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England in the Work of Diego de Valera (1412-1488)

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Abstract

Diego de Valera (1412-1488) was a scholar and diplomat in the service of the Juan II, Enrique IV, and the Catholic Monarchs in fifteenth-century Castile. Although his *specula principis*, chronicles and epistles have been much studied from a historical and historiographical point of view, no work to date has focused on their references to England. The extracts that in them relate to the English court and nobility will be selected and analysed here, with the aim of clarifying what aspects of the geography, monarchy and courtly customs of fifteenth-century England became known to the Castilian aristocracy through De Valera's work. They also first reveal details about his diplomatic embassy to England in 1442. This BA Dissertation intends to contribute an unexplored chapter of the historical and cultural relations between Castile and England during the 1400s.

Keywords: Diego de Valera (1412-1488), England, *specula principis*, chronicles, epistles, fifteenth century

Resumen

Diego de Valera (1412-1488) fue un diplomático y erudito al servicio de Juan II, Enrique IV e Isabel y Fernando en la Castilla del siglo XV. Aunque sus *specula principis*, crónicas y epístolas han sido ampliamente estudiadas desde el punto de vista histórico e historiográfico, no ha habido ningún estudio que se haya centrado en sus referencias a Inglaterra. Aquí, se seleccionarán y analizarán aquellas citas en las que la Corte y nobleza inglesas sean mencionadas con el fin de esclarecer qué aspectos de la geografía, monarquía y costumbres cortesanas de la Inglaterra del siglo XV llegaron a ser conocidas por la aristocracia castellana por las obras de De Valera. Estas citas revelan por primera vez detalles sobre su embajada diplomática en Inglaterra en 1442. Este proyecto de fin de grado tiene como objetivo aportar un capítulo inexplorado de las relaciones histórico-culturales entre Castilla e Inglaterra durante el siglo XV.

Palabras clave: Diego de Valera (1412-1488), Inglaterra, *specula principis*, crónicas, epístolas, siglo XV

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Introduction

The present dissertation, *England in the Work of Diego de Valera (1412-1488)*, belongs to the field of Anglo-Spanish historical-cultural relations, specifically, to the relations between the kingdoms of Castile and England in the fifteenth century. It focuses on Diego de Valera and his work, in particular on the references to England that it contains. This introduction will present Diego de Valera and his historiographical and treatise production, the studies carried out on them until now and the approach adopted here, as well as introduce the methodology used and the results obtained.

Diego de Valera (1412-1488) was a Castilian chronicler and ambassador of the fifteenth century. He travelled around Europe throughout a great part of his life serving the Trastámara monarchs of the second half of the century: Juan II, Enrique IV and the Catholic Monarchs. He wrote twenty-two epistles, twenty-seven poems, twelve treatises about morality, politics and chivalry, and three chronicles. Most of them reflect contemporary ideas or historical events, as well as his own experiences in Castile and other European kingdoms of the time. De Valera was a very prolific writer and an essential figure to better understand the history of Castile in the 1400s.

His life and work have received abundant attention from historians, starting in the nineteenth century, with the publications of Pascual de Gayangos y Arce (1853). Their main interest was in the reconstruction of De Valera's life and the historiographical analysis of his work, mainly his treatises, histories and chronicles. However, it is surprising that he has never been before studied in relation to England. It is true that it may seem a very minor matter within his very large production, but for the field of English Studies and the research area of Anglo-Spanish historical and cultural relations, the fact that De Valera is one of the first Spanish travellers known to have stepped on English land is of great importance. Diego de Valera travelled to England in 1442 as Juan II of Castile's envoy. No circumstances have been detailed about this journey so far, neither on what he was able to observe or learn there through direct contact with others, nor later through the work of others.

This BA Dissertation intends to contribute to the area of the historical and cultural relations between England and Castile in medieval times, by identifying, analysing and interpreting all references to England in Diego de Valera's work.

The methodology followed to carry this out may be divided in four steps:

- (a) Identifying literature on the life and work of Diego de Valera, with the location of the main primary sources (his letters, manuscripts and imprints) and academic studies on his life and work.
- (b) Reading and analysing the secondary sources on De Valera and his work, including the main genres cultivated by him.
- (c) Reading and analysing each of De Valera's three *specula principis* (1441-1467), two chronicles (1479-1488) and some epistles (1441-1488), selecting extracts in reference to England and researching and annotating every historical and cultural reference of interest.
- (d) Interpreting them in the light of secondary sources.

The results are presented in three chapters that arrange content as follows:

1. Chapter 1, "Diego de Valera and England: State of the Question?," reviews De Valera's life and work as well as nineteenth and twentieth century books and articles which have studied his figure. The relations between the Castilian and English crowns in the 1400s are also dealt with here.
2. Chapter 2, "England in Diego de Valera's *Specula principis*," explains what fifteenth-century treatises were and transcribes and comments on excerpts dealing with England in *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (1441), *Tratado de las armas* (1458-1467) and *Ceremonial de príncipes* (1462).
3. Chapter 3, "England in Diego de Valera's Chronicles", starts with a description of fifteenth century chronicles and goes on to analyse and interpret the fragments that refer to England and his stay there in *Crónica abreviada de España* (1479-1481) and *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1487-1488).

After this, we will be able to understand what information the Castilian crown and aristocracy would obtain, from his work, on the kingdom of England, its geography, monarchy and courtly customs, in the period between 1440-89, starting with Henry VI's rule, through the Wars of the Roses, and until Henry VII became King of England. We will also know for the first time the first-hand details and impressions of his travel to England in 1442. We hope to show the extent to which De Valera served as a cultural ambassador between England and Castile during most part of the fifteenth century.

Chapter 1

Diego de Valera and England: State of the Question?

Diego de Valera was born in Cuenca in 1412 and died in El Puerto de Santa María, Cadiz, in 1488. He belonged to a family closely related to the tradition of arms and letters, his father being Alonso García Armíndez Chirino, Juan II of Castile's doctor, and his mother, María de Valera, daughter of Cuenca's *regidor*, responsible for the economic and political governing of the Castilian towns. Throughout his life, Diego de Valera was counsellor of Castilian kings, *doncel* at the service of Castilian princes, preceptor of Castilian nobles, international ambassador, amanuensis, historian, prose writer, jousting, and traveller. During his travels, he went to France as a travelling ambassador in 1437 and 1444, to Bohemia as protector of the Castilian Crown as well as Christianity in 1437, and to Denmark, England and Burgundy as Juan II's envoy in 1442. In Spain, he took part in many battles such as Olmedo (1445) and Toro (1476), he was involved in the Constable of Castile and Juan II of Castile's favourite Álvaro de Luna's imprisonment and he was *corregidor* or chief magistrate of Palencia (1462) and Segovia (1479-1480).

De Valera was a very prolific writer. He wrote twenty-two epistles, twenty-seven poems, twelve treatises about morality, politics and chivalry, and three chronicles, and translated two French treatises into Spanish. During Juan II of Castile's reign, he wrote four books: a treatise of chivalry titled *Árbol de batallas*, dedicated to Álvaro de Luna, translated from Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles* before 1441; *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (1441), a treatise of chivalry dedicated to King Juan II of Castile; a moral treatise titled *Defensa de virtuosas mugeres* (c. 1443), dedicated to María of Aragon, Queen of Castile, and *Exhortación y comendación de paz* (1448), a political treatise dedicated to King Juan II of Castile. Under Enrique IV of Castile, he wrote five: a treatise of chivalry titled *Tratado de las armas* (1458-1467) dedicated to the King of Portugal, Alfonso V; *Providencia contra Fortuna* (1462-1467), a moral treatise, and the treatise of chivalry *Ceremonial de príncipes*, both dedicated to the *marqués* of Villena Juan Pacheco, as well as a moral treatise titled *Breviloquio de virtudes*, dedicated to the Count of Benavente Rodrigo Pimentel, and a political one, *Origen de Roma y Troya*, dedicated to Juan Hurtado de Mendoza. Isabella and Ferdinand's reign was for him a very productive period. Apart from twenty-two epistles to the Catholic Monarchs, dated from 1476 to

1487, and a genealogy of French kings, he wrote his most important treatises and chronicles. The first include a moral treatise titled *Doctrinal de príncipes* (1476), a political one titled *Preheminencias y cargos de los oficiales de armas*, both dedicated to King Ferdinand, and a third one on the illustrious Spanish barons, which is nowadays lost. His chronicles were three: *Crónica abreviada de España* (1479-1481), dedicated to Queen Isabella, *Memorial de diversas hazañas o Crónica de Enrique IV* (1479-1480) and finally, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1487-1488), dedicated to the Catholic Monarchs.

De Valera has been studied as a key figure for the last Castilian kings of the House of Trastámara since the mid-nineteenth century. The most recent biographical sketch is the preliminary study in Juan de Mata Carriazo's *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1927). It contains a narrative of De Valera's life plus a detailed study of his works. But Carriazo worked on earlier sources. One of them was the biography (1853) written by the renowned biographer and historian Pascual de Gayangos y Arce, which includes many data used by Carriazo: De Valera's place and date of birth, positions, involvement in Castilian battles, travels around Europe, and allies and enemies. Another work used by Carriazo was the journal article *Ensayo biográfico* (1914), written by Lucas de Torre and Franco-Romero. Published in four different volumes of the Spanish *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, it is one of the most complete biographies of De Valera from which Carriazo takes data such as De Valera's family tree, entertainments and travels around Europe.

Other works provide more details about De Valera's life and personal relationships. One of them is the book written by Antonio Paz y Meliá and published in 1915, where the close relationship between the Duke of Medinaceli and Diego de Valera is explained in detail. The essay written by Bartolomé José Gallardo y Blanco (1889) analyses De Valera's works and edits original extracts from them. The work titled *Ensayo sobre la corte literaria de D. Juan II, rey de Castilla* (1873) by the Count of Puymaigre Théodore Joseph Boudet, translated from the French, describes in a very precise manner the passages of arms which took place in France between De Valera and different nobles such as the lord of Aymavilles Jacques of Challant or Thibaut of Rougemont.

All these sources provide a detailed view of De Valera's life in Spain as well as in other kingdoms in Europe, but none have taken an interest in his relation to England and the English Crown, giving preference to other Iberian kingdoms, France or Portugal.

Catherine of Lancaster was Juan II of Castile's mother and since her rule in the late fourteenth century, the relation between both kingdoms was amiable and the necessity of international ambassadors to keep this relationship in good terms, essential. Through his early travels as an international ambassador, De Valera became a link between the Castilian Crown and England. Nothing much is known about them or the knowledge that he spread about the kingdom in the Castilian court. His work, however, is an excellent source of information about England, its court and nobility, and how some English laws or practices could be given to the Castilian monarchs and aristocracy as an example.

Before the 1400s, the relation between Castile and England shifted several times. As José Manuel Rodríguez García (1998) explains, Castile and England had friendly relations during certain periods, like under Alfonso X and Alfonso XI of Castile, and both crowns were confronted during others, like under Pedro I and Juan I of Castile. This changed all across Diego de Valera's mature life, starting in Juan II of Castile's rule. As stated by Santiago González Sánchez (2013), it was Catherine of Lancaster who was able to bring both Crowns closer and improve their relations, ever since she came to the Castilian throne in 1388, a situation which lasted during most of her son's reign. Under Enrique IV of Castile, the relations between Castile and England were significantly enhanced, as Anne J. Cruz (2008) has shown: Enrique IV of Castile and Edward IV of England signed a treaty of commerce and friendship in 1466 which improved the relationships between both countries and expanded their commerce too. This alliance was broken in 1471, but the relations between both crowns remained in good terms. Finally, with the joint rule of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, the links between Castile and England became closer than ever before. By their policies of international alliances, they married their daughter Catherine into the Tudor House, without knowing that the result of their alliance would in the end complicate Castilian and English relations for centuries.

Diego de Valera illustrates all that very well. England could be used as courtly model for the Castilian princes and monarchs: *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (1441) gives details about English and French arms and knights' apparel. England, together with France, is mentioned to give advice on government to the Castilian kings. *Tratado de las armas* (1458-1467) explains the use of arms according to the laws of England, *Ceremonial de príncipes* (1462) explains the privileges of the English nobility, although in an ironic way (the details related to the life and privileges of English dukes and kings

are used to show that they are much better than the ones performed by the *marqués* of Villena). Other times facts about the geography and history of England are reported. La *Crónica abreviada de España* (1479-1481) gives a geographic description of England and explains different events that link Castile and England, such as the marriage between King Alfonso VIII of Castile and Eleanor of England, the Anglo-Castilian alliance against France during the first half of the twelfth century, and the marriage between King Enrique III of Castile and Catherine of Lancaster. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1487-1488) narrates Henry VII of England's claim to the throne and the end of the War of the Roses after the battle of Bosworth. Diego de Valera's epistles, written between 1476-1487 to Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand also offer impressions on historical events which could serve as an example for the Catholic Monarchs.

This dissertation will for the first time survey De Valera's works and epistles to look for those excerpts where fifteenth-century England appears. The aim is to be able to comprehend from them what knowledge the Castilian monarchs and noblemen of the fifteenth century may have of that kingdom, its historical situation and courtly customs.

Chapter 2

England in Diego de Valera's *Specula principis*

This chapter will analyse three treatises: *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (1441), *Tratado de las armas* (1458-1467) and *Ceremonial de príncipes* (1462). All three belong to the literary subgenre called *speculum principis* that presents the moral and governmental guidelines that Castilian rulers must follow. *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* concentrates on different aspects related to the nobility such as their origins, their historical evolution, their social division, their public opinion, and their arms formation; *Tratado de las armas* focuses on the arms that should be owned by Castilian kings regarding the ones used in kingdoms such as France and England; *Ceremonial de príncipes* is concerned with the moral virtues that Castilian noblemen should practise and the vices that they should avoid.

As stated by Jose Antonio Guillén Berrendero (2002), the *speculum principis* could be defined as a manual of instructions for kings, princes or noblemen in which moral and doctrinal values are explained (86-90). David Nogales Rincón (2006) defines it as showing the appropriate moral and governmental guidelines for a good Christian king (9), that is, political ideas, moral values, thoughts, learnings, and historical events that create the image of a ruler which should be imitated or avoided by kings, princes and noblemen. These 'mirrors' were popular in Castile, like Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo's *El Vergel de los Príncipes* (1456-1457), Gómez Manrique's *Regimiento de Príncipes* (1478) and Alonso Ramírez's *Directorio de Príncipes* (1493). They were also popular in European kingdoms such as France, England and Scotland, as in the case of Christine de Pizan's *L'Épistre de Othéa a Hector* (1440), Thomas Hoccleve's *De regimine principum* (1411), dedicated to King Henry V of England and John Ireland's *The Meroure of Wysedome* (1490), dedicated to King James IV of Scotland.

In his *Doctrinal Político de Mosén Diego de Valera*, Eduardo Toda Oliva has explained that when they were addressed to kings. Because they were God's representatives on Earth, their moral responsibilities were towards God and not humanity (167). However, the idea was constantly emphasised that even though kings were powerful, they had to take care of their subjects as if they were their fathers (167-168). But these treatises were addressed to princes. Here they also highlighted which virtues must be present in their characters like calm, patience, humbleness, mercy, sincerity,

frankness, integrity, bravery, strength, and chastity, on one hand, and on the other, what vices need to be avoided, like avarice, lust, excess, arrogance, fear, weakness, laziness, cowardice, falsehood and envy. As explained by Guillén Berrendero (2002), when these *specula principis* were addressed to noblemen, they stated that they must be honest with kings and as helpful as they could, cultivating the two classical values of *sapientia* ('wisdom') and *fortitudo* ('bravery'). They should be wealthy as well as virtuous, honest, humble and wary in terms of morality, must behave properly and be educated not only in ethics, religion, morality, letters and culture, but also in politics and arms. Some noblemen were more skilled in the use of arms than in other fields. They not only valued the arms but were also skilled in their use.

What interests us here is the ways in which England is used in the moral and political treatises by Diego de Valera. Here follows an analysis of all references to England in his *specula*, *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*, *Tratado de las armas*, and *Ceremonial de príncipes* in relation to a knight's attire, the medieval rite of the passage of arms and the privileges corresponding to the English nobility.

2.1 *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (1441)

The earliest mention to England by Diego de Valera appears in chapter XI of *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*: "Cómmo se deuen aver las armas y en cuántas maneras perder se pueden." As it is explained, the custom of wearing coats of armour in battle began with Charlemagne: it allowed *caballeros* (knights) and *gentilhombres* (noblemen) to differentiate themselves and to remember and honour their condition and lineage:

Aquy es de notar que á todo cauallero ó gentil onbre conuiene traer cota darmas en dia de batalla, lo qual fue ordenado por el enperador Carlo-Magno; esto porque los nobles fuesen conosciados é se acordasen de no fazer mengua á sy ny á los linajes donde venian, é los que fisiesen fuesen por ellos graue mente penados. Esta costumbre es más guardada en Francia é Inglaterra que en ninguna otra parte, donde ningunt caballero ó gentil onbre, por pobre que sea, va syn cota darmas en dia de batalla. (56)

Here, France and England are mentioned. Every French and English knight and nobleman, whatever their condition and wealth, wore coats of armour when he went to battle. As explained by Mark Cartwright (2018), since the ninth century, the use of coats of armour by English knights was very common as a way to protect themselves from the attacks of their opponents as well as to intimidate them. When firearms began to be

frequently used, English knights still used coats of arms well into the 1400s. They consisted of the armour, the coat of arms and the helmet, all made of iron, and over the centuries, they were perfected to make them more flexible and lighter. As is known, coats of arms should be owned by the knights, who could buy them and win them after a passage of arms, but they could also be lent by the sovereigns. De Valera is stressing the fact that the French and English traditions were in the origin of the practice of knights and noblemen and that all Castilian *caballeros* and *gentilhombres* should wear them like them, no matter what their wealth was.

2.2 *Tratados de las armas* (1458-1467)

In *Tratado de las armas*, a whole chapter is devoted to the English tradition of arms: “el derecho de las armas necesarias según las leyes de Inglaterra”. This extract explains how Spain used different arms depending on the *fuero*, the privileges given to certain people, cities, or territories, and the traditions of each place. It explains the circumstances in which a passage of arms between noblemen would be performed in England:

Visto, pues, cómo las armas necesarias, según fuero é costumbre de España, se deuen emprender é llegar á fin, es de ver la forma é manera que cerca dellas en Inglaterra se tiene; donde, según las leyes y costumbre de Inglaterra, todo fijo algo que á otro fiziere injuria, mal ó daño, syn gelo fazer saber primero, ó á padre, ó á madre ... puede ser reptado por ello Y porque las mismas cirimonias que en Francia, se guardan en Inglaterra, en el trance ó gage de batalla, no conuiene aquí repetirlas. (32)

In this second fragment, it is explained that passages of arms took place in England when one nobleman (*hijodalgo*) caused injury, evil or harm to another nobleman, without his family's knowing. De Valera stresses that the passages of arms carried out by English noblemen shared the same rules as the ones carried out by the French noblemen. These are explained in the first chapter titled “El derecho de las armas necesarias según costumbres de Francia.” In them, the wronged knight defends himself from his offender, with God's help, in a passage of arms where after forty days the king will establish the place (generally an enclosed field), the day and the hour for the noblemen to fight on horseback. The combat takes place before the king, but also the constable and marshals, as well as dukes, counts, barons and knights. As De Valera summarised, the rite has strict rules: the accuser must arrive an hour before noon and the accused just at noon; they can use spears, swords, daggers and harnesses; they must keep a distance of eighty paces long

by sixty paces wide; they enter through different doors and must present in front of the king; they greet each other and are warned that the battle must end in one day and that the king may stop or resume the battle at any time for any reason; if one of the two confesses to have lied his head will be cut off in the marketplace, he will not be buried until three days are passed and under no ceremony; if one of them dies in the fighting, his property will pass onto the hands of the King, the horse to the constable and the arms to the marshals (4-14).

The question was a little controversial. As stated by Juan Molina Fernández (2017), in Castile, a second type of duel existed: the judicial duels. They were similar to the passage of arms in what motivated them. These duels were intended to solve legal conflicts where no agreement had been reached. They were usually carried out between noblemen, but they could also be carried out between peasants or between people of the same sex. But they were carried in a different way: on horseback, using spears, rapiers, daggers and maces, or on foot, using daggers, maces, axes and long spears. Whatever the type of duel, the final goal was the same: to kill the opponent. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Catholic Monarchs banned this type of fighting, as it caused a large number of deaths per year, especially in Castile. However, the population continued to carry out this type of fight illegally until the middle of the sixteenth century.

De Valera, a great lover of duels, but also a faithful defender of the Crown, seems to write on the passage of arms in France and England for two reasons. First, he always wants to highlight the figure of the king (in this case his *speculum principis* is dedicated to Alfonso V of Portugal), as he who allows the passage of arms to take place or not and over whose decision neither the nobility nor the peasants can be above. Secondly, when in France, De Valera had participated in some passage of arms and had been able to live in first person the ritual. He probably wanted that in Castile as well as in Portugal, the more mundane should be performed in the more chivalric style.

2.3 Ceremonial de príncipes (1462)

The customs of noblemen in England reappear in Diego de Valera's *Ceremonial de príncipes* (1462). The first excerpt explains what the dignity of dukes within the nobility was and what their privileges and concessions were:

Assi digo que la dignidad ducial es mayor despues dela real, a la qual en Francia y en Ynglaterra se guardan las preminencias que le siguen. Los duques traen corona en la cabeça, del qual otra diferencia no ay a la corona real saluo que el coronel es estrecho y las flores son yguales; y traen les delante espada, avnque la punta arriba en diferencia de los reyes. Traen cetro de oro en la mano; assientanse en sylla en ausencia de los reyes; tienen dosel a las espaldas; besan el euangelio; oyen missa en cortinas donde los reyes no están, y si el rey es presente, todos los duques oyen la missa dentro de las cortinas con el Rey. (9)

As in the previous instances, De Valera points out that France and England used the same privileges to indicate what their position were within the nobility. In England, the rank of duke was the highest one immediately below the king and for these reasons, they wore coronets and swords equal to the crowns and swords of kings: the flowers were the same, though the circlet was narrower. As to arms, they also carried a sword, but different from the king's, the duke's sword pointed upwards. Their privilege was to carry a golden sceptre and to sit enthroned when the king was absent, draped with canopy, kissing the Gospel and hearing mass in curtains drawn back, or inside the curtains when the king was present. Besides all that, Valera refers to other prerogatives. In France and England they could coin their own currency, silver or gold: "Los duques en Francia y Ynglaterra labran moneda blanca, y algunos labran de oro"; in France, the privilege was for the dukedoms of Bourgoigne, Brittany, and Anjou and in England, for the royal dukedoms of York, Gloucester and Lancaster: "en Francia Borgoña, Bretaña, Agnes; en Ynglaterra, Yorca, Glocestre, Alencastre" (10). In De Valera's time, these titles were held respectively by Richard Plantagenet, Humphrey of Lancaster, and the King Henry VI of England, who became Duke of Lancaster in 1413, when the title merged into the crown.

Interestingly, De Valera had the chance to meet Humphrey of Lancaster, first Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447), and Henry V's brother. By then, the Duke of Gloucester was retired from public life in the palace of Bella Court in Greenwich (*Granuja*). This was in 1442 was during his journey to England, as an envoy of Juan II of Castile:

De las quales perrogatiuas o preminencias soy testigo de vista y las vy guardar diuersas vezes en Francia e Inglaterra, donde macuerdo el año de quarenta y dos auer visto al duque de Glocestre en Granuja, que es a tres leguas de Londres, lunes dela resurecion, vestido en abito ducial. A lo qual fueron presentes Toledo rey de armas y Asturias, que conmigo estauan. (11)

According to him, he knew of the prerogatives he was discussing because he had seen them with his own eyes. What he saw could be verified by two men, named Toledo, *rey*

de armas, the official who was in charge of the blazons, and Asturias, who were with him. The scene he recalls is Humphrey of Lancaster in procession, a knight before him, dressed on his ducal habit, on Easter Monday:

Un manto de tapete azul fasta los pies aforrado en armiños, abierto por el costado, y vn rico collar de balaxos y perlas y una befa en la cabeça, con un rico coronel y vn cetro de oro en la mano: y ansi andaua en la procesión, lleuandole delante vn cauallero vn espada la punta arriba. (11)

Humphrey of Lancaster is described as wearing mantle of blue taffeta lined with ermines, open on the side, and a rich collar of balass rubies and pearls, and a biffe cloth round his head, with a rich coronet, holding a scepter in his hand.

The next passage comments the forms of address that the English used, ‘yllustres,’ ‘íncritos,’ ‘magníficos,’ ‘claros,’ y avn algunos dellos se intitulan ‘super yllustres’ (‘illustrious,’ ‘honourable,’ ‘magnificent,’ ‘famed,’ ‘super-illustrious’). He then recalls his own experience. He remembers the title of ‘super ilustre’ with which King Juan II of Castile addressed the Duke of Gloucester: “macuerdo que el rey don Juan, de gloriosa memoria, escriuio conmigo al duque de Glocestre ‘super yllustre’” (12-13). It is very important that he says that King Juan II of Castile wrote the Duke of Gloucester “with me.” It is evidence that apart from travelling carrying Juan II’s *embajadas* (‘messages’), he acted as correspondent with England.

But going back to the dignity of English Dukes, let us remember that this treatise was written for the *marqués* of Villena and conveyed some form of hidden criticism against him. The reason for the appearance of this explanation is that *marqués* of Villena had the same power as the King Enrique IV, ruler of Castile when the treaty was being written. Therefore, what De Valera explains here is that following the English and French models, as a *marqués*, he should not have so much power, because dukes are the ones that hold the highest rank and just below the king.

This is why De Valera goes on to explain the position of marquesses, earls and viscounts in England, and what differentiated the marquess from the duke. It is explained that in England marquesses as well as dukes, apart from receiving those same titles, heard the mass in curtains, kissed the Gospel and are enthroned in canopy: “Estos mismos títulos sacostumbran escreuir a los marqueses, los quales en Ynglaterra y Ytalia oven missa en cortinas y besan el euangelio y ssientanse en silla con dose a las espaldas” (13).

Nevertheless, the main difference between both noblemen is that kings are not mentioned in relation to marquesses while they were in relation to dukes. By this distinction, De Valera highlighted that the *marqués* of Villena was improperly acting in Castile as a duke instead of as a marquess.

When the next passage writes about how marquesses hold their rank above earls, we learn a second fact about his travelling embassy to England of 1442. Apart from the Duke of Gloucester, De Valera also met the Earls of Dorset (*Orseta*) and Somerset (*Sumorseta*), he says when they received the title of marquesses:

E yo vy en Inglaterra los condes de Orseta y Sumorseta, hermanos primos del rey, fazerse marqueses de los mismos títulos del año de quarenta e dos, delo qual todo se concluye la dignidad de marqués ser mayor que de condes. (13)

In 1442, the first Earl of Dorset was Edmund Beaufort while the third Earl of Somerset was John Beaufort. De Valera mentions that the two were brothers and relatives to the English king, Henry VI. They were descendants of Edward III of England and belonged to the Lancaster family. However, De Valera mentions that those Earls were named marquesses of Dorset and Somerset in 1442. John Beaufort was never named marquess of Somerset, but Duke of Somerset in 1443. Edmund was named marquess of Dorset in 1442, and succeeded his brother as fourth Duke of Somerset in 1448. For this reason, what is understood is that De Valera was only talking about Edmund Beaufort as a verified example to differentiate marquesses from earls.

Finally, De Valera finishes with a mention to the rank of Viscount, which in France was held by the Count's first-born, and equates that to the forms of address given to the heir apparent in Castile, England and France: “como en Castilla el primogénito del rey es príncipe de Asturias, y en Ynglaterra de Gales, y en Francia se llama Dalfin por el dalfinado que en naciendo le pertenece.” (14-15): in the case of Castile, Prince of Asturias; in the case of England, Prince of Wales; and in the case of France, Dauphin of France.

Chapter 3

England in Diego de Valera's Chronicles

This chapter will analyse two chronicles: *Crónica abreviada de España* (1479-1481) and *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1487-1488). Both of them belong to the historiographical genre called *chronicle*. *Crónica abreviada de España* focuses on Castilian history from its origin to the fifteenth century, although the first part is full of references to Asia, Africa and the rest of Europe; *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* concentrates on the reign of the Catholic Monarchs expanding from its beginning in 1474 down to De Valera's death in 1488.

During the fifteenth century, one of the most important historiographical literary genres was the chronicle. It was widely popular in the 1400s but its origin dates from the beginning of the Middle Ages. Jose Manuel Lucía Megías, *et al.* (1992) suggests this genre could be divided into two: royal chronicle and general chronicle. Both of them describe historical facts and events in a chronological order but they present some differences. In the case of the first one, the kings and princes were the ones who commanded historians to write it and it contains historical facts and events that happened during the reign of the king who had commanded it. Sometimes, two or three kings could be included in a single royal chronicle. In the case of the second one, it is the historian who decides on which facts to select, even though sometimes he would write about a specific king or reign (53-54). Therefore, Diego de Valera's *Crónica abreviada de España* is a general chronicle which narrates the origin of Spain as well as the reigns of different Spanish kings, while *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* is a royal chronicle commanded by Queen Isabella of Castile which narrates the reign of the Catholic Monarchs in order to strengthen their figure above the noblemen. Luis Fernández Gallardo (2004) highlights features other than the chronological order which make the chronicle a unique historiographical literary genre. Whereas histories were usually written by a witness narrator, a person who witnessed the events or a person who lived the same period when the events happened, the chronicle is based also on what contemporary people told him (even rumours), on letters written to him, and on previous chronicles that helped him contextualise events. Thus, chronicles are usually subjective and a mixture of real and fictional events and facts. Both royal and general chronicles,

even if the second ones are not commanded by kings or princes, usually enlarge the figure of monarchs. The narration is usually a first-person or third-person narration, depending on whether the chronicler wanted to give a more personal or a more detached point of view. The vocabulary is usually simple and direct to be understood by contemporary and future readers and the most frequently used words are nouns and adjectives to give more personality to the description and more specific details about facts and events. Finally, chronicles are usually arranged in chapters so that they are better organised and read (287-299). They were popular in Castile, as in the case of Gutierre Díez de Games' *Crónica de don Pero Niño* (c. 1436), a biographical chronicle dedicated to the Castilian nobleman Pero Niño, or Fernando del Pulgar's *Libro de los claros varones de Castilla* (1486), dedicated to the Castilian noblemen of the fifteenth century. They were also popular in Scotland, Ireland, England, and Germany, as is the case of Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* (1447), a legendary chronicle about the foundation of Scotland, *Annals of Inisfallen* (433-1450), a chronicle of Ireland by the monks of Innisfallen, *Croyland Chronicle* (1144-1486), a chronicle of England probably written by Pseudo-Ingulf, and Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle* (1493), a world history from its creation.

Again, what is of interest here the role that England plays in Diego de Valera's chronicles. After this explanation of what a chronicle is, there will be an analysis of all the references to England in *Crónica abreviada de España*, and *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*.

3.1 *Crónica abreviada de España* (1479-1481)

Crónica abreviada de España was written at the beginning of the Catholic Monarchs' reign. The earliest mention to England by Diego de Valera is in chapter twenty-six of this work. It belongs to the second part of the first part of the chronicle and includes this introduction to the ancient names and historical origins of England:

Ynglaterra es ylla muy grande. Situada en el mar oceano fuera de toda la redondeza del mundo. Fue antiguamente llamada Albia, por muy grandes rocas que a la ribera del mar la cercan. Y pasada la total destruycion de Troya, grand gente dela que de ella salio con un su capitán llamado Bruto en ella descendieron. Lla qual entonces poseyan gigantes, los quales despues d muchas batallas ávidas, fueron vencidos por los troyanos, y echados del ylla. E assi Bruto y sus gentes quedaron en ella señores. E del nombre del capitán fue llamada Bretaña. ... E muchos tiempos despues, los saxones en esta ylla descendieron, y por armas la subjuzgaron, y muertos y echados de ella los

habitadores, los saxones quedaron en ella señores. Y mudaron le el nombre, y llamaron la Anglia, que en nuestra lengua quiere decir Inglaterra. Por el nombre de una señora hija del duque, que allí la gano Anglia llamada. Ysidoro dize que Anglia es llamada de angulo, que en nuestra lengua quiere dezir fin o cabo del mundo o rincon. ... E mucho tiempo despues el linage delos reyes ya dichos en Inglaterra ceso porque Guilermo noto duque de normandia con grandissima flota passo en Inglaterra, y por fuerça de armas la subiuzgo. E algunos dizen q echo dé de al rey eraldo que en ella reynaua. E los Ingleses afirman que mato a el y a todos los de su linaje, y se intitulo rey de Inglaterra, del qual Guilermo descenden los reyes q oy en ella reynan. (14)

Here, 'England' is the name given by De Valera to the entire island, Britain, which he situates in the ocean and "outside of all the roundness of the world." He recalls how it first had the ancient name of 'Albia' and, following what was common of medieval history narrative, starts with its mythical origin. It dates from the fall of Troy, when Britain was inhabited by giants and the legendary descendant of Aeneas, Brutus, conquered it, giving it the name of 'Britannia.' Then, the Saxons arrived and changed the name of the island to 'Anglia', since that was the name of the daughter of the general who conquered the island, according to De Valera. He is following Ranulf Higden's tradition that a virgin Saxon queen named Angela had existed. Next, he states that Isidore of Seville explained that the name 'Anglia' came from '*angulo*', which in Spanish means end or corner of the world. This historical introduction finishes with the Duke of Normandy conquered England and became king of the island, once he had driven Harold (*Eraldo*) away, according to some, or after having killed him and his family, according to the English, De Valera says. In the end, he stresses that it is from William that the English kings of his day descended.

The geographical description of the island comes next. Here reality and fantasy are mixed, as in many introductions of medieval histories:

Es prouincia muy rica de oro, y de la plata, y plomo, y estaño, y muy fertil de panes y carnes y buenos pescados. Fallecele vino y azeyte, y fierro, y cauallos, y frutas azedas. ... Ala parte del leuáte en la ribera del mar, se afirma por muchos que ay arboles que la foja dellos que cae en la mar, se couierte en pescado. Y la que cae en la tierra en aves de grandeza de gaiotas. E por saber la verdad yo lo pregunte a señor cardenal de Inglaterra tio vuestro, hermano dela sereníssima reyna doña catalina aguela vuestra, el qual me certifico ser ansí. (14)

Besides the metals that can be found in the island, like gold, silver, lead, iron or steel, there are products that are more Mediterranean than English, like wine, oil, and horses.

Next comes a fantastic reference to the leaves of certain trees in the eastern coast which fall into the sea and become fish, and other leaves which fall into the land and turn into seagulls. Zoophytes, animals that look like plants, appeared frequently in medieval herb treatises. Writers explained their origin through fables like this. In the case of De Valera's chronicle, the legend makes the island and the text attractive.

However, De Valera knows that it is hard to believe and, to prove that that legend is true, he states that the Cardinal of England, Henry Beaufort (c. 1375-1447), had certified it. Here is the third reference that we find in De Valera's work to his visit to England. While he stayed there, he met Henry Beaufort, who, although he was at the end of his career, had controlled the government of King Henry VI. Being one of John of Gaunt's illegitimate sons, he was brother to Catherine of Lancaster. This is why he finishes the extract reminding Queen Isabella that Henry Beaufort was her relative (*tio vuestro*), as Isabella was Catherine of Lancaster's granddaughter. With this, De Valera wants to make his chronicle real and the connection between England and Castile too.

This is also why, the dimensions of the island are given after this (14) and translated into Castilian measures. In fact, from now on, every mention to England will be made in relation to Castilian history and with an emphasis on the family bonds between the two crowns which he traces back to the eleventh century.

Thus, the second extract from the chapter 106 on King Alfonso VI of Leon ("De las virtudes que ovo este noble rey don Alfonso") talks about King Alfonso's wives and who of them are buried with him:

El qual fue lleuado por los grandes de sus reynos con muy grand bonrra al monesterio de Sahagún don de fue sepultado entre sus mugeres doña Ysabel hija dl rey Luys de Francia, y doña Beatriz hija del rey Enrrique de inglaterra. (70)

De Valera registers that Alfonso VI of León and Castile (1040-1109) was buried in the Royal Monastery of San Benito in Sahagún, León, between his two wives, one named Isabel and another, Beatriz. He states that they were princesses of France and England, However, the evidence suggests that Isabel was either of a Burgundian origin (Reilly 322-323) or Zaida, one of Alfonso VI's concubines, the daughter-in-law of the ruler of the taifa of Seville (Salazar y Acha 319-322). Beatriz was not of an English origin. As stated by Salazar y Acha (1993), she was probably the daughter of William VIII, the Duke of

Aquitaine. She could not be buried in Sahagún, because she went back to France when she became widowed and remarried Elias I, Count of Maine. Therefore, this extract does not faithfully represent the historical relation between England and Castile, but the presence of an English origin of Beatriz is used to highlight the historical links between the two crowns, a century before they became true.

The following excerpt from Chapter 60 “Del rey don Alfonso noueno hijo del rey don Sancho el desseado” refers to the first real marriage between a Castilian king and an English princess:

Don Alfonso noueno començo a reynar en Castilla despues de su padre don Sancho, leyendo de hedad de quatro años: en el año del señor de mil y ciento y sesenta años, y reyno cincuenta y tres años. Y ovo en la reyna doña Leonor, su muger hija del rey Enrrique de inglaterra un hijo que llamaron don Enrrique y otro llamado don Fernando y a doña Berenguella que fue reyna de Leon y a doña Leonor reyna de Aragon y a doña Urraca reyna de portogal y a doña Blanca reyna de Francia . . . E despues que este rey don Alfonso salio de las tutorias y tomo el regimiento del reyno y, caso con doña Leonor hija del rey Enrrique de inglaterra como dicho es, que fue dueña muy noble y muy santa, en quien ovo a don Enrrique que reyno despues del infante don Fernando, y a las infantas que dichas son. (72)

It was the marriage of King Alfonso VIII of Castile to Eleanor Plantagenet, Henry II of England’s daughter, which took place in 1170. They had twelve children and only six of them are mentioned here, because many of them were married to other dynastic houses on the continent. In this excerpt, Eleanor is depicted as a virtuous queen, courteous and very chaste, properties commonly present in the ideal of a twelfth-century queen.

Chapter 119 “Del Rey don Alfonso el onzeno deste nombre” narrates an agreed marriage that could never be. Pedro I of Castile and Joan of England, daughter to Edward III of England (*Aduarte*), were betrothed in 1345 when she was 12 and he was 16. De Valera notes the marriage negotiations in Seville: “E partiose dende y vinose para Seuilla y alli vineron embajadores del rey Aduarte de Inglaterra, por tratar casamiento del infante don Pedro con la infanta doña Juana su fija y de la Reyna doña Felipa, y assi se concluyó” (86). This marriage would help the English king to have an ally against his enemy the King Philip VI of France. Unfortunately, in 1348, Joan died from Black Death in France while she was travelling to Castile to meet her future husband.

The second successful marriage alliance between Castile and England is described in Chapter 123, “Del rrey don Juan primero deste nombre,” starting from the landing of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (*Alencastre*), in Corunna:

En el octauo año del rreynado deste rrey, descendio en la curuña en galizia el duque de alencastre con muy grand gente de ingleses y portogueses, y ganaron grand parte de galizia y del rreyno de león, y tomaron a valderas y otros lugares, y estouieron en aqlla tierra tres meses, y cayo tan grand pestilencia en su rreal, que se ovieron de boluer a bayona, y allí se trató la paz y se concretó casamiento del principe don Enrrique con doña Catalina fija del duque de alencastre, nieta del rrey don pedro de castilla, y en el año siguiente se fizo su boda en palencia. (88)

This chapter explains why and how Enrique III of Castile married to John of Gaunt’s daughter Catherine. In 1385, the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt claimed the crown of Castile because his wife Constance was the eldest daughter of Pedro I of Castile. In effect, John of Gaunt together with the Portuguese army won territories such as Galicia and León. However, De Valera’s chronicle narrates that the English and the Portuguese contracted the plague in Castile and they had to leave for Bayonne, in France. It was there that, in 1388, John of Gaunt and Juan I of Castile ratified a treaty of peace in which they agreed to marry the Duke’s daughter, Catherine, to Juan I of Castile’s son, Enrique. The wedding took place in Palencia in September and therefore, John of Gaunt’s descendants became members of the Castilian royalty and English blood would run through the veins of the Castilian monarchs from then on.

After that, upon Enrique III of Castile’s death in 1405, Catherine of Lancaster and Enrique III of Castile’s brother, Fernando I of Aragon, became regents during John II’s minority, as recorded in Chapter 124 (“Del Rey don enrique tercero.”): “E deixo por tutores a la rreyna doña Catalina su mujer, y al infante don fernando su hermano, que despues fue rrey de aragon” (88).

As can be next seen, as a chronicle commissioned by Isabel of Castile, De Valera insists that Catherine of Lancaster is Isabel’s *abuela*. He does so to explain to her that the two regencies of her grandmother were very questioned before, during and after her death: “Y quedo la gouernacion de estos reynos a la reyna doña Catalina vuestra abuela, en cuyo tiempo ovo algunos debates sobre la gouernacion, y muchos mas ovo despues de la muerte de la dicha reyna” (90). That mention to her grandmother seems to be used by De Valera to warn his Queen against future criticism by her detractors and in this way his chronicle

acts as a *speculum principis*. He used the figure of Catherine of Lancaster with Isabel of Castile as the last English-Castilian queen who had the power to rule the reign and bore much criticism for being a woman, to give an example to Queen Isabella. But he also used that family bond to cement the relation of the two kingdoms with their common history.

3.2 *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos (1487-1488)*

In *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, the interest of the Castilian monarchy for England during the reign of the Catholic Monarch becomes even more evident. De Valera wrote a whole chapter (“De las cosas acaesçidas en Inglaterra”) to narrate the recent events in England. It is a long description on the final battle of the War of the Roses, the Battle of Bosworth of 1486, between Richard III of England and the future Henry VII. The conflict began in 1483 because Henry’s supporters claimed that he was the legitimate descendant of King Edward III. Speaking of Richard III, he writes:

Tanta fue la malicia del rey Ricardo de Inglaterra, que no solamente se afirma aver mandado matar con yerbas a su hermano el rey Eduardo, que estava haziendo guerra en Escocia, mas a dos sobrinos suyos a quien el reyno pertensçia; los cuales muertos se llamó rey, e tomó la corona que le no pertenesçia. (212)

Richard III of England was frequently portrayed as a very tyrannical monarch, as there were rumours about his participation in the death of his brother King Edward IV of England in April 1483. After his brother’s death, Richard was named Lord Protector of Edward’s successor Edward V. On June 1483, all the arrangements for Edward’s coronation were made but before his coronation, the marriage of his parents, Edward IV of England and Elizabeth Woodville, was declared bigamous and invalid. As a consequence, Edward and his brother Richard were declared illegitimate, so they could not inherit the throne. Some days later, Richard was proclaimed King of England as he was the only rightful king for the country. De Valera supports the evil and tyrannical image of Richard III of England, perhaps because he was the enemy of the future Henry VII of England, of the Lancaster family, and therefore related to Isabel of Castile through Catherine of Lancaster. In this way, the importance of the victory of Henry against the former English king was justified.

During his brief reign, Richard III of England continued with his tyrannical behaviour. The long quote continues with Henry, first Earl of Richmond (*Rixamonte*), the future Henry VII of England, as her saviour:

No consintió Nuestro Señor sus maldades ynpunidas quedasen, que puso nuevo coraçón en el conde Enrique de Rixamonte, que en Bretaña estava desterrado, en asaz pobre estado, a quien el reyno de Inglaterra de derecho pertenesçía, que se fuese al rey de Francia; al qual demandó consejo, favor e ayuda para yr a cobrar aquel reyno que le pertenesçía. (212)

Henry was in exile in Brittany because the Yorkists persecuted the members of the Tudor family. However, after the failed Buckingham revolt of 1483 by Henry's cousin Henry Stafford and the constant arrival of rumours from the dissatisfied noblemen, Henry asked King Charles VIII of France for help in defeating Richard III of England and proclaiming himself King of England. The French King as well as the Duke of Brittany, Francis II, accepted his proposal and provided him a strong army and a huge amount of money.

Le dió dos mill combatientes pagados por quatro meses, e le prestó cinquenta mill coronas, e le dio su flota en que pasase, cuyo capitán fué Colón. Con los quales, e con tres mill yngleses que en Francia halló huidos del rey Ricardo, pasó en Inglaterra y entró por la parte de Cales; e vino ganando todos los lugares que halló hasta una villa que se llama Conventri, çerca de la qual el rey Ricardo estava en canpo con fasta quarenta mill combatientes. (213)

As the French King had agreed to help him, Henry together with the French fleet and a huge amount of money arrived to England by the Strait of Dover in 1485. The figure of this sea captain Colón that led Henry to England remains obscure, but it is suggested that he belonged to the family of the Colón that discovered America and served King Louis XI of France (Balenchana 107, 120-121).

De Valera continues strengthening the fair portrait of Henry as a leader. His men succeeded in battle and arrived to Coventry where the Court of the King and the King himself were, but above all because he had been able to unite the French troops, many English people in exile, and other English noblemen in his army. One of those English noblemen was Lord Tamorlant whose identity is also unknown. As explained by Foard and Curry (2013), on the one hand, Lord Tamorlant could refer to Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland, because the pronunciation of both words is quite similar, although Henry Percy did not fight in battle, even though he was in favour of the future King Henry VII of England. On the other hand, De Valera gives details about Lord Tamorlant that could associate him with Lord Stanley, first Earl of Derby:

E segund ha parescido por el proceso, este conde Enrique devía ser hombre prudente e de grand coraçón, porque antes que en Inglaterra entrase ovo çertidunbre de milor Tamorlant, que es uno de los mayores señores de Inglaterra, e de otros algunos de los grandes de aquel reyno, los quales

le dixerón que le daban su fee e sellos que venidos en la batalla serían en su ayuda e pelearían contra el rey Ricardo; e así lo pusieron en obra. (213)

Thomas Stanley conspired against Richard III of England to depose him and proclaim Henry as King of England and he did fight in the field in favour of Henry, but what this long extract narrates does not completely fit with the actions taken by Lord Stanley. Foard and Curry conclude that De Valera's Tamorlant really refers to the Northumberland, but that De Valera's informants, of whom we will speak later, did not distinguish between the fourth Earl of Northumberland from the first Earl of Derby, one of the combatants in the field (55, 58-59). The figures of Richard's 10,000 soldiers and Henry's 2,000 was also probably provided by his English informants on the War of the Roses.

The Battle of Bosworth was about to begin. In contrast to Richard III of England, De Valera depicts the Earl of Richmond as the wise and kind-hearted man that England needed. At this point, the battle of Bosworth was about to take place and even if Richard III had more troops and was the King, his supporters were not as loyal as those of Henry: the Earl of Richmond was supported by English and French people who remained with him; King Richard III was only supported by English noblemen who plotted against him and who finally betrayed him. It was the case of Lord Tamorlant, in De Valera's account:

Y milor Tamorlant, que llevaba el ala izquierda del rey Ricardo, dexó su lugar e pasóse delante el avanguardia del rey con diez mill combatientes; y luego bolvió las espaldas al conde enrique, e començó a pelear fuertemente con el avanguardia del rey. E así lo hizieron todos los que tenían dada la fee al conde Enrique. (213)

The treason against Richard III was carried out. Some noblemen, such as William Stanley and probably Henry Percy, abandoned King Richard to fight in favour of his opponent. De Valera dramatises the scene by introducing Juan de Salazar "*el pequeño vasallo vuestro*" ("your young vassal"). Salazar, a Spanish captain is believed to have been a soldier in the service of Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, and fought in the heavy cavalry in Burgundy (Balenchana 93). His role in the chronicle is to warn the King about the betrayal just before the battle starts. In a very dramatic tone, De Valera shows that the King was very aware of it:

E como Salazar el pequeño, natural destes reynos, estoviesse allí en serviçio del rey Ricardo, llegóse a él e díxole: señor, curad de poner recabdo en vuestra persona, que por oy no espereys aver victoria desta batalla, segund la trayción conscida que en los vuestros paresçe. Y el rey le respondió:

Salazar, no plega a Dios que yo buelva passo atrás, que esta jornada yo quiero morir rey o vencer. E luego puso la corona real sobre el armadura de cabeça, la qual se afirma valer çiento y veynte mill coronas, e vistió la cota de armas, e començó a pelear con tan grand vigor e ardidez con aquellos pocos leales que le quedaron, que con sólo su esfuerço se sostuvo grand pieça batalla. E a la fin de la gente del rey fué vençida, y él fué muerto. (213-214)

Even if De Valera had previously depicted King Richard as a tyrant, at the time of his defeat it was time to portray him as heroic king and soldier. Despite knowing he had been betrayed, King Richard wore his royal crown over his helmet and his armour, to show who the real king was. Richard's loyal soldiers were few, but as a brave leader, he went to fight Henry with only one goal: win or die. Fate made Henry Tudor king of England, as King Richard III of England was killed in the battle. De Valera continues his depiction of Henry Tudor as a Christian, benevolent leader and fighter who behaves nobly towards his defeated enemies. Near the battle site, he built a small hermitage for Richard's burial:

E avida esta victoria por el conde Enique, luego fué de todos llamados reyes. El qual mandó poner al rey muerto en una pequeña hermita que estava cerca de donde la batalla se dió, e mandólo cubrir de la çinta abaxo con un paño negro asaz pobre, mandando que estoviese así tres días, porque pudiese de todos ser visto. Estas cosas así pasadas, el rey Enrique se vino en la cibdad de Londres, donde fue recebido con grand triunfo e alegrías como acostunbran fazerse a los príncipes vençedores. E allí mandó llamar a todos los grandes del reyno, así perlados como cavalleros, los quales unánimes le fizieron omenaje e lo recibieron por su rey e señor natural. (214)

King Henry VII was received in London with honours, as “natural king” of the English, and called upon the noblemen who paid him homage as the new King of England. With came the end of the War of the Roses and peace with France and Spain:

Y el rey nuevo mandó pregonar paz general con toda la christiandad, especialmente 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. (214)

De Valera is pleased to end this long fragment reminding that Henry VII, supported the Catholic Monarchs and was his ally against the Muslims (214-215). After his proclamation, not only did he order peace between all Christian kingdoms, but also that processions were made in all English churches, cathedrals and monasteries so that King Ferdinand of Spain would win a victory over the Moors (“*moros*”).

It is very interesting to contrast this extract for the chronicle with one of the letters that De Valera wrote to the Catholic monarchs in March 1486. The information it contains is exactly the same. In the letter, De Valera reveals that this information was communicated to him by English merchants who had settled in El Puerto de Santa María, Cadiz, from where De Valera was writing: “fasiéndoles saber las cosas nuevamente en Inglaterra acaescidas, según la información de mercaderes dignos de fe, agora a esta villa venidos” (Balenchana 91-96). The strength of these fragments is that they register very contemporary events. The Battle of Bosworth was fought on 22 August 1485 and the letter is of 1 March 1486. De Valera’s chronicle records what is happening from oral, contemporary sources.

De Valera must have pleased the monarchs with his narrative. Henry VII’s final declaration of intent of keeping peace and alliance with Spain anticipates the good relation kept between the two Christian kingdoms during the rest of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. This was sealed in Medina del Campo when the treaty that agreed the marriage of Henry VII’s son to their smallest daughter, Catherine of Aragon, was signed only one year later, in 1489. By then, Diego de Valera’s diplomatic mission had ended. He had died in el Puerto de Santa María in 1488. The friendly relation Spain with England was still present when Catherine of Aragon married Arthur’s younger brother Henry Tudor in 1509, without imagining what would come afterwards.

Conclusions

The chronicler and diplomat Diego de Valera (1412-1488) is a key figure to understand the history of fifteenth-century Spain. Historians and biographers have not paid too much attention to the importance of De Valera as a travelling ambassador and link between Castile and England. This dissertation had the aim of analysing what aspects of English history and courtly customs could be known to the Castilian Crown and aristocracy through the reading of the work of De Valera, as well as any historical information that can emerge about his diplomatic stay in England.

The first chapter explored the life and work of Diego de Valera, those studies carried out by historians to analyse his figure and his works, and the evolution of the Anglo-Spanish historical-cultural relations throughout history. It is known that he was a multitalented man as he worked as counsellor of the Castilian kings, international ambassador, historian, prose writer, etc. He was also a very prolific prose writer and historian who created works not only based on what he read on books or what people told him, but also on what he had seen and his own experience.

Many aspects of his life and work have been widely studied since the middle of the nineteenth century. His works and epistles have been edited and annotated and his biography has been reconstructed. The relations between both Crowns have also attracted the interest of historians. These were closest during the reigns of Castilian kings such as Alfonso X, Alfonso XI, Juan II, Enrique IV or the Catholics Monarchs, while they were more distant during the reigns of Castilian kings such as Pedro I and Juan I. However, no historian or bibliographer has paid enough attention to the importance of De Valera's role in cementing the historical-cultural relations between the Castilian and the English Crowns. This was the focus of this dissertation. By reading closely all of his treatises, *specula principis*, chronicles and epistles, we came across many references to the English monarchy, courtly customs and history that through him became known to the Castilian monarchs and nobility of his time.

The second chapter explored the importance of De Valera's treatises as works which represented role models for Castilian kings, princes and noblemen. *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (1441) shows the use in battle of coats of armour by English and French knights as an example to be imitated by Castilian knights. *Tratado de las Armas*

(1458-1467) shows what the passage of arms was according to the English tradition, based on the French one. What De Valera wanted was explain the king and Castilian noblemen the ways in which this type of chivalric combat superseded the duels carried out was more innovative than the one carried out in Castile. *Ceremonial de Príncipes* (1462) shows that in England the dignity of the dukedom was the only one below kings, and above marquesses, hiding a criticism against *marqués* of Villena because he unduly behaved as a duke. In De Valera's *specula principis*, Henry VI's the England is shown as model of chivalry and nobility at the court of Juan II and Enrique IV of Castile.

The third chapter was concerned with De Valera's chronicles, which chronologically compile facts and events of Castilian and Spanish history since its origins until the reign of the Catholic Monarchs in the last decades of the fifteenth century. *Crónica abreviada de España* (1479-1481) shows the family bonds between English and Castilian dynasties since the twelfth century, starting with the marriage of Alfonso VIII of Castile and Eleanor Plantagenet, moving on to Pedro I of Castile and Joan of England's truncated union, and finishing with Enrique III of Castile and Catherine of Lancaster, the latter ruling as regent over Castile until 1418. The false piece of history of marriage between Alfonso VI of León and Beatrice of England is given for true, with the purpose of tracing back as early as possible the union with England. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1487-1488) stresses the rightfulness to the English throne of Henry VII after his victory at Bosworth in 1483, to stress the good relationships between England and Castile after his royal proclamation, to contrast their relations to Richard III: he had been Isabel of Castile's suitor when she was a teenager and she had rejected him. Even if the chronicles sometimes mix reality, false events and fantasy, what is common to all those facts is an attempt to select the historical events that best exemplify the alliance with England from the twelfth century until the fifteenth century.

One notable feature of De Valera's work is the use he makes of his own experience and observations from his embassy to England of 1442, as well as of the contemporary reports he gathered from the English merchants in El Puerto de Santa María, Cadiz. For the first time we know that in 1442, as the King of Castile's envoy, he met Humphrey of Lancaster, first Duke of Gloucester, Edmund and John Beaufort, the Earls of Dorset and Somerset, and the most powerful person of the time, the Cardinal of England, Henry Beaufort. Back in Spain, merchants gave him the first account that arrived in the kingdom

of the end of the War of the Roses and the proclamation of Henry Tudor as King of England.

This dissertation has allowed us to confirm that Diego de Valera is an essential historical figure to understand the history of Spain in the 1400s, as well as what aspects of the English court and nobility would be known to the Castilians at the time. We hope to have shown the extent to which De Valera served as a cultural ambassador between England and Castile during most part of the fifteenth century and could have cemented with his work the negotiations toward the betrothal of Catherine of Aragon to the Prince of Wales.

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