

The Fall of Granada in Hall's and Holinshed's *Chronicles*: Genesis, Propaganda, and Reception

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The fall of Granada was the culmination of the long process of Christianisation of Al-Andalus, the endpoint of a *Reconquista* whose very existence is barbed with ambiguities.¹ The significance of the fall of the last Nasrid kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula went beyond a military victory to become a cornerstone of the Spanish national identity for centuries to come, and the linchpin of the Catholic Monarchs' plans for a cultural and religious homogeneity that has in recent times been questioned and that had an impact on the idea of Spain that was postulated during Francisco Franco's regime. In part, this transcendence was shaped and perpetuated by the discourse that was created at the Christian encampment of Santa Fe in the aftermath of the surrender of the city. In this chapter, I intend to explore the genesis of the discourse that rose from the conquest of Granada and its dissemination throughout Europe before embarking on a study of its reception in England through an analysis of the accounts of the events in Granada in two of the most important chronicles written in England in the sixteenth century: Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* and Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. These texts offer a fascinating example of the reception of news from Spain in the sixteenth century, a period when Anglo-Spanish relations fluctuated between cordiality and outright animosity. They are witnesses to the impact of news in English society at this time, and show how the processes of creation and dissemination of information

1 While the term *Reconquista* has been widely used in popular and academic contexts, many scholars have raised questions regarding the suitability of the term and the actuality of the *Reconquista* itself as a historical process. See Lomax D., *The Reconquest of Spain* (London: 1978); Barbero A. – Vigil M., *Sobre los orígenes sociales de la Reconquista* (Barcelona: 1988); Linehan P., *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: 1993); Benito Ruano E., “La Reconquista: una categoría histórica e historiográfica”, *Medievalismo* 12 (2002) 91–98; O’Callaghan J.F., *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: 2003); García Fitz F., “La Reconquista: un estado de la cuestión”, *Clio & Crimen* 6 (2009) 142–215; García Fitz F. – Novoa Portela F., *Cruzados en la Reconquista* (Madrid: 2014).

ultimately created a myth that has defined the image of Spain – for better or worse – for the last five centuries.

1 The Narrative of the Granada War: Genesis and Dissemination

During the whole of their campaign against the Nasrid kingdom, which took place in the decade between 1482 and 1492, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon had been cognizant of the importance of the rapid communication of their victories to obtain approval within their own territories and also international backing;² the Granada War required a tremendous amount of resources that were, in a large part, funded by the alms collected from the papal bull that granted the conflict the status of crusade.³ The need for international support in this regard explains the emphasis to frame the conflict not as a regional dispute over territories, but rather as a holy war that transcended the boundaries of the European kingdoms and that would be determinant in the final success of the Christian side in its clash against Islam. This was apparent in the diplomatic correspondence between the Catholic Monarchs and the Pope in 1485, when Innocent VIII was reluctant to renew the papal bull; one of the arguments put forth by Isabella and Ferdinand in order to make their case before the Pope was that their efforts against Al-Andalus were not intended to enlarge their own territories but rather to expand the dominions of the Christian faith.⁴

2 There is abundant bibliography on the subject of the work of the Spanish diplomats during the Granada War, especially those in the Papal court. See Rincón González M.D., “La divulgación de la toma de Granada: objetivos, mecanismos y agentes”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 40, 2 (2010) 603–661; Benavent J., “Las relaciones italianas sobre la Conquista de Granada en el siglo XV”, *Studia aurea monográfica* 6 (2015) 103–108; Fernández de Córdoba Miralles A., “Imagen de los Reyes Católicos en la Roma pontificia”, *En la España Medieval* 28 (2005) 259–354; and Salicrú i Lluch R., “Ecos contrastados de la Guerra de Granada: difusión y seguimiento desigual en los contextos ibéricos y mediterráneo”, in Baloup D. – González Arévalo R. (eds.), *La Guerra de Granada en su contexto internacional* (Toulouse: 2017) 79–104.

3 See Goñi Gaztambide J., *Historia de la Bula de la Cruzada en España* (Vitoria: 1958); and Ladero Quesada M.A., *Castilla y la conquista del Reino de Granada* (Granada: 1987) 212.

4 Peinado Santaella R.G., “El final de la Reconquista: elegía de la derrota, exaltación del triunfo”, in García Fernández M. – González Sánchez C.A. (eds.), *Andalucía y Granada en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos* (Sevilla: 2006) 55–86, here 68. For a thorough discussion on the impact of the notion of the crusade in the Granada War, see Housley N., *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar (1274–1580)* (New York – Oxford: 1992); Edwards J., “Reconquest and Crusade in Fifteenth-Century Spain”, in Housley N. (ed.), *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century* (London: 2004) 163–181; and Tinoco García J.F., “Aproximación a la cruzada en la baja edad

In order to spread this idea, the Catholic Monarchs fostered a court that became a ‘centro difusor de una especial y enérgica correspondencia publicitaria oficial’⁵ [hub for the dissemination of a special and energetic official news post]. It created a propagandistic discourse that was disseminated successfully throughout Europe in speeches, reports, and letters heavy with ideological weight.⁶ Rafael Peinado Santaella has analysed some of the ideas that permeated the discourse of the Catholic Monarchs and that were being used with propagandistic intentions in the years leading to 1492: a religious purpose of the war, providentialism and divine help, the need for mediating prayers and thanksgiving, a negative depiction of the Muslim enemy, and finally an undisguised praise for the monarchs, who were portrayed as merciful and virtuous champions of peace.⁷

These notions originated in the immediate circle of the Catholic Monarchs, and they were routinely used to exalt their victories against Al-Andalus. Thanks to the printing press and a clever diplomatic work, this propagandistic discourse soon spread throughout Europe and achieved the intended goal, at least partially. The bull of the crusade was eventually renewed, and their victories were acknowledged and celebrated in many European courts; in England, on 6 July 1488, Henry VII wrote a letter to the Catholic Monarchs congratulating them in glowing terms for a new victory against the Saracens, and emphasizing his desire to establish stronger blood links between the Houses of Tudor and Trastámara.⁸ It was not the first time that Henry VII had lauded the labour

media peninsular: reflexiones sobre la guerra de Granada”, *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar On-line* 1, 1 (2012) 79–99.

- 5 Tinoco Díaz J.F. *La Cruzada en las fuentes cronísticas castellanas de la Guerra de Granada* (Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad de Extremadura: 2017) 684.
- 6 This use of propaganda for political purposes was not limited to the Granada campaign. Isabella and Ferdinand exerted an iron control over the narratives of their reign and appointed royal chroniclers to prevent unsanctioned negative portrayals and to spread their own propagandistic ideas. For more information on the propaganda in the reigns of the Catholic Monarchs, see Carrasco Manchado A.I., “Propaganda política en los panegíricos poéticos de los Reyes Católicos. Una aproximación”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (1995) 517–545, and “Discurso Político y propaganda en la corte de los Reyes Católicos: resultados de una primera investigación”, *En la España Medieval* 25 (2002) 299–379; Nieto Soria J.M., “Propaganda and Legitimation in Castile”, in Ellenius A. (ed.), *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford – New York: 1998) 105–119; and Ostenfeld-Suke K. von, “Writing Official History in Spain: History and Politics, c. 1474–1600”, in Rabasa J. – Sato M. – Tortarolo E. – Woolf D., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. 3: 1400–1800 (Oxford – New York: 2012) 428–448.
- 7 Peinado Santaella, “El final de la Reconquista” 69–70.
- 8 Archivo General de Simancas, PTR,LEG,52,DOC.187. It is unclear what victory was being referred to in this missive. Considering the date of Henry’s letter, it might have been the fall of Cullar or Vera, which took place in June 1488.

of Isabella and Ferdinand; according to the contemporary Spanish writer and diplomat Diego de Valera, soon after he was anointed King of England Henry

mandó pregonar paz general con toda la christiandad, espeçialmente con Francia y España; e mandó fazer proçessiones en todas las iglesias, catedrales e monesterios porque el rey don Fernando de España oviese victoria en esta sancta guerra que contra los moros tiene començada.⁹

[proclaimed peace with all Christendom, and especially with France and Spain; and he ordered a series of processions to be held in all the churches, cathedrals, and monasteries so that King Ferdinand of Spain could achieve victory in the holy war that he started against the Moors.]

In the Italian peninsula, where the whole conflict was followed with an enthusiastic concern, important triumphs like the sieges of Málaga and Baza were feasted for months.¹⁰

But victories such as those won at Málaga, Baza, or Almería paled in comparison to the impact of the fall of Granada on the European population. From the start, this event was presented as a reversal of the fortunes of a Christendom that still reeled from the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the growing threat of the Ottoman empire,¹¹ and the publicity campaign that spread the news throughout Europe was instrumental to lift the morale of the population.¹² Some of the earliest accounts of the end of the Granada War were private epistles by Spanish and foreign eyewitnesses, who described the events with varying degrees of accuracy and according to the role they had played in them.¹³ But for the purposes of this study, though, the most important narratives are those that were created by the diplomatic corps of the Catholic Monarchs. These documents range from personal missives from Ferdinand and Isabella to representatives of the Church and civil government throughout the Peninsula,

9 Valera Diego de, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid: 1927) 214–215. Apparently, this information was given to him by some Spanish merchants that had been in England during the Battle of Bosworth Field, which de Valera describes in detail in his letters to the Catholic Monarchs. See Valera Diego de, *Epístolas de Mosén Diego de Valera* (Madrid: 1878) 91–94.

10 Paolini D., “Los Reyes Católicos e Italia”, in Salvador Miguel N. – Moya García C. (eds.), *La literatura en la época de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid – Frankfurt am Main: 2008) 189–205; and Benavent, “Las relaciones italianas”.

11 Rincón González, “La divulgación de la toma de Granada” 604.

12 Tinoco Díaz, “La Cruzada en las fuentes cronísticas” 685.

13 Some of these letters, like a missive from Bernardo del Roi to the Venetian *Signoria*, have been gathered in Garrido Atienza M., *Las capitulaciones para la entrega de Granada* (Granada: 1910).

to dispatches intended for foreign courts. Some of the letters that have survived – which include those that Ferdinand wrote to the Pope,¹⁴ to the bishop of León,¹⁵ and to the cities of Córdoba and Barcelona¹⁶ – contain similar details on the conquest and the whole process of *Reconquista*: they start with a thanksgiving, a brief reference to the date of the surrender of the city, an allusion to the blood and suffering of the Christian armies throughout the campaign, a remark on the seven hundred and eighty years of Muslim presence in Spain, and the acknowledgement of the help of his subjects and the Catholic Church in this monumental enterprise.

It is possible that these letters accompanied lengthier reports of the fall of Granada, because soon afterwards some texts appeared providing more specific details about the conquest of the city. Of special relevance are the relations that were written in Italy only a few months after the events:¹⁷ arguably the most remarkable of these texts is Carlo Verardi's *Historia Baetica*, a dramatization of the fall of the city performed in the festivities that were organized in Rome by pro-Spain agents in the Papal court to commemorate the victory of the Catholic Monarchs.¹⁸ Two of the most prominent organisers were the bishops of Badajoz and Astorga, Bernardino López de Carvajal and Juan Ruiz de Medina, ambassadors of the Catholic Monarchs in the Papal court. M.D. Rincón González has identified several documents that place these two bishops and protonotaries at the centre of the propaganda machinery in Rome, and at the origin of the account of the fall of Granada that circulated throughout Europe in the following years:¹⁹ two of these documents are Latin summaries and one is a French text titled *La très célébrable digne de mémoire et victorieuse prise de la cité de Grenade*.²⁰

14 Torre A. de la, "Los Reyes Católicos y Granada: relaciones y convenios con Boabdil de 1483 a 1489", *Hispania: revista española de historia* 16 (1944) 339–382, here 305.

15 Garrido Atienza, *Las capitulaciones* 313.

16 Durán y Lerchundi J., *La toma de Granada y los caballeros que concurrieron en ella*, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1893) here vol. 1, 136–167, and vol. 2, 657.

17 For more information about these texts, see Benavent, "Las relaciones italianas".

18 See Cruziani F., *Teatro nel Rinascimento. Roma 1450–1550* (Roma: 1983); and Rincón González M.D., *Historia Baetica de Carlo Verardi (drama humanístico sobre la toma de Granada)* (Granada: 1992).

19 Rincón González, "La divulgación de la toma de Granada".

20 The Latin summaries are included in two manuscripts held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich: BSB Clm 461 (fols. 273r–275v), and Clm 14053 (fols. 44r–45r). The date of Ms. Clm 461 is unknown, but Ms. Clm 14053 has been dated to 1497–1524. The French text has survived in at least three incunabula, two printed by Jehan Trepperel (Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, Rothschild 3382 (2431 a); and London, British Library IA. 40395); and one by Guillaume le Rouge (Paris, BnF, RES-Ye-1154 (7)). Both incunabula were printed in 1492.

The Latin summaries are part of two miscellaneous manuscripts copied by Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), a German humanist and physician who wrote the *Nuremberg Chronicle*.²¹ According to Rincón González, the two summaries were translated into Latin by different persons, but they share a common hypotext.²² They are relatively brief, but they give a detailed description of the fall of Granada. *La très célébrable* is a newsletter, or relation of events. This type of texts were short printed accounts of events that disseminated quickly throughout Europe on account of what Henry Ettinghausen calls 'news networks'.²³ They were a popular genre in the Europe of the late fifteenth century, and indispensable for the quick communication of news, including the campaign against Al-Andalus.

The three documents contain very similar and thorough descriptions of the fall of Granada: first of all, they trace the source of the information back to the bishops of Astorga and Badajoz, Juan Ruiz de Medina and Bernardino López de Carvajal;²⁴ in *La très célébrable*, the anonymous translator explains that the text was the rendition into French of a longer Latin summary that was originally derived from the bishops' correspondence.²⁵

21 See Rincón González, "La divulgación de la toma de Granada" 609.

22 Rincón González, "La divulgación de la toma de Granada" 613. The one in Ms. Clm 14053 is a less detailed rendition of the account.

23 Ettinghausen H., "Relaciones internacionales: las relaciones de sucesos, un fenómeno paneuropeo", in García López J. – Boadas Cabarrocas S. (coord.), *Las relaciones de sucesos en los cambios políticos y sociales de la Europa Moderna* (Barcelona: 2015) 13–27.

24 The introduction in *La très célébrable* gives a more comprehensive information about the genesis of the text and its transmission than the Latin summaries, both of which merely refer to the work of the *oratores* in the creation of the letters from which the summary derives. The actual role of the protonotaries in the creation of the account is ambiguous: the Latin summaries and *La très célébrable* place the composition of the letters at Granada on 10 January 1492. However, as ambassadors in Rome, it is unlikely that López de Carvajal and Ruiz de Medina were in Granada on that date: Juan Ruiz de Medina was one of the signatories of the Capitulations of Granada on 30 December 1491, but it appears that he was not there in person, and that he was informed by eyewitnesses of what was happening in the city. See Fernández de Córdoba Miralles A., "Juan Ruiz de Medina, obispo, embajador, asistente de la Inquisición y presidente de la Chancillería de Valladolid", in *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, vol. 44 (Madrid: 2013) 784–786, here 785. Perhaps the most notable of his informants was the historian Alfonso de Palencia, who wrote his *Epístola ad Johannem Episcopum Astoricensem de bello Granatensi* for Ruiz de Medina in order to update him on the last episodes of the Granada War up to 2 January 1492. See Palencia Alfonso de, *Epístolas latinas*, ed. and trans. R.B. Tate – R. Alemany Ferrer (Barcelona: 1982).

25 Presumably, this Latin text is the hypotext of the summaries included in manuscripts BSB Clm 14053 and 461.

The three texts follow this introduction with a brief overview of the events immediately before the surrender of the city, and how the inhabitants of Granada were suffering because of Ferdinand's siege, which had started in May 1491. Seeing that they would not receive outside help to break the siege, the king and the inhabitants agreed to surrender the city to the King of Spain, who met with an embassy from Granada to negotiate the terms. Both sides finally consented to the terms of surrender on 25 November 1491. King Boabdil – who is never mentioned by name in these documents – did not wait the sixty days that he had been given for the surrender of the city and the towers and fortresses of the Alpujarras, and on 1 January 1492 he sent a group of six hundred hostages to Santa Fe in a show of good will. Two days later Gutierre de Cárdenas, great Master of the Order of Saint James and governor of the city of Leon, departed to Granada accompanied by five hundred mounted men and three hundred footmen. According to these texts, they were received by brave captains of the Saracen army, who led them to the palace of Alixares and then to the Alhambra. There, Gutierre de Cárdenas took possession of the royal palace in the name of the king and received the keys to the Alhambra. The documents also recount the ceremonies that took place immediately after the entrance of the Spanish detachment in Granada: Gutierre de Cárdenas ordered the Cross and the pennon of the Order of Saint James to be lifted over the city, and then a *Te deum* was sung by three Spanish bishops. Afterwards, a herald pronounced a brief speech followed by the fire of cannons. Later, the texts narrate how seven hundred Christian slaves left Granada for Santa Fe, and how King Ferdinand provided for their clothing and food. The following day, 4 January 1492, the Count of Tendilla (Íñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones) received the keys to the Alhambra, and three days later, on Saturday 7 of January, the Catholic Monarchs and their host set foot in Granada for the first time. The Latin and French texts identify some of the bishops and noblemen that entered Granada with Ferdinand and Isabella, and they also specify that the monarchs were accompanied by ten thousand mounted soldiers and fifty thousand footmen.

This was the information that circulated throughout Europe, helped by an intelligent and effective diplomatic work and the printing press.²⁶ It was the

26 The information regarding the dissemination of the news from Granada and the celebrations – or lack thereof – in other European countries is surprisingly scarce given the importance of the event. Apart from the work by Rincón González, Benavent, Fernández de Córdova Miralles, or Salicrú about the reception of the news in Italy (cited in footnote 2), there is – to my knowledge – no other study delving into the reception of the news in other contemporary courts. However, the French pamphlet and Schedel's Latin summaries suggest that at the very least there was an interest in France and in the Holy Roman

basis of Carlo Verardi's *Historia Baetica* and other Italian summaries, and it surfaced in France and Germany in different forms, eventually reaching England. The narrative of the story in the English historiographical texts changed during the sixteenth century, from the terse descriptions in the *Chronicles of London* and the works by Robert Fabyan and John Stow, to the long and thought-provoking accounts in Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* and Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, which draw from the version of the events included in *La très célébrable*. Hall's and Holinshed's texts, written decades after the events in Granada took place, show how the religious rift that grew between Spain and England during the sixteenth century tinged the reception of the news in England, and how the image of the Catholic Monarchs and their victory over Al-Andalus developed during this time of radical shift in the relations between England and Spain.

2 The Fall of Granada in the English Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century

The impact of the news from Granada was felt throughout the Christendom. Celebrations accompanied the dissemination of the news throughout Europe and, even though they were not as extravagant as those in the Italian Peninsula,²⁷ the ceremonies in England showed that the English people also participated in the general revelling. On 6 April 1492 there was in London a gathering of the secular and religious nobility and the civic representatives of the city at St. Paul's Cross, where John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England, pronounced an oration announcing the victory of the Catholic Monarchs over Al-Andalus, providing details about the development of the fall of Granada. The assembly sang a *Te Deum* and proceeded to celebrate a solemn procession. This event was chronicled, with varying degrees of detail, in several historiographical documents published in England in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Empire at the time, and it is very possible that there are other European chronicles that include references to the fall of Granada in similar terms. Further research is needed to provide a more extensive survey.

27 Sigismondo di Conti, an eyewitness, described Rome at the moment of the celebration as literally aflame with joy. The festivities, which took place during the carnival, included bullfighting, *ludi equestri*, a masquerade, and a performance of Verardi's *Historia Baetica*. See Cruziani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento* 233–234.

The first historiographical accounts to report the fall of Granada in England were the London chronicles,²⁸ anonymous historiographical accounts that described the most important events in English history with an emphasis on the city of London and those events that shaped the civic life of its medieval inhabitants.²⁹ One of the manuscripts of the *Chronicles of London* – London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Vitellius A xvi, dating from the early sixteenth century – includes a paragraph that mentions the speech by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he described ‘how the king of Spayn had conquered the Cyte and Contre of Grenade’.³⁰ But the main focus of this brief entry is the ceremony that took place at St. Paul’s Cathedral, more specifically at St. Paul’s choir door. No details from the campaign in Granada transpire, probably because it was the fact that the fall of Granada was celebrated in London which prompted the inclusion of this entry in these early sixteenth-century chronicles.³¹

Another chronicle to include a mention to Granada is Robert Fabyan’s *The New Chronicles of England and France* (1516). There is an extremely succinct

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- 28 Much like in the case of Europe, there is hardly any information regarding the reception and dissemination of these news in England at the time of the Catholic Monarchs and during Henry VIII’s reign, and, as I shall explain below, the historiographical references to these events are very succinct until Hall’s *Chronicle*. However, there are two brief notes that describe the fall of Granada and the London celebrations in two miscellaneous manuscripts copied in 1492–1493 by the Augustinian canon William Wymondham, of Kirby Bellars Priory: Cambridge, Trinity College 1144 (O.2.40), and Lincoln’s Inn Library Ms. Hale 73(68). See Britton D., “Manuscripts Associated with Kirby Bellars Priory”, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6, 5 (1976) 267–284; and Mooney L. *The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XI: Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Woodbridge – Rochester: 2007). Their early date of composition could make them the earliest extant English accounts of the events, but due to the idiosyncratic character of these two notes and their uncertain origin, they will be analysed in a future publication.
- 29 See Kingsford C.L., *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: 1913; reprint New York: 1960), and *Chronicles of London* (Oxford: 1905); Gransden A., *Historical Writing in England II: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London – New York: 1996; reprint London: 2000); McLaren M.-R., *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Cambridge: 2002); and Herman P., “Henrician Historiography and the Voice of the People: The Cases of More and Hall”, *Text Studies in Literature and Language* 39, 3 (1997) 259–283.
- 30 Kingsford, “Chronicles” 197. All quotations from the Early Modern chronicles retain the original spelling and punctuation, but all abbreviations have been silently expanded.
- 31 Along the same lines, Steven Gunn argues that the battle of Lepanto was included in Holinshed’s *Chronicle* because of its tremendous impact and also because its celebration in London, akin to the one held in April 1492, ‘made it in a sense an event in English history’. Gunn S., “The International Context”, in Kewes P. – Archer I.W. – Heal F. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed’s Chronicles* (Oxford: 2013) 459–474, here 467.

allusion to the fall of the city in the second edition, printed by William Rastell in 1533, but, unlike the *Chronicles of London*, without any reference to the London celebration, perhaps because the scope of this work is broader.³²

It was not until Edward Hall's *Chronicle* that the episodes that led to the fall of Granada and subsequent London celebration are narrated in depth by English historiographers. Edward Hall (1497–1547) was a lawyer and civil servant, serving as common serjeant and under-sheriff of London, as well as a Member of Parliament on a number of occasions.³³ His chronicle of the reigns of the kings of England from Henry IV to Henry VIII was published posthumously in 1548 by the printer Richard Grafton, who had received the unfinished manuscript from Hall himself. There were later reprints, with some additions and modifications by Grafton.

Hall's *Chronicle* was published and reprinted during the reign of Edward VI, who, together with the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, proved to be much more scrupulous than his father had been in the total replacement of the traditional (Catholic) religious practice from the Church of England.³⁴ Prompted by the ongoing political and religious climate, an important part of the publications printed at the time were of an anti-Catholic character,³⁵ but while Hall's *Chronicle* represents what Peter Berek calls an "assertive Protestantism and [...] an emerging sense of English national identity", it does not share the anti-Catholic stance present in other contemporary works.³⁶ From this perspective, Hall's account of the victory of the Catholic Monarchs over Al-Andalus and its celebration in London elicits intriguing readings.

In his entry for the year 1492, Hall embarks on a long and detailed narration of the fall of Granada. The story as recounted by Hall has two clearly distinguished spatial and temporal frameworks: the first one is St. Paul's Cathedral in London, on 6 April 1492; the second, Granada and the Christian encampment of Santa Fe on the first days of January of the same year. The lengthiest narrative concerns the events in Spain, but it is conceived as a story embedded within the London scene: Hall starts by describing how King Henry VII

32 'And in thys yere was the cyte of Garnad gotten by ye king of Spayn'. Fabyan Robert, *The New Chronicles of England and France: In Two Parts*, ed. H. Ellis (London: 1811) 684.

33 Dillon J., *Performance and Spectacle in Hall's Chronicle* (London: 2002) 2.

34 See MacCulloch D., *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603* (New York: 1990); and Walsham A., *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: 2006).

35 See King J.N., *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: 1982); and Davies C., *A Religion of the Word: The Defence of the Reformation in the Reign of Edward VI* (Manchester – New York: 2002).

36 Berek P., "Tragedy and Title Pages: Nationalism, Protestantism, and Print", *Modern Philology* 101, 1 (2008) 1–24, here 4.

had 'commaunded all the nobilite of his realme, to assemble at the Cathedral church of saincte Paule in London'.³⁷ A *Te deum* was sung, and then the Archbishop of Canterbury, acting as a sort of narrator, began his account of the downfall of the Kingdom of Granada, 'which many yeres had bene possessed of the Moores or Mawritane nacion, being infidels and vnchristened people'.³⁸ At this point Hall introduces the same narrative that is present in *La très célébrable* and in the two Latin summaries copied by Hartmann Schedel. It appears that Hall had access to the pamphlet directly, or at least that he used a text derived from it, because the account in his chronicle is closer to the French pamphlet than to the Latin summaries.³⁹

While the text in Hall's *Chronicle* is almost a word-for-word rendition of *La très célébrable*, there is a significant difference between the French pamphlet and the English chronicle: the English text lacks the introduction where the anonymous French translator describes the origin of the text. The absence of such a vital piece of information, one that gives credibility to the whole account by tracing it back to Granada and the immediate circle of the Catholic Monarchs, is indicative of the arduous process of textual dissemination of the news in the sixteenth century. It can be explained in two ways: either the introduction had been removed from Hall's immediate source, or he himself decided against including it in his *Chronicle*. The fact that the source material was so close to the Catholic Monarchs is celebrated in the French pamphlet as a sign of its own accuracy and historiographical relevance. However, its absence in the English text could indicate that Hall – or Richard Grafton as the editor – had some reservations regarding the sources. On the one hand, the narrative in *La très célébrable* does present a one-sided perspective on the conflict that does not encompass the point of view of the vanquished side (even if it is mostly magnanimous towards it). On the other hand, in their condition as Spanish bishops, the sources were so clearly identified as Roman Catholic

37 Hall Edward, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (London: 1809) 453; Hall's work will be referred to as 'Hall, *Chronicle*'.

38 Hall, *Chronicle* 453.

39 There are several textual characteristics that connect Hall's text directly with *La très célébrable*: Hall erroneously transcribes the name of the place where the Christians celebrated the first Mass in Granada as 'Melchira', derived from the 'Melchita' of the French text, which is also a corruption of the word 'mesquita' that correctly denominates the Mosque in the Latin summaries. However, when later on *La très célébrable* introduces the appropriate term 'Meschita', Hall follows the French text and writes 'Meschita' as well. As for the name of one of the palaces in Granada, Hall's version 'Anaxares' is closer to the 'Anxares' in the French text, whereas in Clm 461 the same is transcribed as 'Alixares'. The summary in Ms. Clm 14053 does not make any reference to this palace, which fits with its general tendency to avoid some of the most specific details of the narrative.

that they might not have been considered recommendable authorities in Edwardian England. Either Hall or Grafton could have been cognizant of the opinions this fact might have raised among their English public.

Nevertheless, this approach would go against Hall's stance regarding the source materials that he used in his work; his respect for his sources and his desire to identify them supports, according to Sandra Logan, 'Hall's legitimacy as an historian'. It is for this reason that the most plausible explanation for the lack of information pointing to the origin of the narrative is that his immediate source did not include it.

Whether by design or not, the result of the loss of the introduction has an effect on the reader's perception of his text: the way in which the narrative of Granada is inserted within the description of the celebrations in London implies that the origin of the information is the declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury. If *La très célébrable* framed the account within the authority of its sources, Hall framed it within the authority of the person pronouncing the discourse and the significance of the place from which he spoke.⁴⁰

Apart from the loss of the introductory material and the inclusion of the scene in London, there are some divergencies that reveal Hall's own position regarding the interests of the people and the importance of civic representatives and royal counsellors. As discussed in Part 1, in *La très célébrable* the narration begins in a besieged Granada where the inhabitants and the king discuss a possible surrender, and notes that the decision to surrender the city was a consensual one, taken by Boabdil and his people in apparently equal terms;⁴¹ however, the decision of the Spanish side lies only on Ferdinand. Hall introduces slight but important modifications regarding this in his own chronicle: firstly, he removes Boabdil from the negotiations in Granada, effectively giving the sole agency of the decision to the population.⁴² Secondly, he curtails some of Ferdinand's own role in the agreement by stating that it was the king *and* his counsellors who considered the terms, and that Ferdinand finally

40 Although it was mostly used for religious sermons, St. Paul's Cross was also a public space to celebrate or make important announcements, usually of news that had a significant repercussion on the English population. On the importance of St. Paul's Cross in the religious controversies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Shagan E., *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: 2003), and Morrissey M., *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford – New York: 2011).

41 '[L]es ditz roy et habitans de la dicte cite parlementerent et consulterent entre eulx ce quels auoient a faire'. BNF RES-Ye-1154 (7), fol. A i v.

42 This idea goes against historical evidence of the events, which suggest that Boabdil kept his dealings with the Catholic Monarchs in secret so as not to incite a popular revolt. See Pescador del Hoyo M.C., "Cómo fue de verdad la toma de Granada, a la luz de un documento inédito", *Al-Andalus* 20, 2 (1955) 283–344.

consented to the surrender 'by the aduysse of his counsayll'.⁴³ This expression substitutes the original 'par diuine clemence' and readjusts the power balance between God and the political sphere shown in the French text, perhaps in an attempt to take it closer to the English context. Although Hall omits some of the details about the military clashes that continued taking place during the negotiations, he keeps the reasons that led Ferdinand to accept the terms of surrender, namely a desire to alleviate the suffering of his host after a terrible winter and to prevent a bloodbath, and the innumerable riches inside the city. This paints Ferdinand as a reasonable king, both for considering the well-being of his soldiers and for observing his counsellors' advice.

The few divergences between Hall's *Chronicle* and *La très célébrable* are usually small omissions in the English text, but on occasion Hall expands on the original material: perhaps the most relevant is the introduction of a brief reference to the existence of Englishmen among the Spanish noblemen who entered Granada with the Catholic Monarchs listed in the French text: 'The erle of Capre, the erle of Vinenna of Cifuentes, and many other Erles, Barones and nobles, *whereof some were Englishmen, whose names I haue not*'.⁴⁴ This deviation from the source material seems to be an attempt to bring the subject matter closer to his English readers. Hall does not identify any of the English knights who had joined the war against the Nasrid kingdom of Granada in the name of the crusade, perhaps because their names are not recorded in any chronicle or document of the time.⁴⁵ It is remarkable that Hall admits that he does not have information regarding the participation of his own countrymen, something that further underlines the foreign origin of his source of information.

After his account of the events in Granada, Hall returns to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the celebration in London. According to Hall, Henry VII had summoned the nobility to celebrate the victory over the Muslims in Granada because it 'was to the glory of God, and to the publique wealth of all Christianite'.⁴⁶ The event finally ends with a general procession and with the

43 Hall, *Chronicle* 453.

44 My emphasis. Hall, *Chronicle* 455.

45 The most renowned English knight in the Granada War was sir Edward Woodville, brother-in-law to Edward IV. He distinguished himself in the field of battle, and his heroic deeds and relationship with Edward IV granted him a visit from Queen Isabella herself and the recognition in several Spanish chronicles. See Durán y Lerchundi J., *La Toma de Granada* 21–22; and Benito Ruano E., "Un cruzado inglés en la guerra de Granada", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 9 (1974–1979) 585–594. Hall himself dedicates some lines to him when he describes how he went to France with a group of soldiers, contravening royal orders and risking the diplomatic relations between countries. Hall, *Chronicle* 439–440.

46 *Ibidem* 455.

'laudes and prayings to almighty God' that the King had exhorted them to perform. This colophon may explain Hall's interest in the fall of Granada: unlike the London chronicles that were popular at the beginning of the sixteenth century and that influenced his own career as a historian, Hall not only focused on local affairs, but also drew his attention to foreign events. In his own introduction to the life of Henry IV, Hall decries the 'intestine deuision [...] ciuill discencion [...] domestical discord & vnnaturall controuersy' that had afflicted European regions such as Italy, France, Scotland, Germany, or Denmark. He attributes the rise of 'the Turke', a threat that loomed wide in the Europe of the sixteenth century, to the internal divisions in the Christendom.⁴⁷ In such a fraught scenario, the victory exerted over the Muslim enemy by two kingdoms united by marriage and by an unshakeable Christian faith could very well serve as a wakening call for other European princes. Thus, the introduction of a favourable narrative of their victory in Granada and the praise towards them, and especially towards Ferdinand, fulfils the double purpose that Logan attributes to Hall's historical writing: 'to immortalize the actions of the figures of the past, and to make them available as *exempla* for the present and future'.⁴⁸

But not all English historians shared this view, and the positive image of the Catholic Monarchs and the events in Granada that is presented in Hall's *Chronicle* was received in later times with the caution brought by the temporal distance, the religious differences, and the political conflicts that separated the Spain of the Catholic Monarchs from Elizabethan England. The growing hostilities between both countries can be seen in the reporting of the fall of Granada in the two editions of another cornerstone of the historiography of the time, Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland*.⁴⁹

Holinshed's *Chronicles* were almost from the start a collective endeavour: they were in origin a project by Reyner Wolfe, but after his death, Raphael Holinshed continued his work with the help of Edmund Campion, Richard

47 Ibidem 1.

48 Logan S., *Text/Events* 191. Also on this subject, see Gransden, *Historical Writing* 476.

49 The literature on Holinshed's *Chronicle* has tended to revolve around the influence that it exerted on Shakespeare's plays. For some studies that focus on the characteristics of the *Chronicle* as a historiographical work, its editors, and its textual history, see Donno E.S., "Some Aspects of Shakespeare's 'Holinshed'", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 50, 3 (1987) 229–248; Kelen S.A., "It is dangerous (gentle reader): Censorship, Holinshed's *Chronicle*, and the Politics of Control", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, 3 (1996) 705–720; Patterson A., *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago – London: 1994); Zaller R., "King, Commons, and Commonwealth in Holinshed's *Chronicles*", *Albion* 34, 3 (2002) 371–390; Djorjevic I., *Holinshed's Nation. Ideals, Memory, and Practical Policy in the Chronicles* (London: 2010); and Kewes P. – Archer I.W. – Heal F. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: 2013).

Stanihurst, and William Harrison. The religious differences between the four men – Campion and Stanihurst were Roman Catholics, whereas Holinshed and Harrison were Protestants of varying degrees of fervour – did not preclude them from writing a work whose main aspiration was ‘unbiased truth’.⁵⁰ The result was a text, printed in 1577, that managed to strike a balance between comprehensiveness and readability and whose editors showed ‘sufficient sense of order not to encumber [the] text with entirely extraneous trivia’.⁵¹ Perhaps in an attempt to maintain that balance – the events that took place in Granada in early 1492 were of crucial importance for the society of the time, but they were foreign to English readers in a very literal sense – the account of the fall of Granada was quite brief, and close to the London chronicles both in its neutral approach to the Catholic Monarchs and in the information provided: the 1577 text includes no details of the actual events in Spain and, interestingly, it misses some of the details of the London celebration, like the Archbishop of Canterbury and his sermon, or the solemn procession in London

But this changes dramatically in the second edition of the chronicle: the text that was published in 1587 departed in many ways from the 1577 edition.⁵² It was more inclusive, containing materials from a higher number of sources, and the influence of the new editorial syndicate – formed by Abraham Fleming as general editor, John Hooker, John Stow, and Francis Thynne – gave it a prominent Protestant leaning.⁵³ For this reason, the narrative of the fall of Granada sits at an uncomfortable position in Holinshed’s *Chronicle* yet again, this time between the desire to include episodes of international magnitude and the anti-Catholic sentiments of several of the members of the syndicate. It was not easy to reconcile both positions, and the account of the fall of Granada as edited by Abraham Fleming is a curious example of the enduring power of the propagandistic discourse that originated in Granada and its ambiguous reception in Protestant England.

The narrative of the surrender of Granada in the 1587 text is a complete reworking of the 1577 edition; Fleming removes the original paragraph and substitutes it with a quotation from John Stow’s 1580 work *The Chronicles of England*. Stow’s text also provides a brief description of the ceremony at Saint Paul’s, but, unlike Holinshed’s first edition, it does mention John Morton;

50 Logan, *Text/Events* 201.

51 Levy F.J., *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, CA: 1967; reprint Toronto: 2004) 185.

52 See Logan, *Text/Events* 199; and Woodcock M., “Narrative Voice and Influencing the Reader”, in Kewes P. – Archer I.W. – Heal F. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed’s Chronicles* (Oxford: 2013) 337–353.

53 See Marshall P., “Religious Ideology”, in Kewes P. – Archer I.W. – Heal F. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed’s Chronicles* (Oxford: 2013) 411–426.

however, he is no longer the Archbishop of Canterbury but only 'Doctour Morton Chauncelour'.⁵⁴ The removal of a symbol that could be linked to Roman Catholicism is understandable given the time when both texts were conceived, and Fleming's own religious preferences could explain why he chose Stow's version over any other: Fleming has been described as an 'extreme Protestant', and he openly expressed his wish to have all Papists rooted out and slain.⁵⁵ But he was also a self-avowed champion of objectivity, and his desire to incorporate as many details as possible on the episodes in the chronicle regularly led him to use source materials that he did not totally endorse.⁵⁶ This created tensions within the text, because in those cases where he saw himself in the obligation of using a suspicious source, he interjected short cautionary comments that work to modulate the narrative and that assert his own voice as a historian. This was his approach in the case of the Granada events: after introducing the material from Stow's chronicle, Fleming turns to Hall for the description of the main Spanish episodes, possibly because it was the most complete narrative of the fall of Granada that was available to him. He quotes Hall's entire account, including the celebration in London, but he makes sure that his readers understand his reasons:

But because it is requisite and necessarie in this ample volume, to set downe the report of accidents as they are to be found at large in our owne English writers: you shall heare for the furtherance of your knowledge in this matter concerning Granado, what Ed. Hall hath left noted in his chronicle. Which although it containe diuerse actions of superstition, and popish trumperie: yet should it not offend the reader, considering that a people estranged from the true knowledge of God and sincere religion put the same in practise, as supposing principall holinesse to consist in that blind deuotion.⁵⁷

54 Stow John, *The chronicles of England from Brute vnto this present yeare of Christ. 1580* (London, Ralph Neuberie at the assignment of Henrie Bynneman: 1580) 866.

55 Dodson S.C., "Abraham Fleming, Writer and Editor", *The University of Texas Studies in English*, 34 (1955) 51–66, here 54 and 55.

56 See Woodcock, "Narrative Voice"; and Summerson H., "Sources: 1587", in Kewes P. – Archer I.W. – Heal F. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: 2013) 77–92.

57 This quotation from the Holinshed's *Chronicles* has been taken from the online editions prepared by The Holinshed Project team, at <http://english.nsms.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/>. The volume and page numbers are those provided in their edition. I have replaced all instances of long 's' for round 's'. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, vol. 6 (1587) 772.

The 'diuerse actions of superstition, and popish trumperie' are not enough to discourage Fleming from including Hall's account in its entirety, without any modifications that might have tempered the propagandistic discourse that still permeates the text. In fact, Fleming's ultimate, if begrudging, endorsement of this particular narrative attests to the effectiveness of this propagandistic resource and its pervasiveness in the European culture of the time. His criticism is not addressed to the figures of Ferdinand and Isabella, the paragons of Roman Catholicism; it is the ceremonies that he deplores for being superstitious, not their victory. Furthermore, Fleming seems to excuse them and what he considers as falsehoods on account of their ultimate lack of knowledge of the (his) true religion.⁵⁸ His relatively mild response to the Catholic ceremonies displayed in the narrative might be related to another propagandistic agenda, this time by the Elizabethan government: in early 1587, before the publication of the second edition, the Privy Council asked for the chronicle to be censored in order to make it less anti-Catholic. According to Cyndia Clegg,

the changes the censors made in the text show that they were concerned less about the Chronicles' effect on Elizabeth's loyal subjects than on an international audience. Here censorship and propaganda seek to project an image of the English government designed to calm diplomatic waters and quiet international Catholic critics.⁵⁹

58 Fleming seems to have checked his own religious bias regarding other important events involving Catholic armies. As an example, the narrative of the Battle of Lepanto, another landmark victory of Roman Catholicism against Islam included in both editions of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, does not elicit a response from Abraham Fleming. Even though the description of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by the Holy League follows a similar pattern to the account of the fall of Granada in the 1587 edition (including almost identical celebrations in London), Fleming does not include any interjections, perhaps because none of the festivities in Spain or in other countries are recounted. This further suggests that it was the ostentatious character of the celebrations in Granada that might have merited his disapproval. See Holinshed, *Chronicles*, vol. 4 (1577) 1860–1861; and vol. 6 (1587) 1226–1227. In the account of another resounding victory of the Spanish Empire included in both editions of Holinshed's *Chronicles* – the Battle of Saint Quentin, with the participation of a large contingent of English soldiers – there is a direct criticism against Queen Mary I of England and her husband Philip II. However, it predates Fleming's role as general editor, and it does not involve religious matters, instead focusing on the negative consequences that this battle had for England. See Holinshed, *Chronicles*, vol. 4 (1577) 1767–1769; and vol. 6 (1587) 1133–1134.

59 Clegg C.S., "Censorship and Propaganda", in Doran S. – Jones N. (eds.), *The Elizabethan World* (London – New York: 2014) 165–181, here 169.

We do not know if the account of the fall of Granada was the result of the censorship of the Privy Council, but this positive account of one of the most important victories against Islam would probably work to appease Catholic critics better than the terse version included in the 1577 edition. At the same time, Fleming's comments place the editorial team squarely on the Protestant side and himself as a conscientious historian.

3 Conclusion

The impact that the fall of the last Muslim kingdom in the Iberian Peninsula had on the European public of the time relied on the fact that it was not considered as a local matter, but rather an enterprise that concerned the whole Christendom. The work of propaganda that was promoted under the auspices of the Catholic Monarchs was extensive and multi-tiered: on the one hand, the diplomatic networks led by the Spanish ambassadors in Rome created an account of the episodes leading to and resulting in the taking of Granada that was favourable to Spanish interests. On the other hand, the multiple festivities that were organized by foreign courts throughout Europe – from the unassuming English ceremony to the raucous Roman one – also served to imprint the victory of the Catholic Monarchs in the memory of many European citizens. Both propagandistic strategies coalesce in Early Modern historiographical texts such as Hall's and Holinshed's. In his chronicle, Edward Hall provides a comprehensive narration of the taking of Granada that is presented without acknowledging its source, but which is ultimately based on Spanish propagandistic reports. His description of the celebration in London opens a window to view the relation between the crowns of England and Spain at the end of the fifteenth century. Conversely, the two editions of Holinshed's *Chronicle* are an example of the shifting perspectives on the fall of Granada, whose narrative adapted to the mindsets of different times and places without ever detracting from the impact that it had even in sixteenth-century England.

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