other conquered peninsular kingdoms. The estate in question is west of the Bermexa, in Daragedid. Although the price is stated, 384 silver *pesantes* at ten *dineros el pesante*, by not indicating the size of the plot, we cannot know in this case the price per *marjal*³⁰.

The following three deeds are sales to the Jew Muse Ben Ali Ben-

27. CARRILLO HUETE, *Crónica del Halconero* cit. (nota 20), p. 100.

28. TRILLO SAN JOSÉ, *La Vega de Granada a partir de documentación* cit (nota 24), p. 98.

29 *Sic.* for Çaad.

30. J. VALLVÉ BERMEJO, *Notas sobre metrología hispanoárabe II*, in «Al-Andalus», XLII (1976), pp. 61-119, calculated the *marjal* of Vega de Granada to be 528.92 m².

danén, also named Mosé, son of Halid Bendanén or Ben Duanén. They correspond to documents 2, 3 and 4 of the appendix: the second deed of sale is from 864, from the end of the month of *ŷumāda al-awwāl*, which is equivalent to 21 March 1460; the third is from 874, month of *ŷumāda at-tānī*, that is, from April 1469; and the fourth from 864, end of the month of *ŷumāda at-tānī*, that is, from 20 April 1460. In all of them, irrigated plots are sold in the Vnque Alhamel area, in Daragedid, although one specifies that water is assigned to it. The size of these farms was 138, 54 and 84 *marjales*, which adds up to a total of 276 *marjales*. Because the purchase price is included in the document, we can calculate that the value of the *marjales* ranges between 16 silver *pesantes* at ten *dineros el pesante*, and 20.

In all three cases, the estates purchased adjoin another royal property, such as Balaumín, and on one occasion other land owned by the princesses. Balaumín (Varromín) is described as a «village that was very good, that belonged to the prince Abraham Almahul»³¹ in the campaign against the Vega of 1431. It belonged, therefore, to one that would later be emir Yūsuf IV Ibn al-Mawl. It was cited in the *Ihāta* as orchard and farm property (*hušš Būmal wa Qaryat Balūmāl*)³². In other translated Arabic documents that mention the properties of Álvaro de Bazán in Daragedid, references to Balaumín appear as a location close to another place called the House of Mujarra³³.

On 25 of rabī' al-awwāl, 871 (4 November 1466) the aforementioned Jew exchanged 244 *marjales* in Vnque Alhamel and 94 in the Reache area for 441 pitchers of “good” oil from Abuzacaría Yahía, son of Habraén el Nayal³⁴. This means that much of the land acquired from the princesses ended up in the hands of Yahía Alnayar, grandson of Yūsuf IV Ibn al-Mawl. It also means that this relative of the governing dynasty was dedicated to the agricultural exploitation of olive groves and the commercialisation of oil. This is not surprising, as we know

31. CARRILLO HUETE, *Crónica del Halconero* cit. (nota 20), p. 100.

32. IBN AL-JATĪB, *Al-Ihāta fī ajbār Garnāta*, 'INĀN, M. A. (ed.), El Cairo, 1973, t. I, p. 136. M. C. JIMÉNEZ MATA, *La Granada islámica. Contribución a su estudio geográfico-político-administrativo a través de la toponimia*, Granada, 1990, p. 323.

33. TRILLO SAN JOSÉ, *La Vega de Granada* cit. (nota 24), doc. 20.1.

34. *Ibid.*, doc. 7.5.

that the emirate royal family often exploited various means of production that used to belong to the royal patrimony, such as mills, oil mills, fulling mills, baths, shops, bakeries, etc., which in reality was part of the *bagiuela*.

A similar phenomenon occurred two years later: midway through the šawwāl month of 872 (7 May 1468) the son of this Jew, Aly, son of Monsén Abendanén, sold 55 *marjales* in Daragedid to the *alcaide* Abijafar Amette, son of Aly el Cotoy el Mudejar³⁵. In general, a transfer of lands from the royal patrimony to members of the State administration, such as *alcaldes*, as well as to socioeconomic elites, such as merchants, was confirmed.

Finally, the fifth document of the appendix, dated 864, at the end of ŷumāda at-tānī (20 April 1460)³⁶ corresponds to a barter between the princesses and the knight Alhazar Halid, son of Zeyde Almonichily, whose geographical *nisba* indicates an origin linked to the Monachil farm property, on the slopes of the Sierra Nevada, 16 km from Granada. The former bartered 150 *marjales* of irrigated land in Vnque Alhamel in exchange for a store in Plaza de Hazerín, in Granada, probably royal property as it adjoined another that was. Since the store was worth more, 125 silver *pesantes* were given to Almonichily to offset this.

In conclusion, the princesses, sisters of King Ša'd, sold and bartered land that probably belonged to the royal patrimony. The main beneficiary was a Jew who exchanged these plots with Yahía Alnayar, a member of the royal family. These lands were irrigated and were in a territory in which there was a concentration of royal patrimony properties. The transfer of these assets coincided with other sales carried out during the era of King Ša'd, which might have affected the difficulties of his tumultuous reign, in which he ascended to the throne three times.

5. DOCUMENTARY APPENDIX

DOCUMENT NO. I

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Nobleza, Santacruz, C. 0002, D. 0001, fols. 18v-20v

1460, no Muslim calendar date.

35. Ibid., doc. 7-8.

36. The text states 1458.

Deed of sale, settled by two public scribes, by which Ms alborras, Haxa, Enamaxcoad and Omalfata, daughters of King Abulhaxe, son of King Abraudaly Benayre, sell through their steward and servant, the alcaide Alà Mahomad Abadallà Abenzulemo to Abiuzmín Coad Abraham Benadurazmén el Mudéxar, land located to the west of the Bermexabaza in Daragedid, in the Vega de Granada, for 384 silver pesantes at ten dineros el pesante. This letter was translated and compared with the original by Micer Ambrosio Xarañi on 3 April 1509. The transfer was carried out by order of the lawyer Brizeño in Granada on 1 December 1529.

(18v) Las loanzas sean a Dios³⁷ e con su nombre como piadoso e misericordioso. Bendió en nombre de las señoras alhorras, grandes e limpias, esmeradas, baliosas, abondosas, (no se puede leer)³⁸ del rey nuestro señor, rey de los sabios, Abulhaxe, hixo de nuestro señor el rey de los moros Abraudaly Benayre, su mayordomo e criado de las dichas señoras, el alcaide onrrado e valioso Abulcazín, hixo del viejo alfaquí justo e contento Alà Mahomad Abdallà Abenzulemo, al onrrado Abiuzmín Coad Benabrahén Benadurazmén el Mudéxar, toda vna parte de tierra que está a la parte del poniente //(19r) de la haza que se dice la haza Bermexa, que es en Daraxededid de la Vega de Granada, que Dios guarde, que alinda por la parte solana con Alchaxe Albugarry, e por la parte del cierzco con Abendamén, e por la de lebante ansimismo, e por la de poniente con el río, con sus derechos e debedamientos, entradas e salidas, e con todos sus probechos e pertenencias, e con el agua con que se suele regar, según costumbre antigua del dicho pago. Benta cumplida que supieron su balor e quantía de trescientos e ochenta e quatro pesantes de plata, de los pesantes de a diez dineros cada vno, de que recibió luego el bendedor trescientos e treinta e seis pesantes de la forma susodicha, que pasaron a su poder en efeto e dio carta de pago dellos bien e cumplidamente. E quedó a dar quarenta e ocho pesantes cada e //(19v) quando le fueren demandados e se daba por sentenciado. E por ello cumplió al comprador el señorío de la dicha tierra bien e cumplidamente por la regla e costumbre de los moros, e por los saneamientos dellos, e no quedó al bendedor en nombre de las dichas vendedoras en lo que ansí bendió,

37. *Left margin*: Otra.

38. *Sic*.

ningún derecho ni acción, por ninguna forma ni manera. Lo qual todo miró el comprador, (está roto y no se puede leer³⁹). Ansí lo sentaron dos alfaqués escriuanos públicos. Concuerta la fecha de la dicha carta de arábigo con el año del nacimiento de nuestro salvador Jesu Christo de mill e quatrocientos e sesenta años.

Fecho e sacado fue este dicho traslado de las dichas cartas de arábigo originales de suso contenidas en la nombrada e gran //(20r) ciudad de Granada, a tres días del mes abril, año del nacimiento de nuestro salvador Jesu Christo de mill e quinientos e nueve años. Testigos que fueron presentes al ber, leer e concertar deste dicho traslado con las dichas escripturas de arábigo originales, Bernaldino Xarafí, e Juan de la Rentería e Luis de Arenas, vecinos de esta dicha ciudad de Granada. Por ende yo, Micer Ambrosio Xarafí, escriuano de su alteza, escribano público de los del número de la dicha ciudad, presente fui en vno con los dichos testigos a leer e concertar este dicho traslado con los dichos originales de arábigo que señalé donde esto romancée e lo fice escribir e fiçe aquí este mío signo a tal en testimonio de berdad. Miçer Ambrosio Xarafí, escriuano público.

En Granada⁴⁰, a primero de diciembre de mill e quinientos e beinte e nueve años, llebé la escriptura original donde fue sacado este traslado, //(20v) el qual se sacó por mandado del señor lizenziado Briceño, el qual tiene nueve foxas originales. Testigos Martín de Olibares, escriuano, Diego de Castro, Fernando Salzedo.

DOCUMENT NO. 2

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Nobleza, Santacruz, C. 0002, D. 0001, fols. 23r-25r.

864, end of the *ÿumāda al-awwāl* month (21 March 1460)⁴¹

Deed of sale, signed by two public scribes, of the alborras and noble sisters, Haxa, Enaxma e Coad and Olmalfata, daughters of King Abulcazín Halid,

39. *Sic.*

40. *Left margin:* nota.

41. The Archivo Histórico Nacional document states 1458 by error. The same document in the Archivo Municipal de Granada states the Christian date as 1468.

son of King Abreagel, son of King Abraudaly, through their steward and servant Halid Abulcazín, son of the old alfaquí Halid Mahomad Abdalá Benz-elamo to the Jew Muse Ben Alí Bendanén, transferring part of the land that is in the middle of the irrigated field called Vnque Alhamel, part of the Daragedid farm properties, in the Vega de Granada, with 138 marjales, and with all of its rights including the irrigation water that belongs to it. It was sold for the price of 2,228 silver pesantes at ten dineros el pesante.

(23r) Las loanzas sean a Dios. Bendió por parte// (23v) de las magníficas señoras alhorras, nobles, limpias, con toda berdad, grandes e abondosas con toda virtud, Haxa e Enaxma e Coad⁴² e Olmalfata⁴³, hixas del rey, grande, cumplido, nombrado, poderoso e sonado, noble, contento, capitán e delantado, Abulcazín Halid, hixo del rey de los moros, nuestro señor el rey, justo, franco, esforzado por el señor de todo el mundo, e cumplidor ensalzado, bien abenturado rey de toda onrrae estado, ayudado con Dios su gloria sea, Abreagel, hixo de nuestro señor el rey de los moros, gerreador⁴⁴ por el camino del señor de todo el mundo, onrrador de su ley, conquistador de sus enemigos, aquellos que ponen igual con Dios, rey famoso, franco, adelantado, acedor de merçedes, cumplidor de necesidades, celador de batallas, bencedor de jentes, que Dios aia, Abraudaly, hixo de los reyes//(24r) antepasados, aderezados, guiados e guiadores que Dios prospere, e a las ynfantas de su gracia, bendió su mayordomo, criado por sus estados e hecho por sus merçedes, e el Halid, noble, berdadero, cumplido, Abulcazín, hixo del viexo alfaquí noble, que Dios aia, Halid Mahomad Abdalá Benzelamo, con poder bastante de parte de las señoras, al judío Muse Ben Alí Bendanén, toda la parte de tierra que está en medio de la haza de regadío que se diçe Vnque Alhamel, que es en el alquería de Daragedid de la Vega de Granada, que (Dios guarde)⁴⁵, que alinda por la parte solana con la tierra de Balomy, y por la parte del zierzo con la acequia, y por la parte de lebante e de poniente con otra tierra que bendieron, que se midieron, que hubo ciento treinta y ocho marxales, con sus derechos e debedamientos, entradas e salidas, e con el //(24v) agua que le pertenece, con que se acostumbra

42.*Sic.* In the other documents it appears as a single name: *Enaxmacoad*.

43.*Sic.* Por *Omalfata*.

44.*Sic.* por *guerreador*.

45.*Sic.*

regar. Venta cumplida, por precio e quantía de dos mil e doscientos e veinte e ocho pesantes de plata, de a diez dineros cada pesante, diole por quito el bendedor, en el dicho nombre, de dos mill e nobenta e tres pesantes, porque se los debían las dichas señoras antes que esta benta se concordase, e lo restante, que son çiento e treinta e cinco pesantes, se obligó de los dar e pagar cada e quando que le fuesen demandados. E por ello cumplió al comprador el señorío e propiedad de la dicha parte de tierra, bien e cumplidamente por la regla e costumbre de los moros, e por los saneamientos dellos, e no quedó al vendedor en dicho nombre ningún derecho en lo que así bendió, ni acción por ninguna forma ni manera, lo qual reconoció el comprador que lo miró, e se contentó, e vido lo que havía, sabiendo su precio //(25r) e balor, e así hicieron testigos por sus personas a quien los conocieron, salud es bastante. Fecho en fin de la luna de jumiluly, año de ochocientos y sesenta y quatro años e otorgó el rey, nuestro señor, adelantado, poderoso, rey justo, franco, virtuoso, benzedor, Caad⁴⁶, hermano de las dichas ynfantas bendedoras, de partes de arriba, que retificaba e daba por cierta e buena la dicha venta. E así lo otorgó, Dios le ensalze estando en su reyno próspero e fortificado, e rey de todos los moros. Ansí lo firmaron dos alfaquíes, escriuanos públicos.

Concuerta la fecha de dicho arábigo con el año del nacimiento de nuestro salvador Jesu Christo de mill e quatrocientos e cinquenta e ocho años.

DOCUMENT NO. 3

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Nobleza, Santacruz, C. 0002, D. 0001, fols. 25r-26v

874, the *ÿumāda at-tānī* month (April 1469)

Deed of sale, signed by an alfaquí notary public, between the three princesses, Haxa, Enaxmacoa and Omalfata, daughters of King Abalbazán, through a power given to their steward, the alcaide Abulcazín, son of the old alfaquí Vico Maomad Abdalá Benzalemo, and the Jew Mosé, son of Halid Bendanén, for a part of the land that is in the middle of the Vnque Alxamel haza, in the

46. Sic. por Çaad.

Daragedid area, in the Vega de Granada, with 54 marjales and all its rights, including entrances and exits, for 864 silver pesantes at ten dineros el pesante.

Las loanzas sean a Dios⁴⁷. Bendió él, en nombre de las tres señoras, magníficas, limpias, grandes, baliosas, conocidas en virtudes e cumplimiento, Haxa, Enaxmacoa e Omalfata, hixas del //(25v) rey, grande, cumplido, nonbrado en virtudes, grande, ensalzado, guerreador, que en gloria sea, Abalhazán, hixo del rey adelantado, franco e poderoso, sonado, ensalzado, ensalzador, cumplido e bastador, rey de los moros por el señor de todo el mundo, Abalabulchage, hixo del rey nuestro señor, rey de los moros, gerreador por la guía del señor de todo el mundo, rey justo, franco e berdadero, virtuoso e cumplido, el que hizo las batallas sonadas como rey de santa vida, Abiaudaly, hixo de los reyes nuestros señores, guiador de la guianza, aquel que su ánima está en santa gloria, Abiaudaly, hixo de los reyes nuestros señores. Bendió el mayordomo de las dichas ynfantas, el alcayde virtuoso, Abulcazín, hixo del viexo alfaquí justo, que Dios aia, a Vico Maomad Abdalá Benzalamo, con poder bastante que de parte dellas en su mano traya, del //(26 r) qual dan fee los escriuanos de la presente, era bueno y cumplido, al judío Mosé, hixo de Halid Bendanén, toda la parte que está en medio de la haza de regadío que está en Vnque Alxamel, término de Daragedid, alquería de la Vega de Granada, que Dios guarde, que se midió e obo en ella cinquenta e quatro marxales de medida, que alinda por la parte solana con tierra de Balaumín, e por la del cierzo con la acequia, e por la de lebante con el comprador, e por la de poniente con Abenaçín, con sus derechos e debdamientos, entradas e salidas. Benta complida por precio e quantía de ochocientos e sesenta e quatro pesantes de plata, de a diez dineros cada pesante, que recibió el bendedor en el dicho nombre, e pasaron en su poder en efeto e dio carta de pago dellos. E por ello cumplió al comprador el señorío e propiedad //(26v) de la dicha parte de tierra, por la regla e costumbre de los moros, e por los saneamientos dellos, e no quedó al dicho vendedor en el dicho nombre, en lo que ansí bendió, ningún derecho ni acción, por ninguna forma ni manera, lo qual miró el dicho comprador, e lo reconoció e se contentó, e se obligó a no reclamar e de pagar los derechos reales, conociendo su balor, e hicieron dello testigos

47. *Left margin*: Otra.

por sus personas, a quien los conoció con salud, e es bastante. Fecho en la luna de jumy de acimy, año de ochocientos e setenta e quatro años, así los firmó de su nombre vn alfaquí, escriuano público.

Concuerta la fecha desta dicha carta de arábigo con el dicho año del nacimiento de nuestro salvador Jesu Christo de mil e quatrocientos e cinquenta e ocho años.

DOCUMENT NO. 4

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Nobleza, Santacruz, C. 0002, D. 0001, fols. 26v-28r

864, end of the *ÿumāda at-tānī* month (20 April 1460)⁴⁸

Deed of sale between the three princesses, Haxa, Enaxmacoax and Omalfata, daughters of King Abulcazín Alid, through his servant, steward and alcaide, Abulcazín, son of the old alfaquí Ali Maomad Abdallá Benzalamón, to the Jew Mosé, son of Halid Ben Duanén, the part of land in the middle of the Vnquealxamel irrigated field, in Daragedid, in the Vega de Granada, with 84 marjales, for 1,680 silver pesantes at ten dineros el pesante.

Las loanzas sean a Dios⁴⁹. Bendió en nombre de las señoras alxorras, grandes e //(27r) limpias, escogidas, baliosas, complidas e birtuosas, Haxa, Enaxmacoax e Omalfata, hijas del rey grande, sonado, nombrado, noble, de grande estado, guerreador, cumplido e de buena vida, Abulcazín Alid, hixo del rey de los moros, nuestro señor, e logartheniente por el señor de todo el mundo, rey adelantado, franco e berdadero, ensalzado e ensalzador e cumplidor, virtuoso e cumplido, Abalhaxe, hixo del rey adelantado, nuestro señor, rey de los moros, guerreador por el camino del señor de todo el mundo, rey justo, franco, virtuoso, aquel que benció con ensalzamiento de Dios e fortificó sus reynos, Aly Abdily, hixo de los reyes nuestros señores, lugares thenientes de los reyes guiados, que en santa gloria sean, él, su mayordomo, criado debaxo de su amparo e franqueza, el alcaide noble, balioso, claro e cumplido //(27v) Abulcazín, hixo del viexo alfaquí justo, que Dios aia, Alí Maomad Abdallá Benzalamón, con poder bastante que en su mano truxo, dado a él por

48. *The document states 1458.*

49. *Left margin: Otra.*

parte de las dichas señoras ynfantas, que para en todo era cumplido, al judío Mosé, hijo de Halid Ben Duanén, toda la parte de tierra que está en medio de la haza de regadío que se dice Vnquealxamel, que es en término de Daragedid de la Vega de Granada (que Dios guarde)⁵⁰, en que ay ochenta e quatro marxales, que alinda por la parte solana con tierra de Balaumy, e por la parte del cierzo con la acequia e el camino, e por la parte de lebante e del poniente con el dicho comprador. Benta cumplida por precio e quantía de mill e seiscientos e ochenta pesantes de plata, de a diez dineros cada pesante, que recibió el dicho vendedor en el dicho nombre e dio carta/(28 r) de pago dellos, e por ello cumplió el dicho comprador el señorío e propiedad de la dicha parte que le fue bendida bien e cumplidamente por la regla e costumbre de los moros, e por los saneamientos dellos. Lo qual miró e reconoció el dicho comprador, e no quedó al bendedor en lo que ansí bendió en el dicho nombre, ningún derecho ni acción por ninguna forma ni manera, e el comprador se contentó e todos supieron su balor e hicieron testigos dello por sus personas a quien los conoció con salud, e es bastante. Fecho en fin de la luna de jumydifían, año de ochocientos e sesenta e quatro años.

Conquerda la fecha desta dicha carta de arábigo con el año susodicho del nacimiento de nuestro salvador Jesu Christo de mill e quatrocientos e cinquenta e ocho años.

DOCUMENT NO. 5

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Nobleza, Santacruz, C. 0002, D. 0001, fols. 28v-30r.

864, end of the *ŷumāda at-tānī* moon (20 April 1460)⁵¹

Barter deed, signed by two public scribes, which was granted by the alcaide Abulcazín, son of the old alfaquí Halid Maámad Abdallá Benzalamón, on behalf of the three princesses, Haxa, Enaxmacoad and Omalfata, daughters of King Abulcazín, son of King Abalbax, with the knight Albazar Halid, son of Zayde Almonichily, for which the alcaide offers the western part of the baza Vnque alhamel, in Daragedid, in the Vega de Granada, of 150 marjales, in

50. *Sic.*

51. *The text states 1458.*

exchange for a Monichily store in Cana, in Plaza de Hazerín, in Granada, next to another royal property. They will also receive 125 silver pesantes in compensation for the value of the properties exchanged.

//(28v) En el nombre de Dios piadoso por su misericordia. Esta carta e trueque e cambio que se hizo e otorgó entre el alcaýde noble e valioso Abulcazín, hixo del viexo alfaquí onrrado e contento Halid Maámad Abdallá Benzalamón, en nombre de las señoras alxorras, tres hermanas grandes, limpias e escogidas, baliosas, nobles e virtuosas en cumplimiento, Haxa, Enaxmacoad e Omalfata, hixas del rey grande, cumplido, guerrerador, nombrado, (a quien Dios dé Gloria)⁵², Abulcazín, hijo del rey nuestro señor, rey de los moros, por la gracia del señor de todo el mundo, rey e adelantado, franco e ensalzado, ensalzador, abastado e abastador, que Dios dé gloria, Abalhax, hijo de Nazarey, entre el caballero virtuoso Abulhazar Halid, hixo de Zayde Almonichily, trocaron en esta manera: que dio el dicho Abenzulamán//(29r), en nombre de las dichas señoras, la parte de la tierra que está a la parte del poniente de vna haza de regadío que se diçe Vnquealhamel, del término de Daragedid de la Vega de Granada, (que Dios guarde)⁵³, que alinda por la parte solana con tierra de Balaumy, y por la parte del cierzo con la acequia y el camino, e por la parte de lebante con los herederos de Abenlaxaxe, e por la parte del poniente con los herederos de Abendamén, en que hubo ciento y cinquenta marxales de medida, e diole en trueque e cambio dello el dicho Moniquily toda vna tienda que está en el Caná de la plaza del Hazerín, dentro de Granada, (que Dios guarde)⁵⁴, que alinda por la parte solana con mazería del Monichily, e por la del zierzo con el Caná, e por la de lebante con otra tienda de la casa real, e por la del poniente ansimismo con //(29v) todos sus derechos e debedamientos, entradas e salidas, ansí la dicha tierra como la tienda. Troque e cambio cumplido que cumplió a cada vno dellos el señorío e propiedad de lo que recibía cumplidamente por la regla e costumbre de los moros e por los saneamientos dellos. E no quedó a las dichas señoras e al dicho Abenzalamón en su nombre en la dicha tierra ningún derecho ni açción

52.*Sic.*

53.*Sic.*

54.*Sic.*

por ninguna forma ni manera ni al dicho Monichily en la dicha tienda ningún derecho ni açción por ninguna forma ni manera porque cada vno miró e reconoció lo que hacía e lo que daba e lo que recevían e fueron contentos e se obligaron a los derechos reales. E tomó ençima el dicho Monichily de la tienda que dio por la tierra que recibió al dicho mayordomo Abenzalamón ciento e veinte e cinco pesantes de plata/(30r) que en su mano recibió e dio carta de pago dellos, aunque no recibió salbo ochenta pesantes, e lo restante se obligó de se lo dar fasta vn mes primero siguiente. E así se dieron por contentos ambas partes conociendo lo que facían e hicieron testigos dello e quien los conoçió con salud, e es bastante.

Fecho en fin de la luna de jumydicimy año de ochocientos e sesenta e quatro años. Lo qual todo hizo el dicho Abenzalomón e lo trocó en nombre de las dichas señoras alxorras con poder bastante que dellas truxo en su mano e así lo señalaron de sus nombres dos alfaquíes escrivanos públicos. Concuerta la fecha desta dicha carta de arábigo con el dicho año del nacimiento de nuestro salvador Jesu Christo de mill e quatrocientos e cinquenta e ocho años.

