

**THE BULLETIN**  
**REAL AULA MALLORQUESA**  
**Year 2000 Edition**

EDITORIAL

POET MYSTIC & HERMIT : JOHN BRADBURNE  
Dom Thomas Regan OSB

INFLUENCIA BYZANTINA EN EL ARTE ROMANICO DE  
ESPAÑA  
Prince Juan Arcadio Láscaris Comneno

EL APELLIDO DE DOÑA TERESA  
Count Jose Carlos Carminio Castagno

THE FRATERNITY OF THE KNIGHTS OF CHRIST IN  
LIVONIA  
Baron John Campbell-Kease

CHIVALRY ON THE INTERNET  
Maurizio Fantato F.R.G.S.

Editor: Stephen Screech

Deputy Editor: Maurizio Fantato

Published in Switzerland and printed in the United Kingdom.

## EDITORIAL

As I write these words to introduce the 2000 year edition of the Real Aula Mallorquesa Bulletin, I am keenly aware that the year itself is fast drawing to a close. It is a year whose very number has apparent significance. It has triggered a Great Jubilee of the Catholic Church, the latest in the succession of jubilees which stretch back in time beyond the Church, beyond the birth of Our Lord which gives us the numbering of our years, right back in fact to the Temple of King Solomon. Even those who participated in the Great Jubilee this year are somewhat puzzled by it, how it came about, what it is, what one should really do. The other obvious numerical characteristic of the year 2000 is its pivotal position as the end of one century and the beginning of another, the end of one millenium and the beginning of another, whether like the popular Press you opt for it being the beginning or like the purists you maintain that it is the end. Again puzzlement is common at its significance, though why should there be any significance in an arbitrary year whose number is not even an accurate reflection of the years since Our Lord's birth, as it claims to be ? But I detect, amid the celebration, a certain sense of fear of the future, whether it be the threat of military destruction, of social anarchy or of ecological armageddon. This we cannot permit ourselves. As Christians we know that Despair is a denial of God and the Sin against the Holy Spirit. As Knights we are bound to ride forth to make the world a better place. We are confident of God's blessing in the endeavour.

The Editor  
Chemin de Notre Dame 2  
2013 Colombier, Switzerland

## POET, MYSTIC & HERMIT : JOHN BRADBURNE

Dom Thomas Regan O.S.B.

“John Bradburne is a rôle model which speaks volumes in today’s world” said Mons. J.A. Ward, Archbishop of Cardiff. We all need rôle models. The Church understands this and from time to time raises them as Saints to the altars. They are examples to us, proving that ordinary folk from every country and culture have followed Christ’s example so closely, reminders that we too, if we persevere, can be saints. Every year the members of the Military Order of the Collar gather at Buckfast Abbey as guests of the Abbot and of the Commandery of Buckfast which has adopted a project in Africa, which would not be unfamiliar to knights of the Middle Ages : the service and care of those suffering from leprosy, particularly a leper settlement at Mutemwa in Zimbabwe where John Bradburne lived and where he died a violent death in the disturbances of 1979. John Bradburne had been received into the Catholic Church at Buckfast in 1947. He wrote :-

In Devonshire, the shining Dart  
Comes swiftly from the moor ;  
A-lazing in its sunlit pools  
The dappled trout I saw –  
‘Twas a memory of Eden.

Saint Mary’s Abbey flourishes  
Beside that river clear,  
‘Mid woods and meadows, once a haunt  
Of Devon’s wild red deer :  
There walks God in Mary’s garden.

What prompted him to leave the beauty of Devon to seek solitude in the wastes and poverty of Africa ? He was seeking God, as we all must. He was seeking to serve God in others, as we all must, especially as Christian Knights ought. John Bradburne was seeking

to be holy to fulfil the injunction of Holy Scripture : *You must be holy, as the Lord your God is holy*. Nearly twenty years after his death many who knew him or who have studied him are convinced that he should indeed be declared a Saint.

John Randal Bradburne was born into a devout family in Cumbria, later moving to Norfolk where his father was an Anglican parson. He was the middle one of five children and educated at Greshams School where he shone as a member of the Officer Training Corps. When war broke out in 1939 he volunteered for the Indian Army, his mother's family having Indian connections. At 19 he was in uniform and at just 20 was commissioned as a 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant, before leaving for Bombay, where he was assigned to the Ghurkas. He spoke little of his war experiences, but to those who knew him he was something of a hero, albeit with the reputation of the life and soul of any party.

The silence of India, the spectacular sunrises and sunsets, the Himalayas, all gave him plenty of food for thought. He longed for the silence, the chant, the solitude of monastic life. This led him to Buckfast in 1947. Although he was keen, the novice master had doubts about the vocation of the recent convert, the custom being to allow a couple years to settle down first. He was accepted as a Postulant, which gave him hope but it was not to be. His search for God led him to Lourdes where his devotion to Our Lady increased and he was moved to witness a crowd of over 200,000 people singing her praises and professing their common faith.

The following years were filled with jounries and explorations. He visited Rome, Cyprus and the Holy Land. Each place left a mark on him. Having tested his vocation first at Buckfast, then with the Carthusians at Parkminster, he spent a year with the Sion Fathers at Louvain, whom he left with a good heart but concluded that a traditional Order was not for him. He saw that all his journeyings and encounters were preparing him for a mission in life and he set off for Africa : skilled laymen were welcome to the hard pressed

missionaries in the Third World. He arrived in Salisbury (now Harare, Zimbabwe) on 7<sup>th</sup> August 1962. He had no skills, he drove badly, he hardly typed, but the Irish Franciscans were greatly amused by their English poet, but he was little practical use. Yet his heart was in the right place and he yearned to live a simple life of poverty in an African cave. A Franciscan priest noticed that he had three wishes : to serve and live with lepers; to die a martyr; to be buried in the Franciscan habit.

It took seventeen years, but every wish came true, and these years were not slow moving. Each day was filled with a special joy, taking St. Francis of Assisi as his particular model. Surrounded by God's creation it was not a lonely time. After a visit to his mother in Devon and then to Jerusalem in 1968 he returned to Africa, specifically to Mutemwa, which means "cut off", a reference to it having once been a home for a thousand lepers but there were by then only a hundred or so. They had huts, rations, some clothes and a new drug called Dapsone, but no love. This was John's mission, to give them a dignity that they had not known, to treat them as human beings, not the diseased rejects of society.

But the peace of the leper settlement and the joy they felt in the knowledge that they were loved did not last. The war of independence broke out and John found himself a prisoner of the rebels. He unnerved his captors by kneeling and praying for them in their Shona tongue. He was offered freedom if he would only go away to Mozambique, but he refused, wanting only to return to his lepers. This was granted, but on his way back he was accosted by a gunman who forced him to a clearing where he knelt in prayer while the gunman emptied his rifle into John's back. The guerrillas intended to hide the body but ran away when they heard singing and noticed a white bird hovering over it, refusing to go away. Some days later during the funeral the saddened throng was amazed to notice blood ooze from the coffin. Opening it provided no explanation but it did reveal that he was not clothed in the Franciscan habit, as he had wished, and this was rectified.

# INFLUENCIA BYZANTINA EN EL ARTE ROMÁNICO DE ESPAÑA

Príncipe Juan Arcadio Láscaris Comneno

## **Prerrománico**

Entre los siglos VIII al XI, los periodos que ofrece el arte prerrománico español son dos: asturiano y mozárabe. El arte asturiano arranca de las formulas latino-byzantinas, pero introduce soluciones y novedades suficientes para ser considerado como una manifestación del genio artistico nacional. Para el marques de Lozoya “el asturiano es un arte aristocrático creado para satisfacer las pequeñas necesidades de la pequeña corte de Asturias”. En la época de Ramiro I (842-850) y en el arte “ramirensé” se hace necesario admitir la presencia en Asturias de un arquitecto formado en el arte byzantino coetáneo. En San Miguel de Liño, que se halla en las inmediaciones de Santa María del Naranco, en los arrabales de Oviedo, es, asimismo, notable el hecho de que el abovedamiento es independiente por cada tramo, lo cual a no dudar está inspirado en la arquitectura byzantina.

## **Románico**

El término “románico” incluía todas las manifestaciones artisticas de la Europa occidental comprendidas entre los siglos VIII y XIII. Para Conti “el arte románico utiliza, efectivamente, elementos romanos y germanicos, pero también byzantinos, islámicos y armenios” y señala también que “el mosaico es en auge en época románica, sobretudo en las regiones mediterráneas más directamente influidas por el arte byzantino, donde el mosaico era un elemento determinante”. Christie dice que “el arte románico es así el desenlace normal, en el occidente medieval, del arte del Bajo Imperio”. Kinder señala que recoge la tradición romana mediatizada por influencias byzantinas y de Al-Andalus y, en pintura, presenta influencias claras tanto del clasicismo occidental como de Byzancio.

El arte románico se forma en la Europa Occidental por la penetración del arte bizantino, una vez perdida con las invasiones la tradición artística romana, y asume, según las condiciones étnicas y materiales de cada país, modalidades distintas. Esto sucede en España en el siglo X. Otro autor dice que “el arte románico es también un arte de movimiento, diferenciándose esencialmente en este aspecto del arte bizantino que es estático”.

Refiriéndose a España y, en concreto, al catalán, Alarcia mantiene que “la decoración interior de las iglesias románicas catalanas se hizo mediante pinturas murales que recuerdan los grandes conjuntos de mosaicos bizantinos e italianos ... La iconografía de la pintura románica es premisa necesaria para comprender el conjunto de los templos. En el interior el ábside condicionaba la decoración mediante las teofanías, visiones de Dios, originadas en el Antiguo Testamento o en el Apocalipsis, semejantes a las de los mosaicos bizantinos ... En la pintura románica catalana se advierten dos corrientes de influencia, una de procedencia italiana y otra de origen septentrional, aunque ambas acusan el influjo bizantino”.

En la evolución de la escultura funeraria, el cincel aplana el relieve y alarga las figuras adaptándolas del marco, es lo que harán los escultores románicos, cuando conciben sus formas en función del marco en que han de inscribirse .

Se acostumbró el Occidente, en el curso de los siglos, al principio de la deformación abstracta de las formas clásicas heredadas del mundo romano o bizantino. Y esa constante del arte medieval occidental se halla en la base de creaciones excepcionales, como, por ejemplo, en el arte de la iluminación asturiana del siglo X y principios del XI.

Las sinagogas se atuvieron a la “forma basilical” y durante mucho tiempo después de la invasión árabe, como lo testimonia, por

ejemplo, la sinagoga de Toledo, la actual iglesia de Santa María la Blanca, del siglo XII.

Se notan acentuadas influencias italo-byzantinas en la “Virgen de Daroca”, en Aragón. También en las de Navarra y de Castilla, como en las dos Virgenes, algo más tardías, de la “Catedral de Toledo”. Estos conjuntos de “icones” se copió profundamente en todo el imperio byzantino pasando también a Italia y España y, actualmente, se le conoce con el nombre de Nuestra Señora del Perpetuo Socorro.

Tipológicamente, aparte de sus significaciones simbólicas, la visión de la “Maestas Domini” se diferencia de la representación byzantina del Pantocrátor, al ser entendida esta última teofanía sólo como imagen de medio cuerpo.

La representación pictórica de la “Maiestas Mariae”, en el románico catalán, es de tradición byzantina. La tipología de la “Maiestas Mariae” tiene su antecedente genérico en la “Theotokos”, es decir, en la Madre de Dios del mundo byzantino, si bien desde un punto de vista iconográfico cabe buscar unas relaciones con la “Nikopéia”, Virgen coronada sentada en un trono con el niño en brazos que llevaban las expediciones guerreras para conseguir la victoria, y la “Kyriotissa”, en la que los personajes no aparecen coronados.

Singulares en esta clasificación son las representaciones tardorrománicas de los frontales de Betesa y Chia, que introducen en la iconografía pictórica catalana una variante con respecto a la representación ortodoxa de la “Maiestas Mariae”: la de la Virgen amamantando a Jesús. Aunque la denominada “Virgen de la Leche” se encuentra ya representada en las Catacumbas de Priscila (siglo III), tiene una larga tradición byzantina y figura en ocasiones en el arte románico, no se encuentra con frecuencia ni en la pintura ni en la escultura



catalanas del periodo. El tipo byzantino corresponde a la “Panagia Galaktotrophusa”.

Excepto en el ábside de Sant Pere de La Seo d’Urgell, en el que María figura a la izquierda de Cristo (en el colegio apostólico), en compañía de Juan y portando en su mano izquierda una corona, en las demás representaciones murales del románico catalán se abre la mano izquierda al modo byzantino y sostiene un cáliz. Las manos veladas, especialmente en el acto de ofrendar, simbolizan veneración y respeto.

El ciclo correspondiente a “la muerte y glorificación de María” es infrecuente y apenas se halla en algunas obras de la secuencia tardorrománica, concretándose a tres episodios: la Dormición, la Asunción y la Coronación. Al igual que en las demás escenas, la Dormición tiene sus fuentes literarias en numerosos apócrifos asuncionistas y sus paradigmas plásticos en el arte byzantino, si bien en el arte occidental no se dan los primeros ejemplos hasta el siglo XI y no empieza a adquirir gran difusión hasta el siglo XIII. Las representaciones del frontal de El Coll, y las de los murales de El Bruc de la “Dormición”, se ajustan más a la iconografía byzantina y a la que sería habitual en Occidente hasta bien entrado el siglo XIV: la Virgen se muestra tendida en un lecho y rodeada por los apóstoles. La figuración mural sigue la tradición byzantina de la “Assumptio animae”, es decir, de la presencia de Cristo recogiendo personalmente el alma de María. La iconografía de la “Assumptio animae” tiene sus fuentes literarias en algunos apócrifos asuncionistas y, de manera particular, en el Libro de Juan, arzobispo de Tesalónica (siglo XII).

El tema de los arcángeles abogados en la pintura románica catalana y su relación con las manifestaciones byzantinas e italianas ha sido estudiado por J. Bousquet. Se encuentran estos arcangeles abogados tanto junto a la “Maiestas Domini”, como a la “Maiestas Mariæ”. Su tipología es muy parecida; ataviados con

ricas vestiduras, con una mano (la izquierda) muestran una cruz y estandarte y con la otra sostienen un rollo cerrado en el que se lee respectivamente (como en Santa Eulalia de Estaon) *PETICUS* y *POSTULACIVS*. Gabriel y Miguel, arcángeles que por lo común están identificados con tales representaciones, siguiendo una tradición byzantina actúan como angeles demandantes y defensores en el juicio presidido por la “Maestas Domini” o a través de la intercesión de María.

En la Secuencia altorrománica el modo dominante, uno de los cinco modos básicos que estructura esta secuencia, es el que paradigmatisa la pintura románica en Cataluña, principalmente en lo que a pintura mural se refiere. Cronológicamente abarca desde fines del siglo XI hasta mediados de la siguiente centuria. En este modo se hacen evidentes la tradición mozárabe y la influencia del byzantinismo italiano, si bien tiene una definición estilística propia difícilmente relacionable en primer grado con obras fuera de la Orbita catalana. Este modo se refleja principalmente en dos círculos estilísticos: el de Pedret y el de los maestros de Tahull.

También, durante el siglo XI, los préstamos tomados del arte prebyzantino y posticonoclasta sufrieron una reducción esquemática perfectamente comparable a la que podemos seguir en Cataluña, entre el 1100 y el 1160, en los frescos del taller del maestro de Pedret. Alarcia señala que a finales del siglo XI triunfa la otra corriente de tradición byzantina a través del influjo lombardo. En Cataluña y en pintura, el estilo italo-byzantino, de un decorativismo esencial y aspero que llega a los límites de la intensidad expresiva, tiene cuatro grandes maestros, llamados de Tahull, de Maderuelo, de Pedret y de Urgel, además de otros menores. Para Azcàrete, en la pintura sobre tabla hispánica en Cataluña, en el “Protogótico hispánico”, centrado aproximadamente entre 1170 y 1225, existen cuatro tendencias, la arcaizante, la neobyzantina, la naturalista y la protogótica avanzada. La tendencia neobyzantinante queda centrada por los

nombres del Maestro de Baltarga, al que asocia el frontal que le da nombre, el de Orellá y, ya dentro de su círculo de influencia, el de Perpignan, el tabernáculo de Angostrina, el frontal de la colección Sonntag y el retablo de la colección Atmetller. Además, la influencia bizantina, para Azcárete, se hace evidente en el frontal de Farrera relacionado estrechamente con los frescos de Sant Esteve d'Andorra la Vella. Suneda sitúa a los Maestros de Baltarga y Orellá así como el “frontal Sonntag” dentro del modo secundario de la secuencia tardorrománica.

El Maestro de Tahull empieza a trabajar en el primer cuarto del siglo XI en “San Clemente de Tahull”, en Lérida. Este anónimo autor, trabajó más tarde en Santa Rosa de Isábena y pertenece a la corriente de la pintura catalana que acogió a su modo el estilo italobizantino. Para Pichard, no cabe duda que los artistas que pintaron la iglesia de San Clemente de Tahull hicieron sus trabajos empleando la fórmula bizantina.

El Maestro de Maderuelo, después de haber pintado el abside de “Santa María de Tahull” pasa a trabajar a Maderuelo (Segovia) y a San Baudillo de Benlaga (Soria). Se cree que pertenece también al llamado de BOHI, quizá griego. Boi fue la capital del señorío de Erill (Cataluña) en el siglo XI. A la iglesia de San Juan pertenecen escenas del martirio de San Esteban y los juegos de los juglares, realizados por un artista de formación septentrional sobre una base de bizantinismo.

El Maestro de Pedret trabaja en la zona entre Berga y Tredós, en “Santa María de Aneu” (Lérida) realizada en torno al año 1100, en la iglesia aragonesa de “Tredós”, en el Valle de Arán, en el siglo XII, destaca el sobrio bizantinismo de los elegantes Reyes Magos, carácter acentuado en los santos de tamaño natural de “San Pedro del Burgal”. Este maestro es exponente de la corriente de influencia italo-bizantina. Realizó también la decoración de la iglesia de San Quirze de Pedret y de la colegiata de Ager (Lérida). Su bizantinismo queda patente en la

representación de la fábula de las vírgenes y de los apóstoles Tadeo y Barolomé. Dentro de este círculo o taller, se incluye como obra principal la decoración de los ábsides de San Pedro de Burgal (Lérida). La decoración del ábside de la capilla del castillo de Orcau (Lérida) muestra el estilo de un artista seguidor de este maestro.

El Maestro de la Seo de Urgel es el autor del “ábside de la iglesia de San Pedro” de la Seo de Urgel, muy byzantinizante. En torno al 1200 y coincidiendo con la corriente neobyzantina de la Cataluña oriental, se desarrolla en la diócesis de Lérida-Roda un taller con características propias. La corriente neobyzantina en Aragón está documentada por dos grandes conjuntos: las gigantescas figuras de “Arlanza” y la decoración mural de la Sala Capitular del monasterio de Sigena, realizada hacia 1220, descubre la estrecha relación con el mundo pictórico byzantino.

Este modo no muestra en sí una definición de contenidos ni de claras referencias estilísticas. Su caracterización proviene, en todo caso, de sus peculiares formalizaciones, en las que a un cierto monumentalismo byzantinizante se une un tratamiento en extremo gráfico del dibujo, que parece tener evidentes connotaciones primitivas. En el cabe distinguir fundamentalmente tres círculos : el de Cases Noves, el de Fenollar y el de Cardona, y dos maestros : el de Santa María de Mur y el de Arlés-sur-Tech.

El ábside procedente de la iglesia de San Esteban de Andorra la Vieja, así como el frontal originario de Ferrera (Lérida) son obras del Maestro de Andorra. Se caracteriza, además del estilo byzantinizante, por una entonación general de los colores a base de verdes, amarillos y blancos, matizados con rojo u ocre. Son de entorno al 1200.

Según Azcárete, en la pintura mural, el neobyzantinismo se inicia en Cataluña con los murales del Maestro del Llucanes, a quien se

atribuyen las pinturas de Sant Pau de Casserres y la Santa Cena procedente de La Seo d'Urgell. El secuencia tardorrománica, dentro del modo secundario de la secuencia tardorrománica y a finales del siglo XII y principios del siglo XIII, una ola de byzantinismo llegó a la region catalana procedente de la Italia central. En cuanto a la pintura mural, se puede afirmar según Sureda, que el periodo central de la producción pictórica es el siglo XII y especialmente la primera mitad del mismo. En tierras catalanas, junto a las influencias mozárabes, apreciables de manera especial en el tratamiento de los rasgos faciales, se introduce en primer lugar una corriente byzantina a través del tamiz italiano, con diversas ramificaciones de las que pueden tomarse como paradigma las decoraciones de Sant Quirze de Pedret y Sant Climent de Taull. De finales de este siglo y a lo largo del XIII se conservan una serie de murales pertenecientes principalmente a las provincias de Gerona y Barcelona, que denotan una cierta prestancia clasicista de tradición byzantinizante, que no tendrá continuación en la catalana y cuyo estilo se verá interceptado por el linealismo de la secuencia protogótica.

En cuanto a la pintura en tabla se ha de llegar al siglo XIII para que se advierta la presencia de una nueva influencia byzantinizante que a nivel local constituirá dos interesantes círculos estilísticos: el de Lluça y el de Avià. También Alarcia señala esta nueva corriente italobyzantina en Cataluña a inicios del siglo XIII, que viene a dar vigor a los obradores que poco a poco habían ido languideciendo, perdido casi el eco de los maestros de Pedret y Tahull. El foco de irradiación podría situarse en el cenobio de Ripoll y en Vic. Paralelo al maestro de Vallatarga surge la obra del maestro de Avià.

*el* A principios del siglo XIII la obra más representativa del grupo es el frontal proveniente del Maestro de Vallatarga, Gerona, dedicado a San Andrés, en él puede apreciarse clarísimamente esta nueva corriente de influencia neobyzantina que irrumpe

hacia 1200. Tanto color como el dibujo o la composición evidencia la pericia de este maestro.

El Maestro de Avià hizo obra paralela al maestro de Valltarga. Una muestra representativa es la decoración del baldaquino originario de Tosses (Gerona), uno de los pocos ejemplares conservados. Los baldaquinos se situaban en los ábsides que no tenían decoración pictónica. Este es relacionable con la obra del Maestro de Lluçanés y, en donde, puede comprobarse la irradiación popular del nuevo estilo byzantinizante. El frontal procedente de Avià (Barcelona) muestra, con su brillante colorido y dibujo elegante, la formación byzantinizante de este maestro, seguidor muy próximo del maestro de Valltarga.

El maestro de Valltarga (principios del siglo XIII) produce más claras imitaciones de los iconos byzantinos, carácter acentuado en el Maestro de Orellá (Rosellón). La pintura sobre tabla, en el frontal de altar de la iglesia parroquial de Sant Genis les Fonts (Rosellón), que se conservaba en el siglo XIX y que fue copiada. Por sus croquis, que hoy se conservan, se adivina su relación con la corriente neobyzantinizante de los frontales de Orellá y Baltarga.

También correspondiente a este círculo de Orellá y Baltarga y demostrando su estilo una gran influencia neobyzantinizante se encuentra la pintura sobre tabla, fragmento de un frontal, el llamado "Frontal Sonntag". Es de la primera mitad del siglo XIII y actualmente en una colección particular.

De la segunda mitad del siglo XII y principios del XIII, en arquitectura podemos observar la famosa "Torre del Gallo" de la catedral vieja de Salamanca. Su cúpula cónica y gallonada, cuyos estribos se transforman en torreoncillos circundantes, y cubierta con escamas imbricadas, recuerda la de Zamora, de tipo más orientalizante, inspirada en modelos byzantinos y servios.

Así Lozoya dice que con toda propiedad podemos llamar byzantinos a los cimborrios de las catedrales de la cuenca del Duero: Zamora, Toro, Salamanca. La Colegiata de Santillana del Mar que posee una cúpula en relación con influencias orientales de Antioquia. La iglesia rural de Santa María de Lebeña es de sabor byzantino y las de San Miltán de la Cogolla y San Baudelio de Berlanga, en Castilla, en las que el estilo califal se armoniza con el byzantinismo.

En el mismo Portugal, la escultura funeraria es muy abundante, teniendo acentos byzantinos y mozarabes las tumbas de “Alcobaça”.

En el siglo XIV podemos señalar que, entre los pequeños “iconos de esteatita” deuterobyzantinos, destacan “Las Doce Fiestas del Señor” de la Catedral de Toledo.

Queremos recoger por su significado y aunque sea de la escuela gótica barcelonesa del segundo cuarto del siglo XIV, la estatua yacente de la reina María de Chipre, esposa del rey Jaime II de Aragón.

También el profesor Dobal indica que “Velazquez, inspirado en guías byzantinas, pintó la visita de San Antonio Abad a San Pedro Ermitaño. En este caso, la guía prescribía que los santos debían platicar despidiéndose ante la gruta; a lo lejos debían verse los leones enterrando a San Pablo ya difunto”.

## EL APELLIDO DE DOÑA TERESA, TERCERA ESPOSA DEL REY DON JAIME I DE ARAGON

Conde D. José Carlos Carminio Castagno

*Various authors attribute to Doña Teresa – a Valencian noblewoman – a number of surnames from Vidaurre, Vidaura, Paduare and Vidaure. Based on a study of the arms of her sons, who used a maternal grant in the bordure of their own individual blazons, it is possible to conclude that these correspond exactly to the Catalan branch of the Vidaure, thus this being the correct surname.*

Diversos escritores que se han ocupado del tema asignan a Doña Teresa distintos apellidos, asunto que no consideramos un simple detalle menor sino una cuestión que - por ser determinante del linaje - asume decisivo relieve y merece un detenido estudio. Con el sólo auxilio de la bibliografía de que disponemos - y muy lejos de la pretensión de haber alcanzado su definitivo esclarecimiento - nos permitimos en este ensayo abordar el problema y proponer nuestra conclusión.

Comencemos por mencionar los apellidos que se atribuyen a la madre de Don Pedro, Señor de Ayerbe y genearca de la línea a la que pertenece la Real Familia Paternó: *Paduare, Vidaura, Vidaurre y Vidaure*. En efecto: el primero aparece en “*Case già sovrane di Stati Italiani e Famiglie nazionali derivate da esse o da dinasti esteri*”, artículo publicado en “*Rivista Araldica*”; *Vidaura* es el proporcionado por el Conde D. Berardo Candida Gonzaga en su obra “*Memorie delle Famiglie Nobili delle provincie meridionali di Italia*”- y, asimismo, en el citado artículo “*Case già sovrane ..*”; por el siguiente optan Da. Estela Velasco de Lebrón, Condesa de Val de Aïsa, en su valioso estudio “*Da. Teresa de Vidaurre—Tercera esposa de Jaime I el Conquistador*” y D. Carlos Scharn y Vidal en la muy ponderable “*Sintesis histórico-*



*genealógica de la Monarquía Española*” de su autoría en “*Nobiliaria Española*”; por *Vidaure*, finalmente, se inclinan varios escritores, a saber Francesco Paternò Castello e Sammartino VII Duque de Càrcaci, el Marquès Vittorio Spreti, Scipione Mazzella, Berardo Candida Gonzaga, Ricardo del Arco, Thomas Stothers, Luciano Pellicioni di Poli, Leon L. Gruart, Alberto y Arturo García Carraffa y otros.

A pesar de la evidente mayoría de quienes se pronuncian por el último apellido, entendemos que cabe profundizar la investigación, dado que ninguno de los autores mencionados - sea esto dicho sin desmedro de su notorio prestigio y honestidad intelectual - indica concretamente las fuentes documentales o las razones que los sirven de sustento para consignar uno u otro.

En la búsqueda de algún indicio orientador, ante todo advertimos que sobre un punto existe general coincidencia: Doña Teresa era *valenciana*. A ese respecto, efectivamente, las opiniones conocidas son categóricas y unánimes : “*premier Dame de Valence*” (Gruart), “*dama di Valenza*” (Candida Gonzaga). Y si bien es cierto que Da. Estela Velasco de Lebròn afirma que nació “*en el seno de una poderosa familia de la nobleza navarra*”, no lo es menos que no menciona expresamente el lugar de su nacimiento y que sitúa de continuo a Doña Teresa en esa ciudad conquistada por el gran Rey aragonés. A pesar de todo, ello no basta para esclarecer el tema, ya que nos hallamos nuevamente ante una mera referencia, que no provee de una definitiva certeza. Debemos proseguir nuestro intento en otra dirección.

Estamos convencidos que un rumbo preciso puede proporcionarnos la Heráldica, que tantas veces, al igual que la Genealogía, ha prestado un auxilio decisivo a las investigaciones históricas. Veamos, pues, qué pautas podemos hallar en la *ciencia heroica*. Comencemos por el blasón de los Patemó: “*d'oro, a quattro pali di rosso, colla banda d'azzurro attraversante sul tutto*”, acorde al “*Dizionario Storico Blasonico*” de Crollanza, descripción que con

ocasionales diferencias de vocabulos coincide con la de los demás autores. Resulta obvio que las armas “*de oro, con cuatro pales de rojo*” no son otras que las de la Casa Real de Aragón, acrecidas con la banda “*che in qualche stemma del Paternò appare diminuita di metà della sua larghezza (questa figura prende in araldica il nome di cotissa), fu segno di brisura, cioè di indicazione di ramo cadetto, come infatti sono i Paternò rispetto agli Aragona*”.

Avanzando en la búsqueda, basta repasar las que utilizó la rama precedente de la misma familia, que constituye el entronque directo con el linaje Real aragonès, para advertir una novedad reveladora: los *Ayerbe* (o *Ayerbe d’Aragona*), que de ellos se trata, lucieron en su escudo las mismas “*arma reali*”, pero “*cingendo poi quelle d’intorno dell’arme materne*”. Este significativo dato es confirmado por otros escritores do prestigio, como el Conde Berardo Candida Gonzaga, quien expresa: “*Gli Ayerbe usarono intorno allo scudo di Aragona le armi della famiglia Vidaura ripetute otto volte in bordura*”.

Y cuáles son, pues, esas “*armas maternas*”? Para conocerlas, nada mejor que recurrir a los mismos autores: “*Il loro stemma era d’azzurro, avente nel cuore altro stemma d’oro, a quattro pali di rosso (Aragona) circondato da otto scudetti più piccoli d’argento, alla fascia di rosso (Vidaure)*” (Candida Gonzaga).

“*Ajerbi d’Aragone. Arma: d’oro, a quattro pali di rosso, e la bordura d’azzurro caricata da otto scudetti d’argento, alla fascia di rosso*”(Mango).

“*Ayerbo, di Napoli - Arma: Di rosso, caricato da otto scudetti d’argento, alla fascia di rosso, posti in circolo attorno ad uno scudo d’oro caricato di quattro pali di rosso*” (Crollalanza).

Precede ahora establecer el origen do los diversos apellidos quo se atribuyen a Doña Teresa, prescindiendo de *Paduare* quo no hemos hallado en las obras consultadas, y cuáles sus respectivas armerías.

VIDAURA: *“Catalan. En campo de azur un castillo de plata, aclarada de sable; bordura de plata con ocho escudetes de azur.”*

VIDAURRE: *“Navarro. En campo de oro, tres bandas de gules. Otros traen: en campo de oro, una faja de gules y sobre ella, un lobo andante de sable; en punta, una torre de azul”.*

VIDAURE: *“Catalán. Una rama paso a Valencia. En campo de oro, una faja de sinople. Los de Valencia traen: en campo de plata, una faja de azul”.*

El análisis de los blasones precedentes pone de manifiesto que los de *Vidaura* y *Vidaurre* no guardan parecido alguno con el descripto como de pertenencia a la estirpe materna del Infante Don Pedro de Ayerbe, según ya ha sido expuesto.

Lo contrario ocurre con el linaje *Vidaure* : ante todo resulta sugestiva la alusión a que una rama se avencidò en Valencia; además – y precisamente – las armas del gajo valenciano exhiben una marcada cercanía con las de la familia de Doña Teresa, ya que solo difieren en el esmalte de la faja: azur, en lugar de gules.

Ese detalle, que podría atribuirse a una de esas inmotivadas mutaciones que, a veces produce en las armerías el paso de los siglos, queda salvado en este caso por una referencia erudita. En efecto, *Crollanza* consigna, además del ramo napolitano, el blasón de los *Ajerbi d'Aragona, di Sicilia* y lo hace del siguiente modo: *“Arma: d'oro, a quattro pali di rosso colla bordura d'azzurro, caricata da otto scudetti d'argento, alla fascia d'azzurro”*. O sea exactamente las armas de *Vidaure*.

En conclusión: sostenemos, en base a lo expuesto, que Doña Teresa, tercera esposa del Rey de Aragón Don Jaime I “el Conquistador”, era de apellido *Vidaure* y pertenecía a la rama de este linaje pasada a Valencia.

## THE FRATERNITY OF THE KNIGHTS OF CHRIST IN LIVONIA – THE ORDER OF THE BROTHERS OF THE SWORD

John Campbell-Kease, Baron of Villanueva

*L'Ordine fu fondato a Riga nel 1202 dal vescovo di Livonia per imporre la religione cristiana agli abitanti della zona del fiume Dvina e permettere l'organizzazione di crociate a più lungo raggio. Nel 1236 i cavalieri furono sconfitti e vennero successivamente congedati per poi riaggrupparsi sotto il nome di Ordine Teutonico dei Cavalieri di Livonia continuando sino allo scioglimento finale nel 1561.*

The Order of the Brothers of the Sword was founded in Riga in the year 1202 by the German bishop of Livonia to convert to Christianity the peoples of the Dvina river area while establishing permanent garrisons and making expeditions, pending a possible series of crusades over wider territories. In 1236 the Brothers suffered a disastrous defeat at the battle of Saule. The following year they were disbanded by papal edict and the survivors reorganised as a branch of the Teutonic Order known as the Livonian Knights. As such they continued their conquest of the region and by the early 16th century ruled Livonia as an autonomous authority, before being dissolved in 1561.

In the 12th century, Livonia (substantially today's Latvia and Estonia) was inhabited by pagan tribes and, given the disasters that the Church was facing in the Middle East, was tempting as a territory in which to launch a Holy War, forcing the Livs, Letts and other indigenous peoples to become Christians.

There had already been isolated attempts to convert them in the wake of the outstanding commercial successes of the merchants of Lubeck, so an Augustinian canon named Meinhard established a mission in Livonia and in 1186 was consecrated as the area's first bishop with his see at Uxkull. The move had the important

additional purpose of pursuing a more determined, organised and aggressive policy to exploit the material potential of the region.

The second bishop, Berthold of Hanover, was appointed on Meinhard's death in 1196 only to be killed in 1198. He was succeeded by Albert of Buxhoven who decided that Uxkull was too vulnerable to attack and also not suited as a port to handle the broadly built German merchant ships known as cogs. A new site was surveyed and the next summer the city of Riga was founded in "a wide field, alongside of which was a suitable site for a harbour". In 1202 the Holy Roman Empire, of which Livonia was a fiefdom under Henry VI, provided funds for the consolidation of the city within strongly built walls.

Albert encouraged colonisation by German settlers, then with the authority of the Emperor founded a new crusading military Order to assist in spreading the gospel and, equally valuably, to safeguard and expand profitable trading activities. The Order was styled the Fratres Militie Christi de Livonia, or Die Schwertbrüder, the Swordbrothers. Its purpose in Mary's Land (as the territory was now known) was positively referred to in the words of the Ceremony of Profession as spoken by the Great Master: *Dis Schwert emphanng von meiner Hand Zu schützen Gott und Marien Landt* (Receive this sword from out my hand to fight for God and Mary's land). The Brotherhood was confirmed by Innocent II in 1204 and adopted the Templars' Rule.

Although by 1202 the concept of a crusading military order was well established, what Albert did in Livonia was to found the very first Order State in history. As well as being a Christian military Order living a Rule, the Schwertbrüder were also the rulers of territory. In 1210, letters of agreement were sealed between Bishop Albert and the knights, whereby they were granted a third of Livonia and the adjoining area of Lettia free of temporal service although, of course, the land remained to be captured. The brothers therefore differed from earlier foundations such as that

of Saint John (c1113) and the Temple (c1119). To begin with they did not have the primary objective of recapturing Holy Places as did their crusading forerunners of nearly a century before. Further, they did not have autonomy from or the direct protection of the Sovereign Pontiff (although papal recognition and encouragement were given by both Innocent III and his successor Honorius III). They were not endowed with great estates but dependant on land they could capture and defend and soon, although charged with the conversion and baptism of the pagan tribes, this was “more honour’d in the breach than the observance”. The main thrust was always towards material prosperity. The methods adopted by the Order in pursuit of its ends were not always in accordance with orthodox doctrine, but because northern Europe was closer to Germany than was Palestine, flexible practices were condoned.

Members of the Order, who had to be of noble birth, took vows (often ignored), of poverty, chastity and obedience in accordance. Their mantles were white, charged on the left breast with a red cross formy above a sword. The Great Master was elected for life by a General Assembly of Knights. Other officers were chosen at annual convocations. As they became more powerful the Brethren lived in castles constructed of stone or brick to avoid vulnerability to attack by fire. Hill-forts were erected at strategic places on the TreidenAu at Segewold, Treyden, Wenden, on the coast at Parnu and at Lihule and Vissuvere in the north.

Gains were often made in the teeth of internal dissent. As early as 1208 the first Great Master, Wenno von Rohrbach was murdered : “Among the Knighthood’s brethren at that time was a certain Wigbert whose heart was far more inclined to love the world than religious discipline and who had caused much discord among his brothers, a real Judas, like a wolf among sheep. In an upper room where he had gone on the pretext of communicating some secret, suddenly with the double-edged axe which he always carried, he struck off the Master’s head”.

In spite of internal problems the Brothers prospered as witness the visit, in 1206, of Wilhelm, bishop of Modena, as Papal Legate to settle a dispute of dominion between the Order and the local Bishop. The knights were confirmed to own one third of all the lands then taken or that would be conquered; “then the legate took advantage of his visit to sell indulgences and pardons for ready cash, and as soon as he had filled his purse he departed”.

The Order developed and refined its fighting prowess using the tried and trusted apparatus of the day: siege towers, mangonels and bundles of brushwood (fascines) with which to fill defensive ditches to permit access to walled strongholds. In 1207, it famously used caltraps to break a Polotskian cavalry charge and thus thwart an invasion. The town of Fellin surrendered in 1211 and in 1220 the citadel of Kirkholm was recaptured. However, the brethren had their setbacks. They were defeated in Riga bay in 1210 by the Curonians because their ships were too small, but five years later they were more successful and employed the sturdy, wide German cogs in their successful repulse of the Osilians.

Much of the Schwertbrüder achievement was based on trade. In the first case there was the exchange of Livonian furs and wax for luxury goods and weapons; then there was the protection of the natives from their traditional enemies the Lithuanians and Russians; and finally, material assistance to the pagans in their local skirmishes with neighbouring tribes.

The second Great Master of the Swordbrothers was Wolquin Schenk, the son of the count of Naumberg, north of Hesse. Towards the end of his tenure the peoples of Livonia - allies or not, baptised or not - began to resent the impositions laid on them in taxes and in kind to fund the Order's wars and maintain the Brethren. In 1222 they rebelled and the Order was rebuked for its avaricious ways by Honorius III. The Brothers imposed tolls on the river Dvina and began to occupy the Bishop's territory. By 1230 the situation had deteriorated to the point that when the

papal legate Baldwin of Aulne arrived to investigate the problem the Great Master was arrested by his own brethren and held for a time. In the event Baldwin recommended that the Schwertbrüder be disbanded and the Order suppressed. In a subsequent military action against them he was defeated and temporarily made captive.

Wolquin, recognising the extent of the crisis, sought to persuade the Teutonic Order to accept his members as confreres but after a detailed investigation it was reported to the Chapter of the latter that the Swordbrothers did not keep the Rule and merely wanted to be given carte blanche to act as they wished. Meanwhile, in Rome, Baldwin instituted a successful lawsuit against the Brothers and the Teutonic Order was careful to remain strictly neutral and not to attempt to aid Wolquin in any way.

In 1236 the Schwertbrüder, assisted by a force of crusading allies and the prince of Pskov, launched an invasion of Lithuania. At first things went well but in September at Sianliai, (or Saule) the Order's troops, heavily encumbered with plunder, were attacked by an army of Semigallians and Samogitians in alliance with the Lithuanian prince Nindaugas. The Brethren and their force were "cut down like women amid the marshes", and Wolquin and fifty members of the Order perished. The Knights' military power was effectively destroyed and in 1237 the Schwertbrüder were disbanded by Pope Gregory IX to be re-organised as a branch of the Teutonic Order whose High Master, Hermann Balk, was empowered to appoint a provincial Landmeister in Livonia.

The Knights gradually expanded their dominions, but the borders fluctuated greatly as their fortunes and influence changed. From 1525 they ruled as an autonomous Order, their lands always including Riga, until their dissolution in 1561 upon the division of Livonia between Sweden, Poland, Russia and Denmark.



## CHIVALRY ON THE INTERNET

Maurizio Fantato

The Internet is the largest library in the world, a temporary repository of information from the highly scientific to the trivial or even dangerous. Its expansion is exponential and individuals and organisations are rushing to be featured in some way on the World Wide Web. Large corporations, universities, interest groups and charities such as that of the Grand Priory of the English Tongue of the MOC ([www.buckfast.org.uk/moc](http://www.buckfast.org.uk/moc)) use the Web to disseminate information, create awareness and now even trade (e.g. Amazon on-line books). The opportunities we are told are endless so it seems fitting to spend a little time to see how the topic of chivalry is featured within this new media.

Once you have a computer and a suitable connection, browsing the Net is simplicity itself. However, a number of points need to be borne in mind before embarking on this operation. First, one should be sure to 'search' for the appropriate document. Searching means that you are using a 'search engine' and at the moment, there are about a dozen major search engines, plus a plethora of smaller ones. The vast majority of these engines carries out more or less 'intelligent' (from a computer's point of view) searches, returning a number of results in order of score. At the moment, there is only one major search engine that works by subject (like the Yellow Pages) and this is Yahoo. All other engines work by key word or strings of key words.

Having selected the engine of your choice and tapped the appropriate word(s) it is normally a matter of seconds for the information to be displayed on the screen. As a rule of thumb a more detailed request will be more likely to generate precise information. However, a request that is far too specific may also overlook data which may be of interest and which does not appear simply because of poor web pages design. In extreme cases a too specific search may even generate no results at all. In short, it is

preferable to obtain a bit more and discard visually on screen the unwanted information, than running the risk of missing essential information.

For our search on chivalry we used a Meta Search Engine, this is simply a search engine that searches the most popular engines around. The search term 'chivalry' brought up a total of 46 sites. These ranged in appearance and in content and could be categorised in the following manner:

- Chivalric sites belonging to organisations, bona fide or not
- Chivalric sites belonging to individuals
- Commercial or irrelevant sites featuring the name chivalry

Of the 'Commercial and irrelevant' a few stand out, either because they are totally incongruous or because of their amusement factor. One in particular, [www.chivalry.net](http://www.chivalry.net), turned out to be a Web site of an individual of Chinese origins, who simply liked to give this name to his site. However, this caused the search engines to give it high ratings, so you will now find this site within the top ones for this category! A similarly irrelevant site was produced by an organisation to promote 'gentlemanly behaviour'.

Another commercial site (also top rated) was <http://renstore.com>. This was a 'sports renaissance store' specialising in medieval re-enactments and fantasy games.

At another similar site [www.cronique.com](http://www.cronique.com) you could have a sword made to order or purchase an entire suite of armour. Needless to say, these sites were produced in the USA.

To find organisations, you would have to click on a link provided by information providers such as 'The Mining Corporation' (these

are like mini reference areas within the Web). The link: <http://historymedren.miningco.com/msubknight.htm?iam=mt> provides historical details and linked to areas on Portuguese Orders, The Order of the Garter, The Order of Holy Sepulchre and others.

However, richer pickings were to be obtained within Web pages produced by individuals. Among these, one of the better sites was [www.digiserve.com/heraldry](http://www.digiserve.com/heraldry). This well researched site contains a fully comprehensive list of links to other web pages, including a flow chart for identifying coats of arms. Although most of this site focusses on heraldry, a section on chivalry is also provided (though sadly some of the links were of dubious quality).

Other individually produced sites had a clear pretence to being 'official' by featuring addresses which disguised them as organisations, such as "chivalricorder.org." One of the most prominent among these is lavishly produced by Guy Stair Sainty and is used by him to vent his particular and splenetic attacks on orders or organisations which do not fit his own selective criteria.

Another along similar lines was headed 'British Orders of Chivalry' and was produced by Patrick Cracroft Brennan (though the site was hosted in the USA), [www.telecom.com/chivalry](http://www.telecom.com/chivalry)

More amusement is to be found at the site of "the Noble House of Maxalla" : <http://members.tripod.com/Baron91/index.html>. Aside from the biographical details of the Count Palatine and of the Royal House of Alabona Ostrogojsk et de Garama, the site provides interesting articles on various chivalric topics, a discussion forum and a thoroughly enjoyable item (accessible via a link) on 'Order assassins and grumps'.

A different link, also worth notice, pointed to a listing of e-mail discussion groups on chivalry, an area of the Internet to be

accessed at one's peril and not by a neophyte. Some of the other private sites were well argued and, though subjective, contained links to either historical sources or research organisations.

It would obviously be impossible in a short article to analyse each site. Besides, given the nature of the Web, any attempt to provide an 'up-to-the-minute' guide on any subject would be a false claim, as information is continuously updated and sites come and go all the time. Generally, however, one should bear in mind the following few points when surfing the Net for any information, particularly with chivalric specific queries:

*The impermanence of Web pages* - sites, even large ones are 'here today, gone in seconds' and unlike printed material (which like this journal can be registered with international organisation and researched) there is as yet no repository of old Web information;

*The lack of peer review* - the Web is essentially a free for all forum. Anyone can publish anything at a modest cost and no-one needs to review it or check it;

*The presentation aspect of Web sites* - Web pages can be made to look impressive and official at little cost – a 14 year-old can make an excellent job and launch a Web site with the look and feel of a large organisation.

This does not mean that information contained on the WWW is of no use. Indeed, as we have seen in the case of "digiserve/heraldry" - Web pages can be a useful source of information for further research and for the exchange of information on this particular topic. In other instances, other individuals may have carried out valuable research and good reference sources may be available. However, due care and attention should always be taken when accessing information through this media.

### Notes for contributors

Articles for submission should be typewritten on A4 paper on one side only, with double spacing for editing. Text can also be submitted in data format (RTF or Word Documents) on diskettes. References should be added separately. Please note : no type proof will be sent to authors before printing.

We regret drawings or images cannot be accepted for inclusion within The Bulletin.

Documents can be accepted in English, Italian, French, Spanish and German. Authors of non-English articles are requested to supply a string of key words or a short abstract which will be subsequently translated by the Editorial Board. The Board declines any responsibility for errors or omissions in the translation.

For further information and submissions please contact The Deputy Editor, The Bulletin –fax + 44 (8700) 560884, email: [ayerbe@lycos.co.uk](mailto:ayerbe@lycos.co.uk)