

## **Marat Astakhov**

### **Abstract of thesis**

My thesis covers the place of the Emirate of Granada in the European system of the international relations during in the first half of the 15th century. I chose right this time because on the one hand it was characterized by the comparative stability – there were no large-scale wars against the Emirate – however on the other hand it was the epoch of the extreme aggravation of the international situation around that last Muslim state in the south of the Iberian Peninsula, the age of the bitter struggle – manifest or secret – between a number of European countries for predominance in that key point. As regards the Emirate in itself, it's rulers having no possibility to oppose single-handed to the pressure of the Reconquista (although in that time it was depressed, much far from that one in the 13th or 14th centuries) exploited that extraordinary situation of the balance of powers, they followed quite reasonable policy conceding privileges sometimes to the one side sometimes to the other playing off them against each other.

That subtle diplomatic game doesn't allow us to take that state exclusively for "overripe fruit" for Christian kingdoms or for "stillborn baby", "curious of history" (as it was for a long time in Spanish, French and American historiography right up to the beginnings of 1980s<sup>1</sup>), quite the contrary I consider that it was rather independent player on the international scene. That's why it's possible to say that we deal with very interesting case, which may be called "*dynamic stability*": combination of *status quo* in the boundaries of the Emirate and very *dynamic situation* in the development of international relations. So one of the principal tasks of my thesis is a study of reasons and consequences of that situation, it's results for Granada and other sides, and in the final analysis, an approaching to explanation of the secret of Granada's long existence (more than 250 years).

In addition the manifestation of medieval *dynamism* could be seen in the development of the proper medieval diplomacy (the theme closely connected with the international relations), it's methods and techniques in the first half of the 15th century. As it was noted in the book of American historian Garrett Mattingly<sup>2</sup>, that time was a transitional period from medieval to renaissance diplomacy. It was the first half of the

15th century when appeared one the first diplomatic treatise (Bernard du Rosier "Ambaxaitor"<sup>3</sup>), first "professional" diplomats (people assigned exceptionally to diplomatic tasks without combination it with trade or military service<sup>4</sup>) or attempts of creating first resident diplomatic missions<sup>5</sup> (the practice, which would be widely extended in Europe in the second half of 15th century, starting from the Italian states). All of that combined with conservation of the main principles of medieval (also called "old" in historiography) diplomacy, which represented the individual interests of kings or superior officials but not the states' ones (the proper national state didn't exist yet).

So in this light the Granadian case (in application to the relations with Christian states) had many in common with all-European practice, which prove the dynamism and development of diplomacy, it's transitional type: in sources we face new (appearance of first "professional" diplomats and proto-resident diplomatic missions on the basis of trade ones) and old (kings' individual interests) traits. However it's necessary to take account of specify of diplomatic relations between Christian and Islam worlds: necessity of special knowledge in the sphere of language, customs and traditions, different diplomatic etiquette etc<sup>6</sup>.

The main roles in destiny of the Emirate belonged to three Christian countries: the Crown of Aragon, Castile and the Republic of Genoa, but in my thesis I also will intend to examine in my thesis (as far as the source base will allow me) the relations between Granada and others European countries: Kingdoms of Portugal and France, Papal state, Republics of Venice and Florence, Holy Roman Empire and Poland.

It's necessary to let know beforehand that the greatest part of proper Granadian diplomatic documents unfortunately was lost: partly because of consequences of Reconquista, partly owing to actions of Napoleon's army in 1808–1813. Some sources conserved (in original Arabic language or in translations) in archives of different Christian states (first of all in Aragon and Castile). The large part of it from Aragon was transcribed published by Spanish historians in 1940<sup>7</sup>.

The largest volume of historical sources which I use comes from the General Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona and from the municipal archives of different town of the Crown: Valencia, Alicante, Orihuela and others. The pioneer of investigation of Aragonian diplomatic documents at the beginning of the 20th century

was famous Spanish historian and arabist Andrés Giménez Soler. In number of his articles<sup>8</sup> dedicated to Aragon's foreign policy he described in a general way the history of bilateral relations between the Crown and of the Emirate and published in the appendix several letters and charters from royal office (including those of the first half of 15th century). Subsequently although some investigations appeared during the whole 20th century – in Spain and other countries – covered the different themes of Granada's history (including the fundamental general work of M.A. Ladero Quesada<sup>9</sup>), all of them make only casual mention of diplomacy of Granada not concentrating on the place of the Emirate in the European system of international relations. Besides their authors didn't pay much attention to vast collections of documents of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon.

That state of affairs changed only in the beginnings of 1980s, since when Spanish National Research Council (in Spanish abbreviation CSIC) started it's amazing activity in publishing of historical sources from the archives of many towns of Aragon. Especially I can note the publication of Roser Salicrú i Lluch<sup>10</sup>, which was be at the centre of my attention during the performing of the qualifying work and continues to be such in my thesis: this is the vast collection of transcribed royal diplomas and charts, translation of several emirs' letters, reports of the officials, resolutions of municipal councils, many directly diplomatic documents (for example, permits of the pass, credentials and safeguards) in Latin, Old Catalan and Old Spanish. This publication allows to outline the bilateral relations of two states (besides consists interesting information about involving of other European countries, for example, the embassies of French kings in Granada or trips of German, Polish, Italian, French knights in the Emirate). Also I use the electronic publications and facsimiles of untranscribed from the sites of number of Aragonian municipal archives, vast narrative material (first of all Latin chronicle of Jerónimo Zurita<sup>11</sup>) and CSIC's thematic publications of sources dedicated, for example, to the problems of Aragonian frontier<sup>12</sup> or Muslim slavery in Barcelona<sup>13</sup> and several fragment of belletristic literature, collected and published by famous Catalan philologist Martí de Riquer<sup>14</sup>.

In case of Castile unfortunately there was no such vast publications of historical sources from the General Archive of Simancas. That's why I use some electronic publications of documents in the sites of municipal archives (first of all from the region

of Murcia, in the Middle Ages it was the part of Castile). Also I use several investigations dedicated to the frontier and which consist documental appendixes<sup>15</sup>, narrative material (the chronicle of Juan II<sup>16</sup>, "Chronicle of Hawker"<sup>17</sup>), belletristic literature (first of all the frontier romances<sup>18</sup>, which reflect the ideas of knighthood about Granada).

The Genoese documents connected with the relations between this republic and Granada in the first half of 15th century were collected and published by R. Salicrú i Lluç in her recently appeared book<sup>19</sup>. There are about 30 letters of Genoese merchants and ambassadors in Granada about the political and trade issues. I also use several documental appendixes in the articles about Genoese trade activity in the Emirate<sup>20</sup>, first of all in the Mediterranean ports Málaga and Almería. In spite of being dedicated to economical problems this documents (reports of merchants, several recommendations etc) consist many helpful information for a historian specialized in history of international relations.

Also exists the material (publications of sources, books and appendixes to articles) which could be very useful to describe the relations between Granada and Portugal<sup>21</sup>, France<sup>22</sup>, Holy Roman Empire<sup>23</sup> and other European countries.

Although lately appeared several investigations about the diplomatic relations of the Emirate of Granada, the majority of them covers the local subjects. Nobody have set the task to reveal in general the role and place of the Emirate of Granada in the European system of the international relations, to describe that paradoxical "*dynamic stability*". So I believe that my future thesis will make the contribution to understanding of this interesting phenomenon.

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<sup>1</sup> Minutely in: RODRÍGUEZ MOLINA J. *Reflexiones sobre el Reino de Granada* // Revista d'història medieval, № 10. Valencia, 1999, p. 315–317.

<sup>2</sup> MATTINGLY G. *Renaissance diplomacy*. N.Y., 1988, p. 23–44

<sup>3</sup> About Bernard du Rosier see: ARABEYRE P. *Un prélat languedocien au milieu du XVe siècle : Bernard de Rosier, archevêque de Toulouse (1400–1475)* // Journal des savants, №3-4. P., 1990, p. 291-326.

<sup>4</sup> About it in: QUELLER D.L. *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages*. Princeton, (N.J.), 1967.

<sup>5</sup> HAMILTON K., LANGHORNE R. *The Practice of Diplomacy: its evolution, theory and administration*. L., N.Y., 1995, p.22–40.

<sup>6</sup> Minutely in: SALICRÚ I LLUCH R. *Más allá de la mediación de la palabra: negociación con los infieles y mediación cultural en la Baja Edad Media* // Anuario de estudios medievales, anejo 61. Barcelona, 2005; EADEM. *La diplomacia y la embajadas como expresión de los contactos interculturales entre cristianos y musulmanes en el mediterraneo occidental durante la baja Edad Media* // Estudios de historia de España. №9, 2007; EADEM. *Crossing Boundaries in Late Medieval Iberia: Historical Glimpses of Christian-*

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*Islamic Intercultural Dialogue* // International journal of Euro-Mediterranean studies. № 1(1), 2008; VALÉRIAN D. *Les agents de la diplomatie des souverains maghrébins avec le monde chrétien (XII-XV siècles)* // Anuario de estudios medievales. №38, 2, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> ALARCÓN Y SANTÓN, M.A., GARCÍA DE LINARES, R. *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*. Madrid, 1940.

<sup>8</sup> GIMÉNEZ SOLER A. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada* // Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, III (1905-1906), IV (1907-1908), Barcelona 1905–1908.

<sup>9</sup> LADERO QUESADA M.A. *Granada: historia de un país islámico*. Madrid, 1979.

<sup>10</sup> SALICRÚ I LLUCH R. *Documents per a la història de Granada del regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim (1416–1458)*. Barcelona, 1999.

<sup>11</sup> ZURITA GERÓNIMO. *Annales de la Corona de Aragón*. Vol. 1–8. Zaragoza, 1967–1990.

<sup>12</sup> FERRER I MALLOL M.T. *La frontera amb l'Islam en el segle XIV: cristians i serrains al País Valencià*. Barcelona, 1988; EADEM. *Organització i defensa d'un territori fronterer: la governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV*. Barcelona, 1990.

<sup>13</sup> HERNANDO J. *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona: blancs, negres llors i turcs*. Barcelona, 2003.

<sup>14</sup> RIQUER M. *Història de la literatura catalana*. Vol. 1–4. Barcelona, 1964-1966.

<sup>15</sup> QUESADA QUESADA T. *La Serranía de Mágina en la Baja Edad Media*. Granada, 1989; CARRIAZO RUBIO J.L. *La Casa de Arcos entre Sevilla y la frontera de Granada (1374-1474)*. Sevilla, 2003.

<sup>16</sup> MATA CARRIAZO J. *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*. Madrid, 1982.

<sup>17</sup> CARRILLO DE HUETE P., MATA CARRIAZO J., BELTRÁN R. *Crónica del halconero de Juan II*. Granada, 2006.

<sup>18</sup> DURÁN A. *Romancero general. Colección de romances castellanos anteriores al siglo XVII*. Vol. 1–2. Madrid, 1851; MENÉNDEZ PIDAL R. *Flor nueva de romances viejos*. Buenos Aires, 1938.

<sup>19</sup> SALICRÚ I LLUCH R. *El Sultanato Nazarí de Granada, Génova y la Corona de Aragón*. Granada, Málaga, 2007.

<sup>20</sup>For example: HEERS J. *Le Royaume de Grenade et la politique marchande de Gênes en Occident (XVe siècle)* // *Le Moyen Age*, 63. P., 1957; PISTARINO G. *Genova medievale tra Oriente e Occidente* // *Rivista storica italiana*, 81. Napoli, 1969; IDEM. *Tra Genova e Granada nell'epoca dei nazari* // *Presencia italiana en Andalucía. Siglos XIV–XVII, actas del III Coloquio Hispano-Italiano*. Sevilla, 1989; GARÍ B. *La advertencia del fin. Génova y el reino de Granada a mediados del siglo XV* // *Presencia italiana en Andalucía. Siglos XIV–XVII, actas del III Coloquio Hispano-Italiano*. Sevilla, 1989; EADEM. *Why Almeria? An islamic port in the compass of Genoa* // *Journal of Medieval History*. Amsterdam, 1992.

<sup>21</sup> *Colleccão de livros ineditos de historia portugueza*. Lisboa, 1790; articles: ADÃO DA FONSECA L. *O papel de Granada no horizonte da politica peninsular portuguesa em meados do seculo XV* // *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*. Almería, 1987; LÓPEZ DE COCA CASTAÑER J.E. *El papel de Granada en las relaciones castellano-portuguesas (1369-1492)* // *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie III, Historia medieval*, №17, 2004 etc.

<sup>22</sup> VIELLIARD J., AVEZOU R. *Lettres originales de Charles VI conservées aux Archives de la Couronne d'Aragon à Barcelone* // *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, tome 97. P., 1936.

<sup>23</sup> HERBERS K., JASPERT N. *"Das kommt mir Spanisch vor". Eigenes und Fremdes in den deutsch-spanischen Beziehungen des Mittelalters* (Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt 1). B., Münster, 2004.