

THE DELEGITIMISATION OF REBEL NOBLES AROUND THE WAR OF THE CASTILIAN SUCCESSION: DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN ENRÍQUEZ DEL CASTILLO'S AND PULGAR'S CHRONICLES

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ABSTRACT

In medieval Castile, language and propaganda were key aspects of political disputes. Some chroniclers and poets contributed to legitimisation and delegitimisation processes by representing both sides in their works. This paper presents a comparative view of the discursive strategies used to discredit the nobles who questioned whether Henry IV of Castile and, later, his successor, Isabella I, were rightful monarchs. The tactics of two chroniclers in particular will be examined, both of whom were solid defenders of the royal authority: Diego Enríquez del Castillo and Fernando de Pulgar. Their texts, as with other coetaneous chronicles, have never been compared in depth from the perspective suggested above; as such, an analysis could offer some interesting conclusions on the matter.

KEYWORDS

Crown of Castile, 15th Century, Nobility, Chronicles, Discourse.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Corona Castellae, Quindecimum saeculum, Nobilitas, Chronica, Oratio.

1. Introduction¹

In recent years, research on medieval political history has increasingly emphasised discursive strategies, propaganda and legitimacy. More and more, discourse is being recognised as a crucial factor in political conflict, and also during times of peace. The works of poets and, especially, chroniclers often contributed to legitimising or delegitimising political actors, including the nobility.² It should also be noted that 15th-century Castilian historiography stands out in terms of the variety of sources used. This is a result of a change in the relationship between written history and political power, as well as a new approach to historical memory and its influence on the present.³ Among other changes, this transformation led to the increasing weight of political analysis in chronicles, which were to play an important role in contemporary conflicts. Most notably, a growing interest in royal chronicles must be emphasised; these texts, which included official documents from royal chancelleries and other offices of state to support their statements, were thus regarded as reliable

1. This article is part of a research project entitled “Ciudad y nobleza en el tránsito a la Modernidad: autoritarismo regio, pactismo y conflictividad política. Castilla, de Isabel I a las Comunidades/ Towns and conflict. Castile from Elizabeth I to the ‘Comuneros’” (HAR2017-83542-P, MINECO 2018-2021/AEI/FEDER, UE), funded by the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (Spain). It also is part of a research project entitled “Más allá de la palabra. Comunicación y discurso políticos en las Castilla Trastámara (1367-1504)/ Beyond the word. Political Communication and Discourse in Trastámara Castile (1367-1504) (PID2021-125571NB-I00, funded by MCIN/AEI /10.13039/501100011033 / FEDER, UE “A way of making Europe”). This work was also funded by Margarita Salas Post-Doctoral Fellowship (Spain). I would like to thank the reviewers for all useful and helpful comments on this manuscript.

2. As pointed out by Tomás Albaladejo, conflict is directly expressed by discourse; see: Albaladejo, Tomás. “Los discursos del conflicto y los conflictos del discurso. Análisis interdiscursivo y Retórica cultural”, *Voces, Discursos e Identidades em Conflito*, Ana Gabriela Macedo, Carlos Mendes de Sousa, Vítor Moura, eds. Braga: Húmus - Centro de Estudos Humanísticos - Universidade do Minho, 2011: 46. In this regard, various authors have emphasised the importance of language for understanding medieval history. The list of works which address this issue is long, so I shall mention only a few which are directly related to the period and region under consideration: Nieto Soria, José Manuel. “La parole: un instrument de la lutte politique dans la Castille de la fin du Moyen Âge”. *Revue historique*, 4/632 (2004): 707-725; Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. “El entorno cortesano de la Castilla Trastámara como escenario de lucha de poder. Rastros y reflejos en los cancioneros castellanos del siglo XV”. *Res publica: revista de filosofía política*, 18 (2007): 289-306; Oliva Herrero, Hipólito Rafael. “‘La prisión del rey’: voces subalternas e indicios de la existencia de una identidad política en la Castilla del siglo XV”. *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, 71/238 (2011): 363-388; Monsalvo Antón, José María. “Ideario sociopolítico y valores estamentales de los pecheros abulenses y salmantinos (ss. XIII-XV)”. *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, 71/238 (2011): 325-362; Jara Fuente, José Antonio. “‘Por el conocimiento que de él se ha’. Identificar, designar, atribuir la construcción de identidades (políticas) en Cuenca en el siglo XV”. *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, 71/238 (2011): 389-408; López Gómez, Óscar. “Entre la concordia y la propaganda: La paz en el discurso político de la Castilla del siglo XV”. *Trabajos y Comunicaciones*, 52 (2020): < <https://www.trabajosycomunicaciones.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/article/view/TyCe125>>; Corral Sánchez, Nuria. *Discursos contra los nobles en la Castilla bajomedieval*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2021. A theoretical approach in: Corral Sánchez, Nuria. “Comunicación, discursos y contestación política en la Castilla tardomedieval”. *Territorio, sociedad y poder: revista de estudios medievales*, 15 (2020): 47-65.

3. This change was flagged by one of the foremost specialists on this matter; see: Tate, Robert B. *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV*. Madrid: Gredos, 1970: 281.



and, therefore, their legitimising power increased accordingly.⁴ The chronicles thus became highly attractive pieces for political actors and also as basic instruments of propaganda and counter-propaganda.⁵

The main purpose of this article is to analyse the discursive strategies deployed to delegitimise certain social groups, namely the noble factions that confronted the final two Castilian monarchs of the 15th century.⁶ I shall focus on the two most troubled periods: the civil war of 1465-1468, when a league of nobles opposed Henry IV and presented an alternative contender to the Crown (his half-brother Alphonse); and the War of the Castilian Succession, between 1474 and 1479, which can be understood as a continuation of previous unresolved tensions. In the latter conflict, Isabella I's legitimacy was challenged by her niece Joanna, who had the support of some nobles and the Portuguese Crown. I shall analyse several chronicles using a comparative perspective, paying particular attention to the works of Diego Enríquez del Castillo and Fernando de Pulgar, who took the side of Henry IV and Isabella I, respectively. The comparison will also reveal how both authors understood the role of the chronicler as a generator of opinion, and history as an exemplifying mechanism; an awareness of the same permeates their highly ideological works. For Enríquez del Castillo, the historian's task was to praise loyalty and condemn treason whereas Pulgar claimed to keep the "memory of those who, through their virtuous deeds, deserved fame [...]. As well as of those who, defeated by the pangs of greed, envy, and other sins, failed in their duty: so that this is set as an example for the future, and can be learned by experience".⁷

I shall examine how critical aristocrats were pinpointed and identified by analysing the arguments and concepts utilised during each period, as well as the use of various narrative strategies, such as employing more than one voice, comparisons, and *exempla*. I shall first examine Henry IV's reign, and then Isabella I's, highlighting changes and continuities in discursive practices from a diachronic perspective.

4. Bautista Pérez, Francisco. "Historiografía y poder al final de la Edad Media: en torno al oficio de cronista". *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 33 (2015): 98, 109. In this article, Bautista presents a complete overview of the creation of the post of royal chronicler, and the circumstances surrounding historiographic production in the 1400s.

5. For propaganda in late medieval Castile, see: Carrasco Manchado, Ana Isabel. "Aproximación al problema de la consciencia propagandística en algunos escritores políticos del siglo XV". *En la España Medieval*, 21 (1998): 229-269; Monsalvo Antón, José María. "En tiempo de los reyes donde yo vengo". *Usos del pasado y legitimación monárquica (del reino de Asturias a los Trastámara)*. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales - Editum, 2021.

6. The dichotomy nobility–Crown in this context has received much attention from scholars. For a recent synthesis, see: Monsalvo Antón, José María, "El conflicto 'nobleza frente a monarquía' en el contexto de las transformaciones del estado en la Castilla Trastámara. Reflexiones críticas", *Discurso político y relaciones de poder: ciudad, nobleza y monarquía en la Baja Edad Media*, José Antonio Jara Fuente, ed. Madrid: Dykinson, 2017: 89-287.

7. *Memoria de aquellos que por sus virtuosos trabajos merecieron aver loable fama [...]. Asimismo de algunos que, vencidos de los purgimientos de cobdicia, invidia e de otros algunos pecados, herraron a lo que devían; porque se vea por esperiencia e sea en exemplo a los vinientes*. Enríquez del Castillo's and Pulgar's views are mentioned in: Pontón, Gonzalo. "Fernando de Pulgar y la 'Crónica de los Reyes Católicos'", estudio introductorio: Pulgar, Fernando de. *Crónica de Los Reyes Católicos*, Juan de Mata Carriazo, ed. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2008: LVII, LXV-LXVI. This is the edition of Pulgar's chronicle that I shall use hereafter.



2. *Traitorous servants during Henry IV's reign*

Following a peaceful beginning —albeit one beset by underlying tensions— until approximately 1462-1464 Henry IV's reign was characterised by aristocratic strivings for power. According to Quintanilla Raso, during this period the nobility developed a legitimising discourse which emphasised their stance as the kingdom's elite.⁸ In this way, a league of nobles led by the Marquis of Villena, Juan Pacheco, his brother, Pedro Girón, and their uncle, Alonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, stood up to the royal authority, and ultimately followed an alternative dynastic option.⁹ These conflicts reached their peak between 1465 and 1468, beginning with the Farce of Ávila, when Henry IV's effigy was dethroned and his step-brother Alphonse was crowned, forcing the nobility to be divided into two factions. The conflict ended only with Alphonse's death and the signing of the Treaty of Guisando¹⁰.

The chronicles and literature of this period denounced many of the consequences of the conflict whilst also presenting points of view in line with the interests of the authors' environments and ideologies. Íñigo de Mendoza's *Coplas de Vita Christi* held the nobility in general responsible for the conflicts and tensions in the kingdom and criticised their political action. This criticism was largely moralistic in tone, focusing on the pride that the aristocratic actions reflected, which was seen as a form of treason against the commonwealth.¹¹

Despite these examples, and even if members of both factions were occasionally criticised in the same texts, the criticism was more commonly directed at only one faction at a time. In this regard, even changing sides was harshly criticised. For instance, when the Count of Alba joined Pacheco's faction, Enríquez del

8. Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. "El engrandecimiento nobiliario en la Corona de Castilla: las claves del proceso a finales de la Edad Media", *Títulos, grandes del reino y grandeza en la sociedad política: sus fundamentos en la Castilla medieval*, María Concepción Quintanilla Raso, ed. Madrid: Sílex, 2006: 48.

9. The demands of these plotters were recorded in the arbitration passed in Medina del Campo in early 1465. According to Franco Silva, this document and the pronouncement of Yepes stand as veritable government manifestos which demonstrate that the nobility had a fairly consistent political conscience, which was based on the idea of co-rule with the monarch. Franco Silva, Alfonso. *Los discursos políticos de la nobleza castellana en el siglo XV*. Cadiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2012: 120-126.

10. About the Farce of Ávila, see: Val Valdivieso, María Isabel del. "La 'Farsa de Ávila' en las crónicas de la época", *Espacios de poder y formas sociales en la Edad Media. Estudios dedicados a Ángel Barrios*, Gregorio del Ser Quijano, Iñaki Martín Viso, eds. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2007: 355-371.

11. Mendoza, Íñigo de. "Coplas de Vita Christi", *Poesía crítica y satírica del siglo XV*, Julio Rodríguez Puértolas, ed. Madrid: Castalia, 1989: 225-242 (verses 256-260). About these satirical writings in Castilian literature, see also: Scholberg, Kenneth R. *Sátira e invectiva en la España medieval*. Madrid: Gredos, 1971; Nogales Rincón, David. "Animalización, sátira y propaganda real: la metáfora y la alegoría animal como instrumento político en la Castilla bajomedieval (siglos XIV-XV)". *Signum*, 11/1 (2011): 267-296; and Corral Sánchez, Nuria. "La literatura como arma política: Ideas y representaciones contra la élite nobiliaria", *El conde de Tendilla y su tiempo*, Jesús Bermúdez López, Yolanda Guasch Marí, Rafael Jesús López Guzmán, Rafael Gerardo Peinado Santaella, Guadalupe Romero Sánchez, Carlos Vílchez Vílchez, eds. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2018: 305-319.



Castillo described this as a “bad deed”. This opinion was shared by members of both sides, and also by the *vox populi*, as reflected in the gossip of stable boys: “Who’s the highest bidder for the Count of Alba, who’s on sale? Will someone pay the price?”¹² At the other end of the spectrum, some works such as the *Crónica anónima castellana* criticised nobles for returning under Henry IV’s banner.¹³

I shall now focus on the attacks made on the rebellious nobles —although changing sides was a constant occurrence— to analyse the topic under consideration and establish valid comparisons with Isabella’s reign. Diego Enríquez del Castillo’s (c. 1431-c. 1503) *Crónica de Enrique IV*, one of the texts that provide the most examples, presents an interesting subject for the historian of ideas. As noted, the political rift that marked Henry IV’s reign had enormous influence on historical writing and its relationship with power. This chronicle is generally considered to have been written from the king’s perspective.¹⁴

When Henry IV was still prince, Enríquez del Castillo entered his service as chaplain, and soon earned the prince’s trust. In 1460, he took up the office of chronicler, and soon entered the Royal Council, which placed him at the forefront of government and can explain his close relationship with members of the royal court. During the final years of the reign, he acted as a royal representative before the rebel nobles, and he openly displayed his political position in his written works, especially his chronicles. These works, which have a sermonistic style and are undisguisedly ideological, reflect a point of inflexion towards the expression of humanistic principles.¹⁵ In fact, the arguments presented exhibit a remarkable control of doctrinal theoretical constructions, leading to a text rich in subjective digressions and, thus, far from a mere neutral recitation of events.¹⁶ This is partially explained by the chronicler’s formation and background:

12. ¿Quién da más por el conde de Alva que se vende a cada cantón? ¿Ay alguno que lo ponga en prescío?: I am using here the latest edition of the chronicle: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. Aureliano Sánchez Martín. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994: 281-282 (Chapter 99, ff. 108v-109v).

13. *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla (1454-1474): Crónica castellana*, ed. María Pilar Sánchez-Parra. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1991: I, 238-241 (Chapter: 97).

14. For an analysis of the work, see: Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana. IV. El reinado de Enrique IV: el final de la Edad Media*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2007: 3482.

15. Fernández Gallardo, Luis. “El discurso directo en la crónica real castellana del siglo XV”. *Talia Dixit*, 9 (2014): 135. Tate also believed that in his words “resounds the tone of the preacher”: Tate, Robert B. “La historiografía del reinado de los Reyes Católicos”, *Antonio de Nebrija, Edad Media y Renacimiento. Actas del Coloquio Humanista. “Antonio de Nebrija, Edad Media y Renacimiento”*, Juan Antonio González Iglesias, Carmen Codoñer Merino, eds. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1994: 19.

16. Bermejo Cabrero, as much as half a century ago, emphasised this aspect of Enríquez del Castillo’s chronicle in the framework of an interesting study about political ideas and historical narration; Cabrero, José Luis. “Las ideas políticas de Enríquez del Castillo”. *Revista de la Universidad Complutense*, 86 (1973): 6178.



Enríquez del Castillo studied theology in Salamanca, and both his fluency in Italian and a possible visit to Italy introduced him to humanistic trends.¹⁷

Concerning the writing process, it seems that Enríquez wrote the chronicle as the events unfolded, but the chapters dealing with the years before 1467 had to be rewritten after they were stolen by Alonso de Palencia.¹⁸ When Isabella I attained power, she rejected Enríquez's petition—although he had sworn loyalty to her—to retain his position as chronicler; as such, information about his final years is scarce.¹⁹ During this period—between 1481 and 1502—the text was amended again, probably to clean up Henry IV's image during his struggle with the rebellious nobles.²⁰

The nobles who joined forces to attack the king received the lion's share of the chronicler's criticism, especially the Marquis of Villena, Juan Pacheco, and the aristocratic entourage that accompanied him in his dealings.²¹ The criticism came directly from the chronicler's pen, but it was also put into the mouths of other characters, from anonymous figures to leading bishops and aristocrats, Henry IV himself and even Pope Paul II.²² This criticism aimed to present the king's enemies in a negative moral, religious and political light.

The clearest expression of these attacks appears in the chronicler's take on the Farce of Ávila, in which other ideas scattered throughout the chronicle converge. He used eminently religious and moral arguments, but other notions concerning the relationship between the king and the nobles (disloyalty, treason, service) also feature prominently.

Concerning religious ideas, Enríquez del Castillo accused the rebels of going against God's will, as well as committing bad deeds under the guise of condemning those of the monarch. Especially significant is the metaphorical use of "dirt" to refer to the rebels, when he claims that, "in order to cover your bad deeds,

17. It has even been argued that Enríquez del Castillo and Diego del Castillo, a poet active in Naples, were the same person. Carceller Cerviño, María Pilar. "La imagen nobiliaria en la tratadística caballerescas: Beltrán de la Cueva y Diego Enríquez del Castillo". *En la España medieval*, 24 (2001): 264-265; and Carceller Cerviño, María Pilar. "Un testimonio de los contactos culturales entre Castilla y Aragón: el *De re Militari*, de Paris del Puteo", *Al tombant de l'Edat Mitjana: tradició medieval i cultura humanista*, María Barceló Crespi, ed. Palma de Mallorca: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 2000: 290-292.

18. Bautista Pérez, Francisco. "Historiografía y poder...": 107.

19. Sánchez Martín, Aureliano. «Diego Enríquez del Castillo, 'Crónica del rey don Enrique IV'», *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española. Textos y transmisión*, Carlos Alvar Ezquerro, José Manuel Lucía Megías, eds. Madrid: Castalia, 2002: 432-445.

20. Fernández Gallardo, Luis. "El discurso directo...": 16-17. For the role of the monarch in the chronicle, see: Nieto Soria, José Manuel. "La oratoria como 'speculum regum' en la 'Crónica de Enrique IV' de Diego Enríquez del Castillo". *Memorabilia: boletín de literatura sapiencial*, 7 (2003) <<http://parnaseo.uv.es/Memorabilia/Memorabilia7/Nieto.htm>>. For images of Beltrán de la Cueva and other nobles close to the monarch, see: Carceller Cerviño, María Pilar. "La imagen nobiliaria en la tratadística caballerescas...": 259-283.

21. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 227-229 (Chapter: 68, ff. 65r-66v).

22. Concerning the structure of the arguments, see comments on Table 1.



you covered good deeds in dirt, and thus debased your fame forever”.²³ This metaphor, which underlines the nobles’ lack of “purity”, is found elsewhere in the chronicle and sought to place their bad characteristics within a moral frame.²⁴ For the chronicler, the nobles were wholly responsible for their bad image, as they brought it on themselves through their deeds.²⁵ Politically, the chronicler accused the rebels of “opening the gates to treason” and “taking the veil of shame off disloyalty”. In addition, he defined the rebels as “ungrateful creatures” and “perverse servants”, which presented the Crown as the source of aristocratic privilege.²⁶ Disloyalty, ingratitude and treason were used recurrently to define the actions of the king’s enemies.²⁷

In contrast, however, the chronicler’s texts contain appeals to patriotic sentiment, when he claims that nobles were not concerned about the damage they caused to the kingdom “because they came from abroad”.²⁸ This may be an allusion to the “Portuguese faction” that formed around the Acuña, Pachecos

23. *por cubrir vuestras manzillas, amanzillastes los linpios e quedáys ensuziados en la fama para siempre*: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 236-237 (Chapter: 74, ff. 70r-71v).

24. The dirt metaphor was used to refer to the damage done to both lineage and prestige: *ensuzió los deçendiente dél, e puso alguna manzilla en su linage* (“he sullied his own descendants and put a stain on his lineage”): Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 227-229 (Chapter 68, ff. 65r-66v); *pospuesta la vergüença, ensuziando su linage* (“forgotten all shame, the lineage was sullied”): Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 271-272 (Chapter 92, ff. 98r-100v). Rucquoi has highlighted the close link between “dirt” and “sin”, as well as its connection with the notion of “purity of blood”; Rucquoi, Adeline. “Mancilla y limpieza: la obsesión por el pecado en Castilla a fines del siglo XV”. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras: Línguas e Literaturas*, 8 (1997): 130.

25. A similar example in Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 285-287 (Chapter 101, ff. 111v-113v).

26. Concerning the origin of the nobility and its privileged position, it is worth pointing out that, during the 15th century, the Castilian nobility largely assumed Bartolo de Sassoferrato’s doctrine, which identified the concepts of *dignitas* and *nobilitas*. In addition, the nobility was deemed to be the result of the combination of royal grace – *voluntas regis* – and merit – *virtutis causa*. The king was regarded as a creator of nobles although afterwards the condition was considered hereditary. In this sense, Quintanilla Raso refers to a complementarity or a symbiosis between monarchy and nobility; Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción, “La nobleza”, *Orígenes de la monarquía hispánica: propaganda y legitimación (ca. 1400-1520)*, José Manuel Nieto Soria, ed. Madrid: Dykinson, 1999: 67-78. See also Contamine’s interesting reflections on the example posed by the French monarchy: Contamine, Philippe. “Noblesse et service: l’idée et la réalité dans la France de la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Nobilitas*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997: 299-311. At any rate, it must be taken into consideration that Sassoferrato’s ideas were not necessarily accepted outright but were debated.

27. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 271-272 (Chapter 92, ff. 98r-100v). For instance, Gómez de Cáceres, *maestre* of Alcántara, who was accused of treating the *comendadores* of the order “very perversely”. The accusations levelled against him went from generic reports of evildoing to specific actions against the king – lack of gratitude, disloyalty and neglect – and against his own prestige – lack of honour: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 285-287 (Chapter 101, ff. 111v-113v). In the *Crónica anónima castellana*, he features as Gómez de Solís, *apoderado* of the city of Cáceres: *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV...*: I, 185-187 (Chapter 78).

28. *Sy fuérades naturales del rreyno, oviérades dolor de disfamar vuestra naçión* (“If you were born in the kingdom, the dishonour done to it would hurt you”): Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 236-237 (Chapter: 74, ff. 70r-71v).



and Téllez-Giróns.²⁹ However, perhaps the central aspect of Enríquez del Castillo's argumentation is his exemplifying tone when comparing the king's features to those of his enemies —see Table 1— while also stressing the importance of loyalty and gratefulness among nobles:

*Let people from Spain listen, and let examples be known by the nations of the world, the loyal must be grateful, the nobles must be loyal to the princes of the earth. Note and contemplate the nobility of this king and the vileness of his servants: he, being the target of slights, insults and affronts, always turned for the better, and they, on receiving benefits, honour and wealth, turned for the worse; so, let it be known the goodness of the lord and the great villainy of his perverse servants.*³⁰

The chronicler often presents his position openly. However, as was common in such works, these ideas were also underlined by being placed in other characters' mouths. In this way, Henry IV is presented several times referring to the rebel nobles as ungrateful and traitorous, both before and after the Farce, "for the dissolute and dangerous thought of wanting to seize your king".³¹ In fact, in an allocution with strong religious undertones, the king identified himself with the prophet Isaiah, and the noble faction was likened to the Israelites (their joint adoration of idols is also mentioned): "I raised children, I elevated them, and they slighted me".³² The popular voices conveyed by the chronicler also referred to "traitorous servants and bad knights" who broke peace promises to "destroy the king" for their "greater profit".³³

29. See: Olivera Serrano, César. *Beatriz de Portugal: la pugna dinástica Avis-Trastámara*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005: 204-206, and especially: Romero Portilla, Paz. "Protagonismo del partido portugués en la política castellana del siglo XV". *História: revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto*, 3/4 (2003): 187-212, among other works by this author.

30. *Oyan agora las gentes de las Españas, tomen en exemplo las naciones del mundo, aprendan los leales a ser gradescidos, sepan los hidalgos mantener lealtad e los príncipes terrenales, noten bien e contemplan la nobleza de aqueste rrey e la bileza de sus criados, que él, rresçibiendo menospreçios, vituperos y baldones, se tornó sienpre mejor, y ellos, rresçibiendo beneçiços, onrras e señoríos, se hizieron muy peores, de tal guisa que por la gran bondad del señor ayan conosçimiento de la malvada villanía de sus perversos criados*: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 236-237 (Chapter: 74, ff. 70r-71v). See: Pontón, Gonzalo. "La ejemplaridad en la crónica de Fernando de Pulgar", *Actas del VI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Alcalá de Henares, 12-16 de septiembre de 1995)*, José Manuel Lucía Megías, ed. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 1995: 1207-1206.

31. *Disoluto y peligroso pensamiento de querer prender a vuestro rrey*: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 218-220 (Chapter 63, ff. 59v-60v).

32. *Críe hijos, púselos en grand estado y ellos me menospreciaron*: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 238-239 (Chapter: 75, ff. 71v-73r).

33. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 290-291 (Chapter 104, ff. 115v-116v). Conveying some urban opinions of this kind.



These passages are largely grounded in a local perspective; in this way, Enríquez del Castillo enrolled the cities in criticising the nobility and supporting the king. It should also be noted, however, that after the passage that deals with the Farce of Ávila, there are mentions of the tyranny manifested by Juan Pacheco and the other rebel nobles; these aristocrats are often called “tyrannical knights” by various characters in the chronicle.³⁴ Similar tools were also used by the opposite camp: Diego de Valera’s *Memorial de Diversas Hazañas* levels accusations of tyranny against the king and his retainers.³⁵

The participation of the Bishop of Cuenca, Lope de Barrientos, stands out. He was very close to the king³⁶ and tried to reassure him of victory, should war be declared, by comparing the characteristics of both sides. The king’s design was identified with God’s, and the antagonistic features of the two camps were highlighted, as illustrated in Table 1.³⁷ According to the chronicle, the king’s peaceful response changed the bishop’s opinion; he thought that, should the king not act, “he would be the most dejected king that ever was in Spain”.³⁸

34. *Aquellos mis criados e los otros cavalleros, como desleales, pensaron ofenderme [...] apartándose de mi servicio para conseguir sus desordenadas tiranías* (“Those of my servants and other knights who, in their disloyalty, thought about offending me [...] left my service to achieve their tyrannical ends”): Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 238-239 (Chapter 75, ff. 71v-73r). Tyranny and wrongdoing are also emphasised in 77, 84, 92 and 149. Aristocrats and church leaders are also featured criticising Pacheco, whom they accuse of triggering the war and the scandals that derive from it in order to push his interests and his “tyrannical desires”: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 263-264 (Chapter 88, ff. 91v-92v).

35. The actions of members of the nobility against the tyranny of the king are thus described in: Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas: crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1941: 90-93 (Chapter 25). Similar allusions also feature in the *Crónica anónima castellana*; however, Pacheco is also referred to as a “tyrant” in this – in *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV...*: II, 205-207 (Chapter: 85), II, 222-224 (Chapter: 90). About this concept, see: Nieto Soria, José Manuel. “Álvaro de Luna as Tyrant. Public Opinion and Political Conflict in 15th century Castile”. *Imago Temporis: Medium Aevum*, 11 (2017): 273-297.

36. About this character, see, among others: Moreno Moreno, Juan Carlos. “Los linajes de Medina del Campo: Concesión de un nuevo linaje a fray Lope de Barrientos, 1454”. *Lope de Barrientos: Seminario de cultura*, 2 (2009): 147; Salvador Miguel, Nicasio. “Los magisterios de Lope de Barrientos, I: el magisterio docente”, *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, Mercedes Pampín Barral, Carmen Parrilla García, eds. A Coruña: Departamento de Filología Española e Latina, 2005: I, 175198; Martínez Casado, Ángel. *Lope de Barrientos: un intelectual de la corte de Juan II*. Salamanca: San Esteban, 1994.

37. Van Dijk reflected on the creation of discursive antagonisms to reinforce ideological positions – building markedly negative alterities —“them”— in opposition to a positive “us”; Van Dijk, Teun A. *Ideología y discurso: una introducción multidisciplinaria*. Barcelona: Ariel, 2003: 48.

38. *El más abatido rrey que jamás uvo en España*: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 222-225 (Chapter: 65, ff. 61v-63r).



Table 1. Some discursive oppositions in Enríquez del Castillo's chronicle

	The king's enemies	The king / God
The chronicler on the Farce of Ávila (CEIV, 74)	Vileness	Nobility
	They insult, offend and provoke	He bestows benefits, honour and wealth
	They turn to the worse	He "always" turns to the better
	Villainous servants	Magnanimous lord
Lope de Barrientos's opinion, according to the chronicle (CEIV, 65)	Traitors	God is the slayer of traitors
	Falsity, lies	Truth and justice
	Poor and alone, "abandoned"	Power and supremacy
	Ungrateful vassals	Anointed lord

Table 1 details some of the contrasts Diego Enríquez del Castillo presented between the political actors involved during Henry IV's reign, both directly and indirectly through another character, the Bishop of Cuenca. In the top section, the chronicler emphasises moral contrasts —vileness and nobility, evil and good, worse and better— but there is also a level of social criticism when the insults and provocations of nobles are set against the king's prodigality, which is the source of their privileges. In contrast, Lope de Barrientos is used to convey the link between the monarch and God, not only by underlining the anointed character of the king and identifying him with truth, justice and supremacy but also by confronting the "treason" committed by his enemies and God's role as the bane of treason.

The Bishop of Cuenca is not the only religious character Enríquez del Castillo used to dialectically oppose the rebels: the chronicler even brought in Pope Paul II to support Henry IV's cause³⁹. The pope's reactions were described in detail, and his arguments were given great prominence. According to the chronicle, the pope thought that the rebellion was a "despicable thing", and he sent a nuncio to sanction

39. The *Crónica anónima castellana* reports on the letters sent by the king to the pope "complaining about his vassals, especially those whom he had made great and treated as his children, and now they treat him as an enemy" (*quexandosse de sus vasallos, espeçialmente de aquellos que avía fecho grandes e como fijos los avia criado e como enemigos lo tratavan*) in: *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV...: I*, 404-406 (Chapter 70). On the other hand, in Valera's work, the pope is not presented in a very positive light: "he always tried to surround himself with necromancers and wizards": Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas...: 191-192* (Chapter 63). Some authors have seen this sort of opinion as evidence of Valera's anti-Henry stance: Schlelein, Stefan. "Vacilando entre Edad Media y Renacimiento: Castilla y el Humanismo del siglo XV", *Saberes humanísticos y formas de vida. Usos y abusos. Actas del Coloquio Hispano-alemán celebrado en Zaragoza del 15 al 17 de diciembre de 2010*, Aurora Egido, José Enrique Laplana, eds. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012: 106.



the rebel knights and churchmen to compel them to lay down their arms and return to the king's service and be obedient. The nuncio announced Paul II's willingness to mediate, in his rightful role as "vicar" of Christ. The reaction of the rebels, according to the chronicle, was to threaten the nuncio, which amounted to a direct attack on the pope and, through him, God.⁴⁰ The pope's reaction was described by Enríquez del Castillo later in the chronicle: a close parallel was drawn between the rebels' attitude and Judas and the Jewish people's treason against Christ:

*Offences against Christ, sold by his apostle Judas for such a vile price, insulted and affronted by his people. All the feeling he had for those he had elevated and honoured made him think of Christ, who gave the Jews the greatest of benefits, and in payment they brought him to death after such cruel torments and hung him on the cross. If his servants slandered him, falser still were the testimonies of the Jews against Christ, which led to his undeserved death.*⁴¹

As a solution, the pope insisted that the rebels return to being obedient to the king; he considered them "schismatic" and threatened to anathemise them and proceed "against them as against enemies of the Christian vision of the kingdom, as destroyers of the republic's commonwealth and murderers".⁴² The chronicle includes a passage in which Paul II directly addresses the envoy of the Alphonsine faction in Rome. In this address, the usual accusations are levelled against them, and they are accused of trying to usurp God's authority by enthroning and dethroning kings. The papal sanctions materialised in 1471 against the Bishop of Segovia and the Archbishop of Toledo; the former was summoned to Rome where he was to be punished for handing over Segovia whereas a process began against the latter for his disloyalty to his king.⁴³ The king was reminded through a biblical reference that punishment was the exclusive prerogative of God, and that he was to act with clemency, forgiving those who repented: "whoever comes to me, I shall not expel".⁴⁴

Clemency and repentance feature prominently in Enríquez del Castillo's chronicle. On the one hand, the king's willingness to bring back peace and pardon

40. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 282-285 (Chapter: 100, ff. 109v-111v).

41. *Las ofensas de Jhesuchristo, vendido por su apóstol Judas en tal vil y baxo preçio, desonrrado tan bituperiosamente por los de su pueblo, y sy mucho sentimiento tenía de aquellos que avía criado y hecho y puesto en tanta onrra, que se acordase que Jhesuchristo hizo mayores y más altos benefiçios a los judíos, y en pago de aquellos lo truxieron a la muerte y con tantos tormentos cruels lo crucificaron, y si sus criados falsamente lo disfamaron, se acordase que mayores y más falsos fueron los testimonios de los judíos contra Jhesuchristo, con que lo hizieron condenar a muerte, sin meresçella*: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 294-296 (Chapter: 107, ff. 118r-119v).

42. *contra ellos como contra enemigos de la vnión christiana del rreyno y como desypadores del bien común de la rrepública y cabsadores de omeçidios*: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 294-296 (Chapter: 107, ff. 118r-119v).

43. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 363-365 (Chapter: 149, ff. 178r-180r).

44. *Quién biniere a mí, no lo echaré fuera*: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 294-296 (Chapter: 107, ff. 118r-119v); From Jn, 6: 37.



the rebels is emphasised repeatedly.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the chronicler mentions the king's constant attempts to bring back the rebels, stressing the difference between those who repented and those who did not. Enríquez del Castillo presented some examples of repenting nobles who "confessed" their crimes. For instance, Juan Carrillo, a knight of the admiral, admitted that he had been disloyal to the king and begged his pardon, and the Count of Benavente confessed that he had forgotten his duty towards the monarch.⁴⁶

In this regard, the emphasis that Enríquez places on Juan Pacheco's lack of guilt is significant: "he affronted the one who had elevated him, and he was not ashamed of himself, and his conscience did not bother him for the bad deeds he committed against the one whom he should have honoured the most".⁴⁷ As previously noted, Pacheco's portrait in the chronicle is among the most negative, and it deserves to be treated separately. This criticism is not limited to the period in which he was close to the king but is also expressed, and especially harshly, for the period during which he led the rebel faction.⁴⁸ In order to express the king's growing suspicions about Pacheco, Enríquez del Castillo resorts to detailing emotions: the king is presented as "hurt and angry for about the lies".⁴⁹ It was then that the Marquis of Villena began "plotting with the kingdom's magnates" to "destroy and defile the king".⁵⁰

45. This is presented in a dialogue with the papal nuncio: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 282-285 (Chapter: 100, ff. 109v-111v).

46. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 244-245 (Chapter: 79, ff. 75v-76r), 258-259 (Chapter: 86, ff. 86v-88v).

47. *E como deshonrró al que lo subió en tan alta grandeza, que no se avergüença de sy mesmo, e no le rremuerda su conçiencia e lo acusen sus culpas de la gravedad cometida contra quien más deviera servir que destruyr*: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 317-318 (Chapter: 126, ff. 137v-138v).

48. Juan Pacheco entered Henry's service when he was still a prince, between 1440 and 1441, and the *Crónica del Halconero* claimed that, seeking his personal profit, he sowed discord between the king and his son: Carrillo de Huete, Pero. *Crónica del halconero de Juan II*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1946: 356 (Chapter: 283), 304 (Chapter: 252). See: Carceller Cerviño, María del Pilar. "Álvaro de Luna, Juan Pacheco y Beltrán de la Cueva: un estudio comparativo del privado regio a fines de la Edad Media". *En la España medieval*, 32 (2009): 97-99. When he recounts Pacheco's return to the king's side, Enríquez del Castillo maintained his critical stance against him, arguing that the ultimate reason behind this rapprochement was his desire? to be granted the *maestrazgo* of Santiago, which Pacheco had obtained without consensus: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 258-259 (Chapter: 86, ff. 86v-88v), 274-275 (Chapter: 94, ff. 102r-v).

49. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 206-207 (Chapter: 53, ff. 50v-51v). References to the king's suspicions concerning Pacheco and Carrillo become increasingly frequent, in Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 201-211 (Chapter 57, f. 54r). About emotion and political representation, see: Foronda, François. *El espanto y el miedo. Golpismo, emociones políticas y constitucionalismo en la Edad Media*. Madrid: Dykinson, 2013.

50. *su trato con los grandes del rreyno [destinado a] destruyr e desonrrar al rrey*. Enríquez accompanied this statement with a proverb which also partially quotes Palencia: "the ancients said that those who err never forgive, and their guilty conscience makes them delve ever deeper into evil": Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 206-207 (Chapter: 53, ff. 50v-51v); *Sed ut sunt feruentiores in persequendo mali quam in reparando probi*: Palencia, Alonso de. *Gesta Hispaniensia: ex annalibus suorurn dierum collecta*,



The text repeatedly states that he formed the rebel league to pursue his private interests, and it stresses his leading role in their “treasonous” behaviour.⁵¹ Enríquez described Pacheco in the same terms as the noble rebels, highlighting his ingratitude, disloyalty, disobedience, treason and tyranny. However, in his case the moral aspects were emphasised: his intentions and desires were portrayed as evil in that he was focused on destroying Henry IV, and his personality was labelled as devious, greedy and selfish.⁵² The other rebel nobles were also accused of committing devious deals to prolong discord.⁵³ The chronicle thus stressed the contrast between bad and good servants, using the conduct of Villena as the benchmark for bad behaviour⁵⁴.

Enríquez del Castillo emphasised these accusations against the marquis at the time of his death by putting them in the mouth of his wife, María Portocarrero. The marchioness stressed his disloyalty, disservice, dishonour and infamy, asking him to return to the king’s service in a tone reminiscent of the literary topos of “equalising death”.⁵⁵ As could be expected in a death scene, fame and

eds. Brian Tate, Jeremy Lawrance. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998: I, 246 (Book 6, Chapter 8).

51. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 210-211 (Chapter: 57, f. 54r), 216-218 (Chapter: 62, ff. 58r-59v), 218-220 (Chapter: 63, ff. 59v-60v), 317-318 (Chapter: 126, ff. 137v-138v).

52. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 206-207 (Chapter: 53, ff. 50v-51v), 212-214 (Chapter: 59, ff. 55r-56v), 214-215 (Chapter: 60, ff. 56v-57r), 215-216 (Chapter 61, ff. 57r-58r), 216-218 (Chapter 62, ff. 58r-59v), 246-247 (Chapter: 80, ff. 77v-78v), 247-248 (Chapter: 81, ff. 78v-79r), 255-256 (Chapter: 84, ff. 84v-85r), 290-291 (Chapter: 104, ff. 115v-116v), among others. Pacheco’s cruelty was compared to that “of the Greeks against the Trojans”, and his “impious” insults *el de las madres cercadas en Jerushalén, que aquellas con piedad se comieron sus hijos* (“with those of the mothers besieged in Jerusalem, who ate their children”): Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 247-248 (Chapter: 81, ff. 78v-79r). Even the fact that he broke a promise made to his wife on his deathbed is mentioned in: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 375-376 (Chapter: 155, ff. 188v-189v). Also, the *Crónica anónima castellana* alludes to the “lies of the *maestre* of Santiago”: *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV...*: II, 69 (Chapter 33), 168-170 (Chapter: 70); and he is defined as “a breaker of faith and vows”, in: *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV...*: II, 467-469 (Chapter 94).

53. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 263-264 (Chapter: 88, ff. 91v-92v).

54. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 212-214 (Chapter: 59, ff. 55r-56v). He was accused of disservice and disobedience to the king for plotting against him with other nobles. Henry IV himself refers to Pacheco’s leading role in the plot: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 230-231 (Chapter: 70, ff. 67r-v). Various names are also mentioned, especially that of Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña, Archbishop of Toledo: Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 210-211 (Chapter: 57, f. 54r), 258-259 (Chapter: 86, ff. 86v-88v). Other authors shared this opinion of the archbishop, for instance Diego de Valera and Fernando d, who was especially harsh in his *Letra III*, “to the archbishop of Toledo”, dated to 1475, according to the edition of his works that I am using: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1927: 36-39 (Chapter 10); Pulgar, Fernando de. *Letras. Glosa a las coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, ed. Jesús Domínguez Bordona. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958: 15. Also, Íñigo de Mendoza included a veiled accusation: “And for these sins / now prelates / wear capes and hold swords”; Mendoza, Íñigo de. “Coplas de Vita Christi...”: 225-24 (verses 213-215).

55. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 375-376 (Chapter: 155, ff. 188v-189v). For this topos, see the analysis of “death dances”: Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez, Luis. *Vanitas: Retórica visual de la mirada*. Madrid: Encuentro, 2012: 215.



memory permeated her words, bringing her close to another topos after his death, the *ubi sunt*.⁵⁶ The *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV* refers to the people's happiness upon the *maestre's* death, and doubted whether he had died "catholically", with his sins forgiven.⁵⁷ This is related to the lack of regret mentioned in Enríquez's chronicle, something which was also mentioned in the brief confessional book entitled *Arte del bien morir*, printed in Zaragoza between 1479 and 1484.⁵⁸

This criticism stands out even more when compared to the only positive portrayal of the *maestre*, in the *Claros varones de Castilla* by Pulgar.⁵⁹ In his *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, Pulgar also emphasised the regret expressed by Pacheco when he returned under Henry IV's banner.⁶⁰ However, Diego de Valera resorted to biblical authority to refer to the fact that Pacheco died without seeing his wish fulfilled: the marriage of the king of Portugal and Joanna, the king's daughter.⁶¹ As noted, most coeval works joined in the criticism of the noble faction that rebelled against Henry IV, but most did so less harshly than Enríquez del Castillo's chronicle.⁶²

56. Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. *Crónica de Enrique...*: 395-396 (Chapter: 166, ff. 204v-205v).

57. *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV...*: II, 222-224 (chapter 90).

58. *Iten, sepa d'él si es excomulgado. Iten, si cumplió sus penitencias. Iten, si ha rancor contra alguno. Iten, si verdaderamente se arrepiente de sus pecados. Iten, si dexó de dizir algund pecado* ("We need to know if he was excommunicated, if he did his penitence, if he had ill feelings, if he was truly regretful of his sins, if he left any sin unmentioned"): Gago Jover, Francisco, ed. *Arte de bien morir, y Breve confesionario: (Zaragoza, Pablo Hurus: c.1479-1484): según el incunable de la Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*. Palma de Mallorca: José J. de Olañeta- Universitat de les Illes Balears-Servei de Publicacions, 1999: 126.

59. *E porque ninguno es bien corrigido si puramente no es arrepentido, conociendo este Caballero averse desviado del camino que debía seguir, no solamente tornó á él; mas aun trabajó de amansar quanto pudo las voluntades alteradas de los Caballeros é Perlados que aquella division querian continuar* ("And because no amends are made without regret, this knight was aware that he had taken the wrong path, and returned to the right one; and he worked hard to appease the spirits of the nobles and prelates who wanted to continue with the struggle"): Pulgar, Fernando de. *Claros varones de Castilla*, ed. Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego. Madrid: Cátedra, 2007: 60. However, a few lines earlier, the author admitted that *este Caballero, sintiendo que su estada cerca de la persona del Rey Don Enrique no le era segura, [...] apartóse de su servicio, é fué el principal de los Caballeros é Perlados que hicieron division en el Reyno entre el Rey Don Enrique, y el Rey Don Alfonso su hermano* ("this knight, in the knowledge that being near King Henry was not safe for him [...] left his service and was the leader of the nobles and prelates who divided the kingdom into two camps, one for King Henry and one for his brother King Alphonse"): Pulgar, Fernando de. *Claros varones de Castilla...*: 59.

60. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 9-16 (Chapter 2).

61. Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas...*: 275-278 (chapter 95).

62. In other works, attacks were also put in the mouths of specific characters. For instance, in the context of the Battle of Olmedo in 1467, the *Memorial de diversas hazañas* recounts a scene in which the king blames the aristocrats for starting the war and the associated calamities for the kingdom, addressing specific members of the enemy faction, such as the counts of Plasencia, Alba de Tormes and Alba de Lista, the *condestable* Rodrigo Manrique and the Marquis of Villena, who is referred to as the *maestre* of Santiago. However, the chroniclers also recorded their own opinions when they argued their support for the prince, whom they thought represented the "just and true cause": Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas...*: 123-136 (chapter 38). Another important member of this faction was the Marquis of Villena's brother, Pedro Girón, whose pride and greed were highlighted by both Diego de Valera and the anonymous author of the *Crónica anónima castellana*.



3. The ‘men of division and scandal’ in the War of Succession

During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, the high nobility was “searching for their identity as a power elite” in parallel to the increasing strength of the Crown.⁶³ As such, the chronicles of the period criticise this group and blame it for sowing discord in order to increase their political and economic power. For instance, Andrés Bernáldez labelled this behaviour as traitorous and disobedient, and he linked it to internal envies and the competition for gaining political predominance in the kingdom.⁶⁴ Similar examples can be found in literature: one of the characters in the *Libro de los pensamientos variables*, the “measured king”, criticises the nobility for trying to reach the same level as the king, or even higher: “Our nobles search, as though they needed us to worship them”.⁶⁵ However, the *ordenamiento* of Toledo passed in 1480 established that all “dukes, counts, marquises, viscounts and powerful men of lineage” must obey the royal orders and the letters sent by the Royal Council.⁶⁶

It is clear from the chronicles from this period that these criticisms had gained special relevance in the context of the succession crisis and the subsequent conflict with Portugal. The issue, however, is grounded in the tensions that characterised the previous reign. Some chroniclers were aware of this, and for this reason frequently mentioned divisions during Henry IV’s time while also presenting their own political stance. Diego de Valera began his *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* with a categorical contrast between the “mist” and the “chaos” in Henry IV’s reign and the reforms undertaken by Isabella and Ferdinand, which were identified with the sun and justice.⁶⁷ The *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos* blamed the “wars and pillage of the kingdom” entirely on Henry IV.⁶⁸

The latter work considered his appointment as *maestre* of Calatrava “entirely unjust”. See: Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas...*: 118-122 (chapter 36) and *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV...*: I, 187-192 (Chapter 79).

63. Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. “El engrandecimiento nobiliario en la Corona de Castilla...”: 49-50.

64. Bernáldez, Andrés. *Historia de los Reyes Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*. Seville: Imprenta que fue de Don José María Geofrin, 1870: 300-305 (Chapter: 202), 309-316 (Chapter: 204), 316-321 (Chapter: 205, although in this case those who “sow discord” are not explicitly identified as the high nobility).

65. *Los nuestros Grandes escarvan e buscan, como en neçessidad de ellos estando, los adoremos*: The full work is edited in Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. “La utopía política en la literatura castellana del siglo XV. El *Libro de los Pensamientos Variables*”. *eHumanista. Journal of Iberian Studies*, 2 (2002): 23-62.

66. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1866: IV, 117 (Cortes de Toledo de 1480, *ordenamiento* 23).

67. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: 5-7 (Chapter 2). About Valera’s historiographical work, see: Moya García, Cristina. “La producción historiográfica de Mosén Diego de Valera en la época de los Reyes Católicos”, *La literatura en la época de los Reyes Católicos*, Nicasio Salvador Miguel, Cristina Moya García, eds. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008: 145-166.

68. *Las guerras y males y robos del reyno: Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos (1469-1476): según un manuscrito anónimo de la época*, Julio Puyol y Alonso, ed. Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1934: 92-98 (title 5), 112-118 (title 10). However, this work presents a passage in which Beatriz de Bobadilla addresses the monarch to accuse Juan Pacheco of “dividing” the kingdom by rising up against him and taking cities and villages “tyrannically” and wishing to destroy them, and so he deserved to be executed: *como su ingratitude*



From a different perspective, Fernando de Pulgar also anticipated what his position was going to be: he was against the chaos caused by the nobility, and the associated difficulties for the Crown. He referred to aristocrats such as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Pedro de Velasco, Pedro Manrique, Pedro Álvarez de Toledo and Pedro Álvarez de Osorio who had not joined the rebellion against Henry because they thought this pursued only private interests and not the good governance of the kingdom.⁶⁹ In a direct address, Pedro González de Mendoza, who was Bishop of Calahorra, a future cardinal and a close advisor of the Catholic Monarchs, presented more reasons for this distrust. González de Mendoza argued that, looking after their private interests, the knights in arms—who were called “schismatic” and “ungrateful”—intended to rule by themselves, taking advantage of Prince Alphonse’s youth, which was against God’s will, reason and peace.⁷⁰ At any rate, Pulgar also tried to clearly distinguish between Henry IV and the new monarchs. He insisted on the fact that, despite the advice of his counsellors, Henry never punished the nobles for “their great crime”.⁷¹ In addition, he presented Princess Isabella’s acceptance of her brother as king as an expression of her desire to avoid division, robbery and tyranny: “and this was mainly to serve God, so that division would end and all the evils that it entails”.⁷²

Fernando de Pulgar (c.1430-c.1492) knew the world of the royal court well. He had been raised near Fernán Díaz de Toledo—who, like him, was descended from converted Jews—and the Mendozas, and was Henry IV’s secretary, with chancellery and diplomatic duties that had brought him on diplomatic missions to France and Italy. These experiences largely determined his biblical and patristic knowledge, and his taste for Classical literature. His loyalty to the monarchs has often been stressed, but he knew how to adapt this loyalty to the new times. After Isabella came to power, he began dedicating apologetic texts to the new sovereigns, who appointed him royal chronicler in approximately 1480, replacing Alonso de Palencia.⁷³

y malicia, compañera de Lucifer, lo ha merecido (“for his ingratitude and malice, friends of Lucifer”): *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos...*: 92-98 (Title: 5), 112-118 (Title: 8). With due caution, this work has been attributed to Juan de Flores, the Catholic Monarchs’ official chronicler: Gwara, Joseph. “The identity of Juan de Flores: The evidence of the ‘Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos’”. *Journal of Hispanic Philology*. 11 (1986): 105-130, 205-222.

69. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 4-9 (Chapter: 1).

70. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 4-9 (Chapter: 1).

71. *El graue crimen que cometieron*. This opinion was also put in the mouth of Andrés de Cabrera, the king’s *mayordomo*, and Alonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Seville, who thought that the publication by the nobles of insulting words and “ugliness” against the king deserved no mercy: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 9-16 (Chapter: 2).

72. *E que en esto principalmente serviría a Dios, porque cesante la división, cesarían los males que della se esperavan*: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 9-16 (Chapter: 2).

73. Hernández González, Isabel. “Fernando de Pulgar”, *Diccionario filológico de literatura medieval española...*: 521-557; Pérez Priego, Miguel Ángel. “El retrato historiográfico de Fernando de Pulgar”, *Actes del X Congrès Internacional de l’Associació Hispànica de Literatura Medieval*, Josep Lluís Martos Sánchez, Josep Miquel Manzanaro i Blasco, Rafael Alemany Ferrer, eds. Alicante: Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana, 2005: 169-183; Pulgar’s bibliography is well summarised in the introduction of Pérez Priego’s critical edition of *Claros varones de Castilla*: Pulgar, Fernando de. *Claros varones de Castilla...*: 11-68.



His chronicle is one of the most widely used sources for the study of the Catholic Monarchs' reign. The fact that his was an official chronicle undoubtedly has an impact on the discourse, as does Enríquez del Castillo's, and his arguments are heavily weighted on the moral and doctrinal side.⁷⁴ It seems likely that events predating 1474 were written in 1482, or that at least a major revision was undertaken that year. The narration ends in 1490. Following Mata Carriazo, Gonzalo Pontón theorises that "the retrospective passages were understood as *history* whereas events concerning the War of Granada were deemed a chronicle proper, narrating contemporary events".⁷⁵ Maria Camilla Bianchini sees in the work glimpses of "bourgeois humanism", stressing the civic character of the political discourse, which links an apology for individual freedom with the defence of the royal power.⁷⁶ Although the presence of humanistic undertones in Pulgar's work are widely accepted, the scope of his humanism is debated.⁷⁷ However, it has been pointed out that Enríquez del Castillo's chronicle was an inflexion point towards humanistic ideals—again, giving the discourse sermonistic tones—which are still present in Pulgar's work.⁷⁸ Indeed, it seems that they were coetaneous official chroniclers with humanistic links and strong religious influences; in terms of the discourse, both supported the authority of their respective monarchs.

Pulgar established his position concerning the War of the Castilian Succession around two axes: the division of the kingdom and the need for justice (different variations of which are used repeatedly). The chronicler often follows the structure illustrated in Illustration 1. Negative moral features, such as personal interest, and sins, such as envy and greed, led some knights to confront the monarch and create division. This was considered a disservice, disobedience and disloyalty—basic failures in the relationship between the Crown and the nobility—which could lead to the ultimate destruction of the kingdom. As a solution, royal justice was presented as a guarantee of unity, and the actions of the monarchs in this direction were emphasised accordingly. With some reservations, this structure is also used occasionally by Enríquez del Castillo—who laid less emphasis on royal justice and the opposition between unity and division—and other chroniclers from the period. However, Pulgar's work does not display the stark antagonism between political actors that was insisted upon by Enríquez del Castillo, who also underlined the concept of "treason" more strongly than Pulgar.

74. For this chronicle, see: Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *Historia de la prosa de los Reyes Católicos: el umbral del Renacimiento*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2012: 44.

75. Pontón, Gonzalo, "Fernando de Pulgar y la *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*": LVII.

76. *Unerendo a questo il concetto di un ordine trascendente [...], si desume una concezione sociale, che identifica i concetti di "virtud-honra" e "vicio-deshonra", propria dell'umanesimo borghese*: Bianchini, Maria Camilla. "Fernando del Pulgar: una testimonianza della formazione del *concetto* di monarchia nello stato moderno". *Rassegna Iberistica*, 15 (1982): 27.

77. According to Pontón, this interpretation overstates the influence of humanistic ideas in Pulgar's thought. As such, he claims that these influences should be taken interpreted with more caution: Pontón, Gonzalo. "Fernando de Pulgar y la *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*": LII.

78. Fernández Gallardo, Luis. "El discurso directo...":135.



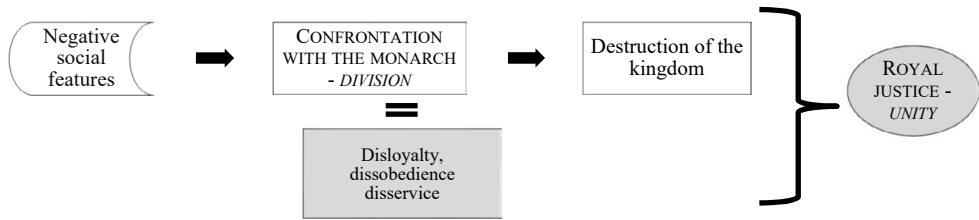


ILLUSTRATION 1. DISCURSIVE MODEL OF FERNANDO DE PULGAR'S ARGUMENTS. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.

In the narration of Isabella I's proclamation and early reign, Pulgar, like other chroniclers, observed the desire of some nobles to sow dissension in Castile's government. The author mentioned a specific bone of contention: the suitability of women for the throne. He thought that certain knights "of evil intentions" sought to divide the sovereigns around the issue of female succession, following the narrative structure displayed above. By seeking privileges for private gain, they could steer the kingdom to its destruction. The monarchs, according to the chronicle, were aware of this and responded by displaying "a single will divided between two bodies".⁷⁹ In opposition to aristocratic fragmentation, Pulgar emphasised the unity which the duality of the monarchs embodied.

Soon, the chronicle begins mentioning the assembly of certain nobles around Joanna of Trastámara and her proposed marriage to Alphonse V of Portugal, which was eventually celebrated in May 1475.⁸⁰ This led to a war in which propaganda played a prominent role, as various studies have pointed out.⁸¹ The stress on the lack of legitimacy of the Portuguese faction was a key argument throughout the conflict. In terms of morality, Pulgar sustained that the pre-eminence of Mendoza, by then a cardinal, had stoked such envy in Carrillo that he was pushed to create a faction against the princes. Ultimately, Carrillo convinced the Portuguese king to intervene in Castile, despite his previous vows of loyalty to the monarchs, as the

79. *Que parecían tener una voluntad que morava en dos cuerpos*: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 70-74 (Chapter: 22). Other chroniclers present similar arguments. In the *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos*, it was argued that the nobles who had not turned up to swear loyalty to the queen were the source of the kingdom's illness: *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos...*: 135 (title 13).

80. For his part, Diego de Valera thought that some nobles desired this marriage to pursue their evil intentions and ambitions, even if this led to the destruction of the kingdom and to the dishonour of Isabella and Ferdinand, whom he deemed to be the legitimate heirs: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: 7-10 (Chapter 3).

81. Carrasco Manchado, Ana Isabel. *Isabel I de Castilla y la sombra de la ilegitimidad: propaganda y representación en el conflicto sucesorio (1474-1482)*. Madrid: Sílex, 2006; Villarroel González, Óscar. *Juana la Beltraneja: la construcción de una ilegitimidad*. Madrid: Sílex, 2014.



chronicler emphasises.⁸² As in Enríquez del Castillo's chronicle, Pulgar combined moral features with the political ideas that defined the relationship between king and nobility, such as loyalty and service. In his chronicle, he also mentioned past experiences. He recounted that the monarchs had sent one of their secretaries to parley with Diego López Pacheco, Second Marquis of Villena, to dissuade him from reigniting the conflict. He was reminded of recent events, when his father Juan Pacheco crowned Prince Alphonse using arguments that had already led to the division of the kingdom once, and to death and devastation.⁸³

The chronicle not only (indirectly) voiced the monarch's conciliatory opinion but also added other supporting arguments. Pulgar describes the Portuguese mistrust of Castilian knights, and some warned Alphonse V in 1475 not to intervene in Castile when he married Joanna because those who now came under her banner had questioned her legitimacy in the past. This argument was developed in a letter which Pulgar attributes to a Portuguese friar, but which the chronicler himself may have written.⁸⁴ The letter claims that the Castilians reached out to the Portuguese king to achieve their own ends, born of greed and inconstancy, having forgotten "the loyalty due their king, and being cruel enemies of their own land, dividing it and inflicting tyranny and robberies upon it".⁸⁵

The author of the letter also included religious arguments. He classed division as a venial sin —"one of the greatest that you can commit in these lands and kingdoms, and a sign of a dissolute and disobedient spirit"— and supported this by citing Saint Anselm and the biblical story of the Samaritans.⁸⁶ Traditional enemies of the Jews, the Samaritans had been punished by God for creating divisions in the kingdom

82. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 57-58 (Chapter: 17), 60-63 (Chapter: 19), 340-351 (Chapter: 98). In the *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos...*: 154 (Title 18), the dispute between Carrillo and Mendoza was presented without the chronicler expressing a clear opinion, whereas Valera associated the origin of this issue with the wickedness of the Archbishop of Toledo: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: 36-39 (Chapter 10).

83. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 99-101 (Chapter: 31).

84. As claimed by Andrés Bernaldez's chronicle: Bernaldez, Andrés. *Historia de los Reyes Católicos...*: 48-57 (chapter 14); in fact, this passage matches the *Letra VII*, addressed to the Portuguese king, in Pulgar, Fernando de. *Letras...*: 33.

85. *La lealtad que debían a su rrey, e mostrándose crueles enemigos de su propia tierra, la pusieron en rrobos y en tiranía, haciendo diuisión en ella*: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 85-95 (Chapter: 28). Although not referencing the letter, Valera mentions an embassy formed by two friars, a Franciscan and a Dominican, who, following a previous diplomatic failure, visited the Portuguese king to persuade him not to start a war. Their warnings are reminiscent of those contained in the letter to which Pulgar alluded – Castilian nobles, "used as they are to their tyranny, lying no longer causes them any shame": Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: 10-14 (chapter 4). The incomplete chronicle conveys a digression in which the chronicler concludes by morally condemning the aristocrats who declared themselves followers of the king of Portugal to reach power: "these are ill people who strive in their evil, and only misfortune can their following bestow, because you only reap what you sow": *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos...*: 173-174 (title 21).

86. *Uno de los mayores que en los reynos y tierras se pueden cometer, señal çierta de espíritu disoluto e ynobidiente*: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 85-95 (Chapter: 28).



of Judea.⁸⁷ In this way, Pulgar likened the Samaritans and the noble enemies of Isabella: both created chaos and were punished by God as a result. It is to be noted that, in contrast to Enríquez del Castillo's suspicion of foreigners, Pulgar presented many Portuguese characters as conciliatory and opposed to the war. Perhaps this is to be understood within the framework of the peace-seeking initiatives deployed by Isabella I both during and after the conflict, which also reached the field of discourse.⁸⁸

The urban element played a key role in the succession issue, and this was reflected in historical writing⁸⁹. The work of Pulgar, like that of Enríquez del Castillo, discursively opposes the cities and the high nobility. They did this by emphasising emotions such as the widespread popular discontent caused by the aristocrats' actions; on the eve of the decisive Battle of Toro, Pulgar recorded "the common people[']s" negative opinion of the rebel nobles for continuing with the war "to put their own king and increase their state".⁹⁰ Similarly, in Toledo, although the influence of Archbishop Carrillo had brought the people to Alphonse V's side, most villages and nobles were "unhappy with that path", which they considered "dishonest" and contrary to their oath of loyalty to their monarchs.⁹¹

At the same time, the chronicler expressed his opinion directly concerning the actions of some of Carrillo's allies in Toledo. He defines as an "insult" a plot to assassinate Gómez Manrique, who was in charge of guarding the city and was loyal to Isabella and Ferdinand, and surrender the city to the Portuguese side. This led the chronicler to reflect on Toledo's rebellions during previous reigns. He distinguished between the "mob, which is easily attracted by revolts and sedition, and peace-loving, good citizens".⁹² After putting this distinction in Gómez Manrique's mouth, Pulgar presents a historical review of Toledo's record towards the Crown. A few

87. María-José Cano, in her work about the perception of the Holy Land in the works of two Andalusí authors, points out that the dissension between Samaritans and Jews were still an issue in the 12th century: Cano, María-José. "La otredad en los libros de viajeros musulmanes y judíos en Siria-Palestina según Ibn Yubayr y Benjamín de Tudela". *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos. Sección Árabe-Islam*, 63 (2014): 18-19.

88. For Isabella I's appeasing policy during the War of the Castilian Succession, in the opening years of the final quarter of the 15th century, see: Rábade Obradó, María del Pilar. "Una reina en la retaguardia: las intervenciones pacificadoras de Isabel la Católica en la guerra de sucesión". *e-Spania*, 20 (2015): <<http://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/24164>>.

89. For an approach to this topic during John II's reign, see: Corral Sánchez, Nuria. "Expresiones de oposición a la injerencia nobiliaria en las ciudades castellanas. Una aproximación discursiva desde la crónica bajomedieval", *Élites, conflictos y discursos políticos en las ciudades bajomedievales de la Península Ibérica*, José María Monsalvo Antón, ed. Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 2019: 189-212.

90. *A fin de ganar con el un rey e con el otro, por acreçentar sus estados*: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 140-142 (Chapter: 44).

91. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 340-351 (Chapter: 98). A few chapters earlier, Pulgar highlighted the loyalty to the monarchs manifested by the popular urban sectors by presenting how the residents of Madrid had acted with Núñez de Toledo and others —such as Pedro Arias Dávila, lord of Torrejón— to take the village from the Marquis of Villena and hand it over to Isabella, since "the will, when forced, always aspires to freedom": Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 340-351 (Chapter: 98).

92. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 340-351 (Chapter: 98).



recent episodes, from the reigns of John II and Henry IV, led to the conclusion that rebellion had brought Toledo nothing but lies, poverty and dishonour.

In these passages, three aspects are of particular interest: first, the rejection of urban attitudes when these support the rebel cause, for instance through Archbishop Carrillo; second, the use of the same ideas to attack urban and aristocratic rebel elements; and, third, the defence, through Gómez Manrique, of a specific type of nobility. The revolt was caused by the common people's dislike of characters who, being of common stock, were engaged in the local government; according to the text, capacity and qualification should be given priority over blood credentials, a veritable statement in favour of a nobility of virtue based on merit, rather than lineage; personal ability should define social position, "and the sons and descendants of many kings and nobles are forgotten because they have no ability and a lowly disposition".⁹³ This argument was supported with various examples taken from the local context (a man who, after taking up cloth-making, became an astrological sage), history (ancient kings such as Pyrrhus and Solomon, and medieval ones, such as Peter I of Castile and Dinis of Portugal) and the Bible. Pulgar, therefore, took advantage of the conflict of the period to present his ideas about nobility, a resource also used by Enríquez, although the latter's arguments were less well elaborated.

In contrast, in an earlier passage the chronicler displays his opinion concerning the relationship between the Crown and society more broadly, which was a crucial issue in a context in which an aristocratic faction challenged Isabella I's legitimacy. In an address attributed to the Bishop of Cádiz, Alonso Solís, who was trying to mediate between the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the Marquis of Cádiz, in Seville,⁹⁴ Scripture is cited to argue for the natural human inclination towards evil, which can only be compensated for by royal authority and justice:

When there are no kings or ministers, or, when they are not held in awe, it is not to be wondered that human nature, following its ill inclinations, gets out of hand and commits crimes and excesses on the land, especially in Spain, where a common sin recurs, [namely] that men give priority to the service of their lesser lords rather than that of their monarchs [...] And it is

93. *También vemos los hijos e descendientes de muchos reyes e notables homes escuderos e olvidados, por ser inhábiles e de baxa condición.* As previously noted, Sassoferato's theses caused some debate. One of the most significant among these were the [significant theses was the] contrast between merit and lineage as sources of privilege. Although some authors, such as Pulgar, followed Sassoferato's line, giving virtue priority over birth, others such as Fernán Mexía gave pre-eminence to lineage. Recently, Martín Romero published a critical edition of Fernán Mexía's *Nobiliario Vero*, which includes an in-depth analysis of this work in an ideological context: Martín Romero, José Julio. *El Nobiliario vero y el pensamiento aristocrático del siglo XV*. Madrid- Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana- Vervuert, 2019.

94. The conflict over the succession was reflected in local conflicts among members of the high nobility. This rivalry is also recorded in other sources, for instance: Bernáldez, Andrés. *Historia de los Reyes Católicos...*: 17-22 (Chapter: 4), 113-117 (Chapter: 40). According to Pulgar, the queen thought that Seville was misgoverned, and went to the city to impose peace, and both knights and the people convened to ask for a general pardon: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 309-316 (Chapter: 98). The role of the monarchs as peacemakers between nobles is also emphasised in other passages of Pulgar's work, for instance concerning the conflicts between the Count of Miranda and the Duke of Alba, and between the Count of Alba de Liste and the Duke of Medina Sidonia: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: II, 214-217 (Chapter: 195).



*by perverting this natural order of obedience that the wars of the past and the troubles of the present began.*⁹⁵

This moralistic and religious interpretation can be applied to the whole of society, in which everyone was equally under the influence of the monarchs; the allusions to greed as the origin of division seem reserved for the aristocratic state. Biblical references abound, especially concerning two notions: the humility and meekness of servants, and the clemency and mercy that the queen was expected to exercise. Linked to both was the ideal of royal justice.⁹⁶ A local conflict was thus used as a narrative platform from which to present broader political arguments and as a paradigm for the relationship between the monarchy and the nobility, which was necessarily based on subjection and rectitude.

Local struggles were also criticised with reference to the broader context, with the aristocrats who had sided with the rebels receiving the lion's share of negative comments. Even the *Cuadernos de Cortes*, which rarely commented upon political events, joined the fray. The procurators at the *Cortes* held in Madrigal in 1476, soon after the beginning of the war, lamented the damage caused by the faction that supported the Portuguese, labelled them "rebellious, disloyal and enemies of the kingdom", and requested the organisation of brotherhoods to fight it.⁹⁷ The abuses committed in the name of the Portuguese king were referred to by Pulgar as "tyrannies", and their perpetrators as "tyrants". Juan de Ulloa was one of them: he seized Toro to hand it over to Alphonse V and, "having all the features of a tyrant, he had committed great crimes in the city".⁹⁸ Similarly, Pulgar described the plan concocted by Juan de Porras, lord of Castronuevo, to hand Zamora to the Portuguese as a disloyal act, which was not only grounded in greed but also harmed his honour and his vows to the monarchs.⁹⁹ The *alcaldes* of Castronuño, father and

95. *Quando los reyes e ministros no avemos, e si los avemos son tales de quien no se aya temor, ni se cate obidiencia, no nos maravillamos que la natura humana, siguiendo su mala inclinación, se desenfrene, et cometa delictos et exçesos en las tierras; especialmente en esta vuestra España, donde vemos que los ombres por la mayor parte pecan en vn error común, anteponiendo el seruiçio de sus señores inferiores a la obidiencia que son obligados a los reyes, sus soberanos señores. [...] E porque peruertimos esta horden de obidiencia, vienen en los reynos muchas vezes las guerras que leemos pasadas, e los males que vemos presentes:* Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 309-316 (Chapter: 89).

96. The chronicle gives multiple examples of the administration of justice by Isabella and Ferdinand: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 415-424 (Chapter: 115), 428-429 (Chapter: 117), 429-434 (Chapter: 118), and also in the *Crónica incompleta de los Reyes Católicos...*: 139 (Title 14). Interestingly, the notion of royal monopoly over the administration of justice is emphasised, as the punishment doled out to those who try to take justice in their own hands demonstrates: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 441-444 (Chapter: 121). Valera also compared earlier periods of chaos with the order imposed by the Catholic Monarchs: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: 5-7 (Chapter 2).

97. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla...*: IV, 3-4 (Cortes de Madrigal de 1476, *ordenamiento* 1).

98. *Teniendo todas las condiciones de ome tirano, avía fecho en aquella çibdad muy grandes crimines et delitos:* Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 115-117 (Chapter: 35).

99. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 129-131 (Chapter: 41).



son, were criticised particularly harshly.¹⁰⁰ According to Pulgar, the father had joined the cause of the Portuguese king and made himself strong in the area, committing certain crimes, while Pedro had received numerous “criminals [...] guilty of excesses and evil deeds”.¹⁰¹ Finally, the *alcaide* of Castronuño surrendered his fortress owing to the lack of support of the Portuguese king and for his mistrust in his own people, “who had become accustomed to robberies and crimes, and thus he became worried that they would kill him following his own teachings”.¹⁰² His case was presented as an *exemplum* for the readers because division, which he considered a sin, ultimately led to disservice to the monarchs and the destruction of the kingdom:

*So the readers of this chronicle take past events as an example so they do not say, do or consent to do on anything that may lead to the division, destruction and desolation of the kingdom, which is a horrible and despicable sin that does a disservice to Our Lord.*¹⁰³

Pulgar also blamed the violence on the *alcaldes* of the region, and he explained that the return to peace had been brought about by a two-pronged approach, based on royal clemency and repression. Some surrendered their fortresses when Isabella forgave them “the mistakes and crimes that they had committed” whereas in other cases she had to pull down the fortresses.¹⁰⁴

100. I think that, although their family names do not coincide, these were father and son. Sometimes Pulgar referred to Rodrigo de Avendaño and sometimes to Pedro de Mendaña, whom he identified as “son of another *alcayde* of Castronuño”: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 115-117 (Chapter: 35), 294-301 (Chapter: 85). Joseph Pérez called him “Pedro de Avendaño” and followed his deeds as narrated in the chronicle: “he pillaged the fields without demure; local nobles and even cities paid tribute to him to avoid being sacked [...]”. He tried to justify his banditry on political grounds, declaring himself a follower of Princess Joanna”: Pérez, Joseph. *Isabel y Fernando: los Reyes Católicos*. Hondarribia: Nerea, 1997: 108.

101. Occasionally, Pulgar tries to delegitimise the rebels by talking about their bad choice of companions. He also accused María Pacheco, Countess of Medellín, and Alonso de Monroy, *clavero* of Alcántara, of surrounding themselves with war-prone men who had “bad wishes”. Pulgar defined the countess, daughter of the late Juan Pacheco, as a “daring woman” and laid much blame on her for the war: *matadores e criminosos [...] que avían cometido exçesos et malefijios*: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 361-363 (Chapter: 102).

102. *A la qual avía acostunbrado en los robos y crímines de tal manera, que vsando de la dotrina que les dió, reçelaua dellos que le matasen*: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 328-331 (Chapter: 94).

103. *E porque los que esta Corónica leyeren tomen dotrina en las cosas pasadas para las que tovieron presentes, e sepan quánto deven guardar de no ser en dicho, fecho, ni en consentimiento de división en los reynos, porque es vn pecado muy orrible e detestable, de que Nuestro Señor Dios es deservido, e los reynos donde la ay destruydos e asolados*: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 294-301 (Chapter: 85).

104. *De lo qual se imprimió tan grande miedo en todos los de aquella tierra, que ningun alcayde de toda Estremadura osó facer robo ni fuerza de las que solian facer* (“This spread such fear in the region that not a single *alcayde* in Estremadura dared resume their customary robberies and crimes”): Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 224-226 (Chapter: 68). The *alcaide* of Atienza, Pedro de Almazán, was also accused of desolating the region for the Portuguese. Palencia described Almazán as “as prone to evil” as Juan de Tovar, another member of Alphonse V’s faction: Palencia, Alonso de. *Cuarta década de Alonso de Palencia*, José López de Toro, ed. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1974: 71-72 (Chapter 9). According to Castrillo Llamas, in the late 15th century the need to regulate the operation of *alcaldías* by renewing the homage vows responded to the royal policy to instrumentalise certain sectors of the nobility. In addition



It is worth noting that Fernando de Pulgar, like Enríquez del Castillo, recorded the regret of several members of the nobility who had taken Joanna's side.¹⁰⁵ Sometimes, this was accompanied by a negative opinion of their behaviour. For instance, the Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena eventually became reconciled with the monarchs, despite their "great crimes and disservices".¹⁰⁶ Some arguments were also put forth by members of the rebel faction to justify their actions. For instance, Álvaro de Estúñiga solicited his father's pardon, claiming that his "mistake" of acting on the Portuguese side could be blamed on his stepmother, Leonor Pimentel. Disloyalty was again grounded in a moral flaw, namely Pimentel's greed, which had prompted him to take advantage of the family patriarch's old age, and so Estúñiga's father "blind with age and confounded by his wife's greed, had made the mistake, more out of blindness and drawn by his step-mother's greed than out of the duke's malice".¹⁰⁷

4. Conclusions

The foregoing analysis suggests that comparable discursive strategies were used to criticise rebellious nobles during the reigns of Henry IV and Isabella I. From an ideological perspective, comparable concepts were used in a similar way, especially to criticise aristocratic conduct: the notion of "tyranny" was recurrently used to

to taking over the *alcaldías*, the appointees also controlled certain fortresses in a regime of *tenencia*. See: Castrillo Llamas, María Concepción. "Tenencias, alcaides y fortalezas en la sociedad castellana de la Baja Edad Media. Estado de la investigación y actualización bibliográfica". *Medievalismo*, 8 (1998): 159-166.

105. It is interesting to note that, once the position of the monarchs became solid, and until the succession crisis that unfolded after Isabella's death, criticism of the high nobility disappears from the chronicles. Only Pulgar's chronicle mentions the occupation of Ponferrada by the Count of Lemos, and he is swiftly described excusing himself for disobeying the monarchs and linking his actions to a private conflict among aristocrats: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: II, 54-57 (Chapter: 143), II, 211-212 (Chapter: 183), II, 214-217 (Chapter: 195). Perhaps the disappearance of these criticisms can be related to a propaganda strategy aimed at promoting the image of order and justice.

106. Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 274-277 (Chapter: 79).

107. *El yerro que su padre, ciego de vejez y engañado por la cobdiçia de su muger, avía cometido, mayormente pues que en este yerro fué mayor la çeguedad de la cobdiçia de su madrastra que la maliçia del duque su padre*: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 179-180 (Chapter: 55). As pointed out by Barco Cebrían, Leonor had "considerable influence over her husband and his political actions". Within the family, she managed to break up the *mayorazgo* of the Zúñigas to her children's benefit; these had been born from his second marriage, so they had in principle no rights to it. This led to the animosity of the firstborn, Álvaro, towards her, which is reflected in this accusation: Barco Cebrían, Lorena C. "Las voces de mujeres medievales a través de los testamentos y los inventarios: el caso de Leonor Pimentel y Zúñiga, I Duquesa de Plasencia", *Voces de mujeres en la Edad Media: Entre realidad y ficción*, Esther Corral Díaz, ed. Berlin- Boston: De Gruyter, 2018: 128. In a similar example, Alfonso de Valencia begged forgiveness for his "mistake and ignorance", claiming to have been fooled by his father-in-law, Juan de Porras, to fight the monarchs, as we shall see below: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 221-224 (Chapter: 67). The relatives of María Sarmiento, sister of the Count of Salinas, asked for the queen's clemency, arguing that her joining the other side had been a mistake induced by her husband, the above-mentioned Juan de Ulloa, and not a reflection of her wishes: Valera, Diego de. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos...*: I, 281-286 (Chapter: 82).



characterise abuses of power and arbitrary behaviour, as were the ideas referring to the breach of the necessary subordination to the monarch: disloyalty, disservice and disobedience. However, some subtle differences can be observed. Diego Enríquez del Castillo stressed the concepts that pointed directly to the relationship between the Crown and the nobility, such as treason and ingratitude, whereas Pulgar emphasised more abstract ones that referred to the kingdom as a whole, such as division (as the opposite of union) and justice. It could be argued that Enríquez's more pessimistic attitude arose from the fact that he was no longer official chronicler during Isabella's reign, during which time he may have altered his text. Pulgar presented solutions to the strife tearing the kingdom apart, namely grounded on the monarchs' reaction, characterised by clemency and mercy.

These differences are related to the aims of both chroniclers. Enríquez, in his attempt to clear Henry IV's image, underlined the disloyalty of those closest to him whereas Pulgar tried to disseminate the image of peace and order that the Catholic Monarchs were trying to promote. In this regard, it is significant that Enríquez blamed the conflict on foreign nobles, while Pulgar was at pains to present Portuguese knights who opposed the warmongering Castilian aristocrats.

Both authors used the narration of the conflict to present their own opinions about the aristocratic state. Enríquez underlined the fact that their position and privilege was conferred by the Crown whereas Pulgar defined them on the basis of virtue and merit. Rebel nobles were represented negatively by both, and their actions as illegitimate; this attitude was often the consequence of moral flaws—wickedness and selfishness—and led to the destruction of the kingdom. Although both authors supported the position of other actors, such as the urban sectors, which backed the monarchs, Enríquez's chronicle presents a sharper distinction between the negative representation of the rebels and the positive qualities of the "good" nobles, and even the king. In contrast, in Pulgar this antagonism is not so clearly defined, perhaps because he was trying to insist on the idea of appeasement and pacification that the propaganda of the new monarchs was trying to promote.

These chroniclers also made similar use of discursive strategies to support their arguments: allocutions by different characters against the rebels, most notably the monarchs themselves and members of the Church hierarchy, from bishops to Pope Paul II, historical and biblical references, and references from the Scriptures, among others. Overall, there is a clear continuity in the discursive trends, but this seems to have come to an end once Isabella's position became consolidated and a new policy was introduced, namely to disseminate the idea of reconciliation with the nobility.

Both were royal chroniclers who were aware of their position as creators of opinion; both were also close to humanistic ideals and were heavily influenced by religion. These parallels invited the comparison of Enríquez del Castillo's and Pulgar's works, something that had not been previously done from the perspective adopted in this article. I have presented the "imagined" relationships between different political actors in two troubled periods of the late 15th century in Castile. These texts, ultimately, had a marked didactic character, which their authors, advocates of the notion of history as *magistra vitae*, wanted to leave for posterity.

