Title: “Kings, Nobles, and *Letrados*: the Ideological and Literary Foundations of Renaissance Spain”

By: Michael F. Peters Jr.

University of Oxford: Jesus College

Degree: D.Phil. in Medieval and Modern Languages (Spanish)

Submission Date: Summer (August 2024)

Words: 83,698

Contents

List of Abbreviations

BC: Biblioteca de Catalunya

Bk.: Book

BNE: Biblioteca Nacional de España

Ch.: Chapter

Cod.: Codex

esp.: Especially

Ex.: Example

f./ff.: Folio/folios

ff.: Following folios

Inc.: Incunable

Intro.: Introduction

Lat.: Latin

lin.: line/s

MSS: Manuscript/Manuscripts

n.: Note

p./pp.: Page/pages

Pref.: Preface

Pro.: Prologue

pt.: Part

RBME: Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial

RAH: Real Academia de la Historia

r: Recto

sig.: Signature

st./sts.: Stanza/stanzas

v: Verso

v./vv.: Verse/verses

Vat.: Vatican

Vol./Vols.: Volume/Volumes

Acknowledgements

My time at Oxford would not have been possible without the support of many people. I would like to thank my mom and my siblings—Amber, Matt, and Tiffany—for all that they have done for me throughout my life. I also want to recognize my former high school teacher Robert Piper for his advice and friendship. Apart from these individuals, I want to point out the help given to me by: Damarys López; María Luz Gutiérrez Araus; Roberto Véguez; Antonio Carreño Rodríguez; Jonathan Thacker; and Joseph Snow. In addition, I want to acknowledge Juan Carlos Conde for giving me the chance to come to Oxford and for his help throughout my time at the university. I also want to thank María Morrás and Jeremy Lawrance for teaching and supervising me a great deal at Oxford. I would also like to recognize the contributions made by Geraldine Hazbun and Rosa Vidal Doval to improve my doctoral thesis through their suggestions and comments, ensuring a better finished product. Finally, I want to again express my gratitude to María Morrás and Jeremy Lawrance for reading my entire thesis, offering helpful feedback for the final revised version.

Introduction

This thesis analyzes the relationship between power and writing over the course of the Middle Ages and the early stages of the Renaissance in Spain, taking a special interest in the interplay between literary, legal, and historiographical works in the context of the royal court and within political or politically-tinged texts. This analysis will consider how literature became a way of doing and creating politics by focusing on a selection of texts that were geared toward articulating authority between the monarchy and the court, represented by the nobility and "civil servants"; the included works will be representative of a diverse group of individuals from differing periods and contexts: a monarch's legal work (chapter one); a noble and his estate's self-representation (chapter two); private advice from a monarch's counselor (chapter three); and counsel from a humanist to a future king (chapter four). To understand these developments, I shall consider a vital period for intellectual thought from Alfonso X of Castile's reign (1252-1284) to that of the Catholic Monarchs (1479-1504), setting the trajectory that political literature would take in the peninsula.[1] Hence, this thesis intends first to prove that Alfonso X was the intellectual and theoretical father of political and literary thought in Castilian, his corpus serving as the foundation of early modern Spain and its Renaissance, especially *Siete Partidas*. By presenting a model that blended language, literature, history, ethics, and law with politics, Alfonso helped establish an ideological framework through discourse that would transform elite society by crafting aspirational models for (re)creating and (re)imagining the *señorío* for the benefit of royal power. Later texts would use the Alfonsine corpus and ideological blueprint to debate and discuss its key concepts; these works would become sites for rhetorical and ideological negotiation between the monarch

[1] Though technically king until his death, Alfonso was stripped of most of his powers by his son, Sancho IV (1258-1295), and the nobles; some of these powers were given to his son by 1278, while *el Sabio* was essentially only left with the title of king by 1282 (O'Callaghan 1990: 28).

and the nobles, while their authors, primarily *letrados*—who were university-trained scholars—would serve as mediators between them. The Alfonsine model, then, would be appropriated by future generations, adapting and updating it (often) to the benefit of royal authority and centralization: Alfonsine literature idealized and wrote into existence a utopian vision of what the *señorío* ought to be;[2] later, it was shaped, developed, and challenged by literary and cultural agents who would help to formulate it into a more applicable model: literature was used to make and participate in politics.

To cover this timeline and the aforementioned developments, I shall first primarily discuss Alfonso's *Siete Partidas* as a foundational text that would turn into a pivotal debate point; this is especially exemplified by the second *partida*, which would be malleable enough to present future leaders opportunities to formulate theories and views favorable to royal authority, as well as stimulate debates regarding the body politic (Nieto Soria 2008: 5; see also 2010b: 88).[3] Intellectuals going forward would interact with Alfonso's legal framework, using and challenging some of its ideas directly. One rising group is of particular interest in this regard: *letrados*, the group that would compete with nobles for agency at the court.[4] The nobles would engage with the Alfonsine model, guarding their traditional roles as defenders of the realm with privileged and honorary status. The chief example, Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348), studied in the second chapter, serves as an example of a failed anti-Alfonsine figure. Though the Alfonsine program was influential, it did not stagnate, permitting a study of both the continuities and discontinuities over the aforementioned timeframe. The fifteenth century, for example,

[2] *Señorío* is the term most commonly used in *Siete Partidas* to refer to the body politic or "state". For more on these concepts and the debate regarding their use in a medieval context, see: Post (1964); De Davies (2003). Later I shall use the term "nation" for the sake of convenience, but it has some of the same complications when applied to the Middle Ages (De Dios 1985, 1988; Davies 2003; Reynolds 2006).
[3] Nanu has argued for analyzing the first eleven chapters of this *partida* as a mirror of princes (2013).
[4] Intellectuals and/or clerics have been described as cultural intermediaries and agents for transmitting ideas (Weiss 2006: 5).

produced an uptick in theories on royal absolutism, and the influence of "vernacular humanism" added new ideas, texts, and approaches to the ongoing debates (Di Camillo 1976, 1988; Lawrance 1985, 1986, 1990, 2016; Nieto Soria 2010b). In this century (the last two chapters), I shall examine the role that cultural and literary agents had in shaping political and ethical discourses, courtly mentalities, and influencing the debates and ideas that would further cement the roles of the monarch, nobles, and *letrados*; that is, learned actors would begin to have an outsized voice in matters directly related to power through their writing.

As I discuss the transition between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, a brief comment on periodization is due. The dividing lines between these two eras are complex:

> Periodization is never simply a line drawn through time: it is a discursive intervention in the present that, in part, sorts out and defines which elements of the past are relevant for thinking about the relationship between past and future (whether of politics or of scholarship). (Davis 2008: 357)[5]

The creation of periods can always be a challenge, as it shapes our perception of the past and the present, while there are no absolute categories without overlaps between the Middle Ages and Renaissance (Copenhaver and Schmitt 1992: 3; Ward 1997: 104-105; Summit and Wallace 2007: 447; Warren 2013: 139; Le Goff 2015: 2). Despite these potential pitfalls, if one does not look for any changes or differences to distinguish periods, it would make it difficult to study the development of ideas and literary forms over time. Therefore, it is important to not approach the terms "medieval" and "modern" with any value-based judgements or as clear indications of incompatibility between them in absolute terms, but as concepts to focus on what differences there were while not ignoring the similarities.

[5] On the disagreements surrounding periodization see: Le Goff (2015).

In the title of this thesis, I also use the term "ideological". Ideology is another challenging term to define according to some theorists, given the disagreements as to its connotations (Van Dijk 1998: 1). Two definitions can be useful for laying out my use of the term: "(c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power; [...] (j) the conjuncture of discourse and power" (Eagleton 1991: 1-2). I do not wish to include "dominant", as neither the monarchy nor the nobility would gain a clear upperhand during the Middle Ages; "legitimate" should not be taken in a negative fashion either, but simply as the group(s) or person(s) with power. From the theory of discourse, an additional point is made: "An ideology is hence the macroscopic structural arrangement that attributes meaning to a range of mutually defining political concepts" (Freeden 1998: 54).[6] It should also be stated that my use of *ideology* or *ideological* should not be interpreted in any negative fashion as something false or misguided in a Marxist sense, nor be interpreted in any Marxist or postmodernist sense (Van Dijk 1998: 2). Instead, I shall understand ideology as the use of written discourse to promote, rationalize, and legitimize power and sociopolitical concepts in a "top-down" manner, as it is my contention that Alfonso X was key to this process (Van Dijk 1998: 174); furthermore, given the importance of the Alfonsine corpus for reimagining society, I shall analyze this monarch's role, and those that followed or challenged his model, in giving meaning, purpose, and unity to the body politic. I shall consider his discourse or written works, then, as the explicit production of "abstract ideological beliefs" (Van Dijk 1998: 192-193).[7]

A remark on what I understand genre to mean in the Middle Ages is also necessary since I discuss different types throughout this thesis. Medieval literary genres are not as easily classified as modern ones (Jauss 1986: 70; Zumthor 1992: 135). The fall of Rome

[6] See Mackenzie for more on political ideologies (2014: esp. pp. 3-4).
[7] See for additional points: Thompson (1984); McLellan (1995).

also meant the collapse of classical models, blurring the literary divisions and ways of presenting and interpreting texts (Curtius 1953: 248-250). Modern readers also approach texts based on their own expectations and points of reference, but preconceptions of genre can make interpretation more difficult and lead to misunderstandings (Butterfield 1990: 187). Medieval authors tend to blend fiction and history in such a way so as to confuse their differences, relying on similar examples, stories, and ideas to support a concept or to entertain; in some ways, medieval literature (in the broad sense) is without genre, but I shall categorize the genres as follows for purposes of clarity, as it is not the main focus of this analysis. Historical works are those that have the primary objective to present an account of the past, even if interlaced with supernatural and fictive events. The idea of historical truth differed in the Middle Ages, often meaning something was more so "a widely accepted tradition" than what a modern reader understands history to be (Fleischman 1983: 305); the Church was also impactful in shaping this genre, as it was primarily controlled by it and was frequently presented as "the gradual revelation of God's will" (Fulton 2017: 152). Despite the different conceptualization of history then and now, I shall categorize historical works according to modern ideas of the genre, so as to not cause any confusion as to what I mean by historical works or history in this thesis. Legal texts are those that primarily deal with laws, though matters of tradition and history, sociopolitical ideas, and ethics may be considered, as well, demonstrating that they are not solely codes but similar to philosophy of law, confirmed by Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*. Fiction will be understood as an account that primarily relies on invented stories as its driving force rather than as a complimentary addition; they still have a sense of plausibility, but are separate from pure works of imagination (e.g., fables) in the Middle Ages (Bergqvist 2022: 88-89). The inclusion of fictive works offer different and invaluable views and insights into the history of ideas, serving as examples to illuminate

the thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and ideals of the writers and readers alike (Kaeuper 2015); in other words, "[f]iction is a laboratory of ideas creating a prototype of reality we would like to see become real" (Wacks 2019: 84). I have included a fourth term in the second chapter in hope of giving a more precise account of genre: fictive history. In this case, I present this as primarily a fictive account, but with historical details that legitimize viewpoints and show the utility of the ideas outlined in the work, serving as personal and noble propaganda in the context of political and social rivalry with the monarchy. This type of text will be analyzed when studying Juan Manuel's *Libro de los estados* (1327-1332), presented as a book on chivalry. Finally, in the last two chapters I especially rely on treatises or *specula*; these texts can be categorized as having the principle objective of teaching or influencing a person or group of people—typically with power—to follow the advice or ideas presented by the author. Though there is a blend of references from a range of written works, the motive is to guide the reader or listener through good and bad models for practical counsel based on precedent and/or *auctoritas*. In the case of the third chapter, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo's (1404-1470) *Suma de la política* (1454/1455) is composed in the traditional scholastic form as a *summa*, or summary of all the pertinent ideas on a topic, from the perspective of a scholar and diplomat in order to influence the political elite, but it is also draped in humanist-style references, ideas, and rhetoric to give it an added flair. As for the last chapter, I shall turn to Diego de Valera's (1411/1412-1488) *Doctrinal de príncipes* (1475/1476). The treatise takes on the form of a treatise and mirror of princes, forwarding views that reveal the prestige that humanist learning was having within Castilian society. Again, as pointed out by Zumthor (1992: 135), the walls between genres and disciplines were not as definite as they are today, but these points can help to give the reader a general idea. However, as I am focused on the ideas themselves

and their impact rather than on the type of texts in which they appear, I shall not concentrate on genre theory.

The primary texts included in each of the four chapters are as follows. In the first one, I shall principally study Alfonso X's legal corpus, especially *Siete Partidas*. I have selected this work as I argue that it played a pivotal role in shaping the literary, historical, and political debates going forward regarding royal power, the organization of the *señorío*, and the roles of the various estates. The Alfonsine legal texts, alongside the historiographical ones, are likewise critical to uplifting and incorporating *letrados* into central roles in society, (in)directly giving them added influence on ethical and political ideas, as well as increase the value of education. The second chapter will focus on Don Juan Manuel's *Libro de los estados*. I have chosen the work as an ideal example of a high noble's attempts to counter the rising power and influence of *new* nobles (i.e., *caballeros villanos*), merchants, and *letrados*, all of whom were encroaching on the nobility's power, influence, and wealth. *Libro de los estados* gives additional evidence of how writing and ideas were vital parts of political and ideological goals in the attempt to win allies, debate, and build one's influence. Juan Manuel's perspectives and text directly address these matters, offering a personal defense that extends to his estate. *Libro de los estados*, then, serves as a counter model to defend the traditional nobility that relies on and alters the Alfonsine blueprint of society and the *señorío*, depicting a contrasting conception that ultimately fails to alter the kingdom's trajectory. The third chapter concentrates on *Suma de la política* by Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, a diplomat, member of the clergy, and royal counselor. The author and work are included for a few reasons. First, it presents the viewpoint of an individual who came from a humble background, but thanks to his education and natural abilities was able to become a prominent figure during his times. Second, Arévalo's treatise shows how literature was increasingly becoming an influential

tool in not only discussing, explaining, and debating relevant political and ethical matters, but establish that *letrados* were able to participate in politics based on their special skill sets; that is, education was becoming a critical part of power and a sense of *auctoritas*: nobles and monarchs would depend on *letrados* for counsel, prestige, and learning to legitimize and defend their own positions. Third, Arévalo's arguments on moderation, compromise, and ethical behavior were essential to countering extremes evident during the fifteenth century, as the author procured to have political actors meet at a middle ground that was more aligned with the Alfonsine model. And fourth, as a protégé of Alfonso de Cartagena (1384-1456), the study of Arévalo's vernacular text adds to the understanding of Cartagena's impact on the Iberian Peninsula's intellectual culture, underlining that the interests in classical history, ethics, and literature were broad with the intent of applying these principles and *exempla* for the improvement of society as a whole. In the last chapter, I consider Diego de Valera's *Doctrinal de príncipes*. The work exemplifies a humanist giving advice to a future king of Castile, Fernando II of Aragon (1452-1516). The treatise was selected as a prime example, early in the Catholic Monarchs' reign, of the power and prestige that learning had for writers and leaders alike. Not only does Valera's dedication show that education and humanism could give intellectuals the chance to earn places of influence based on their skills, but it also highlights that political leaders viewed writing and ideas as useful tools to educate themselves, promote their political ideologies, and to create a sense of *auctoritas* in their kingdoms and abroad. In this specific case, *Doctrinal de príncipes* is dedicated to Fernando in order to provide a model on how to legitimize his power over Castile, while encouraging him to promote and use learned advisors, such as Valera himself. In other words, power could be gained and consolidated with the aid of *letrados* and literary works. Finally, in the case of Arévalo's *Suma de la política* and Valera's *Doctrinal de*

príncipes, their selection has also been driven by a lack of solid critical editions of each, limiting scholars' abilities to better understand the sources, ideas, and influences on each of the authors; by considering these literary aspects, it will offer readers a better understanding of the cultural environment and the intellectual trends that were prominent and influential. Other details are analyzed in each chapter, but the texts and figures offer an overview of different periods, contexts, and cultural agents to examine how literacy and political power were becoming progressively intertwined: politics would be molded by and dependent on literature, over time becoming more impactful in shaping the government.

Methodological Approach:

This thesis will use a series of case studies to document, analyze, and follow the main developments of literary and ideological thought over the course of two and a half centuries, especially in the context of political power and literature at the royal court. By incorporating literature, historiography, and legal works, the intention is to better document through close textual readings the lines of intellectual thought that were fundamental to conflicts over power: it is an examination of the history of ideas in political contexts. By approaching these debates as outlined in this manner, each chapter strives to give a view of the conflicting ideologies and written works that formed part of the ideological and literary development of the kingdom. This methodological approach does, however, have some limitations. The extensive time period covered by this thesis signifies that one must be selective rather than comprehensive, which inherently limits the number of authors, perspectives, and texts that could be included; moreover, it is inevitable that certain events and figures must be briefly discussed or ignored. Nevertheless, the selection of texts has been planned in such a way so as to demonstrate the various debates and types of written works that helped to formulate the political and

ideological questions that would contribute to the historical, political, and literary evolution of Castile from the reign of Alfonso X up to the Catholic Monarchs. I have selected viewpoints that cover the different ranks of society, hoping to give a more complete vision of the debates and ideologies that were impactful.

The common themes and ideas addressed in this thesis emphasize the value and role of literary works in the construction of utopian ideals in the kingdom; that is, texts were crucial media reflecting the desires, debates, and aspirations that played out in culture to shape society (Heusch and Rodríguez Velasco 2000: 11). All of the aforementioned texts failed as authoritative models to achieve their intended goals in the real world, but elements of their messages would be influential in creating a form of public discourse and debate. In the case of Alfonso X, despite having the power of a monarch, he was never able to enforce his vision, relying instead on a social and political utopia based on Roman law, Castilian history, and literature to depict an ideal model for the *señorío*, as best exemplified by *Siete Partidas*. As for the other authors, Juan Manuel held political power in his own territories, but was not able to extend his authority and perspectives across the kingdom to counter the rising influence of the Alfonsine model and the increasing influence of the new nobles, merchants, and *letrados*. In the cases of Arévalo and Valera, each acted as advisors to the elite, but did not have legal authority and power, as their treatises functioned more in the private sphere to influence leaders. For these reasons, the exemplary role of the past and literature served as a substitute to actual, sustained change in the real world; nonetheless, these models helped to give literature a more prominent voice and greater prestige, steadily shaping society and ethics and partaking in politics. Through the close-reading of the selected works and in conjunction with my rationale for choosing each one, one notes the outsized influence that literature had in shaping courtly mentalities, ethics, and political thought.

Chapter 1. Alfonso X's Political Utopia: The Monarchy, Knights, and the Rise of the *Letrado*

Alfonso X (reigned from 1252) is especially relevant for his role in the cultural and literary history; even if, as many scholars have noted, Alfonso's father—Fernando III (1201-1252)—had a part in the trajectory and objectives of his learned son, *el Sabio* took some monumental steps to write and promote reform and unify the realm in the vernacular.[8] Alfonso was aware of the difficulties surrounding the incorporation of new peoples, but also cognizant of the importance of centralizing his power; the monarch's efforts were not only geared toward recuperating these lost lands, but projecting an image across Europe in the hope of acquiring the imperial throne through his maternal line: Béatrice de Savoie (1250-1292), his mother, was the cousin of the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II (1194-1250), promoted, serving as another source of inspiration. Alfonso's own ideal of empire and unity, though ultimately never successfully carried out, would later be appropriated and reformulated in the fifteenth century by the Catholic Monarchs (reigned 1479-1516), who would use and update the Alfonsine program for their own purposes. Alfonso put forward a model to centralize the realm's cultural and political power structure around the monarchy, bringing the diverse peoples under one crown, while also reigning in the rest of society: the nobles, the Church, and the towns and cities. In order to do so, Alfonso turned toward Roman law and concepts, developed in his monumental *Siete Partidas*. This chapter will present this legal work as the guiding and foundational text that later intellectuals and political figures will use and manipulate in order to debate, defend, and construct views regarding royal power, knighthood, and ethical matters. The prologue to *Siete Partidas* itself underscores the monarch's hopes

[8] On Alfonso's use of his father's image and the efforts that would culminate in his sainthood (1671) see: Guiance 2012; Fernández Fernández 2012; Ayala Martínez 2012.

that his work could be of use to future rulers, demonstrating an interest in his own legacy, as well as a desire that the text would be impactful in the long term:

> por dar ayuda e esfuerço a los que después de nós reynasen por que pudiessen mejor sufrir a la gran lazeria e trabajo que an de mantener los reynos los que lo bien quisiessen fazer. (1555: Pro.)[9]

Alfonso's legal work might have been a utopian ideal in his own time, but it would be adopted and referenced by future generations as a prestigious model.

A brief discussion of Alfonso's ideas of empire and Roman law are necessary. In his historical and legal corpus, *imperium*'s meaning was taken from "the Roman (Byzantine), the Hispanic and the Roman Germanic empires" (Fernández-Ordóñez 2020: 4; see also Sirantoine 2013: Ch. 1, p. 7). The earliest account of this concept being resurrected for political advantage was Charlemagne's (747?-814) Christmas day coronation (800) (Mauntel 2018: 69).[10] In the Iberian Peninsula, it dates from the same century, as Alfonso III (*c*. 852-910) used it in 875, growing in part out of the memory or legacy of the Visigoths (Post 1954: 201-202; Mauntel 2018: 79; Valdeón Baruque 2006: 30-33, 56-58).[11] An aspect connecting Alfonso X's kingdom to these past empires was the concept of *señorío* to underline a continuous line of succession throughout history as a way of legitimizing the passing down of authority, buttressed by God's giving this power to

[9] *Primera crónica general* also discusses the importance of written records in order to learn from and remember the past (1906: Pro., pp. 3-4); *General estoria* has a similar prologue (Alfonso X 2009: Pt. 1, Vol. I, Bk. 1, Pro., p. 5). I shall use the these editions and abbreviations when citing the legal works, *Espéculo*, *Fuero real*, *Siete Partidas*, and *Setenario*: *Esp.* (Alfonso X: 1985a); *FR* (Alfonso X: 1985b); *SP* (Alfonso X: 1555); *Set.* (Alfonso X: 1945). I have opted for the López's edition of *Siete Partidas* because it is the one that has been adopted in modern Spanish courts; furthermore, it includes the editor's glosses that at times can be of interest (for more on the edition, see Panateri 2017: 135-138). Citations taken from each will be given in the format of book, title, and law (1555). I shall modernize the orthography, add punctuation, and edit the editions to facilitate their reading (e.g., adding accents, regularizing the distinctions between the vocalic and consonantal *-u/v*, simplifying double consonants, and using an accent to differentiate between atonic enclitic *nos*/*vos* and tonic pronouns *nós*/*vós*, as well as to avoid confusion between *a* as a preposition and *á* as a verb). The same will be done with *Crónica de Alfonso X* (1999).

[10] Charlemagne was important in shaping the imagery and conception of knighthood, as well (Keen 1984: 107-108).

[11] The Vulgate and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* also discuss the concept of *imperator* and/or *imperium* (Sirantoine 2017: Ch. 1, pp. 23-25).

select individuals, according to the well-known *topos* of *translatio studii et imperii* (Curtius 1953; Mauntel 2018; Fernández-Ordóñez 2020: 5, 18).[12] That is, imperial titles and links to the past were ways to uplift royal power for ideological gain, prestige, and fame for uniting the realm (Núñez Rodríguez 1992, 1993; Sirantoine 2012: 411-414). In spite of Alfonso's interest in empire abroad and his pursuit of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire, restoring the Hispanic empire was his main objective (Fernández-Ordóñez 2020: 18). Alfonso turned to these models to not only defend his own authority and prestige, but to learn from the ways the Roman—the Empire by definition—and past leaders used the written word to defend their own position.[13]

This interest and appropriation of Roman law was not solely an Iberian pursuit, but was turned to throughout Europe from the late twelfth century onward: as "kings were trying to overcome the anarchy of feudalism, the new legal science furnished those principles of public law that helped them convert their realms into States" (Post 1964: 4; see also García Díaz 2020: 289). This trend also reflects the growing importance of universities, which were increasingly dividing learning into distinct subjects instead of using an encyclopedic approach (Kristeller 1997: 3).[14] In the Iberian Peninsula, the roles of university scholars began to be more prominent, as their names were more regularly attached to royal documents (Maravall 1953: 67). Roman common law was valuable to Alfonso's efforts:

> For the earliest glossators, it was beyond dispute that the *Corpus iuris civilis* portrayed the emperor as the rightful *dominus mundi*. Appointed by God to rule as *lex animata*,

[12] Connecting oneself to past rulers and establishing one's authority via genealogy and ideals was a common feature among twelfth and thirteenth century leadership (Bloch 1983; Spiegel 1993; Beceiro Pita and Córdoba de la Llave 1990).

[13] Maravall presents an overview of the concept of empire in the Iberian kingdoms (1997: 412-472).

[14] Two universities were founded before Alfonso's reign: the University of Salamanca (1218) and the University of Valladolid (1241), showing the increased demand for the knowledge that graduates could provide (Maravall 1953: 69); see also Doubleday for additional details on Salamanca (2015: 73-74). For more on the rise of universities and their influence across Europe, see: Bartlett (1994: 288-291); Colish (1997: Ch. 20).

> his authority excelled that of any other form of earthly rule and extended to the very ends of the earth. It was his task not merely to maintain peace and justice among men, but also—and more especially—to protect and extend the Christian faith with law throughout the world. (Lee 2018: 190)

In addition to rationalizing royal power, this morally and legally promoted the use of force to carry out the Reconquest. Until the revival of Roman law feudalism was in place, giving more power to private law and noble privilege from the ninth to the eleventh centuries (Post 1964: 257). Feudalism was structured around more localized control in which a lord would hold power over the local inhabitants; he obtained payments from his vassals in exchange for the right to use his land, as well as the lord's protection and implementation of law and order. This decentralized power gave the lord a great deal of independence and privilege. In Castile, a strict or narrow interpretation of feudalism does not always apply:

> Vassals did not always receive benefices, and benefices were not always given to vassals; nor did the benefice ever become an hereditary possession. Above all, feudalism failed to undermine the public structure of the state. The monarchy remained strong precisely because it continued to fulfill the fundamental role of leadership in war against the Muslims. [...] Although territorial administration was indeed given in benefice, the king [...] could always recover it. Nor when granting immunities did the king divest himself of sovereign powers [...]. Finally, to counter the ambitious nobility, the king could always depend upon the full support of the freemen of the great *concejos* or municipalities. (O'Callaghan 1983: 263)[15]

In the face of regional *fueros*, Roman law offered a path to correct some of these concerns, with the added benefit of being prestigious, permitting the monarchy to challenge "the nobility [who] were usually too powerful for the king to assert his authority, and the cities [that] sometimes acted as if they were independent" (Post 1964: 118). Roman law gave the ruler

[15] Some of these differences have contributed to the ignoring of the Iberian Peninsula in wider European studies of feudalism, which has likely caused the Iberian model(s) to be overly depicted as an entirely different construct (Kosto 2011).

> the public right to demand support for all actions that were deemed necessary for the public welfare of the State. It was the right and duty of the magistracy to administer, legislate, and judge so as to maintain the public and common welfare. (Post 1964: 565)

Therefore, it was a European phenomenon that was fundamental to creating the early modern states.[16]

The use of Roman law was also of value beyond its legal ideas and concepts to construct the body politic, as it provides *exempla* from classical sources. Turning to new sources that offer exemplary accounts and figures can be interpreted as "symptoms of political and ideological struggles" (Hampton 1990: 5). The legal texts worked hand-in-hand with the objective of providing support for the monarch's reforms in order to forge a new image of society and the *señorío*, complemented by his historiographical works: *Estoria de España* (1270-1274) and *General Estoria* (*c*. 1270-1280); these writings in turn helped to narrate and connect Alfonso's reign and power to past rulers, to vindicate and defend his rights by alluding to the *topos* of *translatio imperii* (Martin 2003: 13). In other words, Alfonso's court weaved together literature, historiography, and legal works to foment a new vision and model for the kingdom. This endeavor was not a solely Western one, despite its textual and ideological foundations; Jews and Muslims played vital roles, but the Alfonsine program still had much of its ideology founded on classical models and the legacy of the Visigoths, who were heavily Romanized, as well. Works in Arabic were transmitted to the West via these translations, but some of them were of Greco-Latin origin, so in many senses it was a revival of a lost European past, especially regarding political concepts; that is, the Muslim world was vital for keeping alive parts of the lost Occidental cultural and intellectual history that they held "en préstamo" and added to it (Gómez Moreno 1999: 299). The textual *translatio* was carried out mainly by

[16] See Kantorowicz for details regarding the appropriation of Roman and Imperial ideas in the new monarchies ([1954] 1997: 264-268). Jaume I of Aragon (1208-1276) also used Roman common law to promulgate new *fueros*, as in the case of the *Furs de València* (1261) (Valdeón Baruque 2006: 119).

Alfonso's promotion of translations of Arabic sources first, and then, after 1250 when he started an international campaign to become *Rex Romanorum*. With this purpose in mind, the translators was a group composed of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian scholars with the commission of compiling sources and translating them from Arabic and Hebrew to Latin and Castilian. It put together the texts that would serve as the basis for the creation of Alfonso's corpus, overseen and directed by the monarch (for more see G. Menéndez Pidal 1951; Catalán 1963; Fernández-Ordóñez 2000c, esp. pp. 61-62; Rubio Tovar 2014). The use of Islamic and Jewish texts and scholars also indirectly highlights the differences between these cultures and Christian Spain: "It is appropriate to talk about cross-cultural borrowings and cross-cultural competitions only when there is a clearly defined distinction between two cultures" (Mallette 2011: 123). In short, the Alfonsine model relied on European sources and ideas primarily, but operated in a unique environment.

These historical and sociopolitical realities created a unique intellectual and cultural milieu at Alfonso X's court. It would be hard to argue that his court did not represent a locus for a cultural re-naissance, as it has been identified with a "gran deshielo cultural [...] que por primera vez admitía el saber no cristiano en un pie de igualdad" (Márquez Villanueva 1994: 130). The intellectual re-awakening has been recognized by scholars, such as Ramón Menéndez Pidal, who once, when referring to the *General Estoria*, described the work done under the king's guidance as an example of "humanismo vulgar o románico" (1972-1975: Vol. I, p. 68). Of particular interest is the recent comprehensive text by Salvador H. Martínez (2003), who defines humanism at the Alfonsine court as follows:

> el humanismo alfonsí *fue integrador* de las tres culturas existentes en la Península, y sobre todo *fue vernáculo*, planteando una doble barrera, cultural y lingüística, insuperable en la Europa latina de los siglos XI al XIV en la que operan los "críticos". La nebulosa de una España mudéjar ha desorientado a estudiosos foráneos y domésticos. Lo que fue para los críticos del pasado una barrera insuperable, creo,

> puede ser para los investigadores de nuestros días una nueva oportunidad para entender el movimiento cultural alfonsí como un verdadero humanismo. (2003: 27)

This view of humanism is far from being globally accepted.[17] However, the definition is not simple, as scholars do not agree on what counts as humanist, which can likewise be said of Renaissance (Milner 2012: 3); both ideas "constantly escape and exceed the definitions that seek to confine them" (Milner 2012: 3).[18] A general description of humanism is that it was a moral and educational program that put a special emphasis on the centrality of the human experience; it was also fundamental to the development of society and government, building on ethical concepts and linguistic precedents set by classical culture. In other words, the

> hallmarks of humanist reform were always the accurate study of texts in the original languages, preference for ancient authors and commentators over medieval ones, and avoidance of technical language in the interests of moral suasion and accessibility. (Hankins 2007b: 4)

In order to refine Martínez's point, I shall use a useful concept that permits a broader, more flexible view of humanism, which will help to study the Alfonsine court as something new and distinct when comparing it to previous Iberian courts. This is necessary since there is an evident intellectual and political movement at Alfonso's court, entailing a type of center—that was itinerant—of cultural rebirth or renovation. Therefore, I shall use a concept used by Milner to give more flexibility to my analysis: "Humanism as contagion" (2012: 4). The concept opens up the possibility to study its reception and impact across the continent and how it varied (Milner 2012: 4). To continue Milner's biological metaphor, one can further understand its infection of Castile by contextualizing humanism and classicism to the intellectual and cultural habitat of the

[17] The term as it is applied to Alfonso X is discussed by Gómez Moreno, who has also been responsible for a great number of influential works on fifteenth-century Humanism (1999: 291).
[18] The term "movement" has been proposed by some, though this can be likewise challenged (Gombrich 1974). For more on humanism across Europe see: Kristeller (1946, 1979); Baron (1955; I cite from the 1966 revised edition; 1979, 1984); Skinner (1978: Vol. I); Hankins (1995, 2000, 2019); Najemy (2000); Witt (2003).

kingdom, as well as its interests and needs. If one focuses, then, on Hankins' third idea ("avoidance of technical language in the interests of moral suasion and accessibility") in conjunction with Milner's idea of contagion, it would permit some leeway regarding *original languages*, given that Castilian was a necessary medium in order to present persuasive arguments and the kingdom had some unique linguistic features (e.g, the presence of Arabic). As a type of cultural virus, humanism functions like Richard Dawkins' concept of *meme*, as discussed in *The Selfish Gene* (1976). That is, ideas are analogous to biological genes: units of information or cultural products are created or introduced, replicated, and transmitted throughout a context, adapting or evolving based on the environment. Studied from this perspective, one must take into account the culture, its history, its sociopolitical norms, as well as the changes that occur over the course of time, rendering the concept more malleable.

With this in mind, I shall define a variant of humanism in the Alfonsine court as a foundational royal humanism that attempts to compile, categorize, explain, and *use* history, ethics, and literature in the vernacular in order to model an ideological framework that is defended and rationalized based on the classical past, with infusions of Visigothic foundation myths;[19] it is an intellectual and cultural re-naissance that relies on the prestige of the classical past, especially Roman common law, to present a new vision of the monarchy. Though this process never left the realm of idealism in its initial stages, it was Alfonso's attempt to use culture to create and justify his view of the *señorío*. As for royal humanism, I mean:

> when any given *rex*, or king, ruling over a territory similarly denoted as a regnum, or royal domain or kingdom, is identified with the distinctively Roman sovereign person of the *princeps*. (Stacey 2011: 52)

[19] *General estoria* discusses the origins of the *godos* (2009: Pt. 3, Vol. I, pp. 287-323).

When evaluating the historical and political comparisons made in the Alfonsine corpus, the monarch has a similar approach. Despite being encyclopedic in nature, Alfonso was also selective and elaborated his corpus based on his own interests, especially regarding his attempts to reform society and to govern (Fernández-Ordóñez 2004). Alfonso's intellectual and cultural rebirth is presented in the vernacular, but is more so in the stage of theory and idealism, as many of his views would not be implemented during his own reign. Furthermore, in some ways Alfonso's efforts could be tied to medieval Scholasticism, yet there appears to be one major difference: whereas scholastic scholars and scholarship were not placed in positions of power and influence, but mostly operated outside of the courts, Alfonso uplifted *letrados* who, with time, would take advantage to chisel out positions in the government, underscoring the place that culture and learning were gaining.[20] These developments are particularly noteworthy in the fifteenth century, which I shall address at the appropriate time. In summary, I argue that if humanism and re-naissance are understood more broadly as an intellectual and cultural rebirth based on classical concepts, especially Roman law, then this analysis will be useful indeed to studying the development of intellectual and literary thought from Alfonso's reign to that of the Catholic Monarchs.

With these precisions in mind, I shall alter and add some points to Martínez. I do not believe that humanism on its own can explain how the Alfonsine court was impactful to the development of the kingdom after his reign, as his texts shaped the political and literary trajectory of the peninsula. First, the inability to step away from a certain historiographical and scholarly image of the "true" humanism that developed in Italy has

[20] On medieval Scholasticism, see: Kristeller (1944-1945); Colish (1997: Ch. 20); Hankins (2007c: 33-34). Colish summarizes scholasticism as follows: "early and high medieval scholasticism is marked by synthetic and systematic thought in all disciplines, the creation of general syllabuses including everything a student needed to know, organized in coherent form. The goal of pedagogy was now to train professional, full-time scholars with a substantive and methodological grasp of entire fields of knowledge" (1997: 265).

complicated its applicability to other contexts. Italian humanism was not uniform in intent or practice, nor always purely philological in nature, but adjusted to the needs and interests of specific contexts. Alfonso's objectives were unique to his kingdom, as well: among the most pressing issues were unifying the *señorío* and reining in the nobles;[21] discourses and the use of learned culture had to primarily focus on the problems at hand. It should also be remembered, following the ideas of "contagion" and cultural memes, that humanism could *not* be expected to follow the same path in every context, as Castile's experiences confronted it with different problems and circumstances. Second, though Martínez rightly highlights the unique historical and cultural factors present during Alfonso's reign, I argue that this "top-down" royal humanism grounded in Roman law, history, and ethics was beneficial to his ideological goals:

> When talking about royal government, humanists usually justified the identification of their king with the *princeps* by recurring to arguments of a more philosophical or moral character in order to make the equiparation. They endorse the king as the valid successor to the powers of the ancient Roman *princeps* by citing ethical, rather than legal, grounds for that succession: the king is held to be endowed with the type of virtues which mark him out as the worthy heir to a tradition of good Roman monarchical rule, often tracking back to the time of Julius Caesar or, more usually, to the rule of Augustus and the establishment of the *pax Romana*. (Stacey 2011: 53)

In the case of Alfonso X, there is also a legal framework; all of this plays into legitimizing his corpus and views:

> this form of reasoning tends to be combined with a historical and political case for royal rule: the king will frame his politics either as the restoration or as the continuation of ancient Roman government in his kingdom by underlining the recent acquisition of benefits strongly associated with the fruits of Roman government: *pax iustitia*, *tranquilitas*, *libertas*, and *felicitas*. (Stacey 2011: 53)

Finally, Stacey notes that there is often stress placed on the importance of learning and the promotion of letters under the monarch (2011: 53). This is apparent in the case of

[21] Fernando III also had issues controlling the nobles, reflected in the prologue to *El libro de los doze sabios o tractado de nobleza y lealtad*, which uses moral and literary examples to attempt to limit their worst impulses (1975; see also Assouline 2009: 166). If *Libro de Alexandre* was written under the same monarch, then it likewise supports ideas of monarchical expansion and consolidation (Weiss 2006: 24).

Alfonso X. Third, when studying many of the references relied on in texts such as *Siete Partidas* and *Estoria de España*, the sources and ideologies are more often than not traced back to the Greco-Romans and the Visigoths, even if an Arabic or Hebrew text sometimes served as an intermediary. The Visigothic legacy served as a medium for appropriating Rome, underscoring that the Alfonsine framework was a recovery of both pasts or legacies through foundation myths, law, and history; this trend would grow in influence with the passing of time, hitting a high intensity in fifteenth-century literature and historiography. There was an indisputable interest in Islamic and Judaic culture, language, religion, and history, making references to and explanations about both in literature and legal works, but they do not often (ever?) serve as a legal or political precedent: influential without a doubt, but the mythical and ideological model for (re)constructing the body politic looked toward Visigothic Toledo, Imperial Rome, and ancient Athens, depicting his Toledan court as the next center of wisdom through the idea of an intellectual *translatio imperii* (Assouline 2009: 57-58). These references to the imperial past show Alfonso's use of texts and classical citations to have some similarities to contemporary Italian writers, who frequently compared the moral and civic decline of the present with the greatness of Rome in order to give models from the *buon tempo antico* (Lee 2018: 31-38). Therefore, Alfonso's cultural and intellectual re-naissance was a search for a *usable* past that could be applied for political and social reforms that would benefit royal power.

The complexity of Castilian humanism is not alien to the situation in Italy, where there was an early use of Latin culture for intellectual and sociopolitical purposes. National history, often imagined to be one and the same as Roman history, was blended and weaved together to create an image of the past, while forging a new one of the future. As in Castile, the vernacular played a crucial foundational role. In city-states such as Padua,

Florence, and Milan, Italian dialects were vital to the later accomplishments that would make the *Quattrocento* possible (Kristeller 1946: 54, 57-58; Witt 2003: esp. pp. 453-454). The vernacular was not only needed to help make the classical past accessible to lay readers, but it was a way to promote the ideas that the humanists wished to encourage in their respective city-states and beyond (Kristeller 1946: 59; Hankins 2006: 135, 140). It has also been pointed out that the vernacular often arises in environments where there is linguistic variation and a blend of literary traditions, making it a plausible and practical vehicle (Mallette 2011: 112). In addition, for all of their constant claims to breaking with the "barbaric" past, Italian humanists also built on medieval writers, especially Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and those of the religious Orders, both of which had an impact on early Renaissance thought (Kristeller 1997: esp. Ch. 2). Similarly to the Castilians who were attached to their origin myths and a hope of recovering a glorious past, prominent Italian humanists would grasp onto historical ideas for political purposes, incorporating accounts that also antedated the Roman Empire:

> While assembling the sources for book 1 of his *History* [*of the Florentine People*] (completed in late 1415 or early 1416) he [Bruni] stumbled upon a second and even better ancient model for Florentine hegemony in Tuscany than the middle republic of Rome: the ancient, pre-Roman Etruscan League of free cities. (Hankins 2019: 231)

In short, the use of the vernacular is not an evident disqualifier; each culture would use its own particular history and circumstances to craft its particular ideological package.[22]

It should also be noted that early Italian intellectuals had ties to the Alfonsine court. On a diplomatic mission, Brunetto Latini (*c*. 1220-1294/1295) learned about the *concepto alfonsí* (Martínez 2016: 117-119). Latini was a pivotal figure in Italy, laying the groundwork for the trajectory that it would take in Italy, given his impact as a statesman, writer, and teacher of Dante Alighieri (1265-1321). Bolton Holloway also points out, in

[22] For more on vernacular culture and literature across medieval Europe, see: Colish (1997: Ch. 7-8).

her study that focuses on the Alfonsine influence on Latini and Dante, that the former "was present at the court of Alfonso X in 1260 and then in exile in northern France, before his return to Florence in 1266 or perhaps 1267" (1990: 109). This embassy was a key development in Florentine history, being reported in Giovanni Villani's (1275-1348) *Cronica di Firenze* (Bolton Holloway 1990: 111). Latini was impacted by Alfonso's court, playing a role in inspiring the Florentine's own works:

> It was Alfonso el Sabio and his work, especially his Aristotelian legal writings in the Castilian vernaculars and his Marian poetry in Galician, which probably gave Brunetto Latini the model for his own writings in the vernacular. (Bolton Holloway 1990: 122; see also p. 116)

Given the path of Latini's career and interests, he could not have ignored what was going on at the monarch's court. From there it is not a big leap to suggest that

> Latini hablaría a su aventajado alumno [Dante] de la revolución alfonsí en el campo de la lengua vulgar y de allí tal vez el planteamiento del problema en el *De vulgari eloquentia*. [...T]anto Brunetto como Dante habrían sido influenciados por las últimas novedades que estaba aconteciendo en la corte de Alfonso de utilizar la lengua vernácula en las traducciones de obras de envergadura literaria y científica, así como en el campo de la ficción. (Martínez 2016: 118-119; see also Bolton Holloway 1985, 1990)

Martínez also points out that Latini made a direct reference to Alfonso in his *Tesoro* (2016: 259-260). The intellectual rebirths in both peninsulas did have some early contacts that underscore their connections, but each kingdom or city-state would craft a framework that suited its own cultural, literary, and political objectives and realities. Despite Italy's fame for returning to the classical past and revitalizing it in part for sociopolitical goals, the Castilian model would in time prove to be a more successful framework for creating a new imperial model.

Alfonso inherited his vision and ideas from the past. The historical developments before he took the crown (1252) were key to his view of the kingdom and politics. *El Sabio*'s life and career were marked by extraordinary ambition and tragedy, both

personally and politically.[23] Since his father, Fernando, was able to complete the vast majority of the Reconquest, only the Nasrid dynasty of Granada and other fragmented Muslim communities lay in the way of completing the project; this unification was also a fundamental requirement for making stability and reform possible (Gómez Redondo 1998: I, p. 72). The reference to the term Reconquest is rejected by some. I would like to clarify my use of it in this thesis. First, I argue that the Reconquest was impactful for creating unity and promoting reform, since with the Reconquest came economic opportunity through booty and/or the gaining of territory. These factors were major incentives for the monarchy and nobles alike, as the efforts resulted in wealth and a sense of prestige, glory, and power to the participants. In addition, the Reconquest was one of the few unifying reference points among peninsular Christians:

> each [kingdom] evolved distinctive qualities, customs, and languages. Despite these differences the Christian people were conscious of their joint responsibility of reconquest. [...] Yet even as the Christian states grew steadily stronger from the late twelfth century, and pursued their own aims, without regard for Leonese claims to supremacy, the reconquest remained their common enterprise, a task to be carried to its inexorable conclusion. Though their ambitions might differ, the Christian rulers were united in this, as their collaboration against their common foe and their treaties for the partition of Muslim territory make manifest. Throughout these long centuries the reconquest was the common purpose and the cohesive principle of the Christian states. (O'Callaghan 1983: 22)

Then as now, external problems or perceived threats can often be used to distract from or limit domestic tensions and conflicts; this is another means of uniting people. It is true, however, that the term Reconquest was not used in the early Middle Ages (Ríos Saloma 2008: 192; García-Sanjuán 2018: 129); early sources speak instead of *restauratio*, as well as *recuperación* and *restablecimiento* (Maravall 1997: 252; Ríos Saloma 2008: 193; see also p. 200). *Reconquistar* may not have been used, but *ganar* and *conquistar* were written in a military sense regarding land lost to Muslims (Ríos Saloma 2008: 193; see also p.

[23] For comprehensive biographies see: Ballesteros Beretta (1963); Martínez (2003); González (2004).

200).[24] This seems, then, to be playing semantic gymnastics, while casting aside or losing focus on what the *intentions* or *aims* were of the Christian kingdoms: if one wishes to *restore* land and *liberate* Christians through military force and conquest, then this still presents the idea of recovering something that was viewed as lost. It has also been pointed out that some have used the Reconquest as a way to depict a "total incompatibility"—especially for contemporary political advantage—between the regions ruled by Christians and Muslims, resulting in the desire to incorporate the latter into a uniform national history and modern nationalism (Ríos Saloma 2008: 210-215; García-Sanjuán 2018: 127-128). Undoubtedly the term has been weaponized by conservatives, but the current geopolitical climate and events that unfolded surrounding the War on Terror and Islamic terrorist attacks in the West have likewise made some liberals more prone to defending or being protective of Islam. These matters may induce us all to have biases or to fall into the trap of presentism. Another point is that the militaristic, bellicose connotations that *Reconquista* has may explain why it turns some off and makes others feel uneasy (Benito Ruano 2002: 93). As for the idea of "total incompatibility", this is an exaggeration, but one should not dismiss the power that sincere religious convictions have in shaping worldviews: with these beliefs come political, moral, and historical baggage that can impact every element of a society. Finally, describing it as a "holy war" may not always adequately or accurately suffice, but it is likewise my view that

> [b]y proclaiming oneself a Christian, a Muslim, or a Jew, one espoused specific religious doctrines and also accepted a whole system of cultural values [...]. The difficulty, if not the impossibility, of reconciling or assimilating these different religious and cultural points of view was at the root of the struggle. (O'Callaghan 1983: 22)

[24] The term conquest was used in early Arabic sources (tenth century) in chronicles such as that of Ibn al-Qutiyya (ابن القوطية) (see Viguera Molins 2011).

It could be added that Muslims—unlike Jews—had a significant population, paired with military capabilities; they also had links to their co-religionists in northern Africa and elsewhere that could pose a potential threat. In short, bridging these divides has proved difficult because it is challenging to not view Muslim and Christian Spain separately and more often than not antagonistic, despite some inevitable contacts, similarities, agreements, and alliances. The concept is also useful when combining it with Castilianized Roman jurisprudence:

> The Reconquest, moreover, worked well with the rise of Roman common law, which had the key concept of the common or public good. That is, the Reconquest, given the general agreement between Christians, could be seen as another tool for the king to consolidate power and request funds to promote *el bien común*, which was a noteworthy concept promoted by Roman lawyers from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. (Post 1964: 19)

Like any other broad concept it is subject to critiques about connotations and a lack of precision when describing a process that took place over several centuries, but this could be said of any other term that might replace it; nonetheless, I shall use the term Reconquest to refer to the gradual, collective advance of the Christian kingdoms to regain territory once held by the Visigothic empire and/or the land within the Iberian Peninsula prior to the Muslim invasion (711); I shall also follow Lomax, Rucquoi, and González Jiménez in interpreting the Reconquest as a military conquest and a historical reality (1978; 1993; 2000).[25]

These military and political efforts tied to the Reconquest were essential to Alfonso's experiences. Alfonso witnessed some of his father's efforts first-hand, gaining military and diplomatic experience as the Crown Prince. Alfonso's first major experience in Andalusia took place in 1243 where he played a pivotal role in the embassy to the *taifa*

[25] For more on identity, otherness, and matters related to modern nationalism and political debates, see: Botti (1992); Álvarez Junco (2011); Dangler (2021). For more on the Reconquest see: Maravall (1997: 252-272); Valdeón Baruque (2006).

(طائفة , "faction", or an independent principality or kingdom) of Murcia; these efforts helped to bring the kingdom under Castile's authority.[26] During this same decade—and as a result, in part, of the pact between Castile and Murcia—, Alfonso also led the attempts to quell revolts in Andalusia. These experiences, both in diplomacy and at war, gave the young prince direct knowledge of the complications to bring together disparate communities. Despite his father's accomplishments, work remained, especially the consolidation of power and the integration of *new* peoples; this task was exacerbated by Fernando's quick progress, as he conquered vast territory without having time to properly organize and cement his power. The lack of legal and cultural unity between Castile and Leon was a hindrance to the unification of the kingdom. This duty, among others, was left to Alfonso.

Alfonso's task of unifying the kingdom(s) was a challenging one. As a result of the fragmentation of Christian Spain after the Islamic invasion, regional laws (*fueros*) had been crucial for stability and order; while custom law assured peace and justice in the past, the recent and definitive unification of Castile and León (1230), as well as the incorporation of large swaths of Muslim Andalusia, made it necessary to look for new legal models and political ideologies in order to integrate the newly reconfigured composite monarchy: in a sense, Alfonso had to carry out an "ideological war" to assert his dominance (Marey 2020: 294). To confront these political divisions, Alfonso worked on the creation of legal texts and theories in Castilian, inspired by Roman common law, as exemplified in these works: *Espéculo*, *Fuero real*, *Siete Partidas*, and *Setenario* (for the dates of these works, see below, pp. 32-35). Alfonso was not the first monarch to write political documents in Castilian, as the Treaty of Cabreros (1206) holds that honor

[26] The Islamic kingdom of Murcia was also a major intellectual center, influencing Alfonso's thought (Doubleday 2015: 33).

(Gómez Redondo 1998-2007: I, p. 76; see also Wright 2006). *El Sabio* was the most important monarch to establish a vernacular political consciousness that was developed and theorized for the monarchy and the kingdom. If, as mentioned, his father was a source of inspiration, his mother's side of the family offered Alfonso another one: the former Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II.

Frederick II was a mirror and a precedent for Alfonso. Not only was he the emperor Alfonso wished to succeed, but also he represented the topical ideal of *fortitudo et sapientia* that he wanted to surpass. Frederick was a splendid example for Alfonso: known as "stupor mundi" in his own time, Frederick's social and political circumstances in the kingdom of Sicily resembled those of Alfonso, as he also was ruler over a large population of Muslims. On the legislative front, Frederick compiled his own code based on Roman law: *Liber Augustalis* (1231), known as the *Constitutions of Melfi* or *Constitutionum Regni Siciliarum* (Caetano Álvarez 2020: 44-45). This legal work also tried to legitimize the monarchy based on the ancient past, constructing Frederick's image and legal authority by connecting himself and the Roman empire, forming an "imperial chain" based on the concept of *translatio imperii* (Caetano Álvarez 2020: 78). Frederick was not just interested in legal matters; he also had a great impact on a cultural revival in his realm. The monarch oversaw and promoted an intellectual movement that delved into fields ranging from the sciences to literature (Mallette 2011: 49). His reign also parallels, and probably inspired, that of Alfonso X's because Frederick translated works from Islamic philosophy and science, which contributed to the monarch's having legends spread about his interest in learning (Mallette 2011: 50, 59-60). Despite these interests in Muslim culture and learning, Frederick still viewed the Islamic world as something foreign that needed to be imported and assimilated, and understood the threat that they potentially posed (Mallette 2011: 59-62). Another similarity is that Palermo was dubbed

the "trilingual" city, reflecting the three cultures ideas often associated with Toledo (Mallette 2011: 119). Both monarchs were connected by blood, sociopolitical realities, and ambitious legislative projects. All of these factors were vital in shaping Alfonso's views of empire, grounded in the Iberian Peninsula's history, his family ties to Frederick and his father Fernando, and the multicultural social and political circumstances (Caetano 2020: 223). Although all of these influences must be taken into account, the Alfonsine model was crafted to fit the kingdom's own needs and special makeup.[27]

Before moving on, I shall briefly comment on Alfonso's legal texts. The debate surrounding the dating and promulgation of each of these texts will likely go on for some time, but the fundamental point remains: the Alfonsine program paved the way for the development of a new concept of the *señorío*. As for *Espéculo*, evidence points to 1254 as the date for its promulgation, though it was never completed, remaining in force until *Siete Partidas* (Craddock 1981: 373-375; Iglesia Ferreirós 1982: 180-184; Martínez Díez 1985a: 20-24; O'Callaghan 2019: 10; Rodríguez Velasco 2020: 10).[28] Despite being abandoned, it was the initial attempt to construct a new legislative and political conception of the kingdom (Rodríguez Velasco 2020: 10). In the case of *Fuero real*, there is a tentative agreement that it was completed before 1255, even if "1254 may very well be the year of the given edition [for the city of Aguilar de Campoo], with its broader establishment in 1256" (Rodríguez Velasco 2020: 10). Martínez Diez hypothesizes that it could have been completed before 1252 based on the text prepared for Aguilar de Campoo (1985b: 103); nevertheless, 1255 is the safest date *ad quem* based on available textual evidence. *Fuero Real* differs from *Espéculo* and *Siete Partidas*, as it is more specifically geared toward towns and cities without a *fuero*, or needing a new one, rather

[27] For more on Frederick, see: Kantorowicz (1963); Abulafia (1992); Ruehl (2000); Delle Donne (2019); Brando (2019).
[28] For a summary of the debates, see: Martínez Diez (1985a: 24-28).

than toward general, universal purposes, but a similar legal vision. The text also has its links to the Visigothic legal legacy, as it is a translation of *Lex visigothorum* (Assouline 2009: 161).[29] *Siete Partidas* was, in part, conceived as a project to work in conjunction with Alfonso's imperial efforts, designing a revamped theory centered around the monarch and building on previous legislative work, especially as a replacement for *Espéculo*;[30] in some ways it was more ambitious, serving as a "socio-political encyclopaedia of pre-modern Iberia" (Rojinsky 2003: 287). Had Alfonso been able to obtain the imperial crown and consolidate his power in Castile, it seems likely he would have had *Partidas* translated to Latin (Gibert 1968: 41-45; O'Callaghan 2019: 13).[31] In spite of it being generally accepted that *el Sabio* never promulgated *Partidas*, leaving this to Alfonso XI's reign (1311-1350), O'Callaghan offers an interesting counter-argument:

> In the Ordinance of Alcalá (cap. 64) in 1348, Alfonso XI, believing that there was no evidence that the *Partidas* had been promulgated, proclaimed that henceforth the code would have the force of law. Although his statement has generally been accepted, I believe that he was incorrect. His chancellor Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, the probable author of the *Chronicle of Alfonso X* [vid. 26.9], remarked that the king completed the *Partidas* begun by his father and commanded everyone to accept them as the law and required judges to judge according to them. (2019: 15)

O'Callaghan continues by arguing:

> Alfonso X likely promulgated the *Espéculo* in the Cortes de Toledo in 1254 and, having reserved the right to amend it, transformed it into the *Siete Partidas*. As a revision of the original code, the *Partidas* did not require a second act of promulgation. (2019: 15; see also O'Callaghan 1993: 34-37; Martin 2000: 323-348)

Since disagreements abound concerning its date of composition, I favor the arguments forwarded by Rodríguez Velasco, who opts for the initial conceptualization of the work beginning in March of 1256 after receiving a visit from an embassy of the Republic of

[29] Previous vernacular translations of Visigothic law existed: *Fuero Juzgo* (seventh century) was a translation of *Liber Iudiciorum* (Panateri 2017: 27). Maravall reviews the influence Visigothic law had on medieval Iberia (1997: 175-186).
[30] See: Craddock (1990: 184, 187-188); O'Callaghan (2019: 11).
[31] *Cf.* Monterde García argues that its being written in Castilian counters the idea that it was planned to be used for his imperial ambitions (2007: 14).

Pisa regarding his candidacy for the Holy Roman Empire (2020: 10-11).[32] This is a reasonable hypothesis since this work is connected to his imperial aspirations. For now and considering my direct focus, an approximate date is sufficient until a solid critical edition can give a more definitive answer.[33]

Finally, *Setenario* is a slightly different text, as it functions more as a mirror of princes, giving counsel on good conduct and morality (MacDonald 1985: 174). *Setenario* appears to have been intended to complement the legal texts and give an explanation of their concepts, being more theoretical and didactic in nature, though it is divided by *leyes*. As for its date of composition, and given its intent and organization, it seems most likely that it came last in line, presumably in the 1280s after Sancho's rebellion and shortly before the monarch's death (Craddock 1986a).[34] Despite their differences, Rodríguez Velasco argues cogently for interpreting *Espéculo*, *Siete Partidas*, and *Setenario* as pieces of a wider ideological and legal project (2020: 10). When looking at the legal works as a whole, the viewpoints and goals show more similarities than differences, since the aims for consolidating royal power and limiting noble privileges are evident. It is plausible, then, to consider them as part of a broader project and a philosophy of law and society; the timeline demonstrates that Alfonso updates and adapts his project according to current events and needs, but his general framework does not change drastically. Alfonso's legal works exemplify something more than a completed project: it embodies the vision of a

[32] For other perspectives on the creation and promulgation of the Alfonsine legal texts, see: MacDonald (1965); Craddock (1986b); Carmona Ruiz (2018). For more on Alfonso's pursuit of the imperial crown see: Pagani (2004); Caetano Álvarez (2020).
[33] For more on textual matters and extant testimonies of *Siete Partidas*, see: Fradejas Rueda, Jerez Cabrero, and Pichel (2021).
[34] See Rodríguez Velasco for a summary of the issues regarding this work (2020: 11-12); Proctor also adds some details (1961: 65-69).

monarch who saw the need to unify the kingdom through written vernacular media, based on an idealistic common vision and foundational myths.[35]

This ambitious, high-volume project leads to the subsequent question: what was Alfonso's vision of the kingdom? A few general ideas can help guide the reader through his legal works that I have based in part on my own readings and interpretations of Alfonso's texts alongside the ideas and details provided by the scholars mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. First, power should flow through the king, and he is able to delegate to subordinates approved by the monarch, especially experts in Roman common law (*letrados*), giving him ultimate authority over the kingdom's legal, ideological, and cultural apparatuses; this royal legal system should supplant the regional *fueros*, unifying law and society, as well as bringing a sense of equality before the justice system. The new legislation, it "pulled the rug from underneath the magnates and the noble elites, for whom the ancient *fueros* represented the bulwarks of their privileges and superiority" (Liuzzo Scorpo 2014: 43). The Church was likewise to be subordinate to the monarch in temporal matters. Finally, another part of these efforts was to bring the cities and towns under royal control. Second, economic decisions should be made by the monarch in order to drive kingdom-oriented goals; to pay for and drive these policies, Alfonso primarily turned to the cities and the Church. These exactions were fundamental to the king's goals of organizing the realm around the monarch, as well as establishing his own authority; in the case of the Church, the economic measures can also be seen as another part of Alfonso's attempt to limit noble power and autonomy. Third, the other *estados* are ancillary yet fundamental to the monarchical system. While playing key roles in the royal concept of the *res publica*, they are to serve the king, or perhaps better yet, the law and

[35] For more on the legislative reforms see: Martin (1992). Nanu includes an interesting glossary for political and ethical terms in the legal works (2020).

tierra, and not their own personal interests: the common good outweighs that of the individual, furthering the mission of uniting the kingdom. Fourth, temporal disputes are matters that are to be resolved by the monarch. The king is presented as a vicar of Christ on earth who needs or wants the support—but does not require the permission—of the Church and its representatives, demonstrating his ultimate authority. In addition, despite the Church having final say over spiritual matters, the extent to which Alfonso's reforms regulate and impact the most basic functions of the Church implies an attempt to bring the institution under his influence, if not control, particularly evidenced by the first *partida*. Fifth, following the fact that the kingdom should function as a single unit, then *cortes*, *ayuntamientos*, and other political gatherings became frequent during the Alfonsine era to help symbolically and physically propagate the idea of united people coming together at the king's court. Sixth, the law is for everyone, so legal concepts and texts should be available to *all* (in the sense all who had some resemblance of political participation) in a language that they could understand, written clearly in *castellano drecho*.[36] This concept not only permitted lay members of the kingdom to partake in and understand the legal and political system, but also helped to unite the diverse cultures of the realm under one commonly used and understood *lingua franca*. Sixth, the use of the vernacular would also permit nobles and others to more directly engage in the written political debates and processes, as well as elevate their access to learned culture. These six overarching points summarize the monarch's conception of the state. Though he could not foresee what would happen in the early modern era, it is impressive how before his time he was, while at the same time it demonstrates how the model was mostly idealistic

[36] Language also played a fundamental role in defining and creating nationalities during this time period across Europe (Bartlett 1994: 198-204). For more on Alfonso X's role in creating literary prose, see: Lacarra and Cacho Blecua (2012: 381-402).

or utopic during his reign.[37] The fact is the Alfonsine framework provided a workable model that could be adapted and applied in different contexts, which is clear considering *Siete Partidas*' continual impact in legal matters into the twenty-first century; this in itself makes it a pivotal work.

These concepts were not merely developed via legal codes, but were also supported by historiographical works: *Estoria de España* and *General Estoria*. These chronicles did more than collect the national past and Castile's place in a universal context; they also rationalized Alfonso's views, giving them an added sense of *auctoritas* by founding them in historical precedent and *exempla*: the alfonsine project was not *new* for rulers, but was a common one presented in a new form.[38] It was a vernacular model that uplifted the image and authority of the monarch, helping to untie him from the restraints placed on him from traditional laws, as well as put him (theoretically) more securely above his noble rivals. The historiographical works were important to his project, but a deep dive into these texts will be a challenge given how they differ in genre and perspective when comparing them to the legal corpus. The chronicles will be referenced when pertinent to underscore their value and how they compliment the legal documents, but they would deserve a study of their own in order to properly address them. Instead I shall argue that the law books, and especially *Siete Partidas*, are and would be the most impactful going forward in shaping the future Spain, serving as the first major step toward deviating from the idea that the monarch is not under the law (Rodríguez Velasco 2021: 103); this legislation likewise seems to me as an indispensable part of the unification of the realm, increasing its importance (Sánchez-Prieto 2009: XXIV). Furthermore, as the legal works

[37] Assouline discusses how the monarch also represented himself pictorially as an "embodiment of an intellectual utopia", who gathered together a "full diversity of sages" (2009: 50).
[38] The use of chronicles for moral education to those holding power was becoming more widespread across Europe from the eleventh century forward (Tahkokallio 2022: see esp. pp. 171-174). *General Estoria* includes examples of a Roman ruler, Numa Pompilius, who was of great value for having created laws and making Romans less barbaric as a result (Alfonso X 2009: Pt. 3, Vol. II, p. 383).

could potentially have the added weight of being the law of the land, their impact on thought and traditions are significant. This would be exploited during the Renaissance under the more absolutist forms of monarchy.

The Monarch, the Law, and the New Kingdom:

Divisions among the different societies and cultures was normal in medieval Iberia (Hillgarth 1976: Vol. I, pp. 14-15). One of the first steps toward resolving this problem was to create and establish new laws and a vision for the *señorío*. Alfonso hoped to alter the state of affairs to bring a sense of unity, creating a single kingdom out of the variegated peoples and cultures, highlighting a *tendencia unificadora* (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 143). Alfonso turned to fomenting a legal and political program to help these efforts:

> la obra jurídica del Rey Sabio es producto de la recepción del Derecho romano (*Corpus iuris civilis*), cuyos componentes más novedosos son: la nueva visión del rey y del reino, la idea de *corpus* o *universitas* aplicada al conjunto social, la concepción de la majestad real y de la potestad pública diferenciada del dominio privado, así como la prerrogativa real de crear, interpretar y revocar las leyes. (Martínez 2016: 149)

In addition to Alfonso's place at the center of political power, *Espéculo*'s prologue emphasizes the importance of having the realm's most important men participate:

> [E]ntendiendo e veyendo los males que nasçen e se levantan en las tierras e en los nuestros regnos por los muchos fueros que eran en las villas e en las tierras departidas en muchas maneras, que los unos se judgavan por fueros de libros minguados e non conplidos, e los otros se judgan por fazañas desaguisadas e sin derecho, e los <que> aquelos libros minguados tenién porque se judgavan algunos raýenlos e cambiávanlos como ellos se querían a pro de sí e a daño de los pueblos. Onde por todas estas razones, se minguava la justiçia e el derecho porque los que avién de judgar non podían çiertamiente nin conplidamiente dar los iuyzios, e los que reçebién el daño non podíen aver derecho así como devíen. [...] [E]ste libro que feziemos con consejo e con acuerdo de los arçobispos e de los obispos de Dios e de los ricos omnes e de los más onrados sabidores de derecho que podíemos aver e fallar; e otrosí de otros que avié en nuestra corte e en nuestro regno. E catamos e escogiemos de todos los fueros lo que más valíe e lo mejor e pussiémoslo ý, tan bien del fuero de Castiella como de León, como de los otros logares que nós fallamos que eran derechos e con razón non olvidando el derecho porque es pertenesçiente a esto. E non catamos menoscabamiento de nuestras rendas e de nuestros derechos porque este libro fuese a por de todos e conplido segunt Dios e abondado de derecho e de justiçia. (I.Pro.; see also *FR* I.Pro.; *SP* I.Pro.)

Siete Partidas' prologue intends to function as a type of mirror of princes (*como en spejo*), laying out the foundations by which future monarchs should govern. One key point transmitted through *Fuero real* is the prominence given to *letrados*, increasing their presence and authority in a culture becoming more dependent upon educated bureaucrats (*oviemos consejo con nuestra cort e con los omnes sabidores de derecho*). One also notices the king's wish to create stability and justice in his diverse *tierras*, hoping to establish a set of rules that are fair and not judged *por fazañas desaguisadas e sin derecho*. This reference to *tierras* is also striking:

> Se trata de un amor a la tierra que se desdobla en amor al grupo o al pueblo, a su historia, a su lengua, a su ley, a su rey. Un amor comunitario que no está basado en un conocerse personalmente (contra lo que, desde los supuestos de la democracia ateniense, requería Aristóteles, según el cual la ciudad no debía ser demasiado grande para que todos personalmente se conocieran). Ahora se trata de un amor fundado, no en relación interindividual, sino en común pertenecía a un grupo que afecta a cada uno de sus miembros. (Maravall 1967: 122)

Once again, the term *tierra* strives to create a communal, united vision of the new polity. This interest in *amor*, rooted in Aristotle, is intimately linked to the concept of friendship, helping to promote a sense of belonging.

The next idea in the aforementioned quotation from *Espéculo* (I.Pro.) highlights that certain *fueros* are manipulated and cannot guarantee a fair and stable set of rules, as *algunos raýenlos e camiánvanlos como ellos se querían*. The intent to lay out a just and reliable text that can assure a level playing field, allocating more authority to a definitive version of the written word, is obvious here. The reference from *Siete Partidas* transmits parallel ideas. Alfonso then moves on to point out in *Espéculo* that his law is not solely based on his own authority, but approved by prominent members of society, which symbolically and literally gives it legitimacy and unifies the realm; this is accentuated by the king's acknowledgement that he did not entirely discard previous legal concepts: *e catamos e escogiemos de todos los fueros lo que más valíe e lo mejor e pusiémoslo ý, tan*

bien del fuero de Castiella como de León como de los otros logares. By incorporating previous legal codes from across the kingdom(s), Alfonso adds a symbolic and legal representation of the diverse peoples, attempting to unite them under one code.[39] Helping to forge peace and stability is also a concern in *Siete Partidas* (I.i.2). In addition to these attempts to bring unity and *concordia* under a shared and just legal code, the royal government strives to promote the common good in *Siete Partidas* (I.i.Pro., 11, 16-18; II.i.9).[40] These efforts show an intent to create a universal approach to reform, benefiting all.

Alfonso does not simply state that he can create and promulgate his own law book without defending this view based on historical and legal precedents, grounded in reason and within his rights:

> Nós, el ssobredicho rey Don Alfonso, avemos poder de fazer estas leyes tan bien como los otros que las fezieron ante de nós oy, mas querémoslo mostrar por todas estas maneras: *por razón e por fazaña e por derecho*. E por razón, que si los enperadores e los reys que los inperios e los regnos ovieron por elecçión pudieron fazer leys en aquello que tovieron como en comienda, quanto más nós que avemos el regno por derecho heredamiento. Por fazaña, ca non tan solamiente los reys de España que fueron antiguamiente las fezieron, mas condes e juezes e adelantados que eran de menor guisa e fueron guardadas fasta en este tienpo; e pues que éstos las fezieron que avién mayores sobre sý, mucho más las podremos nós fazer que por la merçed de Dios non avemos mayor sobre nós en el tenporal. Por derecho, ca lo puedemos provar por las leys romanas e por el derecho de Santa Eglesia e por las leys d'España que fezieron los godos en que dize en cada una déstas que los enperadores e los reys an poder de fazer leys e de añader en ellas e de minguar en ellas e de camiar cada que mester sea. Onde por todas estas razones, avemos poder conplidamiente de fazer leys e por ende queremos començar en el nonbre de Dios. (*Esp* I.i.13; see also *SP* I.i.1-2, I.i.12, II.i.Pro.3)

Alfonso gives a complete rationale as to why—though he promulgated his laws with the important men from the other *estamentos*—he has the authority to legislate and rule in

[39] The need for a monarch to bear in mind the diverse peoples of his kingdom is a constant theme going forward; Diego de Valera (1412-*c*. 1488) gives Fernando *el Católico* (1452-1516) similar advice, but focused on using advisors from all parts of his realm (see below, p. 199).
[40] *Concordia*, peace, and consensus are common places in Castilian political literature during the fifteenth century (see below, pp. 156, 170, 187, 211, and 221-222).

his own right, emphasized in *Siete Partidas* (I.i.17-19). The monarch also indicates how comprehensive his legal text is: not only does he offer law, but a theory to legitimize his power.[41] The explanation is essentially three-fold: according to reason, backed by the historical precedent of both kings and emperors, Alfonso has more authority than most because he is not doing so based on *elecçión*, but as part of his inherited title (*SP* II.i.7); Alfonso has even more power than most to do so, as lesser ranking leaders—such as counts and judges—created laws, proving that a king of several kingdoms and candidate to the Holy Roman Empire is certainly justified in producing and promulgating them. Finally, legal codes established by the Romans, Visigoths, and the Church detail that monarchs have *poder de fazer leys e de añader en ellas e de minguar en ellas e de camiar cada que mester sea*; the references to both the Romans and Visigoths demonstrates the authority that Alfonso gives them in his context, highlighting how he sees himself building on their legacy.[42] The Alfonsine argument is a complete theory of power and authority that rests on precedent and logical reasoning. Particularly in an era when novelty was held in suspicion, the grounding of his ability to promulgate and change laws in this manner would establish more convincingly that the monarch was well within the bounds of tradition, well-backed by *auctoritas*.

Alfonso's theory of power extended beyond the palace and the tribunals, as well. In a violent era, power over fortresses was essential, which *Espéculo* emphasizes:

> E si las reçiben por castiello, dévenlo reçebir por portero e non de otra guisa, sinon si fuere en conquista o en otra priesa grande quel deve tomar por qual manera quier por que su señor lo aya e non lo pierda; e después que así lo oviere reçebido, dévelo dar al rey e después reçebirlo por portero si el rey gelo quisiere dar quel tenga dél. (II.vii.1)
>
> [...] que todo aquél que toma villa o castiello o fortaleza del rey, que gelo deve dar cada que gelo pidier sin entredicho ninguno e ningún alongamiento non ý deve poner,

[41] See Rodríguez Velasco for some interesting points on Alfonso's attempts to theorize legal language (2006a; 2021).
[42] Fernando III used Asturian ideology and historiography to likewise rely on the Visigoths during his reign (Bronisch 2012).

> fueras de yr a jornadas sabidas a darlo aquél a qui lo el rey mandar dar. (II.viii.Pro.; see also II.viii.I)

Having castles and cities in the hands of trusted allies was not the only means of maintaining a grasp on defense (see also *SP* II.i.3, II.xiii.22-23, IV.xxv.10).[43] The monarch also worked toward consolidating his power among the military Orders and the nobles, stressing his power to command both:

> Si manda el rey a ricos omnes o a Órdenes o a otros cavalleros o a conçejos que estén en frontera en alguna parte de su regno, dezimos que lo deven fazer e non se partir ende sin su mandado; ca si dotra guisa lo feziesen podríe por ende acaesçer muy grandes daños, ca si ellos dexasen aquel logar o estudiesen, podríe seer quel tomaríen los henemigos e basteçerlo-ýen de guisa que podríe venir al rey por ende como deseredamiento o otro grant daño. (*Esp*. III.iii.1)

The importance of aiding the king is stressed, arguing that coming to the defense of the king and his realm is obligatory even if not explicitly called upon by the monarch (*Esp*. 3.4.Pro.). All should come to the king's aid for two reasons: subjects or vassals are naturally subordinate to him as the *regno*'s naturals; and every individual has interest in defending both king and state, stressing the need for unity under their leader. Relying on classical precedence, in this case Aristotle, Alfonso builds his legitimacy based on *natural* reasoning.

Naturaleza and the budding concepts of state and "tierra" were beginning to gain traction. *Naturaleza* itself created a "vínculo político que propone [una] identidad de base territorial al cuerpo social hispano" (Panateri 2017: 109). Alfonso's political theories and laws also went beyond abstract notions of duty, virtue, justice, and identity; they attempted to directly oversee the different *estados*, endeavoring to take them from "la *posición de vasallo* a la *posición de súbdito*" (Maravall 1967: 124). A key factor to the king's theory was to rein in the military Orders and nobles. It was necessary to consolidate

[43] This concern over fortifications would be consistent over the centuries all over Europe (Bartlett 1994: 65-70). It was also given prominence in Alfonso XI of Castile's (1311-1350) *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* (see below, pp. 117-118).

royal power over these two groups that held vast military and economic resources, which had been gained over the course of the Reconquest. In order to conquer parts of Andalusia and defend territory recently incorporated, kings granted large land holdings, eventually resulting in their ability to control military power:

> The first conquests of Fernando III in eastern Andalusia and the Islamic kingdom of Jaén (1225-46) were largely bestowed on the Military Orders of Calatrava and Santiago and on the archbishopric of Toledo, since the Orders and the archbishop had provided most of the troops used by Fernando. (Hillgarth 1976: Vol. I, p. 22)

The extent of power that the nobles and Orders received over the span of the Reconquest demonstrates the scope of their power, wealth, and influence, as over half of the land of Andalusia was under their jurisdiction, as well as almost all of the southern part of Extremadura (Hillgarth 1976: Vol. I, p. 22). At the time it was necessary, yet these historical developments created a problem for Alfonso's reforms; concessions helped establish extremely militarized, powerful, and wealthy forces that were for all extensive purposes independent of the king's power, often launching attacks on the monarchy from their strongholds (O'Callaghan 1975: 358). Noble wealth was also increased by their exemptions from taxes, including the Church and the military Orders (Keller 1967: 22). With both money and military power, any king would have depended on and feared them, making it a difficult task to overpower them.

Alfonso would try to counter this situation, installing loyalists to head the military Orders (Ayala Martínez 2000: 48-49). These early royal initiatives were vital to his efforts in consolidating authority, as the Orders were one of the major oppositions to his authority (Ayala Martínez 2000: 49). Before these attempts, the military Orders had operated more independently as nobles did; the heads of these Orders would have often had high levels of wealth and power, weakening the monarch's ability to consolidate authority and

control them. Over the course of the first twelve or thirteen years, Alfonso worked to co-opt the Orders through several means:

> expulsiones de freires, e incluso encarcelamientos, a raíz de abusivas iniciativas maestrales, también a destituciones de altos dignatarios, y por supuesto, a reacciones desestabilizadoras cuyo objetivo era forzar la renuncia de correspondientes maestres. (Ayala Martínez 2000: 49-50)

Essentially, Alfonso was purging the higher ranks (Ayala Martínez 2000: 56). Though this process was slow and never completed during his reign, the efforts led to the Orders gradually "entrando en este juego que de manera inevitable las convertía en apéndice de la voluntad regia" (Ayala Martínez 2000: 64). These attempts reached such a level that Alfonso tried to establish his own Order (1270): *Santa María de España*; short-lived, it demonstrates his interest in establishing his authority over an essential part of defense and military action (García de Cortázar 2015: 25). This likewise stresses how Alfonsine attempts were often frustrated, but were later taken up by monarchs.[44]

The large amount of wealth and power that the nobles earned over the course of the Reconquest did more than give them a sense of independence; it helped propagate their bellicosity, making private warfare endemic among them, reflected in literary and historical accounts (Hillgarth 1976: Vol. I, p. 60).[45] Alfonso recognized the obstacle that private warfare meant, procuring a way to rein in private means of justice in order to promote a more centralized system:

> Under the influence of Roman and canon law, Alfonso X recognized crime as an offense against the community. Assuming responsibility for maintaining peace, he claimed jurisdiction over specific crimes, reserved adjudication to judges whom he appointed, and curbed private vengeance by employing the inquest to bring criminals to justice. (O'Callaghan 2019: 210)

[44] Alfonso XI would be more successful, founding the *Orden de la Banda* (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a); though the Catholic Monarchs would prove themselves more so by creating the *Santa Hermandad* (1476), which had a completely different character.

[45] Don Juan Manuel epitomizes the wealthy, powerful, and violent noble using literature as a complementary weapon.

This was also happening across Europe, as

> it was becoming necessary for both feudal magnates, who no longer fully represented others' specific rights except in certain feudal customs, and knights and townsmen to consent to measures which must inevitably cause some sacrifice of all liberties guaranteed by custom and law. (Post 1964: 112)

The recourse to private warfare not only created instability, but curtailed the effect law could have on enforcing justice and equality.

A theoretical development in Alfonsine thought was used to curtail private warfare: the monarch turned to the concept of friendship in *Siete Partidas* to foment the *bien común* (*SP* IV.xxvii.1-7). The monarch first laid out, as he did for his own legal authority, the rationale for *amistad* as a legal obligation tied to vassalage, discussed directly before friendship and *naturaleza* (*SP* IV.xxvii.4-7). These laws in *Siete Partidas* pointed out that

> the relationships between subjects and lords were as natural as bonds between parents and progeny. For this reason, the definitions of civic and natural friendships were enhanced to include also the bonds between citizens whose acts of disloyalty towards their lord were perceived as acts of betrayal against their own fellow citizens. (Liuzzo Scorpo 2014: 79)

This discussion on friendship was another element to limiting aristocratic autonomy and their violent vengeance campaigns against one another, as well as to create unity among the nobility under regal authority (O'Callaghan 2019: 166-167). This use of friendship for legislative purposes appears to have been ignored before *Siete Partidas* (Rodríguez-Velasco 2020: 113); it is not discussed in Roman, Muslim, or Jewish legislation either (Rodríguez-Velasco 2020: 113). It was "new" to legislation, but the concept was developed in Cicero's (106-43 BCE) *De amicitia*, specifically mentioned in *Siete Partidas* (IV.xxvii.3, 6); and in *De officiis*, significantly one of the first works of Cicero chosen by the influential diplomat, churchman, and *letrado* in fifteenth-century Castile, Alfonso de Cartagena (1385-1456) (ed. Morrás 1996). The topic was also common in

Greek philosophy, especially in Plato's work. The possible influences of Aristotle and Cicero, in the context of Alfonso's juridical works, are discussed by Carlos Heusch:

> Il n'en demeure pas moins que cette analyse de l'amitié reste, du fait de ses sources—Aristote et Cicéron—entièrement étrangères à l'univers médiéval, une vision "idéale" de l'amitié. Il s'agit, en fait, de ce que l'amitié "devrait être" plutôt que de ce qu'elle est véritablement. Et la formulation finale, parfaite, de la manière dont on doit aimer l'ami—comme on "devrait" s'aimer soi-même—, en est bien la preuve. Cet "idéalisme" au sujet de l'amitié est à mettre en rapport avec l'ensemble du projet alphonsin des *Partidas*, celui d'un "manuel" de Droit idéal, conçu non pas tellement en vue d'une application effective mais d'un apprentissage, d'une propédeutique juridiques à l'usage des générations futures. (1993: 48)[46]

This *vision idéale de l'amitié* can be tied to a common humanist approach: *exempla* serve not necessarily to judge or criticize the bad behavior of a king or noble, but rather to offer a model to which he could aspire; though idealized and often impossible to achieve, it serves as a type of inspirational paradigm:

> [...] humanism was inevitably an expression of political ideals, not a description of practice. It approached the reform of states in part by idealizing contemporary *principes*, not by describing the actual deeds of Renaissance rulers, who were no better than human rulers ever are. In this humanists followed the advice of Aristotle to use praise and blame as a form of counsel. To praise a prince or a city above its merits was an effective way of counseling them, holding up to them a finer standard of behavior. The rhetoric of praise and blame works because it makes people want to inhabit the characters for which they are praised. (Hankins 2019: 98-99)

Rodríguez Velasco goes on to elaborate the value of friendship:

> Legislating friendship is, in the end of the central *partida*, a way to rearticulate the meaning of a sovereign power that builds itself in collaboration with disciplinary power. Friendship is always a case of the extreme that involves psychology, politics, ethics, and narrative. It is the ultimate case for the construction of a constitutional value of love in the vernacular jurisdiction. (2020: 132)

Friendship had a *valor jurídico*, creating deeper bonds and unity (Haseldine 2013: 70; Monsalvo Antón 2017: 342). In addition to helping rein in the negative consequences surrounding internecine conflict, Alfonso's arguments advanced his efforts to cement

[46] See Liuzzo Scorpo for additional details on the importance of friendship for sociopolitical goals (2019). The same scholar also offers an overview of friendship in *Siete Partidas* (2014: 70-81). See also: Doubleday (2015: 133-134).

royal power over the nobility, while also serving as an *exemplum* to future kings and aristocrats.

The nobility's independence, however, made uniting and dominating them a challenge. Their autonomy is reflected in several ways:

> En la dinámica de fuerzas interiores de los pueblos hispanos, los señores habían logrado tal preponderancia, que gobernaban sus territorios con absoluta independencia del rey; daban fueros, administraban justicia y cobraban impuestos señoriales. Las poblaciones sentían como más gravosa la dominación del señor que la del rey y por eso los concejos fueron los aliados naturales de la realeza contra los nobles, principalmente en Castilla. (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 143)

The difficulty of limiting these privileges was an uphill battle, as many had been firmly in place for generations, encompassing every element of noble life (Quintanilla Raso 2014-2015: 141). Much like in the Islamic *taifas*, the nobles had in many ways established quasi-independent fiefdoms. As Gómez Redondo points out, this autonomy was an essential aspect of Castilian life among the aristocrats, reflecting a *conciencia épica* that conditioned their political and cultural identity for generations (1998-2007: I, p. 66). The firm establishment of these exemptions, *poderes y privilegios* made the endeavors to restrain them all the more complicated. A separate judicial system for the aristocracy ensured special treatment. To limit trial by peers, Alfonso's *Espéculo* took a major step to ending a parallel legal system:

> lo que se pretendía con la promulgación del *Espéculo* era que la administración de la justicia estuviese en manos de "hombres sabios en derecho", es decir, de especialistas en derecho romano y en derecho canónico que la administrarían uniformemente, basándose sólo en la "justicia y la verdad" y no en los usos y costumbres de los nobles que se regían por privilegios y según el derecho consuetudinario. (Martínez 2016: 152)

Royal judges who were experts in Roman law were becoming the sole arbiters of legal matters relating to kingdom-wide justice, leaving noble judges increasingly out of the picture (O'Callaghan 1990: 18). These judges were "from the class of knights and good men of the towns", who were more likely to be loyal and amiable to the king's program

(O'Callaghan 2019: 102). This is reflected throughout *Espéculo*, which stresses the king's role in appointing judges, as well as the aforementioned text being the sole point of reference for legal disputes, excluding the use of any other text with few exceptions (Martínez Díez 1985a: 29; for the specific references, see: *ESP* IV.ii.2; *FR* I.vi.5, I.vii.1, 4; *SP* III.iii.1, III.iv.2, 6). His legal code was also to be used by the royal judges assigned to *tierras y villas* (*ESP* IV.ii.3; see also *FR* I.vii.2); and the Alfonsine code should be turned to for all the outlined legal disputes (*ESP* IV.ii.10). On the other hand, *Fuero real* outlines a penalty for not obeying the Alfonsine code and using his royal judges (*FR* I.vi.5). Alfonso was trying to put an end to a parallel legal system that not only limited his ability to unify the judicial system and society at large, but undercut his ability to rein in noble violence and autonomy.

The nobility's sense of legal independence was exacerbated because they were subject to a parallel code and for centuries had grown accustomed to being the lords and judges of their own fiefdoms, especially in Old Castile; this region continued to be governed based on "sentencias o *fazañas* de sus propios jueces, así como en la costumbre no escrita" (García Díaz 2020: 300; see also pp. 294, 302; Monterde García 2007: 12). The fragmentation of power permitted the nobles to create judicial systems to maintain law and order inside their own land holdings: a once pivotal system for defense and progress was now getting in the way of these very same aspirations, limiting the ability to foment peace and unification. As a result of these privileges, from the twelfth century onward the nobles obtained judicial immunity and power:

> No había una única fórmula; la más común era el *introitus*, es decir, la prohibición de entrada de los agentes reales en el territorio señorial; en otras ocasiones, se concretaba en las *exactiones*, o cesión de la capacidad fiscal al señor; finalmente, de lo que se trataba era de la *districtio*, que consistía en la renuncia del rey a ejercer su autoridad en un dominio señorial, aunque con ciertos titubeos entre los derechos cedidos y los que se reservaba para la Corona, ya que, aunque se solían respetar los *iura regalia*, a

> veces la inmunidad incluía "reservas regias", como el derecho de apelación. (Quintanilla Raso 2014-2015: 157)

Considering these long-held precedents, one can understand why the nobles balked at what they perceived as royal intrusion on their rights and privileges.

The nobles were also concerned with more than power and privileges: the Reconquest had become an economic way of life. During the Reconquest, the relationship between the king and the nobility was based on mutual benefit, as each lucratively gained from military campaigns (González Jiménez 2004: 240).[47] The monarch's power was limited and looked upon favorably by the aristocracy, as they saw him more as a "caudillo en la guerra y administrador del reino en tiempo de paz, y dispensador de rentas y beneficios" (González Jiménez 2004: 240). The good times did and could not last forever, as its denouement "comenzó a representar un serio problema para la Corona que veía limitados sus fondos económicos para liquidar los servicios recibidos por los nobles" (Iglesias and Navarro 2016: 431). If wealth kept all parties in a steady balance, the lack of funds created tension, leaving each party to look for new outlets. As the nobles were exempt from tax contributions, the monarch turned to the other *estados* and the cities for help. These concerns over factionalism, peace, and unity were likewise held by Italians:

> The deterioration of public morals and the slide towards factionalism were no less prominent in the works of contemporary humanists. The basic lineaments of their accounts of the period between the mid-twelfth and the mid-thirteenth centuries were broadly similar. (Lee 2018: 40; see also pp. 46-48)

Similarly to the way Alfonso X tried to depict himself and his reform efforts,

> several of the early humanists chose to depict the *signori* they served as the "bringers of unity and peace" in histories and panegyrics. Contrasted both with the wickedness of factions and the vices of tyrants, they were portrayed as virtuous figures who ensured the rule of justice in the name of equity and the common good, and who guaranteed the liberty of all. (Lee 2018: 49)

[47] Military ventures helped to promote the image of conquerors through literature and culture, playing into their prestige and influence (Bartlett 1994: Ch. 4).

Through his discursive efforts, Alfonso portrays himself in an analogous fashion as the one who will bring peace, justice, and unity to the realm, which is argued to be the legitimate role of a king based on historical precedent. Alfonso used his legal works to defend his authority, making them the final word and putting his subjects on more level footing before the law.

Alfonso's legislative reforms also turned to another important institution: the Church. The interest in the Church was another manner to confront noble power; most of the kingdom's highest ranking ecclesiastical figures would have been members of the most prominent noble families. *Siete Partidas* considers the matter extensively (I.iv; I.v.8; I.v.52, 59; I.viii). Alfonso never completely lost the clergy's support, but he did strain his relationship with them; his economic measures were especially problematic. He did not heed, then, the prudent advice given by his father-in-law, Jaume I of Aragon (1208-1276), to not alienate the Church or the townsmen, as discussed in his *Llibre dels feyts* (*c*. 1276) (1990: Ch. 497-498). This ensured that when rebellion struck Alfonso would be accosted from all sides and isolated. Nonetheless, during the first few years of Alfonso's reign, extracting money from the Spanish Church was much easier, as the monarch could rely on the papacy's support (Martínez 2003: 130-131); the Catholic Monarchs would do the same to exact money for the conquest of Granada. Alfonso argued that the monarchy had the right to use profits from *diezmos* (*FR* I.v.3). Beyond the direct rents collected by the Church, Alfonso moved to benefit from ecclesiastical landed wealth:

> La segunda de las disposiciones eclesiásticas que el rey adoptaba en Valladolid en octubre de 1255, la relativa al *ius spolii*, contenía la orden de que cuando se produjera el fallecimiento de un obispo, todos sus bienes pasasen a la custodia del cabildo y de un hombre del rey sin que nadie se atreviese a tomar posesión de ellos hasta su traspaso al nuevo obispo. (Ayala Martínez 2015: 47)

This practice gave the monarch added economic control, but it infringed upon the Church's own traditional practices. In addition, particularly given the Church's large land

holdings on the southern frontier, this would have helped Alfonso take hold of military fortifications. These efforts were comprehensive, striking at the Church's and nobility's foundations for economic and military power (Ayala Martínez 2014-2015: 75). Finally, the monarch did not solely rely on these means to increase his own wealth and influence over the ecclesiastical apparatus, he also turned to *servicios especiales* on certain occasions; one noteworthy example is from the very start of his reign:

> Contamos, finalmente, con cuatro documentos idénticos, fechados entre octubre y noviembre de 1255, en los que se constata la petición de un servicio especial solicitado por el rey a las iglesias del reino para hacer frente a las deudas contraídas por su padre con el Papa. (Ayala Martínez 2015: 50-51)

Alfonso's policies had a clear eye on the Church's wealth, power, and influence, cutting into its autonomy. These efforts to bring the Church under his sway made *el Sabio* a trailblazer:

> Alfonso fue, de hecho, el primer rey cristiano medieval que secularizó el Estado y todas sus instituciones, desenganchándolas de las ataduras eclesiásticas, pero sin llegar a romper abiertamente con la Iglesia. (Martínez 2003: 452-453)

Alfonso's attempts to subordinate the Orders also implicated the Church, as this

> proyecto de afirmación de poder implicaba el reconocimiento de la "superioridad" real sobre cualquier instancia jurisdiccional de dicho reino, incluido naturalmente la Iglesia. (Ayala Martínez 2000: 48)

The king was positioning himself as the clear superior in temporal matters, but the naming of high-ranking Church officials and interventions in ecclesiastical affairs cast a long shadow over spiritual matters. This was not limited to just Castile, but is noticeable in the works of European legal scholars who attempted to fortify the monarchies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Post 1954: 199; Martin 2002c: 1-2). The king's reforms and attitude toward the Church showed an assertion of power (Ayala Martínez 2015: 75). Alfonso's tactic may have been to be careful, to an extent, to not interfere directly in spiritual matters and religious questions, but his intent was the same as his approach to

the military Orders and the nobles: subordination to the monarchy under the unified regal vision.

Alfonso's view of the monarchy outside of religious concerns was more absolute, and his legal texts reflect his boldness on this front. The king was the only recognized power in temporal affairs, relying on religious language to buttress his claims: "Vicarios de Dios son los reyes, cada uno en su reyno" (*SP* II.i.1; see also *SP* II.i.5-7; *ESP* I.13, IV.vii.29; *FR* I.ii.2, I.v.3).[48] In temporal matters, the Castilian monarchy was subordinate to nobody (MacDonald 1985: 155). This view of Alfonso as the head of society and the polity is reflected by language describing the monarch as head of the kingdom (*SP* II.i.5). This corporal, organic conception of the kingdom represented the "conjunto de territorios y personas que, bajo autoridad del monarca, constituía un cuerpo que, so pena de extinción, debía relacionarse armónicamente con su cabeza que era el rey" (García de Cortázar 2015: 19). In parallel, Alfonso's spiritual role in the kingdom is described as the *alma*, with analogous meanings as *cabeza* (*SP* II.i.5). This vision of society and the king's unquestionable place as its utmost authority put at risk the power and influence of both the aristocracy and the Church, upending the traditional roles and balance between the *estados*, provoking a crisis (Martínez 2003: 320). Physically and symbolically, *el taller alfonsí* worked to produce texts and images of the king that demonstrated his place at the forefront of the *señorío*.

There was one final piece to the universal approach to reform: *las villas y tierras*. Alfonso engaged with the towns and cities hoping to increase his power and goals, marking the commencement of their taking on political, historical, and symbolic value in

[48] See, for instance, Nieto Soria on how monarchs used moral and religious texts for political advantage (1988:47, 49-107; see pp. 55-58 for more on *vicario de Dios*). Strayer also demonstrates how in France the use of religious symbols and ideas for political purposes had already been carried out in the thirteenth century (1971: 313).

the Middle Ages (Nieto Soria 2002b: 48). This effort helped to shape a special relationship between them:

> la caracterización de los rasgos que rigieron las relaciones entre el rey Alfonso X y el poder local constituido y fortalecido en villas y ciudades podemos situarla en la encrucijada de tres coordenadas. El reconocimiento regio de la importancia de la fuerza (económica; militar) que habían adquirido los vecindarios de villas y ciudades de su reino, el interés por controlar aquélla y utilizarla como posible ayuda frente a la hostilidad del estamento nobiliario y la voluntad de aplicar a aquel que se erguía como uno de los tres elementos constitucionales del reino la misma política de intervencionismo regio que a los otros dos. (García de Cortázar 2015: 34-35)

These objectives were possible as the townsmen and monarch had a mutually beneficial dependency, each using the other to curtail the abuses and powers of the nobles. Alfonso's alliance with city dwellers reflects the rising influence and development of cities (Maravall 1967: 133-134). The benefits to the monarchy are clear, but the town and city elite could also increase their own authority and independence from the nobles by aligning themselves with the monarch, as the royal legal texts limited noble power and jurisdiction within the cities; in effect, the legal codes increased royal authority in municipalities, building a deeper bond between both (Martínez 2003: 324). As discussed, *Espéculo* strove to bring established and newly conquered *villas* under the monarch's control (II.viii.Pro., II.viii.1, II.xvi.3). Bringing the cities and the rising urban aristocracy into the royal fold had an additional implication: this permitted the plausible creation of knights who would be loyal to and fight on behalf of the monarch.

The idea of using the urban elite for military advantage would focus on incorporating a different, newly-minted type of "noble", *el caballero villano*:

> [...] el rey buscaba el fortalecimiento de un tercer brazo que adquiriera capacidad suficiente como para ser un componente de la configuración constitucional del reino y que, lógicamente, pusiera al servicio del programa político del monarca tal capacidad. En este propósito, Alfonso X no ahorró esfuerzos: a través de la exención de impuestos y de la reserva de los oficios concejiles a favor de los caballeros villanos, el monarca se granjeó el apoyo de las oligarquías urbanas. Éstas, por su parte, se dejaron querer

> por el rey, conscientes de que los beneficios de la colaboración serían mutuos. (García de Cortázar 2003: 41-42)

This mutual dependency benefited each party: while the king consolidated power and gained a loyal military force, the *caballeros villanos* were given privileges and exemptions, enriching themselves, adding to their power and prestige, and laying claim to their belonging to the elite. A part of these privileges required these urban knights to be part of a well-equipped and prepared fighting force. It can be inferred from *Fuero real*'s specific legislation about *caballeros villanos*' military equipment that they were not always prepared, rendering them ineffective as a military unit (Powers 1985: 105-106); this made one thing clear:

> [Alfonso] was concerned about the number of available militiamen, especially *caballeros*, that he was able to muster from the towns. He wanted them all properly armed, both for their own preservation and for their military effectiveness. (Powers 1985: 110)

In addition, this legislation would have helped frontier *villas* to defend themselves and the realm (Powers 1985: 128-129). Another argument can be added: the development of an effective urban knighthood would have limited Alfonso's dependence on the traditional noble knights who were constantly in a power struggle with the monarch and difficult to manage, while *caballeros villanos* would have been more loyal and manageable; these were to be the king's soldiers. Nonetheless, the granting of privileges backfired on the monarchy eventually, later creating an additional headache, particularly for future kings until the Catholic Monarchs established the *Santa Hermandad* (1476) (O'Callaghan 1990: 30). Despite this, the intention was clear, but never fully realized by Alfonso: the creation and use of an urban military force that would prove more devoted to the royal program and more easily manipulated, likewise reflected in the monarchy's use of *letrados*.

Efforts were made to give the town and city councils more of a decision-making role in the realm, as well:

> Alfonso effected long-range changes in the government and social structure of towns. By summoning the towns regularly to the cortes, he gave them the opportunity to participate directly in the highest councils of the realm. The obvious importance of municipalities, as centers of administration and as sources of military forces and revenues, prompted his action. (O'Callaghan 1990: 20; see also p. 33)

The *cortes* were a pivotal part, letting Alfonso to emphasize his new view of the polity—physically and symbolically—and underscore the corporal concept:

> las Cortes constituyeron, en efecto, la máxima expresión tanto de la conciencia de la existencia de una *societas humana* política, no sólo de una *societas christiana* espiritual, como de la aplicación de una concepción corporativa. Sus reuniones, a las que concurrían miembros de los diversos estamentos del reino bajo la presidencia del rey, que era alma, cabeza o corazón de aquél, hacían visible el cuerpo ideal del reino, trasladando a la realidad física del encuentro de los representantes lo que, al margen de él, no dejaba de ser una ficción intelectiva aunque de importantes efectos constitucionales. (García de Cortázar 2015: 20)[49]

In this give-and-take relationship, each had something to gain.

Alfonso's new relationship with the towns and cities was going to cost them. Though the urban elite did increase some privileges and protections, "townsmen too were fearful of losing their traditional rights and privileges and were especially distressed by the king's frequent requests for extraordinary taxation" (O'Callaghan 1975: 372). Another challenge to revenues was that most of the Reconquest's advances were completed, blocking off potential financial incentives; now the most secure avenue for capital was limited to the *parias* given by Granada, which increased the monarchy's dependence on the townsmen and the common people who "bore the brunt of taxation, and before Alfonso's rule their contribution had not sufficed to support the monarchy" (Keller 1967: 22). The need for extra tax revenue can also explain in part why the monarch had interest in summoning

[49] For more on the corporate concept and the courts being a place where ideas and political beliefs were expressed see: Nieto Soria (1988: 90-98, 206-207).

cortes, giving the king the ability to request—and often obtain—extraordinary taxes (O'Callaghan 1990: 18-19). The cities and towns were also vexed by other payments to the monarchy, such as forced loans (*empréstitos*) (O'Callaghan 1985: 56-57). This followed similar European patterns:

> [...] princes [...] acquired the habit of alleging the necessity of defending the State in order to justify war and extraordinary subsidies. In other ways, too, the necessity of the defense of the realm weakened feudal law and custom. (Post 1964: 287; see also p. 565)

Public concerns and law were alternative methods of rationalizing taxation, which weakened traditional noble power and independence. Despite the king offering something in return to these local institutions and their elite, the heavy burden he placed on them would create tensions.

Another piece of the royal reforms revolves around the learned counselors of the monarchy: *letrados*. They were making one of their earliest major entries into politics at the royal court. Particularly from the twelfth century forward, they began to take on important roles in the kingdom of Castile's royal court:

> Lo que al pronto empezó como un puro hecho—los letrados del séquito real asumiendo funciones propias de sus conocimientos—se convierte en un postulado doctrinal. En el desarrollo que adquieren las organizaciones políticas de la baja Edad Media, las actividades administrativas aumentan y se definen. Aparece el oficio, no como servicio doméstico del rey o del señor, al modo del que prestaban los antiguos ministeriales, sino como función pública en manos de los letrados y juristas, en los distintos planos de la vida pública. (Maravall 1967: 363)

These new *oficios* started to take on more influence under Alfonso, as from the thirteenth century "aumentan cada vez más en número y se hacen más imprescindibles y la doctrina tendrá que reconocer su puesto—y un puesto importante—, en la organización de los reinos" (Maravall 1967: 363). Alfonso also stressed the value of learned men as part of his legislative reforms (*SP* II.ix.5). It is striking how traditional royal advisors, the nobles,

should not solely rely on their military prowess, but need to show signs of intellectual virtues:

> Otrosí, conviene mucho que los ricos omes lo sean de seso e de entendimiento, pues que ellos han a aconsejar al rey en los grandes fechos. Ca si de buen seso non fuesen, non lo sabría fazer, ni guardarían bien sus poridades. E si non fuesen entendidos, non conoscerían el bien que les oviese fecho, ni ge lo servirían como deviesen, ni sabrían, otrosí, guardar su buena andança. (*SP* II.ix.6)

This emphasis on education extends to the monarch (*SP* II.v.16). The reference to *saber* in these references is not coincidental either; the monarch employs it as an "agente de la lucha contra el uso y la costumbre" (Martin 2000c: 48). Alfonso asks the same of the *cavallería*, as well (*SP* II.xxi.5; see also *SP* II.xxi.5-6). This shift toward learned culture, then, is critical to the Alfonsine program's goals, opening up the gates of cultural rebirth and learning. These foundational efforts demonstrate the link between the court, literature, and politics: if learned culture was making its debut as an integral part of courtly life, then *letrados* would gradually earn a pivotal place, culminating in their eventual and ultimate triumph in the Cortes de Toledo (1480).

Language was another aspect of the Alfonsine ideological efforts, raising the value of Castilian literature.[50] The use of the vernacular to such an extent and for legal texts was an innovation by Alfonso, signifying more than "the biggest cultural event of the Iberian thirteenth century" (Rodríguez Velasco 2020: 95); it was the most impactful step for ensuring the long-lasting legacy of the Alfonsine political program and its legal corpus, becoming the reference for the early modern state's organization and the debates connected to it. This legal legacy survives in modern Spain, as well as continues to be part of the legal systems in several of the Spanish empire's former colonies, including the

[50] Arizaleta discusses examples of *conciencia lingüística* applied to sociopolitical purposes that antedated Alfonso's reign (2012). As for Alfonso, one scholar describes him as the first lexicographer of Spanish (Van Scoy 1940).

United States of America (O'Callaghan 2019: 245-246).[51] Castilian was overall better suited in two ways. First, it was a more appropriate vehicle when dealing with Jews and Muslims, serving as a *lingua franca*. Second, for didactic purposes and reform, it was a more logical choice for transmitting ideas that could be understood instead of Latin; not even the clergy always understood the latter well:

> Su ideal no era por eso, como para Dante, la creación de un *volgare illustre*, es decir, una lengua literaria capaz de medirse con el latín en cuanto a la belleza y altas aspiraciones. No hay por parte del rey Sabio ninguna política de imposición nacionalista del castellano, sino un deseo de aprovechar hasta el máximo su carácter de medio de comunicación más o menos aceptado ya de hecho por todos. [...] [E]ra un instrumento de comunicación eficaz para todos los españoles, una lengua capacitada para cualquier tipo de uso, bien fuera éste legal, político, científico o cotidiano. El acierto de la tarea lingüística alfonsí tuvo como premio la aceptación hegemónica de la lengua castellana sobre un plano de fenómeno natural y capaz de caminar por sí mismo. (Márquez Villanueva 1994: 39-40)

This shift was clear during Alfonso's reign, though it was building on previous, limited efforts. Castilian began to be used more often for official purposes in the early years of the twelfth century under Alfonso VIII of Castile (1155-1214), but as noted it was not used to a great extent. Under Fernando III, Latin was still the major language of choice (Gómez Moreno 1999-2007: I, p. 295).[52] Alfonso not only created legal works and a theory of law in Castilian, but "las crónicas escritas en latín se ven sustituidas por *Estorias* redactadas en romance, la *Estoria de Espanna* y la *General Estoria*" (Fernández-Ordóñez 2002b: 95).

This shift to the vernacular reflected the Alfonso's intentions and not solely for creating a language of culture: he wished for these texts to be available, understood, and

[51] See Fradejas Ruedas for an overview of the early printing of *Siete Partidas* in Latin America (2021). For the manuscripts, see: Panateri (2017: Ch. 1).

[52] Perhaps the biggest vernacular achievement by Fernando was the biblical translations (Sánchez-Prieto 2009: XXVIII-XXIX). For more on historiography during Fernando's reign, see: Bronisch (2012: 434-454).

influential in crafting a *concepto alfonsí* of the realm, as language and the written word are important to maintaining an educated class, as well as promoting ideas:

> ca de todo esto et dotras cosas muchas no sopiéramos nada si, muriendo aquellos que eran a la sazón que fueron estos fechos, non dexassen escripturas por que lo sopiessemos; et por ende, somos nos adebdados de amar a aquellos que lo fizieron por que sopiéssemos por ellos lo que no sopiéramos dotra manera. (Alfonso X 1906: Vol. I, Pro. 3-4)

This effort to expand knowledge and serve as an educational tool is reflected by Juan Manuel's *Crónica abreviada* (1320-1325), where he discusses in several points of the prologue the benefits of offering learned culture to lay readers (1958: 7-9, 20-21, 37). The opting for Castilian had several purposes:

> Hubo en el lanzamiento del castellano como lengua nacional y de la cultura escrita otros motivos políticos y sociales, entre ellos, sin duda, influyó la necesidad de unificar las distintas partes del país bajo la misma lengua, la necesidad de satisfacer las exigencias de las tres etnias presentes en la escena nacional, así como el hecho igualmente impostergable de buscar una salida a una situación intolerable cual era la ineptitud por parte de los elementos más cultos de expresarse adecuadamente en latín y como consecuencia su incapacidad de educar al pueblo en dicha lengua; pero más allá de estos motivos, lo que hizo posible el cambio del latín al romance fue la firme voluntad de Alfonso X que no vio otra alternativa viable para llevar a cabo su programa educativo en el reino. (Martínez 2016: 97)

The choice of language had a few desired outcomes. By writing and promulgating legal texts and theories in the vernacular, Alfonso shaped the concepts and views of the law and society going forward in Castile; whereas before his reign basic notions of legal culture and premises on which authority were based had been buried within heavily jargoned Latin texts, Alfonso offered a simplified vernacular theory of law that would shape the way the typical subject saw, interpreted, and experienced power: this in itself could be viewed as a political and propaganda tool in the efforts to sway over large segments of society to the royal cause or vision; this has been described as Alfonso's attempt to create an *espacio de certidumbre* through legal discourse:

> [...] la construcción teórica y conceptual de carácter filológico y textual dispuesta por el legislador para intentar controlar los distintos conceptos relacionados con la palabra

> legal, su estatuto institucional y su hermenéutica jurídica, moral y cultural. (Rodríguez Velasco 2006b: 425; see also pp. 427-428)

That is, if Alfonso's works did not always convince rivals to follow his views, it did force them to work or engage with his theoretical framework and in the language in which it was formulated.

Alfonso's historiographical works were also helpful to his goals. *El Sabio* used two texts in particular, *Estoria de España* and *General Estoria*, to foment a political ideology that went hand-in-hand with what I have been discussing:

> Las obras históricas resultan encuadradas como una más de las partes del "programa" político de Alfonso y resultan así estrechamente vinculadas en sus propósitos e ideario a las obras jurídicas. (Fernández-Ordóñez 2000b: 263; see also p. 267)[53]

General estoria, and one could add *Estoria de España*, were also crafted in order to illustrate and defend "la autoridad todopoderosa del rey" (Martin 2000c). Similarly to the legal works, the chronicles attempt to connect Alfonso to the past as a form of legitimizing his rule and ability to create laws, reinforcing the "imperial chain" and his concept of *señoríos* or *liñas* tying him to the past; for example, in *General estoria*, Alfonso X discusses how *fueros* were first given to Ancient Greece, and then passed down to the Romans and others (Alfonso X 2009: Pt. 1, Vol. I, Bk. VII, Ch. 15; see also Ch. 43, p. 392; Pt. 1, Vol. II, Bk, 20, Ch. 46). The historiographical works buttress legal ideals through the use of classical references and the moral authority of the past to defend Alfonso's vision and authority; this is not only a great novelty, but "parte de uno de sus motivos centrales, conjugar la religión judeocristiana con la tradición grecorromana" (Sánchez-Prieto 2009: LV).[54] Alfonso also creates a deeper sense of shared history and

[53] This has been argued by other scholars, as well: Rico (1984); Catalán (1992: esp. pp. 11-44); Martin (1997, 2000b). There are also historiographical works that antedate and influence Alfonso's project: see the aforementioned works and Martin's study (2002c: 4-6).
[54] Sánchez-Prieto is only speaking of *General estoria*, but I think that both chronicles can be considered in this way.

identity through the use of Castilian history and literary examples: "funde a los héroes de los relatos épicos, como verdaderos héroes populares, en el cuerpo de una verdadera Historia comunitaria" (Maravall 1967: 136; see also pp. 137-138). One reference exemplifies Alfonso's use of a classical mythical figure to demonstrate how his organizing and passing of new laws was not a novelty, but based on precedent in the first part of *General estoria*:

> e las yentes que fueron algún poco antes del su tiempo d'este rey Júpiter [...] non avién aún ciertos fueros nin ciertas leyes, nin los pusiera aún en escripto ninguno [....]. E esto sopo muy bien escoger este rey Júpiter [...]. E ayuntó todos los fueros e todas las leyes e tornólas en escrito, e fizo libros d'ellas. (Alfonso X 2009: Pt. 1, Vol. I, Bk. VII, Ch. 42, p. 390)[55]

This example was not randomly selected either; it shows he was trying to connect his efforts to those of Jupiter to justify them (Rico 1984). The same work credits Jupiter with founding the liberal arts and schools, and taking a keen interest in learning to make him a better ruler, all of which would help to validate Alfonso's own program and his personal traits (Alfonso X 2009: Pt. 1, Vol. I, Bk. VII, Ch. 33-41). Both the classical and national pasts were fused together to create a discourse and ideology based on historical precedent and literary *auctoritas*.

I shall not review the codicological and textual issues regarding both of the *Estorias*, since it is not my focus and has been done by others.[56] *Estoria de España* is extant in two versions, the second of which (*Versión crítica*) has additions that reflect historical events toward the end of Alfonso's reign, especially his struggle for power with his son, Sancho,

[55] Similar defenses of the king's ability and right to make and alter laws and better organize the body politic are found in the same chapter, as well as: Pt. 1, Vol. I, Bk. VII, Ch. 15, Ch. 43, Ch. 46.

[56] The bibliography is extensive, but see, for instance, general information about the manuscripts and dates of composition in: Menéndez Pidal (1906); Catalán (1990, 1992); Rico (1984); Fernández-Ordóñez (1992; 2000a; 2000d.); Alvar, Fernández-Ordóñez, *et al.* (2002); Sánchez-Prieto (2009: CXI-CXII); Alvar (2012). For some interesting studies on *General estoria*'s sources, see: Eisenberg (1973). See also a study of the same work's use of the Vulgate and a comparison with sources in Hebrew: Alonso Schökel (1998).

complicating its textual analysis (Fernández-Ordóñez 2000c: 67 *ff*.).[57] Suffice to say that both were begun in the 1270s, and neither was completed. The *Estorias* overlap with the Alfonsine political program, assimilating and promoting the king's goals of reforming and uniting the polity under the monarch. This is evident via the use of classical history to uphold a model of the body politic that is praiseworthy and successful, as well as one that is shaped by unified leadership; the *Estorias* are

> destinadas por él, como monarca, al adoctrinamiento de su pueblo. Y dentro de ese programa cultural de educación de sus súbditos, la Historia ocupa un lugar principal debido a su carácter exhaustivo, globalizador, que permite el conocimiento auténtico y profundo de todos los hechos pasados como ejemplo y enseñanza para el comportamiento presente y futuro. (Fernández-Ordóñez 2002b: 103)

The historiographical texts functioned alongside the legal ones toward the same goal: the unification and reformation of society under the monarch, which raises the power and influence of and dependency on *letrados*, who were the ones able to produce the texts that back up this ideology.

I shall consider a couple of points here in order to establish how the historiographical works fit into Alfonso's ideological efforts. The *Estorias* bolster the king's claims to power via classical and biblical examples, at times combined in one reference:

> la *Estoria de España* (y la parte V de la *General Estoria* que la sigue en este pasaje) estable[ce] un paralelismo entre los bienes que recibirá la humanidad con el nacimiento de Cristo y los obtenidos con la unificación política que representa la llegada de Augusto al imperio de Roma. (Fernández-Ordóñez 2000b: 274; see some specific examples in *Primera Crónica General* 1906: Vol. I, Ch. 135, pp. 102-103; *General Estoria* 2009: Vol. IV; see also: *Esp*. I.vi.1; *SP* II.i.5, II.xv.5)[58]

Unity and peace under the monarch result in prosperity and power: "las dos *Estorias* insisten en las bondades de los reinos fuertes y unidos, en oposición a los débiles y

[57] See De la Campa and Bautista Crespo for overviews of the different versions and related chronicles (2000; 2000).
[58] Frederick II likewise made an effort to show himself as a successor of the Roman emperor Augustus (Kantorowicz 1927; Delle Donne 2019; Valdeón 2004-2005: 244).

fragmentados" (Fernández-Ordóñez 2000b: 274). Alfonsine ideology is backed by the authority of classical and biblical references, which would strengthen the royal arguments. This respect for Roman *auctoritas* was already present in *Estoria de España*:

> la importancia concedida a la historia romana en la *Estoria de España* sobrepasa con mucho los límites de la historia local, lo cual, probablemente, no deja de ser sintomático tanto de la honda pertenencia de la España medieval al mundo romano como de la perspectiva imperial que fue la de Alfonso X. (Martin 2000: 23)

To expand on this point: the use of Roman common law and the intent to reform the political-legal system could have also given Roman history greater impetus, as it fit well with the ideas culled from the law. It would be of value for ideological purposes to fully tie the Alfonsine program to the Roman legacy, especially as Alfonso was attempting to obtain the imperial crown and build on previous efforts by Frederick II. Through both law and historical references and precedent, Alfonso emphasizes that he is a legitimate ruler able to reform his *señorío* much like his predecessors.[59]

Despite the comprehensive ideological framework set up by the monarch, in the end these measures would not be finalized during his reign. Rebellion struck not once, but twice. Revolt was spread out among every element of society, but it was primarily carried out by the nobles who advocated the reversal of Alfonsine reforms, and then later removing Alfonso as monarch. The origins of the first major uprising are not easily summarized, but some points can be made:

> En líneas generales, pudiera decirse que la rebelión de la nobleza castellano-leonesa contra Alfonso X debe situarse en el amplio contexto de los profundos cambios que se dieron desde finales del siglo XII en el concepto de realeza como institución social. La visión tradicional del rey, como un señor feudal que entra en relaciones vasalláticas de índole personal con sus súbditos, estaba siendo rápidamente sustituida por una nueva relación en la que el rey es responsable de un organismo corporativo. Su función es,

[59] Some of the literary ideas and references used by Alfonso X will be considered again in later chapters. The bibliography on his use of literature in the historiographical works is extensive; for some information on these matters, see: Lida de Malkiel (1958, 1959); Eisenberg (1973); Rico (1984); Catalán (1990, 1992); Fernández-Ordóñez (1992: esp. Ch. VI, "Las fuentes comunes"; 2000a, 2000b); Martin (2000b); Castillo Lluch (2008); Lacomba (2010); Rubio Tovar (2014).

> más bien, la de *primus inter pares*, siendo los otros tres estamentos del reino, el clero, la nobleza y los representantes de la ciudades, juntamente con él, los responsables del bienestar común y la seguridad del reino. (Martínez 2003: 318)

Centralization of royal power and the termination of previous traditional privileges were key to the discontent.

Though rumblings of rebellion and debates erupted before, a pivotal step toward the first major uprising took place from February 1271: "mientras Alfonso se hallaba en Murcia, los rebeldes se reunieron en Lerma por primera vez con el fin específico de planificar la destitución" (Martínez 2003: 340; see also *Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 20). Initially, the primary promoters of the rebellion were the king's brother Felipe (*c*. 1231-1274) and his cousin through marriage Nuño González de Lara (?-1275), who was the governor of the frontier (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch.. 20; see also Martínez 2003: 334; Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 517-518). In subsequent chapters of the same chronicle (23-24), the nobles lay out their complaints, while Alfonso concedes everything (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 571-573, 575-577). The rebels also demanded that the monarch call *cortes* to permit them and others to formally voice their complaints and establish a truce (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 24). What the nobles wanted was a restoration of the status quo. In spite of Alfonso's showing himself to be open to compromise, perhaps his true feelings of betrayal and anger are better expressed in *Cantiga* 235, written later (1279?), but lucidly expressing Alfonso's view toward the rebellious nobles:

> Pois passou per muitas coitas | e delas vos contarei:
> Hũa vez dos ricos-omes | que, segundo que eu sei,
> se juraron contra ele | todos que non fosse Rey,
> seend' os máis seus parentes, | que divid' é natural.
> Como gradeçer ben-feito | é cousa que muito val...
> E demáis, sen tod' aquesto, | fazendo-lles muito ben,
> o que lle pouco graçían | e non tiyan en ren;
> mais conortou-o a Vírgen | dizendo: Non dés poren
> nulla cousa, ca seu feito | destes é mui desleal.
> Como gradeçer ben-feito | é cousa que muito val...
> Mas eu o desfarei todo | o que eles van ordir,

> que aquelo que desejan | nunca o possan conprir. (Alfonso X 1986: II, Cantiga CCXXXV, vv. 20-31)

Nonetheless, at the Cortes of Burgos (1272), the rebels showed themselves uninterested in compromise, demanding more, settling for nothing (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 25-27). This confrontation between the nobility and monarchy was also different than previous ones: "What changed in 1272 was that the aristocracy joined together in order to defend their group identity, threatened by the new royal impositions" (Liuzzo Scorpo 2014: 43). In this *corte*, leading members of some of the towns and cities sent representatives, and the rebels, in addition to the claims outlined above, wanted to eliminate or reduce taxes agreed upon during the Cortes of Burgos in 1269 (Martínez 2003: 348-349). Despite the nobles not paying taxes themselves, these demands earned the "simpatía de campesinos y comerciantes" (Martínez 2003: 349). Alfonso responded by being flexible, especially as military and imperial problems mounted (Martínez 2003: 349). In order to reach a compromise with the rebels, the monarch showed himself ready to meet the principle noble grievance: the reimplementation of their traditional rights (Martínez 2003: 351; see also *Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 25). The clergy also joined to express their discontent at royal policies (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 25-26). They particularly focused on their economic concerns—and they also had complaints about their loss of jurisdiction—, insisting that Alfonso revoke

> el pago de las *tercias reales* que habían quedado suprimidas al conceder el papa Clemente IV a Alfonso en junio de 1265 la *décima* de todos los ingresos eclesiásticos por tres años, pero que Alfonso todavía seguía cobrando. (Martínez 2003: 351)[60]

Both the nobles and the clergy wished to return to the traditional laws and privileges. Alfonso was left with no other choice than to negotiate, but the nobles demonstrated that they only had interest in total subjugation and the complete reversal of the Alfonsine

[60] Keen discusses how prospering peasants and townsmen were beginning to cut into noble wealth from the thirteenth century (1984: 146).

reforms (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 590). No concession would have been enough: the nobles decided to leave the Cortes, asking the king for a short-term truce to permit them to go into exile; the nobles then broke the treaty, robbing and vandalizing Castile before leaving (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 27). From here forward, all negotiations were done via a commission. Alfonso's heir, Fernando de la Cerda (1255-1275), played a significant role in these discussions, as after the Cortes "Alfonso X no se encargó directamente de las negociaciones, quedando éstas en manos de un nutrido grupo de magnates, encabezados por la reina Violante y don Fernando de la Cerda" (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 159). The appointment of Fernando showed Alfonso's trust in and delegation of duties to the crown prince, or perhaps he saw this as his only option.

The commission attempted to incorporate all the interested parties, and the king delegated the process to others in addition to his wife and son: "seis magnates, cuatro caballeros, cuatro obispos, cuatro clérigos, cinco franciscanos y dominicos, y diecisiete ciudadanos." (Martínez 2003: 352). Though this was an eclectic and representative group, in the end the monarch had little leverage, and the nobles left to "Granada a unirse con los *enemigos de Dios, e de la fe, e del rey*" (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 615). Pressure was coming from every corner, and Alfonso felt unease by the presence of the Castilian nobles in Granada, allying themselves with their common enemy (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 44). It should also be noted that, according to *Siete Partidas*, this type of alliance was treasonous *de lesa majestad* (VII.ii.1).[61] Despite the open sedition, Alfonso's imperial ambitions had not yet been terminated, making compromise more important if he were to continue these efforts. Perhaps Alfonso had no choice considering the extent of the rebellion, but it still casts light on how much the imperial title meant to him.

[61] The same text lays out the penalty for treason (*SP* VII.ii.2).

The commission arrived at a peace agreement (1273):

> Alfonso, siguiendo dichas recomendaciones, capituló en todo, pues confirmó "los buenos usos y costumbres" y los privilegios tradicionales de la nobleza, así como los *fueros* de muchas de las ciudades a las que recientemente había concedido el *Fuero real*. Ante la buena voluntad del Rey, la asamblea se mostró más favorable a concederle un nuevo impuesto de *servicio* que debía mantenerse por el tiempo que Alfonso creyese necesario, previa aprobación de las Cortes. Alfonso cedió prácticamente en todas las demandas de los rebeldes, de tal manera que el *Fuero real* dejó de tener vigor para ser sustituido por el *Fuero Viejo de Castilla*. (Martínez 2003: 352).

Alfonso sacrificed in the short term for the sake of a bargain that was necessitated by imperial ambitions and dangers on the southern frontier (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 620). The changes to the sociopolitical landscape finally brought the nobles to the table, as they had previously proved unwilling to negotiate, no matter how much the king gave in to their demands; ultimately, Alfonso's peace agreement with Granada left the nobles no choice, as they could no longer count on the Nasrid dynasty's support or protection (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 58). It does not seem probable that these compromises were intended to be permanent, but a short-term sacrifice to focus on his imperial ambitions. Alfonso lost the battle to potentially fight a later war, but he had few battles left in him.

Peace had been reached, but that did not signify that all were happy with the terms. The Nasrid dynasty ensured the return of the nobles and a peace treaty, but the king, Muhammad II (أبو عبد الله محمد الثاني, reigned 1273-1302), was not content; he had lost trust in aligning himself with a Christian monarch who he believed would not protect him from the *arraeces* (from the singular, *arráez* <رئيس, "chief, head, captain, or *caudillo*") after the expiration of the truce:

> Gran[t] pesar avié el rey de Granada por la tregua que dio a los arrayazes estando él en Sevilla [...] Et entendió que pues fincavan en tregua con él por aquel año, que después de aquel tiempo el rey de Castilla querría tornar a los defender e así fincava

> él deste pleito con daño e los arrayazes fincavan señores e poderosos en la tierra. (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 61; see also Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 741).

Unhappy, scared, and betrayed, the Granadan reached a peace agreement with the *arraeces*, and then contacted the sultan of the Moroccan Marinid dynasty, Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn 'Abd al-Haqq (أَبُو يُوسُف يَعقُوب بن عَبد الحَقّ, reigned from 1258-1286) to help him plan an invasion in unison with his coreligionists (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 61). These developments would prove fatal, eventually leading to the death of one member of the royal family and the disinheritance of another.[62]

Alfonso's trust in Fernando de la Cerda was confirmed by his preparations for the *fecho del imperio*. In 1274, the monarch felt confident enough to leave his recently healed kingdom in order to pursue the imperial crown, arranging a meeting with the pope in Beaucaire. In the Cortes of Burgos (1274), Alfonso "nombró regente al infante don Fernando mientras durara su ausencia, ordenando que si le sucedía algo durante el viaje le reconociesen como sucesor" (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 162). Little did Alfonso know that this would ultimately be the cause of the premature end to his own reign. Alfonso's obsession distracted him from his better judgment: in the midst of an unstable peace with the nobles and an equally volatile truce with the king of Granada, Alfonso left the peninsula.

The peace was short-lived. After negotiations between the king of Granada, the sultan of Morocco, and the *arraeces*, the three parties formed a pact to invade Castile (1275). The combined forces may not have been successful in turning the tides and ending the Christian dominance of the peninsula, but they helped ensure instability. In a letter from the king of Granada to the sultan of Morocco, the former relays the news of Alfonso's

[62] Muslim peninsular rulers faced the analogous threat of فتنة (*fitnah*: "sedition, rebellion, strife"), adding to their precarious situation as vassal states.

being abroad, opening up the possibility of a successful invasion (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 61). As a result, Fernando de la Cerda assembled troops to confront the enemy, but his response ended quickly: in Villa Real (1275), the regent prince was killed by the invading forces (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 164; see also *Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 64). This left the kingdom once again at risk of not only internal conflict, but foreign forces.

The doors were opened for the future Sancho IV to become the successor to his father, and he seized the moment by taking charge of the government and pushing back the invasion, which included noble support (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 165). One particular supporter of the monarch proved essential:

> Et luego el infante don Sancho fabló con don Lope Díaz y díxol que pues él fincava el mayor de sus hermanos, que él devía heredar los regnos después de días de su padre e quel rogava quel ayudase en esto. Et aviéndolo él, que fuese çierto quel faría merçed et bien en guisa que fuese el mayor omne et más honrado del regno. (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 65)

The noble's support and encouragement were not to be entirely unexpected. They both grew up together and shared close personalities, and Lope Díaz de Haro (?-1288) advised Sancho to take hold of the troops and defend the border, which would also earn his father's love and appreciation (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 166). Lope Díaz was right on two fronts: he did gain the king's gratitude and affection, as well as sealed a peace deal with the invading forces in 1276 (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 166). The same noble also helped bring the other aristocrats within the fold (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 65). The nobles believed that Sancho was their best hope for organizing an effective response to the invading forces; they also plausibly saw it as an opportunity to strengthen their ties with Alfonso's potential successor. If they were able to show their support for Sancho early, he would be more likely to side with them in the future: as a young man, the nobles likely assumed that they could manipulate and influence him more so than his father, later verified by the privileges and concessions Sancho offered to them. However, once Sancho

was firmly seated on his throne, his views and policies would not greatly differ from his father (Nieto Soria 2014: 117). After the initial defeat of the invading forces, all seemed to bode well for the monarchy: Sancho decisively rid the kingdom of the invading army, while acquiring support from the nobles and respect and admiration from the people (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 768-769). Appearances were deceiving: with the recent fractures created between the monarch and the nobles, as well as other elements of Castilian society, the threat in southern Spain from the Islamic forces, and the failure to secure the imperial crown, Castile and its king had compounded problems on top of problems. Sancho's success was celebrated with jubilation; nonetheless, the polemics surrounding succession ultimately reopened recent wounds, permitting the nobles to finally break Alfonso's hold on the realm.

The debates over succession were on the surface a fight over who was legally entitled to become heir to the throne; below this façade it was a continuation of the power struggles: a debate over Alfonso's new legislation based on Roman *ius commune* and the traditional custom law. The two sides can be summarized as follows:

> [...] heredaba el trono el primogénito por línea masculina y en caso de su fallecimiento, correspondía al siguiente varón, pudiendo reinar finalmente las hijas. Sin embargo, la recepción del derecho romano durante el reinado de Alfonso X modificaba esta cuestión, ya que *Las Partidas* establecían que si el heredero moría teniendo descendencia, era ésta la que adquiría los derechos directos de sucesión. (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 167; see also *SP* II.xv.2)

From a traditional perspective, Sancho and his allies were acting legally, since these "fueron los principios que rigieron la sucesión al trono durante los siglos XI, XII y XIII" (González Jiménez 1996-1997: 202). Nevertheless, with the promulgation of the Alfonsine legal codes, Castilianized Roman common law had been established, which strengthened the case for Fernando de la Cerda's son, Alfonso de la Cerda (González Jiménez 1996-1997: 202). Despite the legal arguments, *el Sabio* realized that his kingdom

was in a precarious situation; Sancho likewise showed himself capable of defending the realm and earn support (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 67; see also Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 789). In addition to these considerations, Alfonso had to contend with the French monarch, Philip III (1245-1285), who adamantly insisted upon his nephew's, Alfonso de la Cerda's, right (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 169). Initially, the negotiations advanced nowhere, and Alfonso officially named Sancho his successor, giving him many powers and responsibilities at the Cortes of Segovia (1278) (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 172; see also O'Callaghan 1990: 28; *Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 68). This trust and allocation of powers proved to be ill-fated in the end, as Sancho not only used this new position to consolidate his own authority, but also to challenge his father's negotiations with the French over the succession.

The French demands put Alfonso *entre la espada y la pared*. On the one hand, he did not wish to hand over power to Alfonso de la Cerda and upset the nobles and Sancho; on the other, he did not want to create a potent enemy directly north of the Iberian Peninsula. Alfonso thought he arrived at a reasonable middle ground in Vitoria (1281), hoping to split the difference and keep all parties satisfied:

> El monarca castellano estaba dispuesto a ofrecer a Alfonso de la Cerda el reino de Jaén y 500 libras de renta a cambio del homenaje a don Sancho, algo que no aceptaron los delegados del rey de Francia que exigieron el reino de Castilla o el de León, algo que rechazó Alfonso X. (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 175; see also González Jiménez 2004: 339; *Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 74)

The French were not satisfied, but Sancho was furious, especially because Alfonso did not inform him of the plans nor the negotiations. With the best intentions of securing peace at home and abroad, Alfonso angered his son; after explaining to his successor why he wanted to divide up the realm, Sancho stated that his father could not do this (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 74). Subsequently Sancho formed pacts, conceded privileges, and gained loyalty among Castile's leadership (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 953-957; Carmona

Ruiz 2018: 175-176). In one final in-person meeting after the confrontation in Vitoria, Sancho responded to his father's explanation for dividing the realm and why he had the power to do so by aggressively refuting him:

> "Señor non me feziste vós, mas fízome Dios; et fizo mucho por me fazer, ca mató a un mi hermano que era mayor que yo e era vuestro heredero destos regnos si él biviera más que vós. [E] non lo mató por ál, synon porque lo heredase yo después de vuestros días. Et esta palabra que me dixiestes pudiéradesla muy bien escusar et tienpo verná que non la querríedes aver dicho." (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 75)

Alea iacta est. Sancho would never speak to his father again. He turned his focus to rounding up more support among the nobles, the towns and cities, the prelates, and the *infantes* Juan and Manuel (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 76). Sancho offered them a return to the status quo, securing their allegiance and support by giving them everything they wanted.

If tensions were already high, the *Asamblea* of Valladolid (1282) sealed the acrimonious fate between father and son:[63]

> Et desque ý llegó [don Sancho], fueron con él juntados todos los de la tierra et los ricos omnes que andavan fuera. Et acordaron todos que se llamase rey el infante Don Sancho et que le diesen todos el poder de la tierra. Et él nunca lo quiso consentir que en vida de su padre le llamase él rey de los sus regnos. Et sobre esto ovieron su acuerdo et acordaron quel mandasen dar las fortalezas todas et quel diesen la justiçia et el aver de la tierra. (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 76)[64]

Alfonso's time as king was over: the assembly resulted in the "destitución de su propio rey" (Martínez 2003: 476; see also Carmona Ruiz 2018: 178-179). Sancho also continued his efforts to consolidate power by making concessions and promises to his loyal nobles (Carmona Ruiz 2018: 178; see also Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 994). The power grab came in several forms: establishing good relations with Pedro III of Aragon (reigned 1276-

[63] This event is sometimes referred to as a *corte*. As the reigning monarch was not there and this was an act of rebellion, I prefer to use the term *asamblea*.

[64] Sancho's refusal to be called *rey* during his father's life, though claiming all his power, is similar to Isabel's refusal to be called queen until after Enrique IV died. This underscores how they both tried to project an image of their respecting the monarchy, which would also not undermine their future authority.

1285), and granting privileges and forming pacts with as many elements of Castilian society as possible. One particular agreement between Pedro III and Sancho was over the fate of Navarre. In an epistle from the latter to the former on March 1281, Sancho declares:

> [...] que vos ayudaré con todo mío poder toda sazón que me lo demandares pora conquerir et aver el regno de Navarra con sus derechos et sus pertenencias, así como era el regno a la sazón que esta carta fue fecha [...]. Et otrosí vos prometo que si el dicho regno de Navarra todo o parte dello fuere conquisto por el rey mío padre, o por mi con vusco en uno o apartadamientre, que luego que yo regnare en Castella que vos dé et vos entregue todo lo que el rey mío padre et yo deste día adelante, que esta carta fue fecha conquisiéremos o oviéremos deste regno de Navarra, que lo ayades complidamientre así como fuere conquisto por el rey mío padre e por mi. (Real Academia de la Historia 1851: Vol. II, p. CLXXXVI; see also the next letter in the collection for another agreement between them).

Similar promises and allegiances against his father are demonstrated through privileges; one in particular, directed to the city of Oviedo (March 1282), shows a parallel approach to consolidating alliances (Real Academia de la Historia 1851: Vol. II, p. CXCV; see also pp. CXCIX, CCV). These efforts by Sancho forced Alfonso to turn to analogous tactics: the monarch granted a privilege to Montemolín to not only gain its allegiance, but also to punish the Order of Santiago for rebellion, turning the town into a *realengo* (Real Academia de la Historia 1851: Vol. II, p. CCXII).[65] Despite these efforts, the assembly at Valladolid essentially made Sancho *de facto* ruler of the realm. Sancho was willing to give his supporters whatever they wanted, ensuring that he would be indebted to them (*Crónica de Alfonso X* 1999: Ch. 76). Ironically, it was the royal successor who ultimately hammered the final nail into the coffin of Alfonso's program during his lifetime, proving that the nobles saw Sancho as a potential means to their own ends: a return to the

[65] Manuel González Jiménez offers an outline of the events, as well as a *registro documental* that is useful for the time period (2001: see esp. from p. 176 for the registry).

traditional rights, privileges, and laws that the aristocracy had enjoyed over previous generations.

After Alfonso lost much of his power and support, he named Alfonso de la Cerda his sole heir and, if he were to die, the Castilian crown would be given to the king of France (González Jiménez 1996-1997: 208-209). Over the next few months alliances shifted, as the parties jockeyed for power; nonetheless, Alfonso from this point forward was only a monarch in name (O'Callaghan 1990: 28). To balance Sancho's upper-hand, Alfonso was able to obtain a denunciation of his son's efforts from Pope Martin IV (9 August 1283), pronouncing Sancho's rebellion as "un acto de traición e imponiéndole la excomunión y declarando en entredicho al reino, hasta que el pueblo volviese a la obediencia del rey Alfonso" (Martínez 2003: 520; see also Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 1034-1037). This, and the return of some rebels to the Alfonsine camp, added mounted pressure on Sancho, causing many of his own supporters to push for peace with his father (Martínez 2003: 524; Carmona Ruiz 2018: 180-182). Some of the pro-*sanchistas* also began to give Alfonso allegiance once again, including the princes Jaime and Juan (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 1045). Though scholars believe that Alfonso likely pardoned his son before dying, it never reached Sancho's ears before his father's death (Martínez 2003: 542-543).[66] On 4 April 1284, Alfonso died in his beloved Seville.

Obsessed with unifying and centralizing his realm, Alfonso left it divided and in a state of civil war, but "prescindiendo del fracaso que tuvo su aplicación en vida de Alfonso, debe considerarse el monumento jurídico más importante de toda la Edad Media" (Martínez 2003: 564). Its framework and precedent survived to be reworked by future rulers in varying ways (Dyer 1990: 141-142). Later efforts would underscore the

[66] Peter Linehan states that Alfonso did pardon his son, basing his arguments on letters to the pope (2000: 237-238, 243-244).

usefulness and adaptability of his legal corpus, showing how it was a workable model in different historical and political contexts in the Iberian Peninsula and overseas, which the Catholic Monarchs would exceptionally exploit. A king without a kingdom, Alfonso ultimately failed to realize his dream, yet his failure proved to be a huge success over time: other monarchs would appropriate it to build a future Hispanic Empire.

Alfonso attempted to revise the legal codes and the way politics and power worked, but he also strove to co-opt the traditional rights and privileges of the nobles, the military Orders, the Church, and the towns and cities. The Alfonsine program was extensive and universal, hoping to bring the fragmented, feudal society under the sway of a centralized, powerful monarchy that was better able to manipulate the state apparatus:

> Por la cultura se adelantó a su tiempo, y su obra colosal aún vive con las *Partidas*, base de nuestro derecho histórico, que ha tenido insospechadas propagaciones legislativas al otro lado de los mares. (Ballesteros Beretta 1963: 1056)

Alfonso's program was not as solidified as he hoped, yet the next chapter shows that his impact on intellectual and written culture marked a shift in the peninsula; the high-ranking nobles would not only respond to *el Sabio* with their swords, but one among them would face this new vision through a mixture of history and fiction: Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348), who would present an anti-Alfonsine perspective that was nothing more than a dead end.

Chapter 2. Don Juan Manuel's *Libro de los estados* (1327-1330): Fictive History and a Literary Noble Defense

Don Juan Manuel (1282-*c.* 1348) was in many ways the literary and intellectual heir to his uncle, Alfonso X. If the latter used texts to create an image and ideology favorable to the crown, his nephew penned one that mixed history and fiction for the benefit of the high nobles and himself: *Libro de los estados*. This text can be interpreted as the author's attempt to dispute Alfonso X's cultural and symbolic capital, especially regarding the

meaning of knighthood and what it implies for the kingdom's framework. Since Juan Manuel did not hold political power and could not convey his views in legal terms, he had to express his political, cultural, and personal rivalry with Alfonso X through fiction. Usurping Alfonso's corpus to create a literary heterotopy—a utopian depiction of reality that attempts to contradict or transform it, while mirroring or imitating elements of it—, Don Juan presented in *romance* a contrasting vision through fictive history: a discourse that is primarily fictional, relying on historical details and texts to legitimize ideas and show their impact, becoming a tool for a personal defense and propaganda for his *estado*. In this way, literature makes and participates in politics.

In this paradigm the author reserves a special place for noble *caballeros*, while undermining *caballeros villanos* and rising *letrados*. This exaltation of the higher nobility to the detriment of the other estates can be interpreted as a direct attempt to minimize Alfonso X's efforts to empower and use the urban knights to the benefit of royal authority, a policy continued by Alfonso XI (reigned from 1326-1350). Considering the connections between both monarchs' legislative efforts, the composition of *Libro de los estados* can be analyzed by modifying Jesús Rodríguez Velasco's arguments for history being the basis of ethical-political literature:

> la historia promete al receptor, al rey o al príncipe, esa arte de prudencia con la que establecer, en cada caso, el principio de justicia, un principio que, por ser natural o abstracto, está en peligro. El rey, como persona dotada de un doble cuerpo político y natural, está sometido también a la ética: un correcto comportamiento ético. (1996b: 205)

What Juan Manuel presents is fiction and literature as a counter approach to express his views on political thought, statecraft, and his own self-representation as a leading member of the high nobility. Despite these efforts, the anti-Alfonsine viewpoint would ultimately fail, evidenced by the lack of contemporary dissemination of Juan Manuel's texts and his

political defeat by Alfonso XI, who would appropriate and reinforce Alfonso X's program.

Libro de los estados was composed between 1326/1327-1329/1330, coinciding with Juan Manuel's first conflict with Alfonso XI (Macpherson and Tate 1991: 36-48).[67] The treatise is entitled *Libro del infante o el libro de los estados* in the manuscript (ff. 43v-125v). The manuscript (BNE MSS/6376) contains all of his works, except *Crónica abreviada* (Macpherson and Tate 1991).[68] It is a luxurious fifteenth-century copy, written in Gothic *textualis* (Blecua 1980; De Looze 2006: 30). The manuscript's dating from this century mirrors the growing interest in questions related to knighthood, nobility, and monarchy (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a). The first six folios and part of the seventh are made up of a *tabla* for the first book (ff. 43v-46v), followed by a dedication to "don Johan arçobispo de Toledo su cuñado, fijo del muy nobre Rey don Jayme de Aragón" (f. 46v). In both books, there are several blank spaces between chapters, but it is not clear why (ff. 90v, 93v, 105v, 106v-107r, 108v, 111r, 121v-122v). The second book (103r-125v) also commences with a *tabla* (ff. 102r-103r), followed by another dedication to the same person under a new title: "patriarcha de Alexandría" (f. 107r), which he obtained in 1328 (Macpherson and Tate 1991: 36-37). The treatise ends without any colophon, followed by the *tabla* for *El conde Lucanor* (1335). The work is divided into two books, addressing the different estates among *legos* and *clérigos*. Funes argues that the epigraphs used for *Libro de los estados*' capitulation cannot be attributed to the original work (1984: 71); though his arguments are solid, he concedes that a solution "resulta prácticamente

[67] Other scholars have suggested a wider range of dates: 1327-1332 (Lacarra 2006: 45). All citations will be taken from Macpherson's and Tate's edition (1991). The form of citations is by book, chapter, and page, opting for this edition over José Manuel Blecua's (1981). The differences between the two editions are limited, but the former has the advantage of being more recent, using modern punctuation, and including an introduction with more extensive footnotes.

[68] For information regarding the "Anteprólogo" and details about the Peñafiel volume see: Alberto Blecua (1980: 104, 107-108, 111); Rico (1986: 102, n. 168); Olivetto (2014: esp. pp. 120-121). I concur with Blecua that the "Anteprólogo" is not Juan Manuel's work (1980: 111).

imposible" (Funes 1984: 84). In summary, the exact organization of the manuscript is a late medieval invention.

The text is principally a dialogue. The pagan king Morabán assigns a tutor named Turín to raise his son, Joas, under the specific instructions to never let him experience the world's pains and miseries (I.4, p. 77). The plans for this idealized upbringing are shattered when Joas sees a dead man (I.7, p. 80); this puts his tutor in the difficult situation of having to break the king's wishes:

> Señor, aquel cuerpo que vós allí viestes era omne muerto [...]. Et la razón por que vós tomaste enojo et commo espanto ende, fue por [que] naturalmente toda cosa viva toma enojo et espanto de la muerte. (I.7, p. 81)

Turín answers many of his pupil's questions about life and death, but then feels concerned for having broken the king's mandate (I.13). Joas offers to protect his tutor, showing his loyalty: "Et del reçelo que vós avedes, non ayades ningún cuidado, ca yo me iré luego para el rey, mío padre, et faré en guisa por que vós seades guardado" (I.13, p. 88). Joas then gets his father to promise he will not punish his tutor before he says anything about what he has seen and learned (I.14, p. 90). Only after ensuring his tutor's safety does Joas reveal what he had learned, impressing his father with his intelligence. Eventually Morabán is convinced to permit his son to learn about the world as it is, and Turín recommends a wise Christian named Julio from Castile (I.19-20). The chapters that follow discuss why a kingdom should have one religion, the merits of Christianity over other religions, questions pertaining to Church dogma, and the kingdom's conversion to Christianity (I.21-46). The rest of the first book addresses the various lay estates, followed in book two by a discussion on the different religious titles, as well as questions pertaining to the organization of the Church, ethics, and other religious matters.

Libro de los estados' fictive framework is loosely modeled on *Barlaam et Josafat* (Macpherson 1973: 1; Macpherson and Tate 1991: 38-41; Soler Bistué 2014: 134).[69] This follows a similar pattern in Juan Manuel's works, as he "rarely quotes 'authority' for his statements, and his references to Classical and Biblical sources are generally both vague and wrong" (Macpherson 1973: 2-3). This use of such ample sources shows his genuine authorial consciousness (Cantarino 1986: 330-31; Funes 2007: 6); that is, unlike many medieval writers who wrote in anonymity, Juan Manuel makes it clear that he is the author, while showing an interest in presenting his works as he envisioned them, illustrated by the *exemplum* of the *zapatero y trobador* in his *Prólogo general* (1991: 65-68). One quotation in *Libro de los estados* is an exception, coming from Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*: "Et acaesçe que agora esto acaesçiere, commo dixo Boesço: 'carmina qui quondam', etcétera" (I.1, p. 72).[70] The citation is so short that it could have come from a florilegium or his own notes. Another plausible explanation is that he consulted the work in Alfonso X's scriptorium, which was used in *General Estoria* and *Estoria de España* (Doñas Beleña 2015: 185). Apart from this example and possibly others, Juan Manuel's *modus operandi* indicates that he rarely imitated closely any author, relying on "el criterio de la experiencia personal aplicado a los conocimientos enciclopédicos" (Kinkade 1972: 1041; see also Macpherson 1973: 3). Inspired by a wide range of materials, he was writing with an ideological motive: the defense of the traditional high nobility and his own place within the kingdom's hierarchy.

Don Juan's life experiences were also impactful in forming his conception of fourteenth-century Castile and his place in it. I shall briefly discuss given the ample

[69] See Lacarra for additional details (2006: 48-49). Devoto also offers an extensive bibliography on *Barlaam et Josafat* (1972: 271-273).
[70] This point is made by Taylor (2009: 139).

sources dedicated to both.[71] He was the only child of the *infante* Manuel (1234-1283) and Béatrice de Savoie (1250-1292), grandson of Fernando III, nephew of Alfonso X, cousin of Sancho IV, uncle of Fernando IV (1285-1312), and tutor and great-uncle of Alfonso XI; he could hardly have played a more significant role during a tumultuous time period marked by "disensiones incluso fratricidas dentro de la familia" (Deyermond 2001: 224).[72] As a result, he developed an added sense of superiority and privileged status; he conveys this to his son in *Libro enfenido*:

> Et ciertamente, cuanto al tiempo de agora, loado sea de Dios, non á omne en España de mayor grado que vós, si non el rey. [....] Mas cuanto en las obras, devedes pasar con ellos [los reyes] como con vuestros vezinos: que vuestro padre et vuestro abuelo, non abiendo tanto como vós, siempre pasaron con los reis así como con sus vezinos. (2007: Ch. V, p. 951)[73]

This ostentation of power likewise "incluía una cancillería para la expedición de cartas y documentos, validados por su propio sello" (Hijano Villegas 2014: 80). These factors impacted his ideological views and his sense of self-worth.

Perhaps the most significant predicament in the early part of the fourteenth century for Juan Manuel was his role in one of the two shared regencies during Alfonso XI's minority (1312-1325), giving him the most powerful position in his lifetime and access to a vast collection of royal documents. With these privileges came conflict and jealousies.[74] After the deaths of the *infantes* Pedro and Juan in the Granada campaign (1318), the first regency failed, leaving open the struggle over who would become the new tutors. Juan Manuel pounced on the opportunity and became one with the Queen Dowager, María de

[71] See: Giménez Soler (1932); Tate and Macpherson (1974, 1991); Lacarra (2006, 2014); Alvar and Finci (2007).
[72] Don Juan Manuel also used Fernando III's legacy like Alfonso X did to help uplift his own image and that of his family in *Crónica abreviada* (Guiance 2012: 465; for the exact reference, see Don Juan Manuel 2007: 296); he does the same in *Libro de los estados* (Ch. LXXVI, p. 226).
[73] All citations will be taken from this edition, given by chapter and page.
[74] For more details see: O'Callaghan (1975: 403-404); Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal (2005: 44-91); in literary and historiographical works, see: *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (Victorio 1991: esp. §73-86); *Crónica de Alfonso XI* (Catalán 1976: I).

Molina (*c*. 1260-1321), but when she died power was split between Don Juan, Felipe, and Juan *el Tuerto* (Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal 2005: 89-91). Disputes between the interested parties and their allies would continue, but the regency moved Juan Manuel as close to the royal power as he would ever be.

The second shared regency proved to be a vital time period for Don Juan, serving as a prime political and intellectual opportunity:

> decide dedicarse a las letras en una edad madura (alrededor de los 40 años) y en un momento de su carrera política muy especial: cuando consigue el máximo de su poder. Es muy probable que haya entrado en contacto y consultado *in extenso* la obra alfonsí en la ciudad de Sevilla, donde estuvo frecuentemente durante el período de su regencia y aun en años posteriores. (Funes 2000: 783)

The access *in extenso* also functioned as an inspiration to form, in the only manner open to someone without the power to promulgate laws, his own ideological *auctoritas*: through fictive history. The first text that shows Alfonso X's influence on his nephew is *Crónica abreviada* (*c*. 1325); the text is an abbreviated version of *Estoria de España*, marking the "première appropriation par Don Juan Manuel de la matière historique héritée d'Alphonse X avant sa totale refonte" (Biaggini 2016: 3).[75] In addition to this attempt at historiography, Don Juan turns to fiction, serving him as another way to voice his own perspectives, as he could not write historical and legal texts with the authority of a monarch. Apart from this consideration, by putting a fictional account in a historical frame or setting, it reflected a "common way of conferring plausibility to imaginative stories" in the Middle Ages (Berqvist 2022: 85).[76] Plausibility, then, adds a greater sense of reality. The use of fiction in a historical framework and context to create plausible

[75] Hijano Villegas speculates that Don Juan could have intervened in the creation of the *Crónica manuelina* (2014: 80). For further information regarding the relationship between *Crónica abreviada* and *Estoria de España*, see: Catalán (1977); Benito-Veseels (1994); Alvar (1996); Linehan (1996).

[76] As it is widely known, Cicero considered history a branch of rhetoric: "history was a type of narrative subject to rhetorical amplification through the 'discovery' (*inventio*) of merely plausible details could easily be read into both the *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*" (Lake 2022: 179).

scenarios is done principally in three ways: the act of writing itself; his own appearances within *Libro de los estados* to either point out his other works or finish a particular story, as in *El conde Lucanor* (Scholberg 1961: 457); and a defense of the high nobility in the face of the monarchy's encroachments on their traditional rights and privileges. In a sense, *Libro de estados* functions like an aristocratic autobiographical or genealogical text that captures a family's and estate's memory and image, a growing trend during this time (Glauch 2019: 720).[77] Don Juan's idea of authorship and *auctoritas* could be defined based on a slight variation of Fernández-Ordóñez's concepts of *actores* and *autores* tied to the royal court (2018). These words are related, but not entirely interchangeable. *Actores* are those who instigated or ordered a composition to be produced, while *autores* are those that actually carried out the writing process, but in medieval texts it is not always evident who was responsible for each part or if both (Fernández-Ordóñez 2018: 590). *Auctoritas* is "authority" that often holds political meaning, reflecting someone's prestige and power, permitting the individual to garner support and a sense of power. Authorship most directly refers to writing or direct creation of a work. This, as in the case of Alfonso X, can at times be a difficult idea to equate to modern views of authorship, given that figures like the monarch may often take credit for this but not produce or physically put together any particular work. Despite the differences and potential overlaps, each reflects a relationship between power, influence, and prestige and the production of ideas or concepts. Based on the same scholar's discussion, through his appropriation of royal resources—and for a time power—, Juan Manuel qualifies as someone within the *entorno*

[77] From the late eleventh century, there is an uptick in autobiographical texts across Europe (Colish 1997: 180-182). Medieval biography served as a personal account and a reflection on the estate and lineages (Fernández Gallardo 2006). Keen discusses how these efforts to link aristocratic houses to the heroic past were ways to promote family histories (1984: 33).

regio, as well as a declared *actor*/*autor*; however, his ideology implies a use of both in favor of the high nobility.

The importance of Juan Manuel's fictive history has to be analyzed within the context of *molinismo* and the *concepto alfonsí*. *Molinismo* is a term that derives from Queen María de Molina (c. 1260-1321), who "played a fundamental role in the creation of a propagandistic framework intended to defend the dynastic rights of her family" (Arias Guillén 2020: 12). Gómez Redondo gives an explanation for its origins:

> El "molinismo" surge vinculado a la escuela catedralicia de Toledo, impulsada por la figura de don Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel, arzobispo en 1280, primado de las Españas en 1285 y cardenal en 1299; había sido, antes, notario de Alfonso X desde 1273 y obispo de Burgos; contribuyó decisivamente a la formación de la rica biblioteca catedralicia, con fondos que revelan cuáles iban a ser las líneas maestras del nuevo pensamiento cultural. (1998-2007: Vol. I, p. 860)

The link to the cathedral school presumably gave it a more pronounced religious posture (Arias Guillén 2020: 12). The foundations can be traced to Sancho IV's victory over his father; the change in reign has been argued to have fomented a shift in political and literary thought:

> Cuando Sancho se alza contra su padre, lo hace también contra un pensamiento político, contra una ideología regalista, que intentaba dominar con el "saber" a la nobleza y sujetar a la alta clerecía. El mérito del "molinismo" consiste en poder mantener parte de esa estructura de conocimiento—la historia, las leyes, los tratados sapienciales, los regimientos de príncipes—para intentar conformar un "regalismo aristocrático" que permitiera, por fin, integrar a los clanes nobiliarios en el entramado de la corte. (Gómez Redondo 1998-2007: Vol. I, p. 863)

Though Gómez Redondo does not completely discard Sancho's reliance on his father's model, he does argue that the former puts forward a new cultural model

> con una tarea prioritaria: corregir los fundamentos científicos y suprimir la tolerancia religiosa en que Alfonso había apoyado la suya. Esto no significa la desaparición del entramado literario que el Rey Sabio había proporcionado, sino ajustarlo y convertirlo al nuevo marco ideológico con el que don Sancho y doña María quieren identificarse; la afirmación del espíritu eclesiástico, por ejemplo, supondrá el rechazo del aristotelismo heterodoxo, así como la progresiva depuración de la elocuencia cortesana

> de que gustaba Alfonso; frente a la búsqueda del "saber" triunfará ahora el cultivo de la "razón". (1998-2007: Vol. I, p. 861)

But presenting *molinismo* as a planned doctrine or arguing that the royal goals and desires between Sancho IV's reign and Alfonso XI's minority changed much when comparing them to the Alfonsine model seems exaggerated. It could be argued that Sancho needed to rebel against his father's *pensamiento político* in the beginning in order to garner noble support, but later in his reign—once he had enough power—he began to make political maneuvers similar to his father (see below, pp. 92-93). The key breaking point in the split between father and son was that Sancho was convinced that he deserved to be the rightful heir—without any division of the kingdom—when faced with the polemics surrounding the Cerdas (see above, pp. 70-74). The nobility's attitude is a consequence of Sancho's having made concessions to them during and after the conflict with his father; the nobles saw it as a chance to weaken the monarchy and reverse some of the policies being promoted by the *concepto alfonsí*. Alfonso noted this during the rebellion:

> Estos ricoshomes non se movieron contra mí por razón de fuero, nin por tuerto que les yo tolliese: ca fuero nunca gelo yo tollí; mas que gelo hobiese tollido, pues que se lo otrogaba, más pagados debieran ser, e quedar debieron contentos; e otrosí, aunque tuerto se lo hobiera hecho el mayor del mundo, pues que gelo quería emendar a su bien vista dellos, non habían porque más demandar. (Mondéjar 1777: 307)

In the case of Fernando IV's reign and Alfonso XI's early years, the difficulties surrounding a minority role and a weak monarch were more decisive than any alleged ideological shift. With these points in mind, considering *molinismo* as a doctrine based on *regalismo aristocrático* and noble integration is not convincing. What these terms more truly reflect is a vulnerable monarchy that had to accept the terms and conditions of letting the nobles and the Church gain more power.

Molinismo as a political doctrine does not prove to be overly persuasive, but it does serve as an interpretational tool when analyzing the use of religion in fictional works.

This aspect is noteworthy during Sancho IV's reign, which was vital to Juan Manuel's own ideological and literary formation. The use of fiction with a religious tinge does not imply that it was part of a well-crafted and effective new philosophy, but rather as a medium it turned to as a place of solace when its political power was greatly lacking: this is where Don Juan ties into the royal use of fiction between the reigns of Sancho IV and the minority of Alfonso XI. Nonetheless, there does not seem to be any increase in religiosity related to *molinismo*, reflecting more so anti-Alfonsine propaganda.[78] There was a rise in secular thought and legal works during Alfonso X's reign, but *Siete Partidas* constantly references God and the importance of religion. The lines between religious and lay ideas are not always evident, but *Siete Partidas* is a work based on Roman common law, placing it more so in the secular realm, despite Biblical or theological citations. Other Alfonsine works have a more noteworthy religious tone to them, such as in *Cantigas*: the monarch has an obsessive love for and adoration of the Virgin, whom he addresses at times to complain about his political problems (for an example, see above, pp. 64-65); the same work also stresses the special bond between the king and the divine (1986: *Cantiga* 321). If there was any shift in religiosity, it was the production of different types of literary works.

Libro del cavallero Zifar (*c*. 1300) is a good example, having been depicted as the fundamental fictional work of *molinismo* (Gómez Redondo 1998-2007: Vol. II, p. 1375). This text, among others, could have shown Juan Manuel how to blend fiction with persuasive ideological goals. But there does not appear to be an ideological gap between *Libro del cavallero Zifar* and the *concepto alfonsí*. Zifar's knightly virtues are essentially

[78] One example of Alfonso X's alleged religious unorthodoxy comes via a blasphemy legend that could have begun to circulate during his lifetime (Funes 2016). The earliest extant account is in the Portuguese *Crónica de 1344* compiled by Pedro Afonso, Count of Barcelos (Catalán and Andrés 1971; Barros Dias 2015).

those of the second *partida* (Gómez Redondo 1998-2007: Vol. II, p. 1401). The king in the same work demonstrates this:

> "Conde", dixo el rey, "en ál estades; ca devedes saber que a traydor non deven guardar omenage aquellos que lo fezieron". "Al leal señor", dixo el conde, "gelo fizieron". "Sý", dixo el rey, "e mientra duró en la lealtad tenudos fueron de guardar el omenage; mas desque cayó en la trayción, por quitos son dados de Dios e de los omes del omenage; ca non gelo devían guardar en ninguna manera, commo âquel que non es par de otro ome por de pequeño estado que sea; ca lo pueden desechar en qualquier juyzio que quieran entrar con él para razonar o para lidiar. E de aquellos que fazen omenage a traydor a sabiendas, sabiendo que cayó en trayción, o oyéndolo, él non mostrando que se salvará ende, non lo devieran resçebir por señor; mas devieran le esquivar commo a traydor o manzellado de fama de traydor. Pues purgado non era de la infamia e le fezieron omenage, cayeron en el pecado de trayción asý commo âquel que la fizo." (*Libro del cavallero Zifar* 1982: 235)

The monarch disapproves of an unruly nobility, while stressing the need to avoid the *pecado de trayción*; this appears to be taken out of the seventh *partida*, serving as a warning to the nobles (Gómez Redondo 1998-2007, Vol. II, p. 1416). Though I shall not go into detail here, *Zifar* does not stray far from Alfonsine doctrine, but rather exemplifies a different medium; other royal works from the time period—*Lucidario*, *Castigos*, and *Barlaam et Josafat*—similarly use counselors as "figuras al servicio del establecimiento y la mantención del poder de los reyes" (Cossío Olavide 2019: 453). Historiographical works were not excluded from these attempts either, as *Crónica de Castilla* gives examples to contemporary nobles for how they could be loyal servants to the monarch (Dean 2020). Juan Manuel analogously uses fiction, but he does not imitate monarchical ideology or *molinismo*.[79] He co-opts the fictive medium to assert a perspective that is favorable to the high-ranking nobles and himself in an idealized setting to counteract the early signs of a monarchy willing to confront and challenge the nobility in the beginning of Alfonso XI's majority rule.

[79] *Cf*. Gómez Redondo and Salgado Loureiro (1998-2007, Vol. II; 2019).

With these ideas in mind, I shall discuss Juan Manuel's use of fiction. Fiction and dialogues have some advantages. They paint images that garner one's interest and are often more memorable than straight facts, especially among less learned readers, which would have been the most common case among the *nobles defensores*. Juan Manuel describes its advantages in *Libro de los estados*:

> Et porque los omnes non pueden tan bien [entender] las cosas por otra manera commo por algunas semejanças, conpus este libro en manera de preguntas et respuestas que fazían entre sí un rey et un infante su fijo, et un cavallero que crió al infante, et un philósofo. (I.2, pp. 72-73)

Fictionalizing history also minimizes the biases that readers may have if it had been directly described by Juan Manuel; indirect criticisms of people and policies are not as easily tied to contemporary figures and events: in a fictive pagan land ruled by Morabán, one can read the story as an illustrative account without necessarily creating as virulent a reaction. Fiction can be more persuasive, leading the reader to analyze the situation as it is rather than connecting it to the circumstances and events that could directly impact him. Even so, this framing of an ideological argument and the critique of individuals and policies forces the reader to see the world through a new lens.

The use of a fictive dialogue raises questions as to the work's genre (Savoye de Ferreras 1984). Without losing sight of the structural influence of *Barlaam et Josafat*, the implementation of dialogue was a common technique utilized by the Church Fathers (Savoye de Ferreras 1984: 103). This is the most obvious choice given the religious content and didactic purposes, as well as Don Juan's connections to the Dominican Order (Lida de Malkiel 1950: 92-103); he even donated the Dominicans property and money (García-Serrano 1993: 156; Redondo Cantera 2011: 169). Although this Order encouraged *exempla*, it is also plausible that Juan Manuel could have been stimulated by

the Dominicans to turn to Biblical models, leading him to the Church Fathers.[80] The dependence on Dominican teachings is striking when it comes to his hierarchical views of society and his stress on the soul's salvation (García-Serrano 1993: 151-152). It should also be noted that, despite his beliefs being likely sincere, one does wonder whether Juan Manuel placated the Dominicans for their valued backing, as they quickly began to gain prestige and influence, becoming increasingly intertwined with the nobles (García-Serrano 1993: 151-152, 157-158, 161). *Libro de los estados* is not easy to categorize with these details in mind, given the difficulties regarding medieval genres (see introduction). Whatever the exact construct, his intentions are of interest here: Juan Manuel uses his text to forward his views in an entertaining fashion by presenting his interpretation of the traditional power structure and social hierarchy as long-held custom; he portrays his worldview as the accepted one; this is a convincing tactic, even if his anti-Alfonsine response ultimately fails on the political front (Martínez 2000: 216).

The fictive model also creates a heterotopy that is both religious and upholds the traditional hierarchy, described as a "Christian feudal superstructure" (Seidenspinner-Núñez 1989: 264). If the relationship between Julio and Joas can be interpreted as the ideal one envisioned by Juan Manuel between himself and Alfonso XI, then the treatise could have served as a type of *speculum* in which he presents his standards and defends his views, person, and estate; this didactic-exemplary approach between advisor and pupil was as a common technique in his *corpus* (Macpherson 1970; García-Serrano 1993; Cuellar 2015: 133). Julio, a learned counselor from Castile, plays an influential role in shaping Joas and remolding the entire realm in his image by converting it to Christianity (I. 47, p. 149). As this is the first step that Julio takes in educating this newly baptized

[80] *El conde Lucanor* gives Dominican exemplary stories in examples 14, 31, and 42 (García-Serrano 1993: 153).

realm, it demonstrates that ethical and religious foundations are vital. The acceptance of a new religion similarly says a lot about Morabán's and Joas' willingness to learn and take counsel; this could be an indirect critique of young kings such as Alfonso XI. Don Juan's use of an older, experienced counselor advising a younger individual in *El conde Lucanor* and *Libro del cavallero et escudero* (*c.* 1326-1328) offers added evidence for this interpretation (England 1999: 352-354). But Joas is not satisfied with only embracing Christianity, but seeks more advice from his advisor:

> el infante dixo a Julio que commo quier que, loado a Dios, ya entendía él que era en la ley et en la carrera de la salvaçión, pero que aún no le avía mostrado él [en] quál estado podría mejor salvar el alma. (I.47, p. 149)

Without rejecting the importance of salvation, Joas realizes that he has a secular role, wishing to understand how he can lead a Christian life while properly managing his secular duties.

Julio begins to discuss the secular titles that exist in the world, opening with and primarily focusing on the emperor. Despite the slight difference in treatment between the two (see below, pp. 104-106), Julio states that the advice is geared toward both roles: "tengo que do vos declaré el estado de los enperadores, que fincó declarado el estado de los reys, pues todo esto es uno" (I.84, p. 250). This approach to discussing kings and emperors together underlines *Siete Partidas*' influence: "Emperadores e reyes son los más nobles omes e personas en honra e en poder, que todas las otras para mantener e guardar las tierras en justicia assí como dichos avemos" (II.i.Pro.).[81] *Libro de los estados* uses the doublet "enperadores et rreys" often (× 16), meaning Julio's views apply to both.

[81] Citations are taken from the edition mentioned in the first chapter, using the same editorial approach (1555). I shall also give references to Alfonso's *Espéculo*, given in the same format as the first chapter (1985a).

The topic of salvation is another fundamental theme in Don Juan's works (Devoto 1972: 266; García-Serrano 1993: 151-152; Bizzarri 2001: 77; Gómez-Redondo 2008-2009: 67). Of particular significance is religion's role in the establishment of a successful kingdom:

> et por ende vos digo que la primera cosa que yo entiendo que vós devedes fazer para salvar el alma et ponerla en buen estado, es que ayades ley en que creades. (1.23, p. 104)

After the kingdom's conversion, Julio points out that, in spite of its risks, the role of emperor-monarch puts one in the best position for salvation (1.48, p. 151). Religious considerations must always be kept in mind when working toward secular goals, but one must also operate in the world before the afterlife.

Religion is not the primary objective, and Juan Manuel uses a sleight-of-hand when referencing it: as he explains one's duty on earth and the value of titles for obtaining glory in the afterlife, he indirectly demonstrates its value for the betterment of humankind:

> Ca segund dizen los sabios que non deve el omne desear aver grant estado por pro nin por onra de sí mismo, mas que lo deve desear por fazer en él mucho bien. Et por todas estas razones tengo que el estado del enperador vos caye mucho, et señaladamente pues Dios en él vos puso. (1.48, p. 152)

By highlighting that the more difficult and demanding the title the greater benefits one can reap in the afterlife, it is an indirect exaltation of high rank. In *El conde Lucanor*, there is a similar discussion about the need to balance salvation with one's duties (2015: Ex. 29 and 49). The way nobility and wealth can do good for humankind is unscored by a comment on how Jesus used worldly power and prosperity for the benefit of others:

> Et commo quier que muchos ayan movido quistiones en razón de la pobreza de Jhesu Christo, la verdat es ésta: que Jhesu Christo non fue del todo pobre, ca fállase por los Evangelios et por la su vida que dineros ovo, et omnes governava, et Judas Escariote su mayordomo era. Pues si del todo fuera pobre, non pudiera estas cosas fazer commo omne verdadero, mas fazíalas con lo que buscava sin pecado et quel davan por amor de Dios et por las sus sanctas obras quel veían fazer. (II.40, p. 358)

Beyond the humorous naming of Judas as Christ's "mayordomo" (literally from the late Latin meaning "mayor o principal de la casa": majordomo or religious administrator), Don Juan appropriates the exemplary authority of Jesus to prove that poverty is not necessary for access to heaven; money and power can do good and help others. If one governs on earth, it is important to have wealth in order to do so effectively. Yet, Juan Manuel is careful to not overly praise the abusive accumulation of worldly goods: "Mas cred por çierto que nunca ovo nin quiso riqueza tenporal, nin villas nin castillos, nin dineros nin paños, nin cavallos ni otras vestias para cavalgar" (II.40, p. 358). Religious references are consistently made and stressed, but Juan Manuel has his eye on defending secular titles and duties in order to secure one's salvation and the betterment of society, relying on religion to legitimize the secular order (Madureira 2005: 1033). Religion and salvation run through every idea, but Don Juan is balancing the afterlife and secular duty in order to be a "first-class statesman and nobleman" (Macpherson 1970: 32).

As Juan Manuel gives counsel on secular matters, he offers a defense of the active life in comparison to the contemplative one:

> Et a esto llaman vida contenplativa, [et] ésta es la más acabada vida que puede ser. Pero porque esto non lo pueden todos fazer, conviene que, a lo menos, que ponga omne en su talante lo que es dicho desuso, que se puede muy bien fazer. (I.60, p. 182)

The likely source is Thomas Aquinas' (*c*. 1225–1274) *Summa Theologiae* (1265-1274) (Macpherson 1970: 36). This inclusion shows how Juan Manuel transforms his sources and models to fit his own needs in the case of *Barlaam et Josafat*: "su reelaboración en el *Libro de los estados* transforma radicalmente el encomio de la vida contemplativa en una defensa cerrada de la vida activa" (Soler Bistué 2014: 134). The incorporation of an argument in favor of the active life ties into his desire to defend the roles and duties of the *nobles defensores*, supporting their participation in the secular realm.

Another element of *Libro de los estados* is its connections to Alfonso X's *Siete Partidas*, evidenced by overlaps in theme and structure.[82] Juan Manuel's overall admiration, use, and knowledge of Alfonso's works can also be demonstrated through his access to the monarch's scriptorium (Hillgarth 1976: Vol. I, p. 333; Funes 2000; Pavón Casar 2011: 55; Lacarra 2014: 13). One parallel between Alfonso and Don Juan is their identifying themselves in prologues: "Del mismo modo, el 'yo' que asoma en sus primeros prólogos parece un eco del 'Nos' de los prólogos alfonsíes" (Lacarra 2014: 14; see also Orduna 1982: 19; Hijano Villegas 2014: 88-89). They also have a keen interest in the faithful transmission of their words:

> Et recelando yo, don Johan, que por razón que non se podrá escusar, que los libros que yo he fechos non se ayan de trasladar muchas vezes, et porque yo he visto que en el transladar acaeçe muchas vezes, lo uno por desentendimiento del scrivano, o porque las letras semejan unas a otras, que en transladando el libro porná una razón por otra, en guisa que muda toda la entençión et toda la suma, et será traído el que la fizo non aviendo ý culpa, et por guardar esto quanto yo pudiere, fizi fazer este volumen en que están scriptos todos los libros que yo fasta aquí he fechos. (Prólogo General, pp. 65-68, at 67)

The importance of accurate textual transmission is reflected in *Siete Partidas* and *Espéculo*, as they underscore the need for honest scribes and notaries (II.ix.7-8; II.xii.2-6). Other examples will be given at the appropriate time, but Alfonso's impact on Juan Manuel the writer and person should be kept in mind.

A brief outline of the historical circumstances from Sancho IV's rule (1282-1295) until Alfonso XI's majority show that the monarchy was not dictating but accepting terms, contextualizing Juan Manuel's attempts to garner power and cultural prestige; this explains in part his later confrontation with Alfonso XI and his writing *Libro de los estados*. Sancho indebted himself to the nobles from the beginning of his reign; he also

[82] See Salgado Loureiro for complete comparative tables (2019). Cossío Olavide also discusses how Juan Manuel rewrites the second *partida*, title 21 in *Libro del cavallero e del escudero* (2021). Ramon Llull (*c*. 1230-*c*. 1316) similarly relies heavily on the text to construct arguments in his *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* (1274-1276) (Fallows 2013: 13-14, 26-29).

had to deal with the polemics surrounding his illegitimate marriage, only authorized by the Church (1301) after his death (Hillgarth 1976: Vol. I, pp. 311-312). In his early years, the king was dominated by royal favorites who helped him defeat Alfonso X; this is apparent in the case of Lope Díaz de Haro (?-1288), as well as other nobles, whom he essentially bribed in order to consolidate power (Hillgarth 1976: Vol. I, p. 311; Gutiérrez Baños 1997: 25; Nieto Soria 2014: 53). Later in his reign, Sancho began to lay the groundwork for loosening the nobility's hold on him, showing his intention to follow his father's legislative and administrative footsteps (O'Callaghan 1989: 42; Nieto Soria 2014: 57, 117, 175). The evidence suggests that the supposed noble integration at the start of his reign had everything to do with a lack of royal power and little to do with any shift in ideology.

The pattern continued with Fernando IV (reigned from 1295-1312). His recognition as king was disputed. His mother, María de Molina, had to make many concessions to the nobles, high-ranking ecclesiastical figures, and the town and city councils in order for her son to take the crown (González Mínguez 2017: 32-33, 37). The challenges from Alfonso de la Cerda (1270-1333)—who was backed by Jaime II of Aragon (1262-1327)—continued to be a threat (González Mínguez 2017: 34). The difficulties would not have been complete without a plot from the nobles; during Fernando's minority, the *infante* Enrique (1230-1303) confronted the king and his mother with ample noble support, who had an interest in a weak monarchy that they could control and manipulate (González Mínguez 2017: 72, 104). The monarchy's impotency continued into Fernando's majority rule. Up until the final *cortes* of his reign (Valladolid 1312), Fernando was unable to bridle the nobles, conceding to them and the cities in order to keep hold of power (González Mínguez 2017: 246-247). Again, it is not convincing to consider a monarch unable to dominate the nobles as one who was *actually* operating under a doctrine of

noble integration; to the contrary, to paraphrase Thucydides, the monarchy accepted and suffered what it had to in some of its weakest moments.

During Alfonso XI's minority, the same difficulties faced the monarchy as in his father's reign: the nobles asserted their power when and as often as they could, while the monarchy tried to ride out the time until the king could take his majority rule. If anything changed during the first years of Alfonso's majority, it was that he was much more capable and determined than his father, showcasing that the monarchy did not lack a desire to consolidate power, but rather a king with the gumption and ability to do so.

These considerations demonstrate that while the relationship between the nobility and monarchy was not as conflictive as depicted in chronicles and other sources, their visions or interests were not exactly aligned, especially the high nobility more so than the *new* nobles and what could be labeled the noble rank-and-file; the high nobles had more privileges and influence within the traditional system than middle- or low-ranking ones who had much to gain from an increase in royal power, at times providing them with their very status as nobles or *ricohombres*. These factors helped to mold Don Juan as "un disidente y un representante de los fueros de la nobleza que el rey Alfonso XI estaba dispuesto a limitar con el propósito de afirmar su poder monárquico" (Bizzarri 2001: 60). Arias Guillén brushes aside the idea that the nobility and the monarchy were at odds or had any struggle between them, pointing out that

> the nobles' strong dependence on royal favour encouraged the court's factionalism, which led magnates to build alliances to control royal patronage, yet it also fostered resentment against any individual who benefited from closer proximity to the king. (2020: 128)

On the other hand, *factionalism* seems to be a different way of describing the same confrontations, while having power over royal patronage is not exactly a small matter.

What seems clear from the legal texts, actions taken by the monarchs, and the reaction of men like Juan Manuel was that royal power was increasing; this often meant that the traditional balance of power was upset in the royal court. It is important—and pointed out in *Libro de los estados*—to remember that people like Don Juan would not have viewed lower-ranking nobles and *letrados* as equals, but as "lesser" men who climbed the ranks, taking positions of power and influence that were traditionally reserved for the high nobility; and while these lower-ranking individuals did not always obtain actual power, they were becoming more closely tied to the king, which translated into influence and their promoting the royal agenda (Moxó 1975: 25-26). For example, in the case of the royal counselor, Don Juan saw it as an inappropriate position for lower-ranking individuals to hold; these concerns have been described as his sense of "status anxiety" (Harney 1989). When discussing the imperial election, Juan Manuel underscores a division between "omnes de grant sangre" and those of lower ranks, establishing the superiority of the former:

> Ca bien era acomendarlo a muy grandes omnes [la elección del emperador], ca çierto seed que uno de los mayores yerros del mundo es acomendar los grandes fechos a omnes de vaxo linage, et acomendar los pequeños a omnes de grant sangre. Ca commo quier que el uso o el mester faga a los omnes obrar en los fechos que son contrarios de lo que devían obrar segund su sangre, çierto seed que comunalmente mejor usan los omnes obrando cada uno segund su naturaleza. (I.51, p. 159)[83]

In the context of Castile and the Alfonsine attempts to raise the influence of the urban knights to the detriment of the high nobles, this distinction between them is noteworthy: certain roles must be reserved for the former, as not all titles of *rico omne* were created equally:

> Et estos ricos omnes no son todos de una guisa, nin son eguales en linage nin en onra nin en poder, ca algunos dellos ay que son de muy grant sangre et vienen del linage de los reys [...]. Mas dígovos que oí dezir a don Johan, aquel mi amigo, que él viera en

[83] Juan Manuel displays a similar perspective in *Libro del cavallero et del escudero* (2007: Ch. XVIII, p. 380).

> Castiella et en Aragón pieça dellos *que fueran fechos ricos omnes de llos reys, que nunca sus fijos fueron tenidos por ricos omnes.* (I.89, pp. 267-268)

Though *Siete Partidas* does distinguish between "ricos omnes" based on "linaje" or "bontad", it does agree with Don Juan that "quien las ha ambas, este puede ser dicho en verdad rico omne" (II.ix.6). Ramon Llull has analogous concerns in his *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*, underscoring that Juan Manuel was not alone (Llull 2013: 3.8, p. 58; see also Keen 1984: 10-15; Wacks 2019: 90). Recent trends illustrated that those lacking prestigious "linaje" were creeping into the high ranks of the royal court, particularly as the monarchs used urban knights and others to limit the high nobility's power.

Juan Manuel appears to be referencing these up-and-comers whom he did not see as true *ricos omnes*, nor as his equals; specific cases serve as evidence: Alvar Núñez de Osorio (?-1329) and Garcilaso de la Vega (?-1351), both of whom gained powerful position in Alfonso XI's royal council, causing consternation among the high nobility (Martínez 2000: 221). Having these influential roles being given to lower-level nobles and *letrados* not only helped to push the high nobles out of their traditional roles as counselors, but also ensured that they would gradually lose some of their administrative functions (Maravall 1967: 358; Moxó 1969: 19; 1975; Martínez 2000: 221; Lacarra and Cacho Blecua 2012: 247-248). Of these two, Núñez de Osorio was making a meteoric rise, acquiring many titles and a *pendón* from Alfonso to flaunt his new status (Arias Guillén 2020: 154).[84] Though it could be asserted that Alvar Núñez was an exceptional example, he certainly threatened the power and influence of the highest ranking nobles; as more noble lines were created, they gradually acquired administrative and political roles, which were major factors to obtaining prestige, power, and *privanza* (Moxó 1970-

[84] *Letrados* were also gaining more influence within the royal court (Moxó 1975: 13-25).

1971: 496). To contrast and emphasize the value being allocated to these lesser men, Don Juan points out that the emperor should love and respect the rank of nobility:

> Et dévelos amar et presçiar a cada uno segund sus estados, et dévelos mantener en justiçia et en derecho, et guardarles las leys et privilejos et libertades et fueros et buenos usos et buenas costunbres que ovieron de los que fueron ante que ellos. Et, señor infante, todas estas cosas pueden muy bien fazer et guardar los enperadores; por ende, non avedes que dubdar por esta razón en el su estado. (I.69, p. 205)

He emphasizes the need to uphold and protect noble rights and privileges, while pointing out that there is no reason to *dubdar por esta razón en el su estado*. The questioning of noble status and traditional rights should be avoided to maintain peace and good relations (I.87, p. 260). It is vital to trust one's counselors and their being able to protect and defend the realm. By also mentioning the importance of *fueros*, *lees*, *buenos usos*, and *costunbres*, Juan Manuel is pointing to the highest ranking nobles who deserve the respect and influence that they traditionally enjoyed; unlike the urban knights, they are lords in their own right and, while under the king, have a right to status and privilege that more closely rivals the monarch. In *Libro enfenido*, Don Juan also states that certain roles should be left for the high nobility:

> Vós devedes saber que los oficiales son de muchas guisas: ca uno[s] ay que por fuerça deven ser fijos d'algo et los omnes de mayor estado que son en casa de los señores; así como mayordomos et alfére[ce]s et adelantados et mayorales que tienen la criança de los fijos de los señores. Otros ay que por fuerça deven ser fijos d'algo et como oficiales: éstos [son los] alcaides que tienen los castiellos. (Ch. XI, p. 958)

While these changes did not happen over night, it was a first step in the long process of decreasing noble power by turning to lower-ranking ones—and sometimes non-nobles—to help defend and uphold royal authority. This eventually led to the increased incorporation of *letrados* and the questioning of what *true* nobility was in the fifteenth century under the rising influence of Renaissance humanism (see below, pp. 126-128). The evidence indicates that weak kings fomented factionalism among the nobility, leading the latter to search for other forms of legitimacy; in the case of *Libro de los*

estados, it serves as a personal defense of Don Juan's status and place in society, while representing a traditional perspective on the power structure.

Juan Manuel also explains why monarchs prefer these lower-ranking individuals, viewing it as detrimental to the kingdom. The relationship between the monarch and his vassals is discussed in the context of the various officials at court. It is likewise revealing that *defensores no hidalgos* are only briefly mentioned and in the same context of *labradores,* showing them to be of less value (Salgado Loureiro 2017: 312). Don Juan describes the realities of the royal court:

> vos di a entender que los oficiales non avían a seer del estado de los nobles defensores. Et esto fiz porque los más de los ofiçiales, tanbién de las tierras commo de casa de los señores, son del estado de los ruanos et de los mercadores. Et dellos toman los señores algunos, seyendo moços et criados en sus casas, et por la buena criança que an muchos dellos, recuden muy buenos omnes et llegan a grandes onras et a muy grandes riquezas, et éstos llaman en Castiella, donde yo só natural, omnes de criazón. Et déstos son los más de los offiçiales, et de los que recabdan los dineros de los señores et las rentas que an de las tierras, et saben sus privanças encubiertas et las que non pertenesçen de fazer nin saber a los omnes fijos dalgo, que son los nobles defensores. (I.93, pp. 279–280)

The description highlights the intimate contact that these officials have with the monarch, as well as their functions, as laid out in *Siete Partidas* (II.ix). Juan Manuel's comments that follow demonstrate a pointed critique of the rise of *letrados* and urban knights:

> Et esto fizieron et fazen los reys et los señores porque los omnes de criazón et de las villas non se atreven atanto commo los nobles defensores, nin los señores non les deven catar tanta onra nin aver tan grant vergüença commo a los nobles defensores, et puédenles tomar cuenta de lo que recabdan más sin embargo. Et quando cayen en algún yerro, puédengelo los señores más sin vergüença et sin enbargo escarmentar en los cuerpos et en los averes que an. (I.93, pp. 279-280)

Juan Manuel negatively reflects on a reality that he views as unfavorable to the kingdom. The author asserts that one of the main reasons for having these officials around the monarch is that they would not oppose him, while the *nobles defensores* would and did sometimes. With these officials the king does not have to consider matters such as their *onra* or worry about their opinion, permitting him to act with impunity and more fully

consolidate his power; he can discard any concerns about *los cuerpos et en los averes que an*: the king deems what is best for himself and his kingdom without any serious consultation. The critique shows that the Alfonsine conception of the monarch's key advisors was establishing itself according to *Siete Partidas*:

> Ca según el consejo que dio Aristóteles a Alexandre sobre el ordenamiento de su casa, estos atales [consejeros] non deven ser muy nobles, ni muy poderosos, nin muy viles; nin otrosí muy nobles, nin muy poderosos. (II.ix.2)

Siete Partidas correspondingly discusses the high nobility's inadequacy for certain roles:

> E otrosí de los nobles omes et poderosos, non se puede el rey bien servir en los officios de cada día. Ca por la nobleza desdeñarían el servicio cotidiano, e por el poderío atreverse-ýen a fazer cosas que se tornarían en daño e en despreciamiento d'él. *Mas por esto deve tomar de los omes medianos, catando primeramente que sean de buen logar, e leales, e de buen seso, e que ayan algo.* (II.ix.2)

The urban knights and *letrados* fit this description, finding themselves in the middle of society's hierarchy, as well as more likely to be loyal and not take part in factionalism like the high nobles. Alfonso X's vision was becoming part of the fabric of Castile, but Juan Manuel wanted to keep a special role carved out for his estate.

Don Juan's commentary on political matters was not his only way of influencing the reader; his appearances in *Libro de los estados* gave him some propagandistic advantages: they permitted him to defend his actions and role in society, as well as show himself to be a wise, virtuous man; and it also allowed him to make observations on his personal estate within the sociopolitical hierarchy, uplifting it and giving it a concrete role. Don Juan is first presented through his personal relationship with Julio, as the latter was responsible for his early education (I.20, p. 100). Despite Julio's role in educating him, the former makes a clear statement to underscore that his pupil is the true authority and voice on knightly matters:

> Et agora, quando de allá partí, estava en muy grant guerra con el rey de Castiella, que solía ser su señor. Et por las grandes guerras quel acaesçieron et por muchas cosas que

> vio et que pasó, departiendo entre él et mí, *sope yo por él muchas cosas que pertenesçen a la cavallería, de que yo non sabía tanto*, porque só clérigo. (I.20, p. 100)

The citation shows that the conflict between Juan Manuel and Alfonso XI must be considered at every instance.[85] Given that the text praises the intelligence and wisdom of Julio, it can be inferred that Don Juan must be equally learned and wise since Julio is willing to take and transmit his advice, indirectly depicting himself as an authority.

Don Juan returns later in the text to give more details about the *muy grant guerra*. By letting the fictional character Julio voice his opinions, it permits Don Juan to give a view that is his, while not having it be his *per se*. This personal appearance shows that the boundaries between history (reality) and fiction (ideal) are not always apparent, as there were both literary and ideological interests behind the crafting of the work. Though it is still a somewhat subjective telling of Juan Manuel's experiences, the added layer of fiction distances the author; that is, the author can use the fictive account to make it seem as if the story or ideas are merely for entertainment, but the references could be tied to current events. While using another's voice, in spite of it being written by himself, Juan Manuel is able to give an opinion or present an idea without directly stating it in his own voice, giving the appearance of a non-biased perspective. His inclusion as a historical figure—using the third person—in a fictive text has a focused intent: to provide a defense of his actions, uphold his honor, and defend his estate, while giving the illusion of an impersonal account. Transforming him into a historical character, one gets an idea of how the author saw the event, the justice of his cause, and how his honor was restored:

> Et dígovos que me dixo don Johan, aquel mío amigo, que aviendo él guerra muy afincada con el rey de Castiella, por muchos tuertos et desonras quel avía fecho, non se guardando dél et aviendo el rey de su ayuda a los reys de Aragón et de Portogal, ca era él casado con su fija del rey de Portogal et el rey de Aragón con su hermana, et non aviendo don Johan otra ayuda, sinon a sí et a sus vasallos, et aun déstos serviéndol et

[85] References to this conflict are also found in *El conde Lucanor* (Ex. 3,5, and 9), according to Luongo (2015).

> andándol muchos muy floxamente, porquel fazían muchos afincamientos muy sin razón; et quando don Johan se quexava desto, dezíanle los quel avían de consejar que pues él teníe a grant peoría et le fazían tantos afincamientos los suyos, que fiziese alguna pleitisía por que salliese de aquella guerra. Et don Johan dizía que fasta que oviese emienda del mal que reçibiera et fincase con onra, que lo non faría; ca lo quel pasava con los suyos, o que perdía, o quanto mal le benía, que todo era daño o pérdida, mas non desonra, [...] et que él se tenía por uno de los que eran para ser muertos, mas non desonrados. Et lo uno, por quanto fizo por guardar su onra, et lo ál, porque se tovo Dios con él, en quien él avía toda su sperança quel defendría, por el derecho que tenía, guisólo así, que ovo paz con el rey, la más onrada que nunca se falla por ninguna fazaña que la oviese omne en España. (1.70, pp. 207–208)

The blurring of history and fiction enabled Juan Manuel to pick and choose what forms part of the ideal and the historical record; this transforms him "a la vez en agente de escritura, personaje ficcional y *shifter* organizador del relato; portavoz de un estamento y emblema político" (Soler Bistué 2014: 146). His personal defense underlines the *desonras* suffered by him at the hands of the monarch and his collaborators, which meant the loss of the title of *adelantado de Murcia* and the imprisonment of his daughter after Alfonso XI broke off their wedding (Dunn 1991: 223; Cuellar 2015: 134). The importance and meaning of *honra* are also in *Siete Partidas* (II.xvii.17). The subsequent war was provoked by these dishonorable deeds in Juan Manuel's eyes, justifying his actions. The above quotation also depicts him at battle against the entire royal power structure of the Iberian Peninsula with only his vassals at his aid. In spite of such defying odds, the comment presents him as powerful, virtuous, and honorable enough to go head-to-head with monarchs. The author defends his exploits by showing himself to be open to dialogue and reason, suffering most anything *mas non desonra*. Finally, to underscore how he was able to hold his own in front of kings, Juan Manuel portrays the peace agreement in wholly positive terms as *la más onrada que nunca se falla por ninguna fazaña que lo oviese omne en España*. Although he could claim a moral victory, he would never regain the power and political influence that he had during the coregency, nor reclaim a role in the king's privy council, replaced by men he would have deemed less honorable and noble than he.

Another of Juan Manuel's appearances has to do with his place in society: the children of *infantes*. Don Juan emphasizes the difficulty that those like him face in their estate, while making it clear the information is personal:

> Et, señor infante, commo quier que este estado es muy onrado, creed por çierto que es muy más peligroso que el de los infantes. Et la razón por que lo es yo vos la diré adelante, pero dezirvos he lo que me dixo don Johan, aquel mi amigo, que es fijo del infante don Manuel. (I.85, p. 252)

The description demonstrates that it is more a personal matter than a necessary explanation as to the dangers of this estate; Julio says that he will give the actual reason for the estate's perils after telling a story about Juan Manuel. The anecdote describes an interaction between Don Juan and Rodrigo del Padrón (archbishop of Santiago de Compostela, ?-1316). The discussion took place during a historical gathering (1319) between the two men to resolve the conflict between

> el rey don Fernando [IV] et el infante don Johan, su tío [...]. Et para fablar en el abenençia fin[c]ó el rey en Palençia et el infante don Johan en Dueñas, et la dueña doña María, madre del rey don Ferrando, vino a Sancta María de Villa Moriel, et el dicho arçobispo de Sanctiago con ella, et don Johan vino ý a la reina. (I.85, pp. 252-253)

Juan Manuel is invited to eat with the archbishop, who makes a comment to him originally in Galician:

> "Don Johan, mío señor et mío amigo, vien vos dezimos en verdat que nós beyemos muchas estorias et muchas corónicas, et sienpre fallamos en ellas que los fijos de los infantes fuera[n] muy bien si fueran mejores, et nunca fallamos que fueron muy buenos, et aun los fijos de los infantes que agora son en Castiella, parésçenos que si maravilla non fuere, non querrán fazer mintrosas las scripturas. Et plazernos ía mucho que vós, que sodes mucho nuestro amigo, que vós trabajedes que non fuessen en vós verdaderas. Et commo quier que algunt poco las desmintiestes agora en lo que avedes fecho en esta venida, por el infante don Johan, reçelamos que non queredes fincar solo et que queredes fazer como los otros. Et rogámosvos que creades un vierbo antigo que dize que 'más vale omne andar solo que mal acompañado'. Et dezímosvos que si en alguna cosa non fiziéredes commo los otros, que tenemos por çierto que será por la vondat que nós sabemos que ovo en vuestra madre et por la buena criança que fizo en vós en quanto visco." (I.85, p. 253)

The archbishop's opinion on Juan Manuel must also be viewed under the former's being described as a "muy buen omne et de muy buen entendimiento et de buena palabra, et en manera de departimiento et de plazer, assí commo amigos que ellos eran" (I.85, p. 253). Roy Padrón is praised for his intelligence and good character. The archbishop indirectly conveys that Juan Manuel is a well-read man, as he references many *estorias* and *corónicas* that include information about children of *infantes*, underlining that he is speaking to someone who is aware of these examples. The crux of the point that follows is that the children of *infantes* have a long history of poor education and unethical behavior. Roy (i.e., Rodrigo) Padrón advises his friend to prove the historical examples wrong, making himself an exception to the rule. From this it can be inferred that doing so would make Don Juan especially virtuous and wise. Then the archbishop closes his remark by commenting on the good parents and upbringing that would permit him to stand out in his estate, indirectly praising his family lineage. The quotation also converts him into an *exemplum* for future children of *infantes*; that is, despite the challenges and difficulties, those able to overcome them would be especially virtuous. The paragraph ends with their reaction to the above quotation: "Et sobre esto rieron et departieron mucho" (I.85, p. 253). By laughing and conversing about the history of bad behavior and education, Juan Manuel demonstrates how aware he is of historical precedents—as well as how he is an exception to the rule—, but also presents the whole story in a light-hearted, courteous spirit, counteracting the implicit grave accusation.

The paragraphs that follow continue by emphasizing how much Juan Manuel knows about his personal estate and its difficulties, as Julio tells Joas what he had learned from Don Juan:

> La primera es porque los fijos de los infantes no son tan vien criados commo les cunpla, ca los que los crían, por les fazer plazer, trabajan en los falagar et consiéntenles quanto quieren et lóanles quanto fazen. Et porque todos los omnes, et señaladamente los

> moços, quieren más conplir su voluntad que otra cosa, et la voluntad demanda sienpre lo contrario, toman por esto los fijos de los infantes muy grant dapño, tanbién en las costumbres commo en las maneras commo en todas las cosas que an de dezir et de fazer. (I.85, p. 254)

Despite lacking the advantages of others, a successful child of an *infante* would have to be particularly virtuous, intelligent, and capable if he were able to uphold a household suitable to his status in the face of these challenges. Although Juan Manuel does not directly say so here, it is an indirect praise of his own abilities, insinuated at the end of the chapter:

> Et por todas estas razones, que si a los fijos de los infantes non les faze Dios mucha merçed, et señaladamente en les dar entendimiento et muy grant esfuerço, çierto cred que non a en el mundo estado más aparejado para non fazer todo lo que cunple, tanbién para el cuerpo como para el alma. (I.85, p. 255)

From a moral, educational, and religious perspective, Juan Manuel underlines that he is a paradigm for children of *infantes* and a rather exceptional figure in history, which adds to the weight of his commentary.

Setting himself up to remark on the role of the different estates, two categories prove to be of particular importance: the emperor-monarch and the high nobility. The first consideration to keep in mind about the emperor-monarch is how Juan Manuel perceives them as operating in independent spheres: "los reys de Castiella et sus reinos [son] más sin ninguna subgectión que otra tierra del mundo" (II.36, p. 348).[86] In the context of the discussion over the right to temporal power between the pope and the emperor, Castile stands apart from these polemics, operating independently.[87] Given the dismissal of the empire as an external entity not directly related to Castilian affairs, this could be an indirect critique of Alfonso X's pursuit of the imperial crown and a warning to others

[86] *Siete Partidas* also argues that the emperor should only concede to the pope on religious matters (II.i.1-4).
[87] Linehan discusses how these power struggles spilled over into ecclesiastical affairs in the Iberian Peninsula (1971).

who may want to do the same. This quest also involved Castile in imperial affairs, ultimately dragging the kingdom into the Schism, playing a large role in the fifteenth century, culturally and politically. If Castile was independent of the empire, then why the constant use of the doublet emperor and king? The most obvious explanation is that the title of emperor within the Iberian Peninsula was used in order to show a sense of superiority over rival peninsular kings, as the word *imperium* was often designated for this purpose (Fernández-Ordóñez 2020: 5-6, 8; see also above, p. 15). The chronicles and other written works likewise express hope in the expulsion of the Muslims in order to restore the lost Visigothic empire. The doublet could point to these ideas.[88]

Juan Manuel lays out what he expects of his emperor-monarch beyond respect for his advisor. Of primary importance is trust and faith in God (I.62, p. 187). Interestingly enough, after speaking about the emperor's need to have trust in God, Julio gives another example from Juan Manuel's life when he was pursued by Don Felipe; the story goes on to highlight how in the face of insurmountable odds, Don Juan believes that he escaped and was safe because God was on his side (I.62, pp. 187-188). Inserted in this context, Don Juan is comparing himself to the emperor indirectly. In the next two paragraphs, Julio discusses the value of the emperor's taking care of his health, as well as his physical protection. The subsequent point is of particular interest:

> Otrosí, para guardar la su onra et el su estado, paresçe a mí que lo deve fazer desta guisa: para guardar su onra, lo primero, que la guarde sienpre con los que fueren sus eguales o en mayor estado que él [...]. Mas con los otros que fueren sus vasallos, o so el su poderío, et con todos los que entendiere que la onra que les faze que es por su talante, mas non por egualeza, a tales commo éstos, toda onra aguisada que les faga es su onra. (I.62, p. 189)

[88] Bizzarri offers a useful list of texts that could have been familiar to Don Juan on the topic of empire versus papacy (2001: 61-63).

It is noteworthy that while one could interpret the emperor's equals as other emperors or kings, it is not immediately clear how many estates would be above him. The pope is the clearest answer, but Juan Manuel only concedes his superiority on the ecclesiastical front:

> ¿Qué estado es el del papa? Vos respondo que es el mayor et más alto que en todo el mundo puede seer, ca el papa, porque en este estado segund la ley de los christianos, que es verdadera ley, a poder conplido en lo spiritual, commo aquel que es vicario verdaderamente de Jhesus Christo; *et alo muy grande en lo tenporal*; et así es el mayor et más alto estado que puede seer. (II.36, p. 346)

When combining both spiritual and secular power the pope held the most supreme estate, but on purely secular concerns there is room for debate as to the level of his temporal authority. As for the emperor's *vasallos*, Juan Manuel stresses that not only should he respect and honor them, but that this act increases his own honor. This point is emphasized by Julio's stating that his honor can be increased by

> trayendo la su corte muy conplida de buenos ofiçiales, quales pertenesçe para cada ofiçio, et que cada uno dellos lo sepa muy bien servir, et sea pagado et se tenga por onrado de aquel ofiçio. (I.62, p. 190)

Court officials give honor to themselves by obtaining these titles, but impact the emperor's prestige and fame, as well.

The discussion turns to the different courtly positions that could benefit the emperor. After examining how the emperor should treat and interact with his wife and children (I.66-67), Julio considers his siblings. It is worth remembering that Don Juan's own father—Manuel—was Alfonso X's brother. If the emperor treats his children well and with honor, then it could be said that he does this just out of love (I.68, p. 202); if he does the same for his siblings, then this will increase his *fama*:

> mas lo que fiziere a sus hermanos es derecho et vondat et mesura et buena fama. Et demás, deve saber que commo quier que Dios dio a él la mayoría et quiso que heredase, porque nasçio él primero que los otros sus hermanos, que tan fijos dalgo son commo él et fijos son de aquel padre et de aquella madre que él, et que aguisado et razón es que ayan parte, et en que puedan bevir bien et onradamente en lo que fue de su padre et de los otros reyes onde vienen. (I.68, p. 202)

What stands out is Juan Manuel's comments on God and pure luck. He explains that if the emperor inherited everything it was not by his own means, but a gift from God; the luck of being first of his father's children destined him to the throne, though that does not make him inherently more his parents' child: *tan fijos dalgo son commo él*, deserving to live well and *onradamente*. This relates to his family: Manuel was just as worthy of honor and prestige as Alfonso X, but the latter only had the advantage of being born first. An analogous consideration should be extended to the emperor's other relatives, even if to a lesser extent: "Ca los parientes non son atan açercados commo los fijos nin commo los hermanos, pero deçenden dellos et son de su linage" (I.68, p. 203). Despite their not being equals, the emperor must give special treatment and consideration to those who are linked to him by blood. This connects to the discussion above about how nobles from *grant sangre* deserve privileges and power based solely on their *linaje*.

Directly below the emperor's immediate family, Juan Manuel examines the place of *los altos omnes del enperio*:

> bien así vos digo que a los grandes omnes les deve fazer bien, catando las obras et las vondades que an los unos más que otros [...]. Ca bien así commo los parientes non son todos equales, nin en un grado, bien así los grandes omnes non son todos eguales, nin el enperador non les deve fazer bien a todos egualmente. (I.69, p. 204)

Tying into Juan Manuel's previous statements about the need to respect rank, Julio states that a good emperor must bear in mind the differences between the *grandes omnes*; not all of them deserve or are entitled to the same privileges and honor, underscoring his traditional view of society. Regarding his own relationships with other high-ranking nobles, Don Juan understood that certain noble families deserve special treatment as specified in *Libro enfenido*:

> A los que fueren lindos de linage de los reis, et a los de Viscaya et de Lara, dadles a entender que los tenedes por parientes et por amigos, et que avedes a fazer por ellos tanto como por vós mismo. (VII, p. 952)

Juan Manuel continues by arguing that the emperor must choose his court officials based on their blood lines and lineage: "deve el emperador catar que los ponga tales quales pertenesçen en cada ofiçio, ca unos son ofiçiales para su corte, et otros que ha él a fazer ofiçiales para las tierras et comarcas" (I.69, pp. 204-205). The statement that follows could be interpreted as a direct attack on Alfonso XI:

> Et deve guardar mucho de poner ningún ofiçial por ruego nin por pecho ni por voluntad, sino el que entendiere que es para ello et lo meresçe. Et dequel pusiere en el ofiçio, deve fiar en él et non creer ligeramente lo que contra él le dixieren, nin le deve tirar el ofiçio sin grant culpa suya, ca muy grant vergüença es fazer el señor bien a su omne et desfazerlo después. (I.69, p. 205)

The first piece of advice about not giving posts to unworthy men could be directed at someone like Alvar Núñez, recalling the critiques that he and others had toward this appointment. The second idea mirrors Don Juan's own circumstances, as he was given an *adelantamiento,* but stripped of it when in conflict with Alfonso XI. As Juan Manuel points out, this should only be reserved for exceptional cases; otherwise, it reflects poorly on the emperor's judgement, given that he chose this individual in the first place. The emperor must also consider more than just titles in his interactions with *fijos dalgo*:

> Otrosí, a los fijos dalgo del su enperio deve guardar que ayan sus soldadas conplidamente et bien paradas, et que estén sienpre guisados de cavallos [et] de armas [et] de gentes para su serviçio, et para el defendimiento de la tierra et de todo el pueblo en general. (I.69, p. 205)

The emperor has the responsibility to respect them according to their rank, ensuring that they are equipped and prepared to protect the realm and its people. He should safeguard their traditional rights and privileges (I.69, p. 205); he must also resist executing them (I.69, p. 206). Juan Manuel contends that a dead man is a useless man, leaving him of no value to the monarch, so execution should only be reserved for the most extreme cases. If the emperor murders someone, he inevitably will have to deal with his relatives who

will want to avenge his death, creating the same or a worse problem. This counsel could serve as both advice and a warning in the context of his conflict with Alfonso XI.

This seemingly sound, objective advice can be interpreted as a personal matter, as well. Historical evidence shows that Don Juan's concerns for his own life were not exaggerated. Alfonso XI was not reluctant to assassinate rivals from a rather young age (Reilly 1993: 165; Arias Guillén 2012: 210). Some of these nobles were: Diego García de Toledo (?-1321), Juan de Haro *el Tuerto* (?-1326), Gonzalo Martínez de Oviedo (?-1340), Juan Alfonso de Haro (?-1328), Alvar Núñez de Osorio, and Juan Ponce (?-?).[89] *Poema of Alfonso Onceno* (1348) also provides proof of the monarch's interest in capturing and killing Juan Manuel if necessary:

> Con sello del rey sellavan
> las cartas en poridad,
> aína las enbiavan
> a Sevilla la cibdad.
> Las cartas escritas van
> —fechas eran en papel—
> que prendiessen a don Juan,
> el fijo de don Manuel,
> o que luego lo matassen
> si non podiessen prender:
> a vida non lo dexassen
> por oro nin por aver. (*Poema de Alfonso Onceno* 1991: 96, sts. 261-263)

Don Juan's fears are reflected in *Libro de los estados*: "que muchos omnes le quisieran matar, tanbién por yervas commo por manera de asesignos, commo por armas a falsedat" (I.62, p. 187).[90] Juan Manuel's vassals ran into similar problems, but were unable to escape Alfonso XI's wrath. Diego Gil de Humada (?-1334) and seventeen other men were executed (1334) for refusing to give the monarch entrance to a fortress that belonged to

[89] On the assassination of the last four see Alfonso XI's *Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI* (1976: Ch. 62, 76, 157, and 204). The assassination of *el Tuerto* was also a key power play in gaining back control of two strategic territories that had shown a fair degree of autonomy (Arias Guillén 2020: 46); this demonstrates that Alfonso chose his victims in a politically and strategically shrewd way. Macpherson and Tate also include a brief footnote on Diego García (1991: 206, n. 208).
[90] For more information see, Gautier Dalché (1982).

Lope Díaz de Rojas (?-?), who was one of Juan Manuel's vassals (Arias Guillén 2020: 58). Questions have been raised as to whether these were legitimate concerns for his life or if they were simply used as a way to justify his actions (Gautier Dalché 1982; Arias Guillén 2020: 143). As a counter to this assertion, the assassinations of other noblemen and Alfonso XI's behavior suggest that Don Juan's life was potentially at risk. The advice in the end is very personal, offering an argument that is aimed at limiting the monarch's power and aggression by setting constraints and boundaries.

Julio and Joas then turn their conversation to the topic of war. In addition to the aforementioned chapter on Juan Manuel's own conflict with Alfonso (I.70), the sharing of war booty serves as an example of the need to respect rank and estate: "La primera cosa, que cate quál es la persona a qui lo ha de dar, et de qué linage es, et qué vondades ha en sí, et qué merescimientos" (I.80, p. 236). Analogous information is in the second *partida* (II.xxvi.1). The second law of the same title also warns against how "los omes se deven guardar de non querer ser mucho cobidiciosos" (II.xxvi.2). Juan Manuel provides a similar message for the emperor, who should reward his vassals without their having to request it:

> Otrosí, le cunple mucho que lo que diere, que lo dé de buen talante, et si lo diere ante que gelo pidan, granada et francamente, será por ello muy más preçiado, et tanbién él mismo commo lo que diere. Et deve guisar que dé mucho et de buen talante, pero en tal manera que sienpre saque lo que diere pro et buena fama, et que dé en guisa que sienpre aya que dar. (I.80, p. 237)

While Don Juan puts the onus on the emperor to be unselfish, *Siete Partidas* primarily focuses on greed in general, especially as it pertains to the crimes that could be committed by knights, causing disorder (II.xxvi.2). Nonetheless, Alfonso X places the problem at the feet of those who are not disciplined after victory, while his nephew claims that the emperor-monarch has the responsibility to ensure that those who participated are rewarded to prevent any conflicts. Juan Manuel moves on to how war booty should be

divided: “Et la primera cosa que deve fazer en partir sus averes [es] partirlo[s] muy bien con Dios, que gelo dio todo” (I.80, p. 237). In contrast, *Siete Partidas* prioritizes the monarch himself, exemplified by rubrics in the same title: “Ley IIII: Por qué razones deven dar al rey sus derechos de lo que ganaren en la guerra”; “Ley V: De quáles cosas deven dar su derecho al rey, de lo que ganaren en las guerras”; “Ley VI: En qué manera deven dar al rey su derecho de lo que ganaren en las guerras”; “Lex [sic] VII: En qué manera deve dar quinto al rey, la cavalgada, quándo sale del lugar do es el rey o las otras partes.” Alfonso wanted to give the monarch full control over deciding what belonged to him first and foremost. Don Juan then offers a response as to how to avoid *cobdiçia*, while still respecting social rank:

> ayuda mucho que los ofiçiales de su casa, et los que recabdaren sus rendas, que sean buenos et leales; ça si lo fueren, ellos guisarán que todo lo que el señor oviere sea bien aprovechado. Et una de las cosas que el señor puede fazer, por que los sus oficiales o los que recabdaren sus rendas lo fagan bien et sean guardados de cobdiçia, es que *non acomiende a un omne muchos ofiçios nin recabdamiento de dineros de muchas partes, et desque unos dineros o unas rendas oviere recabdado*. (I.80, pp. 238-239)

Bearing in mind the type of officials Juan Manuel previously described, one can infer who he had in mind. The italicized phrase is also suggestive: could this possibly be a reference to someone like Alvar Núñez who was accumulating power and roles? It is plausible. *Siete Partidas* also addresses the partition of war booty:

> Dadas al rey todas las cosas que le pertenescen, segúnd diximos en las leyes ante desta lo ál que fincare, deve ser partido entre los otros. De manera que cada uno aya lo que le conviene. E esto por tres razones. La primera, porque fizieron esfuerço en ganarlo. La segunda, porque fizieron lealtad en guardarlo. La tercera porque fueron sesudos en ampararlo. (II.xxvi.9)

When it comes to *los otros* there is little specific information, while several laws were dedicated to the king’s own cut in the treasures.

The second book of *Libro de los estados* is of less interest than the first for this analysis. Juan Manuel does attempt to add another honor or influential position to his

estate. The author defines a role that would permit a sort of sacred knighthood, encompassed under the dual concept of *orar y combatir*:

> Dentro de esta dualidad de funciones, se afirma expresamente la superioridad de la primera, pero a nivel discursivo se da importancia a la segunda a través de la valorización de la función militar de la caballería. (Salgado Loureiro 2017: 311)[91]

This religious connotation tied to knighthood dates back to the tenth century, as the Cluny monks began to Christianize it and give it a quasi-religious nature (Stefano 1962: 341). These comments on religious matters have also been described as the work's "hidden polemic", carving out a space for knights to partake in the traditional roles of *oradores* to discuss theological topics (Savo 2016: 7). The prologue to the second book underlines how Don Juan was careful to avoid any open controversy, submitting it to the Patriarch of Alexandria for revision:

> Hermano señor, commo quier que bien entiendo que es más manera de atrevimiento que de buen recabdo encomençar yo tan grant obra commo lo que se entiende en este libro, pero fiando en la merçed de Dios, [...] acabé ya la una parte del libro, que fabla en los estados de los legos. Et en esta parte fablé segund yo pude et alcançé en mío entendimiento, et porque fablar en los estados de la clerezía es ý muy mayor mester el saber, entiendo que es aún mayor atrevimiento que el primero. [...]
>
> Et lo que ý fallaredes que es dubdoso de entender, emendadlo, et poned la culpa a mí, porque me atreví a fablar en tan altas maneras. Pero qualquier yerro o dubda que ý fallaredes, non entendades que es ý por ninguna cosa que yo dubde en la sancta fe católica. (II.1.Pro., pp. 296–297)

Juan Manuel goes at length to ensure that he does not fall into sin or be accused of any inappropriate commentary on Scripture, while continuing to present himself as modest.[92] In spite of this a creative use of fiction by letting Julio speak for him—who is a sort of clerical figure—, Don Juan is at any rate the speaker, turning himself, and by extension

[91] Llull's *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* attempts to give the knight a dual role, encompassing spiritual and religious obligations (Wacks 2019: 91). For example: "Thus, just as clerics, through an honest life, good example and learning, profess the Order and office inclining people to devotion and a good life, so knights, by upholding the Order of Chivalry through nobility of courage and force of arms, profess the Order to which they belong so that they may incline the people to fear and they will in turn be afraid of committing offences against each other" (Llull 2013: 1.11, p. 42).

[92] Scholberg gives other examples of Don Juan's use of the modesty *topos* (1959).

his *estado*, into one that is able to wield both sword and Word, creating a broader and more powerful role for the noble knight. Juan Manuel spends several chapters discussing theological and Church matters before he turns to clerical estates (II.7-32).

Despite clerical roles not being of primary interest in this chapter, there are some similarities to the secular advice when analyzing Juan Manuel's views on the pope. He notes that the pope could be undeserving of his estate:

> en tantas maneras puede el papa desmeresçer, non obrando commo deven en partir estos çinco tesoros, que non a omne que todo vos lo podiese dezir, pero lo que yo ende entiendo, dezírvoslo he en las menos palabras que yo pudiere. (II.37, p. 351)

As in the case of emperors, Don Juan believes that the pope has the responsibility to distribute *tesoros* to those deserving of them, but they are of a different type. The first one is spiritual (II.37, p. 351). The second more closely resembles his concerns on the secular front:

> son las rendas et los lugares et todas las cosas tenporales que á el papa, puede mucho desmeresçer si non obrare en ello commo deve; ca tanbién puede desmeresçer en ganando las riquezas commo en partiéndolas. (II.37, p. 354)

Don Juan stresses that he should not accumulate wealth for himself, knowing how to distribute it fairly and to defend the Church (II.38, p. 355). Juan Manuel considers how justice should be served regardless of the power or wealth of he who commits the offense (II.39, pp. 355-356). He then turns to the distribution of *beneficios*: "sienpre se deven dar a omnes que los merescan por buena vida, et por sçiençia, et por hedat, et que sea probado cómmo obró ante aquel estado llegase" (II.40, p. 357). The fifth treasure is that of "juizio de su conçiencia" (II.61, p. 359). The pope then has both a moral and economic responsibility to do right by the Church and its parishioners. In short, despite having a primary interest in secular estates and questions, Juan Manuel comments on clerical roles and some theological matters, permitting himself and his estate by extension to take part in these debates.

The historical developments of Alfonso XI's reign demonstrate that many of Juan Manuel's concerns for the traditional rights and privileges of his estate and an overly powerful monarchy were legitimate. Like his great-grandfather, Alfonso XI had every intention of fortifying royal power to the detriment of the nobles (Moxó 1970-1971; Bizzarri 2001: 60; Estepa 2004; Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal 2005: 32). Having subjugated his main noble rivals, Alfonso XI turned to strengthening his position via legislative acts, reflected in *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*:

> Salió de Valladolid
> con todos sus naturales;
> en la villa de Madrid
> fizo cortes muy reales.
> Como lo usan los reys
> por más comunal provecho,
> publicó muy bien sus leys
> otorgadas en derecho.
> Fizo una ley comunal
> que fue una real cosa,
> por todos en general
> fizo ley [muy] provechosa:
> todo omne que fues[s]e muerto,
> ninguno lo demandasse
> a derecho nin a tuerto;
> nin pariente lo vengasse,
> nin demandasse la muerte,
> de que venién muchos males,
> salvo por [ante] su corte
> o por ante sus alcalles.
> Desta ley bien recodió
> a todos los de su tierra,
> los omezi[e]llos partió
> que nunca oviessen guerra.
> Fijos dalgo castigó
> e partió las asonadas,
> sus tierras asosegó,
> óvolas bien aforadas,
> e dioles grandes franqueças
> por Casti[e]lla más valer:
> todas aquestas nobleças
> el buen rey fizo fazer. (1991: 108-109, sts. 329-336)[93]

[93] *Cf. Gran Crónica de Alfonso XI* (1976: I.50).

The reference to Valladolid alludes to the commencement of Alfonso XI's majority (1325), highlighting "his intention to restore the rule of law" (O'Callaghan 1989: 37). If this marked the beginning for the monarch, it signified the beginning of the end for Don Juan. The importance of this coming-of-age and the king's capability has been noted (Lomax 1978: 166). The poem asserts that the legislation was for the public's good, emphasizing the need to create just laws that established stability. Alfonso XI attempted a complete approach to consolidating his power, complemented by written works:

> puso en orden la Ley y la Historia, llevando al plano de los discursos institucionales—y fijando en los signos prestigiosos de la crónica—la imagen de fuerza y de poder que había construido en torno a su figura. (Funes 1999: 180)

Three royal tactics built on Alfonso X's own: control over the military orders and the cities, and an attempt to constrain the nobles via legislation. The increased use of *letrados* in positions of power and influence can also be considered as part of these efforts. In the case of the first point:

> El fortalecimiento de la autoridad de la Corona se observa, entre otros aspectos, en el control del monarca sobre las Órdenes militares. Aunque sus antecesores ya habían manifestado una notable injerencia en la designación de maestres, en este momento la vinculación de estas instituciones a la monarquía se hizo más patente si cabe, pues el Onceno llegó a nombrar a destacados cortesanos o incluso a sus propios hijos para el cargo, reactivó aspectos del derecho feudal para asentar su autoridad e insistió en extender la jurisdicción real sobre los señoríos de Órdenes. (Arias Guillén 2012: 31; see also Ayala Martínez 2003: 715)

Alfonso X likewise tried to dominate the Orders by nominating Masters favorable to his efforts, establishing his own military Order (see above, p. 44). The appointment of *maestres* was also part of Alfonso XI's consolidation endeavors, which included the naming of his nine-year old son—Fadrique—as the Grand Master of the Order of Santiago in 1342 (Arias Guillén 2020: 121, 123). From this perspective, Alfonso XI was aligned with Alfonso X's attempts to strengthen his power.

The rise of *letrados* is firmly recognized, marking another continuation that can be dated from Alfonso X's court, even if their names began to appear in royal documents from the twelfth century (Maravall 1967: 362-363; Moxó 1975). Alfonso XI used them as a way to counter the power of *ricos hombres*, as well (Lacarra and Cacho Blecua 2012: 247-248). In part, this reflects the need for more technical training in an ever-evolving chancery, but it also illustrates Juan Manuel's concern that part of the reason the monarch wanted these lower-ranking members of society in these positions was so that he could govern more independently. The was a threat to the higher nobility in another way by

> arrebatándole sus funciones políticas y entregando éstas a los caballeros de las ciudades o a los nobles más bajos, quienes, por su proximidad al poder, alcanzan, a su vez, mayor categoría social y económica. (Martínez 2000: 221)

Proximity to power translated to influence and prestige, diminishing the high nobility's authority.

Alfonso XI also worked toward consolidating and increasing his authority over the cities:

> One of the easiest ways to do this was to restrict the governing municipal body (*cabildo*) to a small group of local nobles and citizens; this group was far easier to manipulate than a large open assembly. (Hillgarth 1976: Vol. I, p. 345)

A key method to maintaining royal authority in cities was by sending regal officials to the municipalities; this was a continuation of Alfonso X's policy (Valdeón Baruque 1990: 170). Two royal representatives would play vital roles in these efforts:

> El intervencionismo regio en los municipios se incrementó con la aparición de los alcaldes veedores y jueces enmendadores, dotados de amplias facultades de supervisión y control de las autoridades locales. Finalmente, el máximo exponente de esta política se plasmaría en la figura de los corregidores de los pleitos de justicia, llamados a convertirse con el tiempo en la piedra angular del gobierno municipal en las centurias siguientes. (Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal 2005: 36)

Alfonso XI greatly expanded on the use of dispatching royal officials, which included others such as *jueces de salario* and *alcaldes veedores* or *emendadores* in Castile

(O'Callaghan 1989: 163). The creation of *caballeros de cuantía* also affected the cities and nobles:

> Al no ser suficiente la adscripción libre y voluntaria, se impuso la obligación a todos los hombres de realengo de mantener los caballos para la guerra según la renta que poseyeran, lo que era conocido como el sistema leonés. [...] Para paliar estas medidas coercitivas, los caballeros de cuantía o premia recibieron exenciones fiscales y privilegios sociales, especialmente en lo tocante a vestimenta. Además, gozaba de una posición preponderante en los concejos medios y pequeños, pues monopolizaban los oficios municipales. (Arias Guillén 2012: 31-32; see also p. 136)

This reflects the *concepto alfonsí*. The policy would have also affected the high-ranking nobles, as it raised the status and privileges of the urban knights.

A pivotal moment to these efforts was the promulgation of *Siete Partidas* (see above, pp. 32-34) and *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* (1348); the latter

> established an order of precedence among the different legal systems of the realm, giving first place to the *Ordenamiento* itself, followed by the *fueros* of the towns and the nobility, and then by the *Siete Partidas*. (O'Callaghan 1975: 451)

Given the number of crises facing the young monarch, the promulgation of *Siete Partidas* and its reinforcement via this *ordenamiento* confirms that the first text was often turned to during tumultuous times to reaffirm the monarchy's power when it was absent (Panatieri 2016: 3); one could add when it was challenged, as well. The sending of royal officials to the cities and towns, in conjunction with new laws, were greatly counter to noble power and privileges, forcing them to protest "Alfonso XI's efforts to diminish their authority in their lordships by limiting their rights of justice and encouraging vassals to sue in the royal court" (O'Callaghan 1989: 174).

Ordenamiento de Alcalá deserves its own consideration since it was produced by Alfonso XI (see Tit. XXVII.iii and XXVIII.i, pp. 65–73).[94] After establishing which texts take precedent and the rationale, Alfonso XI cautions those who may disobey:

> Et qualquier de los señores que lo así no guardaren, errarlo-ý-han como aquel que non quiere guardar las leys fechas por su rey, e por su señor, e cumpliremos nós la justicia en el logar do se menguare en la manera que debiéremos. (XXVIII.ii, p. 74)

Ordenamiento also deals with treason, calling it "la más vil cosa que puede aver en el coraçón del ome" (XXXII.v, pp. 92-94, at 92). There is a defense of royal judges, and by inference of the monarchy's authority through its chosen representatives, opposed by cities and nobles on the whole (XXXII.xli, p. 128).[95] The text turns to *fijosdalgo*, as well. One section touches upon the importance of *amistat* among the nobles, showing as in *Siete Partidas* the Ciceronian influence on Castilian thought (XXXII.xlvi, pp. 133-134). This segment seeks to create order and peace among the nobility, while insisting that their disputes be presented before "el emperador o ante el rey" (XXXII.xlvi, p. 134). It would limit noble actions, independence, and violence, continuing a similar line of thought in *Siete Partidas* (IV.xxvii.1-7). *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* correspondingly strives to limit the nobility's control over church lands, geared toward keeping their power over territory limited and recuperating lost royal funds (XXXII.lii, pp. 136-137). Finally, one rubric succinctly lays out Alfonso XI's aspiration to not let the nobles create conflict or problems from their fortresses, endeavoring to carry out a policy that was not successful until the Catholic Monarchs:

> Cómo tomó el rey en su guarda e en su encomienda las casas fuertes e castiellos; et qué pena deben aver los que los furtaren, o tomaren, o los derribaren, o los cabtovieren estos atales. (XXX.i, p. 79)

[94] Citations are taken from Alfonso XI (1774): by *Título*, *Ley* (when applicable), and page. I have modernized and regularized the punctuation and spelling.
[95] The opposition to royal judges and their corrupt, arbitrary rule is humorously depicted in *Libro de buen amor* (Juan Ruiz Arcipreste de Hita 1992: 84-98).

Alfonso did not see the current laws of the land as adequate for consolidating royal power; once he had a firm control over the kingdom, he needed laws to reflect this in a clear, effective manner:

> pero porque muchas veces son las contiendas, e los pleytos, que entre los omes acaescen, e se mueven de cada día, que se non pueden librar por los fueros; por ende, queriendo poner remedio convenible a esto establescemos, e mandamos, que los dichos fueros sean guardados en aquellas cosas que se usaron, salvo en aquellas que nós fallaremos que se deben mejorar e emendar, e en las que son contra Dios, e contra raçón e contra leys, que en este nuestro libro mandamos que se libren primeramente todos los pleytos ceviles e creminales; e los pleytos e contiendas que se non pudieren librar por las leys deste nuestro libro, e por los dichos fueros, mandamos que se libren por las leys contenidas en los libros de las *Siete Partidas*, que el rey Don Alfonso nuestro visabuelo mandó ordenar, como quier que fasta aquí non se falla que sean publicadas por mandado del rey, nin fueron avidas por leys. (XXVIII.i, pp. 69–70)

There is one difference between Alfonso X and Alfonso XI:

> Si el bisabuelo escribe sus historias para tratar de convencer a sus súbditos de la justeza de sus proyectos políticos, el biznieto lo hace cuando ya ha implementado el suyo propio. (Martínez 2000: 217)[96]

Though this is a valid point, the great-grandson did not have to build a model from scratch, but rather use, alter, and add to one that he inherited.

Alfonso XI turned to another technique that was both personally and politically advantageous: creating new nobles through his bastard children with Leonor de Guzmán (1310-1351).[97] This ensured a coterie of new nobles who would be personally loyal to him. He elevated them by not only giving them important titles—as in the case of Fadrique—, but also by relying on *privilegios rodados* to raise their prestige, despite illegitimate children never having appeared among the first group of confirmers in these royal privileges prior to his reign (Arias Guillén 2020: 121). Analogous approaches helped Alfonso strengthen his ties with the Andalusian nobility, which proved pivotal to fighting the Iberian Islamic kingdoms, as well as to his conflict against the Portuguese

[96] See also Arias Guillén (2012: 51).
[97] Moxó discusses the differences and similarities between the old and new nobles (1970-1971: 501-511).

(1336) (Arias Guillén 2020: 122). Ironically, these children that helped the monarch build on his own authority would later cause Pedro I (1334-1369) many headaches, as these new nobles would become major contributors to the instability and eventual downfall of his reign.

The debates over knighthood were more than just stories about an idealized class of *nobles defensores*: they would define literary and political ideals going forward, where the lines between fiction and reality were distorted. Alfonso XI's actions ultimately showed that Juan Manuel had every reason to have status anxiety. In the world of fictive, legal, and historiographical works, the knight was an omnipresent figure, sometimes tilting at windmills, but other times shaping the course of history. Don Juan seems to have known that the art of persuasion could have a meaningful impact on ideology in the fictional realm. He was a major stepping stone in history and fiction, demonstrating

> hasta qué punto la literatura es entendida por el autor como la continuación de la política por otros medios. La guerra, la política y la literatura: instrumentos, posiciones y estrategias de un sujeto en el entramado de discursos y prácticas por el que circulaba el poder en los azarosos tiempos de un mundo en crisis. (Funes 2015: 24)

If on the ideological front it appeared like the Alfonsine vision of the kingdom was there to stay, the Trastamaran conflict demonstrated that civil war, instability, and incompetent monarchs could always give the nobles short-term victories. Nevertheless, the struggles between the noble and royal visions were played out in texts and on the battlefield. In the next century, the debates over nobility and knighthood would not die out, but they would change; a new blend of literary and historiographical texts would emerge, promoted by and beneficial to the royal image: under the nascent influence of Italian humanism adapted to the Iberian Peninsula, writers would take up the mantle of blurring history, fiction, and ideology to form a discourse favorable to the royal cause and, ultimately, prove to be an effective tool alongside royal power. With fiction and history, particularly

epitomized by the revival of classical *exempla*, the fifteenth-century vernacular humanists of Castile would carry on the ideological debate, presenting some new techniques and ideas (Lawrance 1985, 1986, 1990, 2016); this demonstrated how the *letrados* were co-opting power and influence over the debates on knighthood and the proper organization of the *cuerpo*. One of these men was Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo (1404-1470), whose *Suma de la política* (1454/1455) continues and considers some of these debates.

Chapter 3. Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo's *Suma de la política* (1454/1455): A *Letrado* Moderating King and Noble

Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo (1404-1470) was one of the most prolific writers of the fifteenth century. A friend and confidant of relevant European political figures and thinkers, his advice and thoughts carried weight. His influence at the papal court and the amicable correspondence with humanists was widely acknowledged, for example, with the epitaph written by Cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472) (Toni 1935: 200). With a veritable knack that he would deploy in his career as a diplomat, Arévalo often demonstrated an interest in finding a middle ground between opposing forces, starting by his resolving family disputes in his auto-biographical *Speculum vitae humanae* (1468) (2012: I.Pref.).[98] Because of this, he has provoked extreme responses from those who have written about him: there have been efforts to identify him as a precursor of Martin Luther (1483-1546), to dismiss him from having any humanist influence in his works or interest in literature, as well as sharp critiques as to his intellectual talents and moral compass.[99] Yet, Arévalo seems more moderate and pragmatic than many have claimed. He is best known as a

[98] From here forward, *Speculum*. It has also often been claimed that it was the first text to be printed in any author's lifetime; nevertheless, it could be Tomás de Torquemada (1420-1498), his contemporary and colleague at Rome, who deserves that honor (Laurenti 1997: 213). Rucquoi points out that Arévalo debated Torquemada over the power balance between the pope, emperor, and councils, connecting both authors in another way (1995: 12)

[99] For the references to the alleged Lutheran strains of Arévalo's thought, see Toni (1935: 231-235); though there have been several critiques of Arévalo as a writer and thinker, perhaps Puyol y Alonso has one of the most extreme views (1921: 30). See also Rico and Kohut (1978: 33-34; 1980: 432-433).

writer of Latin treatises, particularly his *Speculum*, which was one of the most popular works of the time period (Keniston 1930: 196); another Latin treatise that has been well-received among scholars, though at times overshadowed by Antonio de Nebrija's (1444-1522) *De liberis educandis* (1509), is his *Brevis tractatus de arte, disciplina et modo alendi et erudiendi filios, pueros et iuvenes* (*c*. 1453).[100] His two less circulated treatises are crucial for the understanding of the history of ideas and its literary manifestations in Castile: *Suma de la política* (1454/1455) and *Vergel de los príncipes* (1456/1457).[101]

Suma is the focus of this chapter for several reasons. Not only does the treatise demonstrate a creative literary effort, but it underscores the evolving debates over the roles of kings, nobles, and *letrados*, increasingly taking on literary forms. Classical precedents—in literature and history—were becoming intertwined and essential to prestige, influence, and propaganda, advocating ethical and political ideas. In the context of the fifteenth century, the treatise reflects the growing significance and polemics over "the extent of royal power and the role of the high nobility in emerging national monarchies" (Ruiz 2011: 93). In *Suma*, *letrados* are self-portrayed as critical figures in helping to define the roles of monarchs, the aristocracy, and their own role in literary circles and royal courts as *letrados*. This reflects the increasing influence of university graduates during the century (Di Camillo 1996a: 372). The university's impact also serves as a rationale for Arévalo's writing a treatise or *summa*: it was a typical medieval scholastic literary genre that tried to systematically cover a topic in its entirety. Arévalo, as a scholar and professor, opted for this model as a way of teaching Acuña from a place

[100] For more information on the text, see: Ruiz Vila and Calvo Fernández (2000); López Fonseca and Ruiz Vila (2014). Editions of this text are also available (Sánchez de Arévalo 1999, 2000).

[101] Henceforth the first will be referred to as *Suma*. All citations will be taken from the edition of the text that I am currently preparing for publication with Tamesis based on my MPhil dissertation at the University of Oxford. Citations will be given by book and chapter; furthermore, I shall give the folio from the Biblioteca Nacional de España's manuscript: <bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000042054>. For *Vergel de los príncipes*, citations are from Sánchez de Arévalo 1959b, where a printed text of *Suma* can also be consulted (1959a).

of double *auctoritas*: his, as a scholar from Salamanca, and Aristotle's, the foundational philosopher of politics; however, despite relying on this medieval model to develop his ideas in a logical manner utilizing scholastic methods, Arévalo intersperses humanist literary references and narrative accounts, particularly evident given his use of Cicero. Arévalo's treatise is a medieval structure that is decorated with humanist techniques and allusions in order to provide counsel on moderate forms of government, ethics, and politics, substantiating his omnipresent diplomatic approach to negotiation and compromise. It serves as an example of the influence that learned culture and the university were having on Castile, as well as the unique blend of humanism practiced by intellectuals in order to effectively promote reforms and ideas that could gain traction and impact society.

With these ideas in mind, I would like to look more closely at the intellectual positions of "royalist" versus "anti-royalist" in the literature produced during this epoch (Rodríguez Velasco 2010: 29). In fifteenth-century Iberia, most texts show service to the monarchy to be a positive and knightly imperative, but *what* exactly made up this duty was less settled upon (Claussen 2020: 50); and the literary model that most befitted a court audience was likewise up for debate. I shall focus first on Arévalo's ideas to proceed later with his appropriation of the Aristotelian and scholastic genre *par excellence*, the treatise.

Working within the outline set since Alfonso X's reign and built upon over the course of Alfonso XI's, Arévalo defends a strong monarchy but with some limitations. *Suma* encourages the monarch to operate within the Alfonsine program, but limits some of the more extreme aspects of *poderío real absoluto* as encompassed by the *Cortes de Olmedo* (1445). This concept entails an attempt to permit the king to rule more independently from legal and noble oversight, arguing that as the monarch is a representative of God on earth he has ultimate say over temporal affairs; he embodies the laws and norms and

should not be judged by them, governing based on his conscience and with God's judgment in mind.[102] As *Suma* is dedicated to the influential nobleman Pedro de Acuña (?-1482), the messages regarding limited government and moderation are extended to the monarch's delegates, *privados*. The message was transparent since Acuña had been a prominent supporter of Álvaro de Luna (*c*. 1390-1453) during Juan II's reign (1419-1454), and would afterwards back his cousin Juan Pacheco (1419-1474) and Enrique IV (reigned 1454-1474) in his early years. Despite allegiances shifting over time, *Suma*'s being penned and dedicated at the start of Enrique's reign could be read as an effort to have a successful start after the inter-kingdom violence that had engulfed the final years of Juan II's rule. Although *Suma* dissemination appears limited, it is a witness of the historical, literary, and ideological trends of the time; the lack of testimonies could also be the result of two factors which combined explain the lack of interest in it: perhaps Arévalo made a poor choice in dedicating the work to Acuña since his influence on Pacheco and Pacheco's on the king would not be lasting; additionally, since Arévalo would be permanently based in Rome five years after writing *Suma* (1460), dissemination of *Suma* could have hindered his promotion (Arquero Caballero 2019: 39). *Suma*, however, is valuable on its own, and it should be studied as Castile's first political science tract—a work specifically written to analyze political activity and behavior—that mingles theory and advice, intending to inspire Pedro de Acuña, and indirectly Enrique IV and Juan Pacheco, to avoid some of the excesses and errors of the previous royal court. The treatise in turn reflects the *Zeitgeist*: Arévalo does not present his arguments via a legal text with a heavy dose of legal references, but through a blend of historiographical and literary techniques and *exempla* to promote in a persuasive way his viewpoint about the sociopolitical order, co-opting elements of vernacular humanism. Arévalo's work

[102] See Nieto Soria (2002a).

embodies the growing prestige of literature as a medium to an end: with the intent of offering advice to better Castile's leadership and governance, the author uses literary allusions and historical figures and *exempla* as a way to forward and defend political and ethical ideas; literature shapes and partakes in politics.

Arévalo was born in Santa María la Real de Nieva, but details about his birth and early years are unclear (Toni 1935: 122-128).[103] His mother was María Rodríguez de Arévalo (?-?). Scholarly speculation has connected her to Hungary's royal family, but the arguments are weak (Penna 1959: LXXXI-LXXVI). There has also been some discrepancy concerning his father, as two names have been forwarded: Alonso González de Sagrameña (?-?) and Hernán Sánchez de Palazuelo (?-?). Though the extant documents are often contradictory, the former is the more likely candidate, while the latter was probably his grandfather (Penna 1959: LXXI-LXXVI; Laboa 1973: 26-28). Arévalo's own writings speak less of his father than his mother, as one reference to González de Sagrameña fails to mention him by name (2012: I. Pref., p. 118). Arévalo's father plausibly played a role in Enrique III's (1379-1406) foundation of the village (1395) where he was born (Laboa 1973: 26); beyond this, González de Sagrameña is unlikely to have been of much significance. His father's duties, however, could serve as another explanation for his interest in the founding of cities in *Suma*. In summary, the limited evidence indicates that Arévalo came from a fairly humble background. Evidently being of a prominent family in a small village still had its advantages, as he was educated by friars in the Dominican monastery of Santa María la Real de Nieva (Laboa 1973: 26-27). Arévalo never gives any hint as to the quality or extent of his primary education, but the

[103] Biographical details will be kept to a minimum. His life and works have been studied especially by Toni and Penna (1935, 1959). Alonso Lora adds some updated details, as well (2015: 35-42).

impact that Dominicans had on Spain's cultural and intellectual life speaks volumes as to the training that they offered.

Prior to arriving at Salamanca, Arévalo describes the difficulties of choosing his educational and professional path. In the preface to *Speculum*, the author offers insight into his adolescence and the contending views of his relatives. While part of his family wished for him to dedicate himself to law, another part, particularly his beloved mother, advocated his becoming a priest.[104] Arévalo, showing an early aptitude for finding common ground, opted to study civil and canon law, as well as theology, eventually becoming a priest (Ruiz Vila and Calvo Fernández 2000: 36). This role as mediator within his family and over his career would also be characteristic of his work. In *Suma*, Arévalo analogously endeavors to strike a balance among the monarchy, the aristocracy, and those like himself: *letrados*.

Before moving on to Arévalo's years at the University of Salamanca, a brief commentary on Castile's intellectual and cultural life is necessary, as it stresses that *Suma*, despite its limited dissemination, mirrors these tendencies. The first few decades of the fifteenth century ushered in the early influence of Renaissance humanism, legal ideas pouring in from Bologna, and changes to the curriculum (Di Camillo 1976, 1988; Lawrance 1985, 1986, 1990, 2016; Serés 2007). Juan II 's court was especially relevant as a cultivated court and epicenter for these early seeds of the Renaissance (Menéndez y Pelayo 1946: 13). There was a shift in the air, and the court's intellectuals increased the production of translations of classical texts and poetry; political tracts also had their place,

[104] See Rucquoi for details concerning his devoted relationship to his mother and his incorporating her into *Speculum* (1996).

often focusing on moral philosophy and historical *exempla* to forward models of conduct, specifically for the kingdom's knights.

Juan II's court was impactful in fomenting this new cultural inclination, reflected by the rise in the number of *letrados* (Monsalvo Antón 2011: 36). *Letrados* also had access to many popular works coming from famed Italian humanists, as Juan II amassed an impressive inventory of Renaissance and classical texts (Lawrance 1990; Monsalvo Antón 2011: 41-42). One of the most celebrated humanists had his works in the royal collection: Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444). The library holds a codex (RBME, g-IV-3) that includes three letters from the Florentine, as well as: *Oratio in hypocritas* (1417), *De militia* (*c*. 1420), and *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae* (1424/1425); these texts were also translated into Spanish, exemplifying their relevance (Campo 1998; Jiménez San Cristóbal 2010: 203-209). Juan II was not just a collector; he also exchanged epistles with leading Italian humanists, as a patron of letters: Bruni, Pietro Candido Decembrio (1399-1477), and Cardinal Bessarion (González Rolán and Saquero Suárez-Somonte 1999: 586; Monsalvo Antón 2011: 41). Humanist moral philosophy and literature were having their impact.

Juan II's cultural objectives had sway within and without the royal court. The main intellectual figure, and one who had great influence on Arévalo, was Alfonso de Cartagena (1384-1456). Serés classifies Cartagena, alongside Arévalo, in a third group of intellectuals who

> intuyeron, unos, o fueron realmente conscientes, otros, del peligro que entrañaba la lectura y posible asimilación de estas obras, en tanto que ciertos valores o ideales que rezumaban se oponían frontalmente a los tradicionales parámetros culturales, doctrinales o morales. (2007: 339)

This third group is described in the context of a *primer círculo* that fully embraced the *studia humanitatis*—such as the Marqués de Santillana, Íñigo López de Mendoza (1398-

1458)—, as well as a second intellectual group that used classical culture with indifference or neutrally (Serés 2007: 336, 338). Leaving aside the need to revise such rigid distinctions (Morrás 1996: 335-339; Di Camillo 2010: 21-23, 30-31, and 36), what all three of these perspectives or groups illustrate is that humanism was a must among the Castilian elite; that is, it was a point of debate in society, highlighting the complexity with which it was used, debated, assimilated, and adapted (Morrás 1996).

Cartagena's name was recognized across Europe, playing a vital role in Castile's cultural and political life. His initial literary fame came from his translations of classical works, such as Cicero's (106-43 BCE) *De inventione*, *De officiis*, and *De senectute* (*c*. 1422, ed. Cartagena 1996), as well as Seneca's (4 BCE-65 CE) works; these were key to expanding knowledge of classical thought in Castile and advancing the vernacular humanist program. Interest in these works and moral philosophy are evidenced by Cartagena's *Memoriale virtutum* (1422) and "Respuesta", an exchange brought forth after Santillana's contact with Bruni's *De militia* (1444) (Gómez Moreno and Kerkhof 1988; see Cartagena 1988 and 2022 for editions).[105] Arévalo was likewise influenced by Bruni, as a compilation for his personal use preserved at the Vatican Library attests (Cod. Vat. Lat. 1043 pt. 2; see Maestre Maestre 2016).[106] The other contents are: the younger Buonaccorso da Montemagno's (1391-1429) *Controversia de nobilitate ad principem Guidantonium Montisferetri Comitem* (*c*. 1425);[107] and two more by Bruni: *Epistula ad Ciriacum Anconitanum* and *Oratio ad magnificum capitaneum Nicholaum de Tolentino de laudibus exercitu armorum*. Arévalo's manuscript is additional proof of the intellectual overlap between him and Cartagena. The latter's interest in these questions increased his

[105] The Spanish translation of Bruni's *De la caballería* has been edited (Heusch and Rodríguez Velasco 2000: 107-123).
[106] The manuscript can be consulted here: <opac.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.lat.1043.pt.2>
[107] This work was translated into Spanish around the middle of the fifteenth century, as well: *De toda condición de la nobleza* (BNE: MSS/23090; MSS/20217/1; MSS/17814; MSS/8631; see also Peters 2020: 311).

prestige within Castile, but it also led him to be concerned with translation and some of the pressing intellectual debates in Europe. Coming into contact with Leonardo Bruni's new translation of *Nicomachean Ethics* (1417), Cartagena earned European fame and recognition for his critique of Bruni's work in *Declinationes super translatione Ethicorum Aristotelis* (*c*. 1432) (Morrás 1997, 2002a). The information indicates that Cartagena, as an ecclesiastical and royal figure, had a significant impact on the Church and court, as well as on Arévalo himself.[108]

Outside the royal court, Castile's intellectual life was changing, as well. As learned culture and power increasingly melded together, the high-ranking nobles would endeavor to garner influence and play a part in these efforts:

> By soliciting the translation of classical and humanist works into the vernacular, they [vernacular humanists] were, in fact, placing the new learning in the hands of the people who had previously been excluded from the literate circles. This new readership, admittedly exiguous in the beginning, with the advent of the printing press and in time was to become the "consumer" of the literature of the Spanish Golden Age. (Di Camillo 1988: 82)

The best example among the nobles was Santillana. The marquis was an avid poet and enthusiastic about acquiring translations of classical works, compiling an impressive collection from the Italian Peninsula (Schiff 1905; Lawrance 1985: 83; Morrás and Lawrance 2022). His interest in vernacular translations also put him in contact with capable translators, demonstrating that the literary circle in Castile was broader than just a few independently operating individuals (Rubio Tovar 1995). His fame as a book collector and humanist intellectual was sung by Spaniards and Italians. Diego de Burgos (?-?) wrote of him in his *Triunfo del marqués de Santillana* (1458), dedicated to the poem's namesake after his death:

[108] On his translations, texts, and the extant manuscripts: Morrás (1991: 219-237; 2002b); Morrás and López Casas (2001).

> pues si Apolonio se dolía, que de los griegos por industria de Tulio la eloquençia fuese a los romanos levada, quánto más con razón oy los de Ytalia se deven doler e quexar, que por lunbre y yngenio deste señor a ellos sea quitada e traýda a nuestra Castilla e ya en ella a tanta gloria florezca. (2008: 8)[109]

Among Italians, such as Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-1498), Santillana's interest in "Tuscan" works was known, as well as of the literary men with whom he surrounded himself: "e fece fare in Ispagna in casa sua una libreria di libri toscani, che volle che fusse comune a chi ne voleva" (da Bisticci 1859: 169).[110] Santillana's literary reputation was European in breadth.

Santillana was not the sole high-ranking noble securing manuscripts. Other prominent families partook in these efforts, such as the Zúñigas and the Riberas (Lawrance 1985: 83-85). Lawrance also discusses the count of Haro's, Pedro Fernández de Velasco (1400-1469/1470) (1984). The count communicated with Cartagena, who advised him on what types of works were appropriate for him in *Epistula ad Petrum Fernandi de Velasco, comitem de Haro* (Lawrance 1984: 1078; for an edition see Lawrance and Morrás 2020). The inventory is of added interest for this chapter and the next, as it held two manuscripts of Arévalo's *Espejo de la vida humana* and some of Diego de Valera's (1412-1488) letters (Lawrance 1984: 1090, 1095, 1105; listed under numbers 47, 76, and 150; see also Vírseda Bravo 2020). Another prominent family, the Benavente, also put together a substantial collection (Beceiro Pita 1982, 1983, 1990).[111] A few other fifteenth-century nobles held smaller libraries that typify these trends: Alfonso Tenorio de Silva (?-1430) and Alvar Pérez de Guzmán (?-?) (Beceiro Pita and Franco Silva 1985: 281-296).[112] Members of minor noble families and other poets collected and requested works, as well,

[109] I have added accents, punctuation, and simplified the spelling to facilitate the reading.
[110] Lawrance points out in a note that da Basticci is referring to Santillana despite the title (1985: 83, n. 18).
[111] One of the inventories has been digitized (OSUNA, C.4210, D.1, (1)): <pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/12883244>
[112] This same study mentions that one noble from the sixteenth century held a manuscript of Arévalo's *Espejo de la vida humana*: Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1507-1582) (1985: 334).

such as Gómez Manrique (1412-1490), Nuño de Guzmán (*c*. 1405-*c*. 1467)—whose family seems to have been bibliophiles and interested in humanist culture—, Pero Díaz de Toledo (*c*. 1410-1466), and others (Lawrance 1985: 85; Serés 2007: 337-338).[113] All ranks of nobles were beginning to contribute to the latest cultural developments, and interest was growing among civil servants and *letrados*.

Among the officeholders, there are several examples who produced what has been dubbed "literatura funcionarial", especially during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs (Cátedra 2009; see also Lawrance 1985: 85). I shall focus on one here since he is discussed in the next chapter: Diego de Valera. He highlights that the lines between royal, noble, and lay cultural interest in humanism were blurred: as an individual connected to the royal court over the course of the fifteenth century, several nobles in Castile, and royal and imperial courts across Europe, one notes how broad vernacular humanism's influence was becoming. These interests and efforts highlight that there was a web of individuals in multiple settings who were capable of interacting with the *studia humanitatis*, despite often being presented in *romance*.

Castile's most prominent university, the University of Salamanca, though rooted in scholastic tradition that later flourished, also had its role in the humanist program. Arévalo was busy at Salamanca for ten years until he obtained his doctoral degree in law (*c*. 1430-31) (Sánchez de Arévalo 2012: p. 122). In addition to the general cultural milieu, Arévalo's time there was an excellent moment for any student interested in politics, law, and moral philosophy, presenting many a chance to earn governmental positions based on education and replace the nobility in these roles (Carabias Torres 2012: 19)[114] It was

[113] María Morrás and I shall be publishing an article on Guzmán in the coming year, highlighting that intellectual life among lower-ranking nobles and connections to Italian humanism were strong (Morrás and Peters 2023).
[114] See the same study for more information on the *letrados*' role in political and administrative matters, as well as how they gradually contributed to excluding nobles from the *Consejo Real* (2012: 19, 22-23).

a prime example of an atmosphere boiling with "littérature politique très riche, [….] dont les auteurs, formés au droit, à la théologie, à la philosophie, dans les universités castillanes" (Leroy 2016: 341). The lecture halls were filled with prominent minds: Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal (1410-1455)—who was influential in forming an *escuela aristotélica*—, Juan Alfonso de Segovia (*c*. 1393-1458), Lope de Barrientos (1382-1469), Juan Alfonso de Benavente (?-*c*. 1478), Pedro Martínez de Osma (1424-1489), Fernando de Roa (*c*. 1448-*c*. 1507), etc. (Rucquoi 1995: 6-19; 1996: 242; Flórez Miguel 2007: 113-139; 2012: 265-281).[115] Other intellectual standouts connected to the university and jurisprudence were Cartagena, Juan de Mena (1411-1456), Juan de Lucena (1430-1506), Fernando de la Torre (*c*. 1416-1475), Alonso de Palencia (1423-1492), and *condestable Dom* Pedro de Portugal (*c*. 1429-1466), among others (Serés 2007: 343; Moreno Hernández 2012: 172). The events at royal and nobles courts, as well as at Salamanca, highlight that Arévalo was not an exception to the rule—in the sense that he was not unusual for his interests—, but was part of a larger movement where humanism and new ideas were permeating, giving agents in the political arena plenty to mull over and debate. In this context, though Arévalo often relied on Latin as the international language of debate as a diplomat, he opted for the vernacular in *Suma* to better persuade his readers: this accentuates his attempts to reach a diplomatic middle ground, offering his treatise as a blend of scholasticism and humanism, Latin references in Castilian language, and cultural and historical precedents relevant to the peninsula's social and political norms.

After his time at Salamanca, Arévalo participated in a major event: the Council of Basel (1431-1449). From 1431 he joined Cartagena within the delegation sent by Juan II

[115] Madrigal is of particular interest for his role in politics and influence on Castilian academic life (Belloso Martín 1989, 2003; Castillo Vegas 2004; Recio and Cortijo Ocaña 2005; Flórez Miguel 2007: 114-118; Santoyo 2009). Perhaps one of his most interesting works is *De optima politia* (1436), which Lawrance describes as exemplifying "la corriente innovadora del humanismo 'cortesano' que se irradiaba de las aulas salmantinas" (2020: 154; see also pp. 151-160).

of Castile (López Fonseca and Ruiz Vila 2015: 41). Arévalo's working with Cartagena connected him to influential figures and the council's proceedings (Laboa 1973: 38). Cartagena took the young man under his wing, as a Ciceronian dialogue in the bishop of Burgos' garden attests: *Disputatio* or *Quaestio Ortolona* (*c*. 1440) (Morrás 1996b: 63-64); it also represents a literary example of an exchange between master and disciple. Given Arévalo's close ties to Cartagena, the former was the latter's protégé, participating in a "school" or network under Cartagena's tutelage. As for the Council of Basel, and again thanks to his relationship with Cartagena, it gave Arévalo experience on the international stage, involving him in contentious disputes that would shape European power dynamics.[116] This experience similarly helped to mark the beginning of his ideological stance defending the pope and his supremacy, as well as his anti-conciliarist views (Kohut 1980: 431; Lorenzo Velázquez 1999: 10; Alonso Lora 2015: 64-70; Fernández Gallardo 2021: 377, 392). Arévalo may have begun in a modest role, but he left an impression on others and gleaned insights for his own development.

Arévalo's time at Basel paid off, as did his contact with Cartagena, who nominated Arévalo for a canonship in the Cathedral of Burgos (1439); Arévalo would also receive an archdeaconry in Treviño (1440). This period marks the commencement of many ambassadorial trips on behalf of Juan II, who had named him royal counselor and secretary (López Fonseca and Ruiz Vila 2013: 3). Arévalo's complete epistles perhaps best reflect the extent and breadth of his journeys and communications (Sánchez de Arévalo 2016). These diplomatic trips are numerous and span several years (especially 1440-1442 and 1448-1450), entailing visits to Florence, Frederick III's (1415-1493) imperial court, France, Naples, and Milan (Burns 1992: 82; Arquero Caballero 2019: 33-

[116] See Anthony Black for an overview of the debates and leading figures at the Council of Basel, as well as the primary political debates that shaped this event before and after (1992). See also: Van Duffel (2014); Decaluwe, Izbicki, and Christianson (2017: esp. Izbicki, pp. 137-163); Tubau (2017).

34). In addition, Arévalo gained first-hand experience of problems facing Castile, working as a judge in the *Real Audiencia* in 1447 (Trame 1958: 59). After this year, Arévalo was back abroad, but this time working on behalf of the monarch (1448-1450) at Nicholas V's (1397-1455) papal court as the *procurador del rey* (Arquero Caballero 2019: 45). Arévalo then returned to Castile for another five years, traveling frequently on diplomatic missions for Juan II until his death in 1454 (Arquero Caballero 2019: 34-36). Enrique IV appointed Arévalo to the same roles that he already had under his father, while he also attained a position in the *Consejo Real* between September 1454 and March 1455 (Trame 1958: 81). These constant travels and roles illustrate that Arévalo was deeply involved in major political and social problems in Castile and entrusted with the monarchy's confidence to represent its interests at home and abroad. Furthermore, these ambassadorial duties offered him the opportunity to meet influential figures across Europe and keep up to date on intellectual and literary tendencies.

Arévalo's career stretched beyond the Iberian Peninsula, but this decade will be the focus of my interest, given that *Suma* was written between 1454-1455, according to textual information:

> Fabla otrosí del buen regimiento y recta polecía que deve aver todo reyno o çibdad, assí en tienpo de paz como de guerra; la qual copilló y compuso el doctor Ruy Sánchez, deán de la yglesia de León y arcidiano de Treviño, a instancia del noble e virtuoso varón e cavallero Pedro de Acuña, señor de Dueñas y Buendía. (Pro., f. 1r)

> […] el rey don Enrrique el Quarto, reynante gloriosamente en los sus ínclitos Reynos de Castilla e de León, principal monarca de las Españas. El doctor Ruy Sánchez, deán de la yglesia de León y arcidiano de Treviño, se omil y guardialmente recomienda. (Pro. Bk. I, f. 6r)

> Como el mandamiento real nos ajuntasse en esta desierta villa de Arévalo en comissión de arduas y grandes cosas, convenía en ellas continuamente fablar y comunicar según su grandeza y arduydad demandava. (Pro. Bk. I, f. 6r)

As Juan II died in the summer of 1454 and Arévalo obtained the title of bishop of Oviedo in August of 1457, then it is evident it was written during the early years of Enrique's

reign (Beneyto Pérez 1944: 9; Penna 1959: XC); the reference to *Suma* is in *Vergel de los príncipes*, so the former necessarily antedates the latter (Arévalo 1959b: I.12, p. 324; Penna 1959: XC).

Suma is preserved at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (MSS/1221), originating from the library of the count of Miranda (Grespi 2004: 96). The manuscript contains 124 paper folios (221 × 155 mm). PhiloBiblon indicates that the handwriting is in Aragonese gothic, while the guidelines measure 135 × 85 mm, organized in 26 single-column lines with red *calderones*.[117] The witness is of high quality, and its presentation is good despite an occasional torn leaf and smears in the ink. The manuscript's condition makes one believe that it could have been a presentation copy to Acuña—as well as the rubric in f. 1r that copies from the prologue (f. 6r)—, yet the "Aragonese" hand throughout complicates that view. Acuña and his family were known opponents of the *infantes de Aragón* during the time that the original work was written (Pajares González 2013: 32; Franco Silva). According to the first prologue, *Suma* was produced in the town of Arévalo (I.Pro., f. 6r). The prologue underscores that it was based on conversations between Arévalo and Acuña, and at the latter's request for a summary of philosophical and political ideas:

> E porque, depués de redificada o fundada la tal çibdad, es necessario buen regimiento para la conservar, por consiguiente, ocorrió fablar en el recto y legítimo regimiento que toda çibdad o villa deve aver. Y comunicando en las dichas materias, plugo a vós, señor, que yo fablasse. E por la grandeza y sotileza de las dichas materias y por los muchos libros e difusos tractados que sobre estas materias son escriptos, en tal manera que fazen y constituyen una entera sciencia llamada política, aunque subalternada a la sciencia moral, peró dixe algunas cosas brevemente, como por entonce ocorrieron; e luego vós, señor, que mandar podíades, rogastes a mí que so breve compendio escriviesse algunas cosas de las que los filósofos y sabios antigos en esta parte escrivieron. (I.Pro., ff. 7v-8r)

PhiloBiblion gives the copy a date between *c*. 1501-*c*. 1510, citing Penna, who states that the manuscript is "de letra que podría ser del comienzo del siglo XVI" (1959: CLXXVI;

[117] See PhiloBiblon (BETA texid 1754): <bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/search_en.html>

see also the link from PhiloBiblon). Nevertheless, it may have been copied in the decades immediately before that. The handwriting is in a gothic style, which Sánchez Prieto and Domínguez Aparicio date between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries (2004: 111). In addition, Acuña's family supported the Aragonese faction and the Catholic Monarchs after Alfonso *el Inocente*'s death (1468).[118] The paleographical factor and allegiances potentially date it between 1468-1500. If this initial hypothesis is correct, the Biblioteca Nacional's manuscript could have been produced to garner support for the Catholic Monarchs, as *Suma*'s messages promoting unity, moderation, limited royal power, and the role that the nobility was to play would have been of interest, especially in the early years of their reign when there were internal confrontations between *fernandinos e isabelinos* (see below, pp. 185-186). There are two counter-arguments: first, Aragonese scribes were often used in Castile, so there is no assurance that using one suggests any factional links; and second, it would be unusual that a text supporting the Catholic Monarchs has no direct message concerning them. For the time being, it is difficult to untangle exactly when and in what context this manuscript was produced.

Apart from *Suma*, the manuscript includes a Spanish translation of Cicero's Stoic *Paradoxes*, of which there is another testimony at the British Library in London (Egerton MS 1868). The description of the latter provided on the British Library's website states that it is a sixteenth-century production, but the fifteenth century seems more likely (Cabré, Coroleu, Ferrer, Lloret, and Pujol 2018: 173).[119] As for who translated it, the work has been attributed to Arévalo (Biblioteca Nacional 1958: 98-99). Menéndez y Pelayo discarded him, suggesting instead that it was by Enrique de Villena (1384-1434) based on the style (2008: 326, 330). Despite these arguments, it should be considered an

[118] See Franco Silva for a general outline on Acuña's shifting allegiances.
[119] See: <searcharchives.bl.uk>

anonymous work, translated from a Catalan testimony (Morrás 1996a: 11; Cabré, Coroleu, Ferrer, Lloret, and Pujol 2018: 173). A Catalan translation is preserved in Barcelona (BC, MS. 296, ff. 137r-153v) (Duran 1998-2008: Vol. I, p. 173; Cabré, Coroleu, Ferrer, Lloret, and Pujol 2018: 173). The copy in the BNE is not the most reliable of the extant manuscripts, as the British Library's has "better readings than those in Catalan […], indicating that it was translated from an earlier and less corrupt source" (Cabré, Coroleu, Ferrer, Lloret, and Pujol 2018: 173). The hand is similar to the one from the Spanish National Library's testimony, adding to the evidence that both are from a contemporary time period.

After having considered the fundamental details of the author's life, thought, and the historical context, *Suma*'s contents can now be better understood and more fully analyzed in its ideological setting. It is divided into two books, subdivided into eighteen *consideraciones* in the first, while the second has sixteen; each book is preceded by a prologue, introduction, and table of contents, while the treatise ends with a brief conclusion. The first book principally deals with the foundation of a city or town, reviewing matters ranging from the best geographical setting to the ideal design to optimize the citizenry and city. The terminology about the community to which Arévalo refers is of interest: *çibdad o reyno* (e.g., II.1, II.10, II.12). Some confusion may result from Arévalo's reliance on Aristotelian language in a Castilian setting:

> usa el término "çibdad" como sinónimo de "Estado" o "reyno", en el sentido de comunidad política o *res publica*; según los casos, ya aluda al mundo antiguo, ya al medieval, el concepto lo matiza convenientemente: "çibdad o uilla", "çibdad o reyno"... En general, cuando expone su organización cuatripartita, se sobreentiende que trata del "reyno" conforme al arquetipo medieval. (Antelo Iglesias 1985: 43)

Although medieval conceptions influence Arévalo, it is not the full picture; the Castilian concept of *villa y tierra* is vital, building on the experiences of the expansion across the *cuenca del Duero* from the eleventh century forward (Martín Pérez 2019: 58). Rodríguez

Velasco offers additional information, maintaining that Arévalo's use of "city" alongside "kingdom" might be the result of how influential texts often focused political discourse "through the *civitas*" by giving one important example: *De regimine principum* (*c*. 1280) by Giles of Rome (1247-1316) in the Castilian translation and commentary *Glosa castellana al "Regimiento de Príncipes" de Egidio Romano* (1341-1345) (2010: 97; for an edition see 1947). This task was assigned by the bishop of Osma, Don Bernabé, who was instructed to produce one by Alfonso XI of Castile (Rodríguez Velasco 2010: 97).[120] Textual evidence indicates that Arévalo relied on it in *Suma*, as it was an important medium for disseminating Aristotle's political thought in the Middle Ages (Gille Levenson 2016: 15).[121] The outline and terminology used to describe Arévalo's body politic is a combination of classical sources, medieval references, and above all Castilian circumstances that unfolded during the early parts of the Reconquest.[122] The special relationship that was beginning to be formed between the king, the cities, and the surrounding lands, as well as the place that the nobles and urban elite had in this construct, all had an impact on Arévalo's view of the *çibdad o reyno*.[123]

The second book analyzes the city's governance. Arévalo writes on the role of every rank of society, but spends most of his time on kings, knights (i.e., nobility), and *letrados*.

[120] Rodríguez Velasco attributes the work to Juan García de Castrojeriz in the cited work, though some scholars have questioned his authorship (Díez Garretas, Fradejas Rueda, Acero Durántez, and Dietrick 2003: 12-18; Fradejas Rueda, Acero Durántez, and Díez Garretas 2004: 18-19). For more on the manuscript tradition, see Gille Levenson (2016; 2021: 286-287). The work was also an early source for diffusing quotations and knowledge about Seneca, even if taken from secondary sources (Blüher 1983: 90-92; see pp. 205-211 for Arévalo's use of Seneca).

[121] For some examples, see *Suma*: I.6, I.12-14, I.16-18, II.Pro., II.2, II.5, II.7-8, II.15.

[122] See a partial list of the types of sources that influenced Arévalo's thought and concepts, which I have pulled from my findings in the critical edition that I am preparing: 1) classical: Vegetius' *De re militari* (I.12; II.15); Valerius Maximus, especially for details about Castile (I.14); and Seneca's *De clementia* and *De beneficiis* (II.3; II.5); and 2) medieval: Alfonso de Cartagena's *Respuesta* (I.16; I.18,); Diego de Valera's *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (I.14; II.15); *Glosa castellana al 'Regimiento de príncipes'* 13 (I.6; I.12; I.13; I.14; I.16; I.17; I.18; II.Pro.; II.2; II.5; II.7; II.8; II.15); and *Castigos de Sancho IV* (II.7; II.11).

[123] For additional information regarding the relationship between the *estados* and cities, see: Valdeón (1990: 167); Nieto Soria (2002b: 9-10, 19, 48, 49-50, 53-54). I would like to thank Jeremy Lawrance for his help in this strenuous task.

This focus on the ideal city aligns this work with a major subject in Renaissance studies. Scholars have noted the similarities in urban planning between Arévalo and classical and contemporary writers, such as Francesc Eiximenis (València, *c*. 1330-1409), Antonio Averlino (1400-1469), Leon Battista Alberti (Florence, 1404-1472), and their eventual common source, Vitruvius (Rome, *c*. 80-70 BCE-*c*. 15 CE) (Antonio Iglesias 1985: 45-46; Bonachía Hernando 2010: 35; Martín Pérez 2019: 54-55). But details as to the exact layout of Arévalo's city appear to be more vague than the ones that appear in those authors, and based on the actual frontier experience (Martín Pérez 2019: 31).[124] There are issues crucial to building a city that includes places of leisure and beauty (I.10, ff. 27br *ff*.). Arévalo additionally worries about the citizens reaching an Aristotelian *eudaimonia* and the city's peace and unity, functioning as the community's *teloi*:

> toda çibdad es ordenada por bivir alegre e delectablemente, ca es manifiesto que fecha y constituýda una çibdad por la comunicación y conservación que han de consuno, procede una alegría y deletación porque, como dizen los sabios antigos, nenguno escoge bivir sin compañía, ni otrosí ay abundancia de riquezas, ni possessions que sea dulce ni alegre sin compañero. (I.Intro., f. 12r)

The author sets his ideals more on the virtue, character, and morality of the citizens. Overall, there is a notable attempt to create a balance between the three estates and their respective values and roles. While Arévalo does argue that the monarch should be revered and obeyed, he also posits that he cannot do as he wishes, placing some limits. The spirit of the treatise is one that is attempting to reach a consensus or *concordia* among interest groups, hoping to solve some of the power struggles that were tearing away at the fabric of society and causing frequent civil conflicts and instability.[125]

[124] For a list of the most influential texts concerning the city in the Late Middle Ages see Villa Prieto (2015: 391-393).
[125] Useful summaries of *Suma* in Cervera Vera and Gómez Redondo (1982; 1998-2007: Vol. IV, pp. 3608-3620)

As stated above, the work is preserved in a single manuscript, but *Suma* is relevant for the ideas it contains and the outstanding positions at court held by Arévalo, as well as his ties to Cartagena. The treatise was dedicated to Pedro Vázquez de Acuña, a prominent individual during the reigns of Juan II, Enrique IV, and the Catholic Monarchs.[126] Knowing that *Suma* was written during the transition of power from Juan II to Enrique IV, it is worthwhile to consider some of the roles Acuña had during Juan's reign. Acuña was "señor de las villas de Dueñas e Buendía, guarda mayor y del consejo del muy exclarecido príncipe nuestro soberano rey e señor, el rey don Enrrique el Quarto" (I.Pro., f. 6r). Buendía had been inherited from his father after his death (1446), given by Enrique III in 1397 (Pajares González 2013: 21). Dueñas was awarded by Juan II (1439), quickly converting into the head of the family's patrimony. Within Juan II's court, Acuña secured several positions: *Oficial de Cuchillo o Trinchante*—i.e., *Mayordomo*—(1427); *Guarda Mayor*; Royal Counselor; and *Entregador de las Mestas y Cañadas* (1454). This last role was confirmed by Enrique IV (1465). Juan II also dispatched Acuña as an ambassador to the Navarrese royal court (1439) to arrange the wedding between the future Enrique IV and his first wife Blanche of Navarre (1424-1464) (Pajares González 2013).[127] After Juan II died in 1454, Acuña at first demonstrated fidelity to the new monarch, while the latter certified his positions as *Guarda Mayor* and *Alcalde Mayor de las Mestas y Cañadas*, transformed into a hereditary post in 1465 (Pajares González 2013: 33). Acuña was linked to Álvaro de Luna:

> cabe destacar el apoyo a su tío el Condestable don Álvaro de Luna en el enfrentamiento con los infantes de Aragón, hijos de Fernando de Antequera, durante el reinado de

[126] For Acuña's later relationship with the Catholic Monarchs, see Pajares González (2018).
[127] Adding to the family connections to the royal couple, Pedro de Acuña's cousin, Luis de Vázquez de Acuña y Osorio (1426-1495), who would become bishop of Burgos in 1456, annulled Enrique's and Blanca's marriage (11 May 1453) on the basis of the failure to have any children (Edwards 2000: 3); he also managed to put together a nice inventory of manuscripts by the time of his death (López Martínez 1960).

> Juan II. Así, en 1441 se desplegó una intensa actividad debido a la férrea oposición que algunos nobles concitaron contra el Condestable. (Pajares González 2013: 32)

Both Acuña and his brother, the archbishop Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña (1410-1482), fought alongside Luna in the famous battle of Olmedo (1445) (Pajares González 2013: 32). These details reveal how Acuña was embroiled in political events, influential at court, connected through his family and titles, and began Enrique IV's reign in a position of power and influence, having the ear of his archbishop brother—confessor to the king—, the new monarch, and the increasingly important Juan Pacheco.

Despite only the king being able to make laws, his relationships with the monarch and his brother are important, as well as Arévalo's dedicating the tract to Acuña:

> Sólo el rey, dicen las leyes, tiene la potestad de promulgar éstas. Por ello, debemos suponer que los tratados dedicados a promover algún tipo de cambio o ampliación legal tienen en el rey el interlocutor ideal, independientemente del hecho de que estuvieran dedicados a otras personas o a nadie en particular y a todos en general. (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 41)

Acuña is the dedicatee, but Enrique IV is the indirect target. Acuña's family ties to the monarch's *privado*, Juan Pacheco, increases the political importance that Pedro would have had inside the royal court, as well as an additional explanation as to why the treatise was dedicated to him. Pedro de Acuña's father, Lope Vázquez de Acuña (?-1446), was the younger brother of Martín Vázquez de Acuña (?-1416), count of Valencia de Don Juan and lord of Castrojeriz; the latter was married twice, but his first marriage to Teresa Téllez Girón (?-?) was significant for Acuña's relationship with Pacheco (Morales Muñiz 2007: 200). One of Teresa's and Martín's children was Alfonso Téllez Girón y Vázquez de Acuña (*c*. 1380-1449), first lord of Belmonte, who would marry María Pacheco (Morales Muñiz 2007: 200); together Alfonso and María would have a son: Juan Pacheco, Enrique IV's *privado* (Morales Muñiz 2007: 200). In other words, Pedro de Acuña and Juan Pacheco were cousins.

By contextualizing the relationship that Pedro de Acuña had with Juan II and his support for Álvaro de Luna, combined with Pacheco being part of his lineage, Arévalo had reason to suspect that Pedro would have had an influential voice with Pacheco and Enrique IV, who, as stated, confirmed many of the titles that his father had given Acuña. Finally, since Acuña would later in Enrique IV's reign give his support to Alfonso *el Inocente* (1453-1468), who would be illegally proclaimed king in the *Farsa de Ávila* (1465), Arévalo's messages of loyalty to the monarch were sent to a worthy person.[128] Perhaps Arévalo suspected or knew that Acuña's loyalties were more to family and self-interest rather than virtuous ideals of the common good, which was typical behavior of leading noble families (Suárez Fernández 2003).[129] This behavior was not unique to Acuña, but it is plausible that Arévalo viewed him either as a conduct to channel his advice to the king's favorite, or the king himself. All this being said, Acuña's brother, the archbishop Carrillo, appears to have been the more logical choice, but Arévalo may not have seen him as open to his ideas. Arévalo would have been familiar with the archbishop early in his professional life, as Carrillo was the president of Castile's delegation at Basel (MacKay 1985: 13).

Since there is only one extant manuscript of *Suma*, Arévalo's choice for the dedicatee was not the best one for spreading his views over time. Unlike Valera, the quintessential self-promoter, Arévalo's appointments and advancements seem to have been based more on his intellectual merits than his abilities to angle for positions. *Suma*'s impact over time has not been high, but in the moment the ideas presented and the genre chosen—the treatise—were relevant, and the treatise was dedicated to a person with influential roles

[128] MacKay points out that it was never called a *farsa* during the time, but rather an *auto* (MacKay 1985: 12). It might be more accurate historically to name it the *Auto de Enrique IV*; furthermore, it would connect the show trial to other similar events, such as trials for the Inquisition and heresy (*autos de fe*).
[129] See Pajares González for information regarding Acuña's shift in loyalty later in Enrique's reign (2013: 22-23, 34).

and politically-involved family members. Namely, *Suma* represents some of the current literary, intellectual and political trends in Castile, accentuating the value of literature and culture to impact and discuss politics.

Arévalo was officially a member of the council, and in other texts he self-fashions himself and churchmen functioning as *letrados* as ideal political advisors. In his *Quando liceat religiosis principum curias sequi* (1457-1465), sent to Fernando de Torres (1410-1467), prior of the Carthusian monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas in Seville, Arévalo underlines that it is appropriate and necessary for wise, religious men to intervene in times of great turmoil. Since it is sent to a confessor of Enrique IV, and one that was associated with one of the most prominent families in Seville, one can assume that Arévalo was indirectly attempting to sway the monarch and those around him. Torres' political influence can be easily inferred from his position and his blood: "Fue hijo del almirante de Castilla y hermano de la reyna de Aragón, madre del católico rey Don Fernando, y confesor del rey Don Enrique el Quarto" (Valles 1792: 210).[130] As other contemporaries, Torres worked his proximity to the king to obtain privileges for his lineage (Valles 1792: 210). Another early modern work adds details:

> Baste por todos en esta breve noticia, el padre don Fernando de Torres su hijo, y prior suyo largos años, Don Henrique Quarto, y Doña Isabel, nació [1410] en esta ciudad, hijo de Diego Fernández de Torres, que llamaron de Villarreal, de el Consejo de los reyes, y de Constança Sánchez de Esquivel; fue hermano entero de Juan de Torres, Maestresala de los reyes, y de Alonso de Torres, fiel executor de Sevilla, progenitores de gran nobleza, y hermano uterino de Isabel Ruiz de Esquivel, fundadora de el Convento de monjas de Madre de Dios. (Ortiz de Zúñiga 1677: 286b)[131]

Torres would have had a persuasive voice in Enrique's court.

[130] For the political importance of Seville see: Ladero Quesada (1973); Sánchez Saus (1986); González Sánchez (2012); Tizón Ferrer (2016); Montes Romero-Camacho (2022). Fernando de Torres is also another example of the impact that religious orders—this case the Carthusians—had on the intellectual and moral life of Castile's political elite, especially as educators of monarchs and *infantes* (Rojo Alique 2014: 299, 301)

[131] This is the source for my listing his birth as 1410. I have been unable to confirm in any other modern or medieval source. I want to thank María Morrás for pointing the text out to me.

As for the contents of this brief treatise to Torres, Arévalo first defends participating in civil society as a man of God (2016: Apéndice IV, p. 521). He continues by arguing that it is an ethical obligation:

> Así pues su religiosidad consiste, si este es su deber propio y su obligación, en guardar silencio en el claustro; mas por el contrario, fuera del claustro, cuando lo exige el bien público, incluso el que no ha sido llamado, se debe ofrecer voluntariamente y no dejar de gritar, si no se le oye, hasta que pueda decir con el apóstol: Dios es testigo de que no dejé de anunciaros la paz. (2016: Apéndice IV, p. 523)

In addition to being a moral imperative, a wise religious man in the king's household can serve as a good example (2016: Apéndice IV, p. 529). Finally, Arévalo closes by stating that God would approve of helping bring peace and unity:

> Comprendéis ahora, padre, lo que debemos pensar de los monjes que se adentran en las cortes de los gobernantes. Comprendéis, además, que no hay nada que impida que Vuestra Paternidad atienda cometido tan relevante como el de poner en paz vuestra patria; comprendéis, en fin, que, si os desentendéis por evitar un peligro, no escapáis a un peligro aún mayor. Haced frente, pues, a un incendio tan evidente, aliviad una herida tan cruel, *gritad sin cesar, alzad vuestra voz*. (2016: Apéndice IV, p. 531)

Arévalo makes a case as to why clerical figures like he and Torres have the intellectual ability, morality, and wisdom to be suitable counselors in times of political crisis. In part their involvement with political power was rising as a result of the increased need for *letrados*, as clerics were also educated (Lacarra and Cacho Blecua 2012: 249). In other words, Arévalo highlights the rivalry between the nobles and ecclesiastical and lettered individuals, attempting to co-opt the right and privilege to direct and advise the monarchy. This idea relates to messages presented in *Suma*, as Arévalo once again asserts that *letrados* have a pivotal role in educating and advising leaders, while knights (i.e., nobility) are similarly dependent on them.

In the pages that follow, I shall give an overview of the roles that Arévalo delegates to the king, nobles, and *letrados*. Before moving on, I shall consider what Arévalo believes to be the ideal location and set up for his city. His views are noteworthy in *Suma* and

Compendiosa Historia Hispanica (1469/1470), as they imply that Castile has all the traits to become a new Roman empire or—perhaps more precisely—a "neogothic" one based on the Visigothic model, while taking inspiration from Roman precedent (Maravall 1954: esp. pp. 180-182; González Fernández 1986, 2004, 2008; Villa Prieto 2010: 133a; Alvar Nuño 2017: 111; Perea Rodríguez 2022: 6-10). This Visigothic memory was nothing new, dating back to the twelfth century, but there was an increased interest in its empire in the second half of the fifteenth century (Edwards 2000: 41-42; O'Callaghan 2003: 4; see also above, pp. 24-27). It served Arévalo's purpose of advocating a united peninsula under Castile. From a geographical standpoint, Arévalo claims that Castile is ideally located to produce the most balanced people, giving them all the attributes to dominate the world (I.1, f. 13r *ff*.). First he discusses the relative merits and shortcomings of nations ranging from Africa and the Middle East to the most northerly parts of Europe for comparative purposes (I.1, ff. 13r *ff*.). Arévalo then asserts that those located in between these geographical and climatic extremes have the best intellectual, physical, and temperamental combinations, meeting an *aurea mediocritas*:

> Y como dize Paulo Orosio, y esso mesmo Alberto en el libro *De discrecione orbis*: por esto los romanos fueron vencedores y ovieron la monarchía; y en sus exercicios overion gentes de todas naciones, assí de los extremos como de los temprados, de guisa que avía en sus exércitos gentes de mucha astucia y prudencia para regir y governar, y otrosí mucha audacia y animosidad y robustidad para tomar y sufrir los travajos béllicos. Y quando convenía, usavan de unos; y quando cumplía, usavan de otros; y aun algunas vezes de todos, faziendo una muy virtuosa mixtura. (I.1, f. 16v)

Arévalo continues by implying that Castile is exemplary by giving contrasting views from *Ligurgo y Solón* regarding the city or kingdom's location (I.9, f. 27v), but follows it with the Philosopher:

> Onde el filósofo Aristótiles, moderando ambas opiniones, dize que la cibdad deve ser ni mucho lexos del mar ni conjunta con él, de guisa que tenga comunicación con el mar mediante otras villas y lugares. (I.9, ff. 27v-27br)

This location indicates that Castile is the most perfectly situated because of the climate's effect on temperament and physical and intellectual abilities, as well as the kingdom's capacity to defend itself and ward off foreign influences. This Castilian nationalism has been noted (Tate 1970; Lorenzo Velázquez 1999: 16);[132] also, there is plenty of it in Arévalo's *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica*, too (2017: I.xvii, p. 375).[133] The treatise's dedicatee may also be a rationale for this praise of Castile as the *caput Hispaniae*, serving as a *captatio benevolentiae*. As noted, Acuña was lord of Buendía (Cuenca) and Dueñas (Palencia), both being key locations.[134] Dueñas would become especially important for Acuña, creating a great deal of wealth and political power, functioning as the head of his estates or realm of influence (Morales Muñiz 2007: 205; Pajares González 2013: 29; 2016: 287-289).[135] A palace at Dueñas also put Acuña near Burgos and Valladolid, enhancing its importance.

Another critical aspect to Arévalo's geographical considerations has to do with ports and potential foreign influence. Concern over foreigners and merchants in the city and the kingdom could be interpreted as an indication of his conservative, or xenophobic, views. There are other explanations. He evidently does not favor merchants:

> dexado lo natural, ocuparse han en lo artificial y en officios banausos; conviene saber, en oficios de mercenarios y mercatorios y aquisiteros de riquezas, los quales no disponen a virtud. Y aún comúnmente las tales personas que no son ocupadas en agricultura o en artes necessarias, dánse a bagaciones y malos occios, de guisa que

[132] Diego de Valera highlights this nascent Castilian nationalism in his writings, identifying Castile and Spain as one and the same thing in his *Valeriana* (Moya García 2009: LIX-LX).
[133] See also I.XVI, p. 373. O'Callaghan notes that other Castilian poets and writers forwarded views favorable to Castile's peninsular supremacy during this time period (1975: 579-80). Cartagena describes the king of Castile and Leon as being the "primero e mayor" among the Spanish monarchs in his "Discursos" (1959: *Proposición*, p. 210). It should also be pointed out that Castile was not the only kingdom that used propaganda to uplift its image abroad and push back on its being at the periphery of the civilized world; Lorenzo Valla wrote a biography on Fernando de Antequera, *Historia de Fernando de Aragón* (1545/46), which refutes "la marginalidad de la patria de su héroe" (Fernández Gallardo 2001-2002: 279). For an edition of this work, see Valla (2002).
[134] Buendía is in the province of Cuenca, in the northwestern limits, bordering the province of Guadalajara. Buendía was near to a major route to its north connecting this area to central and northern Castile.
[135] Dueñas would later be key for another political motive, as the future Catholic Monarchs would meet here before and after their marriage, showing Acuña's family's influence (Edwards 2000: 14-16).

> fazen sediciones y coliganças contra el principado, y levantan y bollecen los pueblos contra los señores, lo qual mucho deven escusar el buen político, travajando porque todos los cibdadanos tengan possessiones en que se ocupan, no faziendo más población de aquella que abonden y satisfagan las possessiones y labranças que tienen. (I.7, f. 24v)

Though Aristotle's attitudes toward manual labor and merchants play a crucial part in making up his opinion (note the term "banausos"), his own origins and his constant travels across Europe potentially played a factor, as well as his own pride in Castile. The latter is straightforward enough. Unlike Aragon, Castile had a less prominent merchant class—with Burgos, Seville, and Medina del Campo being the exceptions—and comparatively did not have as much access to, dependence on, and contact with port cities.[136] Given the treatise's dedicatee, perhaps Arévalo was attempting to send a message about the dangers of a merchant lifestyle, as well as ward off Acuña from becoming overly focused on his commercial interests. As mentioned, one of Acuña's titles during Juan II's reign, confirmed by Enrique IV, was that of *Alcalde Entregador de Mestas y Cañadas*; this position had valuable economic benefits because of its significance in the wool industry during this period (Pajares González 2013: 22). These warnings advised Acuña to not let economic benefits trump what was ethically and politically wise. Additionally, this bias against merchants and artisans was not limited to Arévalo; it was common in Castile despite the rise of "new men", who were often artisans and merchants, especially over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Soares da Cunha and Knezevic 2019: 154). The distrust of merchants could also have other implications: Castile had already been dealing with turmoil and instability, so Arévalo likely saw that innovations to economic and sociopolitical life as risky (see below, p. 171, for his negative views on changing laws and social norms). In Italy there were similar complications; for example, throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the rise of merchants in city-states gave them a

[136] Urban centers on or near the *Camino de Santiago* were gradually showing more commercial and international ties as the Middle Ages progressed (Guerrero Navarrete 2013: 144).

prominent voice in civic affairs thanks to their newfound wealth, creating a problem for the status quo, leading to violence and volatility, and questioning ethical and philosophical views, lived in a more accentuated way in the Italian *comune*, and reflected in its literature and politics (Baron 1960, 1968; Bayley 1961; Seigel 1968; Skinner 1978: Vol. I; Kristeller 1979, 1984; Hankins 1996, 2000, 2019; Witt 2003).

As someone with a relatively conservative view of the world, the risks that merchants and foreigners posed to traditional culture and society are presented in a negative fashion (I.8, II.9, ff. 25v *ff*.). Arévalo, like Aristotle, regarded merchants as analogous to any other banausic vocation; this leads him to distrust them for their lack of virtue (*no disponen a virtud*), their potential to disturb the peace (*levantan y bollecen los pueblos contra los señores*), and ultimately not qualifying as citizens (I.8, ff. 26r-26v).[137] He concludes that all

> negociación solamente es cunplidera y se deve dessear en la cibdad para los cambios y comutaciones y bendiciones de las cosas necessarias para bien y suficientemente bivir en la tal çibdad. (I.8, f. 25v)

Aristotle's thoughts on the ties between economics, politics, and ethics are informative in understanding the influence that the Philosopher had on Arévalo. His philosophy teaches that the pursuit of unlimited wealth leads to an unhealthy balance, as its proper management can be divided into two types:

> there is a necessary chrematistics, subordinated to the economy, which takes care of sustenance and has a limit, and another one, unnatural and unlimited. This second chrematistics leads many people to pervert the other arts (e.g., the military art, medicine) by transforming them into means of making money. This chrematistics is justly censured and is not according to nature because it is at the expense of others. (Cendejas Bueno 2017: 12; see the specific textual reference in Aristotle 1932: *Pol.* I.9, 1252a)

[137] See Aristotle's *Politics* III.2-5 for his considerations on citizenship (1932).

Wealth is only a means to an end, as the "the ultimate goal of economic prudence encompasses the totality of living well in the manifestations of family life" (Cendejas Bueno 2017: 23). Finally, on the exact topic of trading or commerce, according to Aristotelian thought:

> natural trading has a very limited presence: it should not occupy a prominent place in the life of the *polis*, because it threatens its continuity, and neither does it constitute an ideal of personal life. The citizen is freed from the urge to live thanks to his oikos, so that he can devote himself to nobler activities such as politics and philosophy, that is, to a virtuous praxis and to the contemplation of being. (Cendejas Bueno 2017: 31)

Bearing in mind Aristotle's views, and Arévalo's reliance on his thought, it is not surprising that he warned Acuña about his family's economic aspirations, as well as advised against any potential harm that could be caused to Castile. Viewing merchants as superfluous—or more precisely as a necessary evil that should be limited and regulated—in society, it is probable that Arévalo's time in the Italian Peninsula and Acuña's ties to the wool industry and the monarchy reinforced this perspective (especially during diplomatic trips from 1442-1444 and 1448-1450). In regards to his distrust of foreign influence, Arévalo plausibly recognized that the presence of non-Castilian ecclesiastical figures often led to local discontent, particularly if they were sent by the pope to collect taxes (Linehan 1971). These concerns can also be traced to classical political works such as Plato's (428/27-348/47 BCE) *Leges,* as it puts limitations on immigrants and cautions against their staying too long (2014: Vol. II, Bk. IIX, 850bc). Despite Aristotle's being a major driving force behind Arévalo's views, it seems likely that the rise in commercial interests and influence in fifteenth-century Castile, the treatise's dedicatee, and the Italian example led Arévalo to be troubled by the prospect of a heavily commercialized society.

The city's location was not the only vital matter. When analyzing the foundation of any community, the founder must keep in mind the citizens' well-being to create stability. In addition,

> deve aún el buen político ser cumplidero para buena fundación y construcción de toda çibdad o villa que los vezinos y habitantes en ella ayan exercicio y continuo uso y costumbre en actos estudiosos y políticos y de virtud e ingenio. (I.4, f. 19v)

This emphasis on virtue for the stability and betterment of political life was pivotal among Renaissance humanists, to the point their thought has been defined as "virtue politics" (Hankins 2019). The city should not only worry about the more serious aspects of the citizen's life and virtue, but also provide an enjoyable community for relaxation: "depués de consideradas las cosas necessarias y útiles para su çibdad, aún deve ser atento en proveýr cerca de las delectables" (I.10, f. 27bv). Arévalo does not overlook the value and need for defense either, as no successful society can last without the ability to conduct war:

> tres cosas susodichas por cuya fin se faze la guerra; conviene saber, por procurar paz a la çibdad, otrosí por evitar injurias y ofensas, asimesmo por corregir los vicios y castigar los delictos. (I.11, f. 33v)

In *Suma*, Arévalo is more favorable to war than others—the Renaissance saw an increase in writings advocating peace—, but it is also a realistic position (underlining again his pragmatism) in the context of Castile's regular warfare with its Christian and Muslim neighbors, as well as the persistent in-fighting between the *ligas nobiliarias*, echoing the famous dictum attributed to Julius Caesar, but originally Vegetius' *Epithoma de re militaris*, "si vis pacem, para bellum" ("[l]a ville doit être construite pour la paix, donc pour la victoire dans la guerre", in Leroy 2013: 4). Nonetheless, he does argue that war should not be decided upon lightly, as it is always a dangerous, doubtful enterprise, presenting an inaccurate passage from Suetonius (*c*. 69-*c*. 122 CE) *Divius Julius* to make this point:

> Pero cessantes estas causas assí necessarias y mucho útiles, deve cessar toda guerra. Ca deve el buen político considerar siempre y tener en su ánimo aquel singular documento de Julio César, del qual dize Suetonio en el libro *De los doze césares*, que comúnmente refusava quanto podía las guerras, ca sabía las dudas que los dioses en

> ellas ponían, dando a las vezes victoria a los vencidos y seyendo otras vezes vencidos los vencedores, no acatando a la justicia o injusticia de la guerra. (I.11, f. 33v)[138]

This might serve as a warning to nobles such as Acuña, who frequently involved themselves in conflicts with their fellow Castilians. As commented, Acuña was engaged in warfare during the previous reign, including the battle of Olmedo. The example functions as a warning that battle is always a risk. Military might is necessary, but Arévalo emphasizes that the strongest army is useless if there is no internal peace and cooperation:

> El primer preparatorio y aparejo es que sean todos los cibdadanos mucho unos y no divisos. Ca, como dize Salustio, en vano se apareja la guerra con los estraños si dentro de los muros ay división; y, como dize Séneca, entonce es la república de la cibdad fuerte y terrible a los enemigos quando es mucho una. (I.12, f. 35r)

He gives a similar rationale in his tenth *discurso*, showing this to be a consistent concern (2013: 243). Arévalo understands that no kingdom or city can be successful without unity, peace, and virtue among its citizens. One of the most important groups to this internal peace, as it would also have been the most common cause of violence, is the *caballería*.

Arévalo's concept of knights does not discard status (i.e., nobility) directly, but he does put more stress on the need to uphold a military role (equivalent to the Roman *miles* or soldier). In some regards, this opens up knighthood based on war-time merit to non-nobles, like the *caballeros villanos*, but Arévalo limits knightly influence when it comes to counseling kings. That is, Arévalo argues that the status or role of a knight does not alone automatically ensure that he may give advice to the monarch, but he must also demonstrate that he is learned and virtuous according to the values professed by *letrados*: Arévalo is indirectly raising the prestige and status of people like himself, while implicitly suggesting that his *summa* can help men like Acuña obtain the knowledge and virtue that would permit them to serve as advisors. Furthermore, by teaching Acuña, it raises

[138] See Suetonius for comparative purposes (1998: 60). Arévalo repeats this idea in his *Vergel de príncipes* (1959b: 323).

Arévalo's own authority through his treatise, as the nobleman depends on him for his own knowledge. Arévalo takes time to discuss the role and characteristics necessary for a virtuous, useful knight:

> Los sabios antigos que fablaron de fecho[s] de guerra dixieron que tres cosas principales fazen y ordenan la guerra: primeramente, la orden; segunda, el capitán; tercera, los cavalleros. (I.13, f. 37v)

Arévalo underscores the importance of war and order for knights, a view shared by Valera (López Gómez 2020: 4). First, he stresses the need for the *capitán* to create order, discipline, and unity (I.13-14, ff. 37v *ff*.). Perhaps the most interesting aspect is how a knight is made: "dos cosas fazen los cavalleros, conviene saber, elección y sagramento" (I.16, f. 46r). *Sagramento* and *juramento* are topics much debated in influential texts, such as: John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus* (*c*. 1160), a work that was heavily influential in Castilian political literature (1909: Bk. VI; Huélamo San José 2005); Bruni's *De militia* (*c*. 1420), which was among one of the works sent by the author to Juan II of Castile in 1435-1436 (Bruni 1961; Jiménez San Cristóbal 2010: 203-9);[139] Cartagena's *Respuesta a la qüestión* in response to Santillana's doubts on *De militia* by Bruni (1988: 428, 432-433); and Valera's *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (1959: 106a). Arévalo discusses this in his *Compendiosa Hispanica*, as well (2017: I.iv, p. 309). The role and characteristics of knights was a vital debate topic.

[139] Many of Arévalo's views and references are pulled from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* (1991: IX.3.32), John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus* (1909: VI.5 §597a), and John of Wales' *Communiloquium* (1.9.2; see Huélamo San José 1997; 2012: 469; 2015). It has also been noted that *Communiloquium* was one of the Latin manuscripts in the archbishop Alfonso Carrillo's possession, making it probable that this is where he consulted the work while writing *Suma* (Huélamo San José 2005: 913). For the Castilian version, as well as pertinent information, see Huélamo San José's edition (John of Wales: 2016). In the next chapter (see below, p. 199), I discuss how Valera gives similar advice about choosing counselors in *Doctrinal de príncipes* (1475), as the monarch should choose people from each "nation", citing Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437) as an example. *El Victorial* also turns to *Siete Partidas* as a reference point on knightly duties and behavior (Beltrán 2014: 503). Bruni's work also demonstrates how the reform and improvement of knighthood was as much of a concern in Florentine Italy; furthermore, like Castile, Italian humanists tried to thread the needle to combine elements of classical culture with medieval knighthood to create a new model that would help improve the quality of knights and their responsibilities for the betterment of the *res publica* (Hankins 2011: 4-6, 12-14).

In *Suma*, one key aspect to this initial choosing of knights is picking them from across the realm:

> deve todo rey o buen capitán aver respecto a las tierras y provincias donde los cavalleros nacen y donde moran, porque naturalmente, según la calidad de las tierras, assí los omes han flaquezas o fortaleza, animosidad o temor. (I.16, f. 46r)

This point could tie into Arévalo's analysis on the climate's and geography's impact on the natural dispositions of knights. There is also another possible explanation: as Castile was a composite monarchy made up of several territories, having *caballeros* from different parts of the kingdom would have promoted a balanced participation of the several peoples across the peninsula. This is analogous to Alfonso X's ideas regarding the different laws compiled for *Siete Partidas*. The selection of knights should likewise consider their mental attributes (i.e., prudence), how accustomed they are to physical work, and that they are not overly preoccupied about their appearance (I.17, ff. 48r *ff.*). Interestingly, *Suma* addresses how the knightly sacrament is a *juramento* (I.18, ff. 50r *ff.*); the language of knighthood continues to take on religious connotations:

> Ca deve saber todo cavallero que primeramente recibe orden como una estrecha religión donde se faze professión; y assí en la orden de cavallería, el cavallero ha de fazer professión firmada con juramento y voto. (I.18, f. 50v)[140]

As noted in the previous chapter (see above, p. 112), the Christianization of knighthood had been a work in progress since the tenth century (Stefano 1962: 341). If religious devotion to God and the Church is fundamental, so is one's duty to the king:

> juran los cavalleros con toda fee y lealdad fazer todas las cosas que su rey o príncipe les mandaren y de los guardar y amparar, y de poner sus personas por su onor y estado, y de le fazer toda obediencia y reverencia. (I.18, f. 51r)

[140] *El Victorial* is more explicit in its religious comparisons when discussing *cavalleros*: "Traen el ábito e el nombre, mas non guardan la regla. No son cavalleros, mas son apantasmas e apóstatas. Non faze el ábito al monje, mas el monje el ábito. Muchos son llamados, e pocos los escogidos" (2014: Pro., Ch. 8, p. 58).

This underlines how knights must submit themselves to the monarch, giving him their loyalty and aid at all times. In the case that they do not explicitly give an oath, there is still an implied one:

> Y puesto que los cavalleros de agora no juren estas cosas expressamente, por esse mesmo fecho que reciben la cavallería, calladamente las juran; y no menos son perjuros si fazen lo contrario que si expressamente lo jurassen. Ca este juramento es anexo a la orden de la cavallería, aunque no se esprima, assí como los eclesiásticos por esse mesmo fecho que reciben la Orden Sacra, calladamente fazen juramento y voto de obediencia y castidad; puesto que realmente no lo juren, no menos pecan si lo quebrantan. (I.18, ff. 51r-51v)

By being incorporated into the order, the knight must abide by its code; and if *cavalleros* stray from any aspect of this oath, "pierden la orden y los privilegios y onores atorgados a la noble orden de cavallería" (I.18, f. 51v). The insistence hits at a vital political goal that was becoming increasingly valuable for linking *juramento* and *pacto* with religious obligation:

> El juramento se convertía así en consustancial dentro de cualquier intento de dar una solución acordada a un proceso negociador. Primero por sus implicaciones de obligatoriedad y mutuo compromiso, pero también porque trasciende lo político y lo secular para adquirir una dimensión que sitúa al pacto en el campo de la teología política. (Nieto Soria 2013: 34; see also p. 35)

I shall turn back to the knights later in this chapter, but Arévalo begins to make out their role: the defense of the kingdom and the Church, but subordinated to the monarch; these knights are more closely aligned to military purposes, while they are not guaranteed any political or advisory roles: this is a noteworthy distinction in comparison to Juan Manuel's perspective.

Considering the contemporary complaints against the knights and nobles—that they did not serve the *res publica*, nor defend the common good or the Church.—, these comments point to a direct problem within knighthood (Quintanilla Raso 1999: 85).[141]

[141] Carrasco Manchado points out that *bien común* becomes popular over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (2019: 44; see also Lawrance 2021, 2022). Bruni shows a similar concern for knighthood

Given the growing prominence of *new men* and the commercial interests that Acuña had, this could elucidate why Arévalo insists on the need to be virtuous and educated; money and the status of knight—for both Acuña and Pacheco—could not alone legitimize their right to advise the monarch, but ethical training and historical knowledge had to be included: their status and influence could be confirmed and solidified if complimented by humanist learning and establish them firmly within the new kind of nobility: that rooted in virtue and not (or not mainly) in blood. This in turn places Arévalo in a place of authority and influence, as he uses his treatise to demonstrate that he is the key to their ability to counsel the king. Arévalo wanted to guide knights to more learned culture, creating a "caballero dominado por las ideas surgidas de la primera generación, es decir, un caballero prudente y culto, como los Lelios y Catones" (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 142; see *Suma* I.Pro., I.12, I.13, II.8). In other words, Arévalo is recalling and surpassing the lettered knight of *Siete Partidas* (1555: II.x.3; see also Rodríguez Velasco 2010: 115). With both Acuña's influential position and ties to Pacheco in mind, Arévalo was sending a message to him about the value of obedience and dedication to the monarch, as well as the need to pursue learned, virtuous models in history (*Lelios y Catones*) in order to become an advisor to the monarchy; military prowess, economic and family influence, medieval custom based on *derechos forales,* and blood nobility alone were not enough to qualify someone as a counselor. As the rise in Renaissance humanism marked the increased use of historiography to offer ethical paradigms—based on virtue and deeds more than blood lines—, Arévalo is emphasizing how knightly education must be founded on the best models.

being given to virtuous men who base their conduct on the communal good and ancient practices (Hankins 2011).

The second book has a broader perspective commenting on governance and civic organization. The monarch takes on a primary role, establishing that there should only be one for effective rule, referencing Aristotle's *Politics* (II.1, ff. 56v-57r). Juan II's reign had shown that rivalries or unruly nobles could greatly undermine royal authority, as it was a notably turbulent time period, making it impossible for the king to uphold one of his main responsibilities: "conseguir paz, unidad e concordia" (II.1, f. 57r).[142] Juan II's minority until 1419 was a bit more stable, as his mother—Catherine of Lancaster (1373-1418)—and uncle—Fernando de Antequera (1380-1416)—served as regents, but it had complications common to minority reigns (Tate 1970: 68). These years were vital for the *infantes* of Aragon—Enrique (1400-1445) and Juan (1398-1479)—, who through their father Fernando de Antequera consolidated their wealth and power in Castile, including Enrique's becoming Master of the Order of Santiago and Juan's marrying Blanche (1385-1441), heiress to the king of Navarre (O'Callaghan 1975: 551; MacKay 1977: 136; Ruiz 2011: 88). Fernando de Antequera's choices guaranteed that his sons would have a great deal of power in Castile, resulting in his own culpability and responsibility for the conflicts that would engulf Juan II's majority reign (MacDonald 1948: 233). The power struggles culminated in a civil war in Castile (1437-1445) between the *infantes* and Álvaro de Luna, as the latter controlled the monarchy between 1420-1447 (Porras Arboledas 2009: 20). Luna was not a clear cut winner from the start:

> Many of the nobility supported the *infantes* John and Henry. Moreover the local bases of power of the Aragonese party lay mainly in peripheral areas of the kingdom, to which they could retreat when outmaneuvered at court or in battle. (MacKay 1977: 136)

[142] For a full account of his life and reign, see Porras Arboledas (2009). Considering Luna's great importance and power during this reign, see also Nicholas Round's classic work on him (1986). Nieto Soria also considers Luna in the context of his depiction as tyrant (2016).

Although the war had many ups-and-downs, Luna was triumphant in the battle of Olmedo, which, as noted, Acuña and his brother—the powerful archbishop Carrillo—participated in on Luna's side.[143] From this victory, the monarchy saw an increase in its power that lasted into the early years of Enrique IV's reign (Vicens Vives 2003: 95-137). All of these events and struggles over authority demonstrated that only one person could rule the kingdom; on the other hand, the influence of an overly powerful *privado* could create jealousy and excessive power for one individual, leading to conflict.

These events likely influenced Arévalo's view that a single, strong monarch was necessary for stability and unity (II.1, f. 57r). Arévalo continues with his argument: "la virtud unida es más fuerte que la divisa" (II.1, f. 57v); "Ca como en el cuerpo natural veemos diversos miembros, pero todos reciben movimiento e influencia del coraçón como príncipe, y por él son regidos" (II.1, ff. 57v-58r); the heavens are also guided by the "primer móvile" (II.1, f. 58r); the government should reflect that of God, directed by him alone (II.1, f. 58r); and experience demonstrates that "las çibdades y provincias regidas por muchos no han paz, antes han continuas discensiones y guerra" (II.1, f. 58r). Though *Liber de regno dividendo et quando primogeniture sit licita* (1467/1468) discusses cases in which more than one ruler could be preferable, Arévalo contends that there is not one solution for every case (Solórzano Telechea 2011: 52; see also Alonso Lora 2015: 69-70). Internal instability helped swing the power pendulum to another extreme, causing a shift in royal authority that could similarly be destructive. The increase in royal power, particularly after the Olmedo *Cortes*, ushered in a period where the

[143] For details on the struggles between Juan II, Álvaro de Luna, the *infantes*, Juan Pacheco, and the prince Enrique see: O'Callaghan (1975: 562-66). Arévalo likewise spends a great deal of time on the internal conflicts in his *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica* (2017: IV, pp. 861 *ff*.). For more on Luna's eventual fall and execution, see Round (1986).

concept of *poderío real absoluto* was more firmly established (MacKay 1977: 133). The *cortes* were not usually

> [...] an organ of the king's government controlled by the king himself. We see in them, rather, the way in which the king introduces a multitude of proposals within the legislative context that are followed by a multitude of decisions. (Rodríguez Velasco 2010: 55)

The gathering at Olmedo broke the standard mold, as Juan II directed the proceedings without limitations to his power (Pérez Prendes y Muñoz de Arracó 1974: 55). Olmedo was among the high points for royal power. The famous battle and *cortes* also presaged the issues that followed concerning Enrique IV and his first *privado* Juan Pacheco, as on the "12 de septiembre de 1445 [Pacheco] es condecorado adelantado mayor de Castilla y marqués de Villena" (Villa Prieto 2012: 158b). These appointments surely helped to cement Pacheco's place and, subsequently, the fears that history would repeat itself.

The proceedings at Olmedo depict a strengthened royal hand, as the *procuradores* presented a text "en nonbre de las dichas çibdades e villas de mis regnos" (*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla* 1866: Vol. III, p. 458). Despite the *procuradores* likely did not totally agree with handing so much power to the monarch, the recent conflicts encouraged them to compromise (Ruiz 2011: 93). The document relies on the king's authority based on divine and natural rationales (1866: Vol. III, pp. 458, 481, 483); it also cites the second *partida* and *Ordenamiento de Alcalá* to give it added authority (see pp. 480-482 for examples).[144] The text from Olmedo significantly goes beyond the second *Partida*, attempting to unhinge the monarch from any legal restraints (Nieto Soria 1998: 182). The extent of the monarch's power makes it a crime of *lesa maiestas* to speak

[144] Burns points out that these references to *Siete Partidas* were in response to the opposing faction's use of the same text; they argued that "it was the duty of subjects to protect the king even against himself, should he be inclined towards dishonourable or harmful conduct. Against this it was now argued that natural and divine law alike enjoined absolute submission to the king as God's anointed vicar" (1992: 77).

poorly of him, justifying the sanction by comparing this to crimes against God and the punishments to those meted out against Satan:

> E por que tolgamos razón a los maldizientes de mal dezir, que non quieren entender quánt grant pena dio nuestro señor Jhesú Christo a Lucifer e a los otros diablos por que solamente murmuraron contra su poder e contra sus fechos. (1866: Vol. III, pp. 486-487)

Regal power should be unquestioned as defined in clear terms: "poderío real absoluto" (1866: Vol. III, p. 492). In the document, the *procuradores* go on to ask the monarch to increase his authority without limit, until the king closes by accepting the terms:

> E visto e platicado con el mi Consejo de todo lo susodicho, yo el sobredicho rey Don Juan con consejo e acuerdo de los sobredichos, veyendo que la dicha petición e suplicación es santa e onesta e justa e conforme no sólo a las leyes çiviles e umanas, mas eso mesmo a las leyes divinas e apostólicas e canónicas, e asimesmo muy provechosa e conplidera e aun nesçesaria a serviçio de Dios e mío e a guarda de mi preeminençia e estado real e delos reyes mis desçendientes e subçesores, e a bien público e paz e sosiego e tranquilidat de mis regnos e señoríos, fue e es mi merçet e voluntat de mandar e ordenar e por la presente mando e ordeno e establesco por ley. (1866: Vol. III, p. 493)

As noted, *poderío real absoluto* was an important fifteenth-century concept (Nieto Soria 2002a: 238). Near the end of Juan II's reign, this unchecked power grab would be a key characteristic, building on the work of legal scholars over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (MacKay 1977: 140; Nieto Soria 1998: 165, 168).[145] This trend continued in the early years of Enrique IV's reign (MacKay 1977: 141; Nieto Soria 1998: 169, 183). Seeing royal power swing to unbridled levels is a likely explanation for Arévalo's proposal to limit the king's authority (see below, pp. 171-173), while endeavoring to generate unity and stability in the realm that should still be subordinated to the monarch. Given Acuña's support of Luna during Juan II's reign, and his family ties to Pacheco, who was already emerging as the royal *privado* early in Enrique's reign, reading *Suma* as a model and a warning to learn from the recent past's missteps in

[145] Luis Suárez Fernández also discusses the evolution of *poderío real absoluto* from the early Trastamaras up until Enrique III (1379-1406) (2003: 27-150).

governance could explain both the dedication and Arévalo's attempt to influence the monarchy. These goals show Arévalo in step with fifteenth-century ideology, as the concept of consensus becomes increasingly documented (Nieto Soria 2010a: 104-106).[146] The scarcity of evidence on the dissemination of *Suma* gives the impression that the treatise was ahead of its times, and perhaps it was not addressed to the most ideal person in order to garner more influence when the circumstances changed.

The concepts and debates regarding royal power in *Suma* have to be considered in the chronological context. Arévalo writes while the situation evolves before his eyes: he favors *poderío real absoluto* in part, but he also warns against the type of *privado* embodied by Luna, who combined royal power with his own ambitions to accumulate land and power for himself. Luna represented a conundrum for Arévalo that he hoped to solve with *Suma*. Consensus among the nobles was a manner to control any noble from gaining too much power and abusing it, in addition to the jealousies it might cause, while also restraining the king's *poderío absoluto*. One difference between Luna and Pacheco was that the latter benefited from his old blood lineage, while the former was part of the new nobility. In *Suma*, Arévalo tries to confront the nobility like Pacheco: he advocates *letrados* taking on the role as mediators in order to avoid the conflicts, power struggles, and excesses that caused political violence and disputes during Juan II's reign. In this way, learning and the special role of *letrados* would add to the influence and place that these individuals were to hold in society.

Arévalo carries on describing the traits the king should possess in order to maintain peace and consensus. As a member of the *Consejo Real* while writing *Suma*, it is likely that analogous observations were transmitted to the king and leadership through private

[146] On consensus during Juan II's and Enrique IV's reigns, see also: Villarroel González (2013); Jara-Fuente (2013).

conversations. *Suma* places a supreme emphasis on the need for individuals to be virtuous, and Arévalo, together with other contemporary courtier intellectuals, views this as particularly important for the monarch:

> todo rey o príncipe o monarca deve mucho ser ordenado y compuesto de virtudes; ca, como dize Tulio, no ay persona a quien convenga saber más y mejores cosas y obrar, según ellos, que al príncipe, que con todos conversa y cuyas obras a todos son enxemplos de bien e de mal. (II.2, f. 59r)

There are several types of virtue, but principally it is necessary "que tema a Dios y sea úmil y devoto de la Yglesia y onrrador d'ella" (II.2, f. 59r). This should not only be exhibited toward the institution, but also its ministers (II.2, f. 59v-60r). A second royal priority is the well-being of his subjects: "deve todo rey o príncipe travajar por tener sus vassallos y súbditos ricos y abundantes quanto cumple a la necessidad y utilidad de la vida umana y política" (II.3, ff. 61v-62r). Resources must be oriented toward the common good, as well (II.3, ff. 62r). There is also a striking warning about how the king should "guardar los bienes que son propios de su real corona, ca aquellos agenados y menguados ménguase la auctoridad de su preheminencia real" (II.3, ff. 62r). Bearing in mind how over Juan II's reign many donations were made to Álvaro de Luna, Arévalo is likely warning about how the abusive distribution of royal wealth and land (potentially to Pacheco?) could lead to undermining the monarchy's political authority and power; the loss of the royal land had antedated Luna, marking a gradual decrease in power and an increase in the nobility's ability to resist:

> An extraordinary increase in the number and extent of lordships held by prelates, magnates, and military Orders took place in the late medieval centuries. Despite continued opposition to the alienation of the royal domain and the formation of new lordships, and attempts to recover royal lands already given away, at the close of the fifteenth century about two-thirds of each of the realms was held in lordship. [...] the capacity of the nobility to resist royal authority therefore was considerably enhanced, and their appetite for additional concessions became insatiable. (O'Callaghan 1975: 592)

Enrique IV showed a comparable relationship with his own *privados*, as in the early years he was under Juan Pacheco's (1419-1474) persuasion, while the latter was a noted advocate of the king (Fernández Aparicio 2004: 353; Villa Prieto 2012: 159; Claussen 2020: 5). Pacheco influenced Enrique before he was king, turning him against his father on several occasions (Villa Prieto 2012: 158b); this gives added evidence to interpreting *Suma* as a failed warning to not repeat the errors of the previous reign. To make matters worse, Enrique's *privados* were less pragmatic and did not advance the monarchy's interest as much as Luna, but pushed for their own goals even more so (Ruiz 2011: 95).[147] With the benefit of hindsight, one does wonder whether Arévalo foresaw or feared that Pacheco would have been just like Luna if not worse, as it would be another reason for Arévalo's attempting to influence the court and Pacheco's relative at the beginning of Enrique's reign. This point is emphasized when Arévalo discusses how the monarch should treat his knights:

> mucho amar a sus cavalleros y a los nobles y personas virtuosas de su reyno, amándolos y faziendo continuas mercedes y beneficios tempradamente; conviene saber, de las rentas anuales de su reyno y no de la propiedad real, reglando y moderando los gualardones, no según su voluntad, mas según los méritos y virtudes de la persona o personas, de guisa que no offenda a la justicia distributiva, que es dar dineros y gracias según cada uno merece. (II.3, f. 63v)

Recalling the abusive and excessive nature of some of Juan II's *mercedes y beneficios*, and his affiliations with a *privado* who exacerbated them, Arévalo's argument that these should be awarded *tempradamente* is sound advice. The royal expenses for these *mercedes* were significant: "The budget of 1429 shows that, of the total regular income of the Crown, over 25 per cent was earmarked for *mercedes*" (MacKay 1977: 180). This would help limit the power and influence of those receiving gifts, and keep the monarchy

[147] See Corral Sánchez on Pacheco's portrayal in Castilian chronicles (2022). For a general study on Pacheco, see: Franco Silva (2011). At one point Luna and Pacheco were on good terms, as the former convinced Juan II to make the latter one of Enrique's *criados* (Crónica de Álvaro de Luna 1940: 67); thus, he helped Pacheco's rise in other ways (Caraller Cerviño 2009: especially pp. 88-89, 97-99; Castellano Huerta 1987).

in a stronger position to ward off challenges. The abuse of *mercedes* and the *gracia real* were often a misleading key: "el rey podía encontrar en la concesión de mercedes una forma de fortalecimiento de su propia posición" (Nieto Soria 1998: 196; see also p. 173). Later Enrique IV would turn to the same techniques (Carbó 2006: 61, 63). Moreover, to a further extent than Luna,

> la política de Pacheco, que monopolizaba la voluntad regia, entonces, lo demostraba, al provocar un flujo continuo de mercedes a favor de sus seguidores—nobles o concejo—que derruía el mismo edificio del poder monárquico. (Ladero Quesada 2019: 60)

Time would later prove that Pacheco exploited his influence, allocating *mercedes* to allies to the detriment of royal power. In the next chapter (see below, pp. 192-193), Valera gives comparable counsel, but the Catholic monarchs took steps to limit these abuses. It is noteworthy in this context, then, how valuable Arévalo views the control of land, as he states that gifts should be made from annual royal incomes but *no de la propiedad real*.

This view concerning royal property would have contributed to efforts to improve stability and increase the monarch's power militarily and economically. Having land, castles, and other strongholds gave a ruler access to vassals, seigneurial dues, and legal rights (MacKay 1977: 174-175). Handing over royal land would result in less power and give a potential rival a better chance to effectively oppose the monarch. A similar concern is in *Siete Partidas* and *Ordenamiento de Alcalá*. Arévalo underlines that these gifts should not be based on personal affinity or haphazardly, but the individual's merit and virtue; *privados* must not become overly powerful and influential either. In the case of Juan II's reign, Alfonso de Madrigal's *Breviloquio de amor e amiçiçia* (*c.* 1437-1441) demonstrates an analogous preoccupation regarding *privados* in his own work presented to the monarch at his request (Heusch 2008: 282-283). On the topic of the excessive protagonism played by royal *privados*, Heusch points out:

> En ce sens, notre auteur semble opposé au système de la *privanza* que la monarchie trastamare est en train de mettre en place et qui atteindra une forme d'apogée sous Henri IV de Castille. En revanche, le Tostado défend la nécessité pour le souverain de s'entourer non pas d'*un* ami mais d'un groupe d'amis que pourront l'assister et le conseiller dans ses tâches de gouvernement. […] On peut voir dans de telles affirmations une défense de la monarchie de "consejo", très exactement celle que les *letrados* de Jean II sont en train d'instaurer contre la monarchie de type féodal, appuyée sur la noblesse. (2008: 287)[148]

The giving of high positions to lowly, unmeritorious individuals would likewise be a complaint later in Enrique IV's reign, as Valera would be critical of Miguel Lucas de Iranzo (?-1473) for being made a baron and the Constable of Castile in a short time frame in his *Memorial de diversas hazañas* (1486/1487): "no poco fueron maravillados todos los que lo vieron, porque no parecía preceder merecimientos, ni linage, ni virtudes" (Valera 1941: 49). In addition to Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, criticisms are documented regarding Beltrán de la Cueva (1435-1492), as both came from *procedencia dudosa* (Carceller Cerviño 2000: 100-101). But this obsession over lower origins is a distraction from the crucial point: it is a criticism linked to the high nobility, not to *letrados*. In Arévalo's view, all honors must be coupled with these factors to uphold a sense of justice and virtue, spurring rival candidates to compete.

In addition, Arévalo delineates a special role for the *letrados*. This use of *letrados* within the royal court had been a growing trend since Alfonso X's reign, but as noted Juan II's court entailed a pivotal moment because of his promotion of culture and his use of *letrados*; these university-trained scholars were reliable partners in the monarchy's objectives, primarily coming from the urban oligarchies who were faithful promoters of royal law (MacKay 1977: 140; Nieto Soria 1998: 225). This would permit the monarchy "to assume the central cultural and political role it was to play in the early-modern

[148] Though the fifteenth century witnessed the worst of the *privanza* system in the Middle Ages, it was not new, dating back to Sancho IV of Castile's own *privado*: the abbot Gómez García de Toledo (?-1286) (Foronda 2003: 97).

absolutist state, replacing the diffuse late-medieval *Ständestaat*" (Lawrance 2016: 179). Although a stable and effective political structure was Álvaro de Luna's and Juan II's intention with these efforts, their success was mostly limited to culture (Lawrance 2016: 181). Moreover, considering the difficulties that the Trastamaras had from the beginning in gaining legitimacy and support after Pedro I's execution (1369), Juan II's efforts could be viewed as another propaganda tool alongside elaborate ceremonies to legitimize the monarchy and create stability that had been common during this royal dynasty (Nieto Soria 1993). Arévalo was aware of these trends, as one of his few praises for Juan II's reign in *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica* was his promotion of *letrados* (2017: IV.xxxiv; see also Fernández Gallardo 2001-2002: 332). *Suma* fits within this cultural background, making it more likely to earn the influence and attention of those who wished to get a taste of humanist learning.

As a result of their growing significance, Arévalo gives advice on how the king should reward and love *letrados*, whom he ought to "mucho onrrar y favorecer y acatar a los sabios y ponerlos en su casa y consejos, y fazerlos assí muy familiares y domésticos, y gualardonarlos y fazerles mercedes e bienes" (II.3, f. 65r). This suggestion would have been favorable to Arévalo himself, but it also purloined to *letrados* roles traditionally attached to the nobles as royal counselors. This is to be complimented by the not very subtle advocation of schools and teachers (II.3, f. 65v). This advice likely served as an encouragement to Enrique IV and his courtly noblemen to follow in Juan II's footsteps. These events, both inside and outside the royal court, helped to promote an interest in classical and humanist works, creating a new atmosphere that pointed toward the early foundations of the Spanish Golden Age through vernacular humanism (Di Camilo 1988:

82; Lawrance 2016).[149] Arévalo's efforts and literary techniques must be analyzed in this setting.

If Arévalo gives a good rationale as to why a king should promote *letrados* and learning, then he also warns that ignoring or casting them aside is characteristic of a tyrant:

> E finalmente, el desseo del tirano es apartar los letrados y sabios del pueblo, según dize el filósofo Aristótiles que quiso fazer un tirano en Athenas; el qual, faziendo guerra a aquella çibdad y teniéndola cercada en gran angustia, embióles dezir que los dexaría bivos y levantaría el cerco si le diessen dos sabios que la çibdad tenía. Y el pueblo común clamava que ge los diessen, pero los más cuerdos y más viejos deliberaron de aver consejo con un sacerdote muy antigo y sabio, el qual les dixo la fabla del lobo. La qual es qu'el lobo quería fazer paz con las ovejas, por tal que le diessen atados en cadena a todos los perros, deziendo que las enojavan dando continuas bozes, lo qual fazía entendiendo que si avía a los perros, ligeramente podría invadir las ovejas. Y d'esta guisa, el sabio sacerdote dixo: "Vos contecerá con el tirano. Demándavos los sabios, sabiendo que por vigor de su gran sciencia y sotileza y mucha prudencia agora que le avéys resistido y resistiréys; y si los ha a su mano, ligeramente vos destruyrá." (I.3, ff. 65v-66r)

The example is suggestive. The wolf (noble/warrior) is a predator by nature and cannot be trusted for maintaining peace and the common good. If the sheep (citizens and city as a whole) are left alone without the protection and counsel that the dogs (*letrados*) can offer the king, then great harm will be inflicted on the community. In other words, *letrados* and *sabios* are the only assurance to peace and stability, while the nobles cannot be trusted with power alone. What can be inferred from the advice on *letrados* is that a ruler who does not heed their counsel, respecting and supporting them, is a tyrant who will not be able to govern effectively, and the *exemplum* that follows buttresses their value for the city's preservation and peace. The daily tasks of governing necessitated wise advisors, as well:

> Pues para que la tal çibdad o reyno sea bien regido y governado, es necessario que tengan sabios y discretos consejeros: ábiles y expertos y prudentes, mirando más a la

[149] The vernacular was vital to the developments and progress made by the Italian humanists, as well (Witt 2003; Kristeller 1946: 54, 57-59; Hankins 2006: 135, 140).

> prudencia política que no a la militar o béllica o a la mecánica. Ca puede ser alguno bien prudente en fechos de armas y de guerras y en otros officios, y no será prudente político para regir y governar la república. (II.4, ff. 67r-67v)
>
> [...] deven ser escogidos los consegeros de todo rey o príncipe, y de toda çibdad o república, que sean personas de gran prudencia y esperiencia. Onde los romanos llamávanlos cónsules, por la prudencia del consejo más que por la potencia de armas. Ca, como dize Tulio en el libro *De officios*, demasiadas son las armas de fuera si dentro no ay prudente consejo. Onde más aprovecharon a los de Athenas los consejos de Solón y sus leyes y establecimiento que no las [vic]torias [de] Temísto[cl]es. E Séneca dize, en el libro *De la tranquilidad del ánimo*, que no solamente aprovecha a la çibdad aquel que vence a los enemigos y corrige los maleficios, pero aún más el que con buenos consejos trahe y causa la virtud en los çibdadanos y [e]st[ir]pa los pecados e vicios." (II.4, ff. 67v)

The reference shows the value of learned men and emphasizes how only *letrados* would be able to teach and advise rulers based on the lessons from classical antiquity, though here Arévalo manipulates Cicero's words to make his own point (1913: *De. Off.* I.22.74-75, pp. 74-77).[150] In contrast to the predominant value of wisdom in the thirteenth-century *specula principum*, the insistence on prudence, experience, and discretion hints to a new conception of political ethics based on action (*vita activa*), which explains Arévalo's use of Cicero and underlines the influence of humanism's goals of instilling leaders with a sense of civic duty and being active in politics; that is, knowledge and wisdom should be directly applied to promoting common goals. Arévalo indirectly states that *letrados* are more ideal advisors than military knights: *mirando más a la prudencia política que no a la militar o béllica o a la mecánica*. Although this does not rule out knights from any political influence, it does accentuate that political prudence and wisdom should count more than military skills: "Les membres du corps humain servent donc cette âme qu'est le Prince. Il n'y a pas de bon Prince sans bons conseillers, […] soit savants et experts en Droit" (Leroy 1995: 140). While on the one hand this gives *letrados* an advantage, it also insinuates to Acuña that there is more to being a valued advisor than money and force: wisdom and political insight would help to create stability and peace. The classical

[150] Cartagena includes this example in his translation, as well (1996: Bk. 1, Ch. XVIII).

examples that follow underscore that even if, as Arévalo himself pointed out, the defense of the kingdom is necessary, virtuous and wise advice from learned individuals has more value for the community. This different world vision and role between the *letrado* and *caballero* does not necessarily mean that the *letrados* were "anti-knight" or worked against them (Morera 2007); it does suggest that *letrados* used their education and texts to often turn knights to more learned culture, to inculcate the importance of wisdom and virtue, and to nudge *caballeros* to see their roles as more than just the use of *armas*, indirectly increasing the *letrados*' power and significance.[151] Whether Arévalo's views influenced Enrique IV is hard to discern, but his reign showed that the incorporation of *letrados*, and their thought, into the political fold would continue (Phillips 1978: 49-50). As a minimum, Arévalo correctly appraised the continuation of his influence within the court. In the chapter that follows, similar advocacy for learned advisors persists.

Political prudence is not the sole factor in determining one's ability to advise kings. "Virtue politics" again is useful. Arévalo insists that advisors also have certain qualities, choosing them so that they are "onestos y de buenas costunbres y provados en fechos de justicia y de virtud" (II.5, f. 69v). They must counsel the ruler based on sound advice, ignoring the monarch's desires and will, while leading a good, honest life at a mature age (II.5, ff. 69v-70r). Arévalo writes:

> en este exhamen y deliberación siempre lo onesto devemos anteponer a lo provechoso, ca no puede ser útil si no es onesto. Y de aquí verná la consideración que devemos proponer el pro común a lo propio y singular, y lo que es a onor de Dios a lo que es provechoso temporal. (II.6, ff. 72r-72v)

Arévalo highlights that honesty and integrity are fundamental to choosing suitable *letrados* and nobles as royal advisors, accentuating his reliance on the Ciceronian concepts of *honestum* and *bonum*. This message equally suggests to Acuña that advising

[151] For more on the debate over *armas* and *letras*, see: Russell (1978: 209-239); Morrás (1993).

the king (and Pacheco) based on what is best for the kingdom rather than what was advantageous to his own interests is essential to being a truly worthy and morally upstanding advisor.

The *letrados* ought to fill another crucial role: as judges. As stated, Arévalo worked as a judge, adding to the value of his perspectives. These officials were indispensable to the promotion of royal law and interests. Alongside *corregidores* and *regidores*, they helped to centralize power and minimize the nobility's and urban patriciate's independence, giving the monarchy added authority and effective power over the *concejos* and the most influential positions in city politics (González Sánchez 2012: 124; Villa Prieto 2015: 358-359, 361). Arévalo reserves these positions for those with legal training, stating that they should not be granted to unqualified individuals as sinecures:

> Guarde otrosí el buen político no distribuya los juzgados † como sabios y buenos †, ca más son cargos que gracias. Pues dévense dar los juzgados no por remuneración y pago de servicios, mas por suficiencia y méritos de la persona aunque aya servido. (II.7, f. 77v)[152]

As an extension of royal power, the monarch must carefully choose loyal and learned judges. Moreover, if the king wishes to exert his power and create stability, then these judges must be honest and willing to work in his best interest, promoting justice and the common good.

Arévalo includes general advice to ensure that the kingdom works in unity and harmony (II.9, f. 81r). Consensus was a growing political concern during the fifteenth century, which was a concept that advocated compromise and a middle ground between interested parties. This emphasis on consensus or limiting the development of inter-kingdom rivalries was likewise an issue in the Italian Peninsula; Leonardo Bruni's

[152] Something is missing in the manuscript regarding the phrase "como sabios y buenos", as pointed out by Penna (Sánchez de Arévalo 1959a: 293).

History of the Florentine People (1442), for example, "identifies factionalism as the main obstacle to Florence's success" (Hankins 2019: 274). The rivalries among nobles were challenges for Castile, as well. Other analogous words are used: *consentimiento*, *concertar*, and *concordar* (Nieto Soria 2010a: 105). If one adds comparable terms, then *Suma* evidently proves the scholar's point and Arévalo's interest: *concordadamente* × 2; *concordados* × 1; *concordar* × 1; *concorde* × 2; *concordia* × 19; *consejo/s* or *consejeros* × 61; *unido/s* × 4; *unión* × 1; *sossiego* × 6; and *paz* × 36.[153] Consensus and pacts often appeared in legal and political texts, as well, in order to promote better communication and clearer agreements to avoid conflict. This shows how prevalent these worries were at the time, reflected in varying types of contemporary documents dedicated to forging stronger alliances and ties (Nieto Soria 2013: 23-29). With these words and texts in mind, as well as some of the discussion concerning the recent political climate, this preoccupation over consensus building fits well into contemporary efforts.

Arévalo gives some ideas of how to promote *concordia*.[154] One of the most vital aspects is making sure that the people's customs are similar, safeguarding that they are not influenced by foreign traditions (II.9, ff. 81r-81v). The monarch is to be on the lookout for the smallest of divisions, as minor ones can quickly turn into significant problems (II.9, f. 81v). Another important characteristic is that the monarch must always establish and promote laws that work toward the *bien común* and are fair to the rich and poor alike

[153] The insistence on these terms have been duly noted by historians: López Gómez points out that *paz* was frequently referenced to in the *cuadernos de las cortes de Castilla* (× 444) (2021: 135-136); Monsalvo Antón (2017: 331). Ansejo González analyzes *concordia* and *bien común* in the context of city political life (2013). Quintanilla Raso presents additional ideas concerning *consenso*, *pacto*, and *amistad* (2013: 70-79). *Discordia* is also discussed as contributing to internal conflict, limiting the ability to unite behind common goals, such as in *El Victorial* (2014: Pt. 2, Ch. 71). For a general overview of consensus, pacts, and other related concepts in the Iberian Peninsula, see: Nieto Soria (2021); Nieto Soria and Villarroel González (2013; 2018).

[154] See López Gómez for more on the language used to foment peace, *concordia*, and other like concepts in *cuadernos de las cortes* (2021).

(II.9, ff. 81v-82r). To keep the powerful happy and retain their love, Arévalo argues that the king

> deve instituyr a las leyes fechas que disponen que las heredades y faziendas de los omes vengan por succesión a sus fijos y herederos según sus voluntades. Ca según dicho es, las tales leyes mucho causan amor al rey. (II.10, f. 85v)

This advice is comparable to the one about *mercedes*. If on the one hand *mercedes* cannot be rewarded excessively, on the other the monarch should not strip families of their status and roles between generations; that is, precedent and tradition must be followed in order to help create a sense of continuation and stability between generations. This advice would be respected by the Catholic Monarchs, even if the Cortes de Toledo (1480) pushed the limits (see below, pp. 193, 224). Arévalo also argues that the status quo should generally be respected when it comes to laws:

> Lo VIº: deve el rey o todo buen político ser muy solíçito en guardar las leyes antigas, y no deve ser prompto para las ynorar por leyes nuevas, salvo quando mucho conviene o si las primeras leyes son dañosas. (II.10, f. 86r)

Referencing Aristotle, Arévalo asserts that a constant change of laws causes uncertainty and instability, a lack of respect for laws and custom, and can result in people disobeying their leaders (II.10, f. 86v).[155] If the law is to be revered, the king must uphold the legal system above all else:

> Por tanto, deve todo príncipe o buen político mostrar su justicia en exercirla, señaladamente en quatro cosas: primeramente, guardando la ley de Dios y faziendo que su pueblo la guarde; lo IIº, estableciendo leyes justas [...]; lo IIIº, juzgando según sus leyes y no las quebrantando [....]; lo IIIIº, deve mostrar la justicia, oyendo los pobres, biudas e miserables personas, y examinando sus causas y vengando sus injurias [....]; lo Vº, consiste la justicia del príncipe no tomando ni mandando tomar sin orden judicial los bienes y faziendas de persona alguna, y castigando los robadores y ladrones y ocupadores de lo ageno. (II.11, ff. 88v-89r)

[155] Arévalo takes the citation from William of Moerbeke's (*c*. 1215-*c*. 1286) translation of Aristotle's *Politics* (1872: Bk. II.5, 1269a12-18). For more on the Latin translations of this work, see Valverde Abril (2006).

More important than the king's upholding of laws and justice is knowing his own limitations. Arévalo is the first author to use the term *limitado* as applied to the monarch's power in Castilian history (Carbó 2006: 57; see *Suma* II.11). This highlights that Arévalo's goal is to moderate all parties according to a middle ground where, though the monarch sits at the top with ample power and should expect obedience, he cannot operate as an absolutist king. Despite these messages applying to the king's authority and role, Acuña's influence on the court and Pacheco would have also been an indirect way of conveying these ideas on limiting excesses in the exercise of power and reaching consensus.

Arévalo lists four limitations that demonstrate that his pro-monarchy views do not carry him to advocate a system based on *poderío real absoluto*, but rather one aligned with the Alfonsine tradition:

> primeramente, no deve juzgar al que no es de su jurisdición. E por tanto, los sacerdotes y ministros de la ley. (II.11, f. 89v)
>
> [...] lo IIº, no puede ni deve el príncipe juzgar sin acusador. (II.11, f. 89v)
>
> [...] lo IIIº, el príncipe no deve juzgar según su alvedrío, mas deve conformar su voluntad con el derecho scripto, salvo quando con grande y evidente causa usare de la equidad e virtud epiqueya, que es propiamente dispensación y moderación de la justicia o del justo legal. (II.11, f. 89v)
>
> [...] lo IIIIº, no deve el príncipe relaxar la pena, a la qual algún malfechor es condenado a pidimiento del acusador. (II.11, ff. 89v-90r)

The limitations Arévalo sets on the monarch demonstrate that he does not blindly defend royal power; he recognizes that moderation and respect for the law are necessary. Effectively, all four limitations have to do with obeying the parameters of his legal authority, not overstepping his power based on jurisdiction, nor the common practice of law or tradition. Although point three does leave open the possibility for the king to act contrary to written law, it is noteworthy that this should only be done in exceptional cases. Burns points out that these limits "may be described as procedural rather than

constitutional" (1992: 85). This is a valid point, but it is striking that a *letrado* would attempt to nudge a monarch in the right direction for his own and the kingdom's well-being. In other words, early in Enrique IV's reign, Arévalo hopes to influence the court and its political elite to reverse the recent overstepping that would inevitably cause more conflict. As early signs pointed to an echo of another problematic *privado* and Acuña's ties to Pacheco, these messages about limiting the most excessive elements of *poderío real absoluto* serve as both a warning and a model for a more restrained version of royal power in the hands of a king and/or *privado* to avoid creating divisons.

Arévalo similarly gives advice on how to prevent conflicts in the first place, listing the primary causes:

> siete cosas fazen sediciones y bullicios comúnmente y levantamiento en las çibdades y reynos; conviene saber, onrra, ganancia, injuria, temor, menosprecio, excesso en gran excellencia, excesso en riquezas. (II.12, ff. 91r-91v)

One of the major themes underlined in this *consideración* is when rewards and political appointments are not handed out in a fair way, but arbitrarily, it allows a coterie to accumulate them to the detriment of society (II.12, f. 92r). This sense of justice is not merely based on appointments, but considers avoiding lifetime positions that create envy and excessively empower certain individuals:

> La quarta razón principal porque los dichos officiales no deven ser perpetuos es por quanto dize Tulio: "El onor cría mucho las artes," e incita a la virtud. Ca comúnmente muchos omes siguen la virtud por causa de la gloria y onrra. Pues, quando las onores y dignidades son participadas y comunicadas a diversas personas [y] los omes saben que las pueden alcançar, esfuérçanse a obrar y fazen actos estudiosos y de virtud; lo qual cessan quando veen [que] las tales dignidades e officios se perpetúan en algunas ciertas personas, ante pierden los coraçones y dánse a vicios y torpezas. (II.12, f. 92v)

These steps taken, it would encourage office holders to continually work and earn their positions, while also serving as a stimulus to others aspiring to them. This could also be an indirect critique of Juan II and a warning to Enrique IV: if *privados* and others accumulate positions and wealth in perpetuity, not only is it potentially dangerous, but it

also promotes resentment and a lack of motivation for others. Nieto Soria has observed how *privanzas* accentuated *real poderío absoluto*, as royal *privados*

> se presentaron como adalides de la defensa del poder regio [..., y] la decisiva aportación de don Álvaro de Luna a la consolidación, primero, y ampliación, después, del "poderío real absoluto" de Juan II, lo que habría de tener, por cierto, consecuencias bien nefastas, con el tiempo, para el propio privado. (1998: 208)

The placement of limitations on lifetime positions would restrain another aspect of unchecked royal power, which was as much of a message to Acuña as to Enrique IV.

After discussing the monarch's duties to his kingdom and subjects, Arévalo turns to what is expected from citizens toward their king. Arévalo first repeats that for natural and divine reasons subjects must be loyal and obedient to their monarch (II.13). If this is required of all citizens, the highest-ranking members of society should particularly honor this:

> Onde assí propiamente y mejor y lealmente deven obedecer al rey los fijosdalgo y nobles y cavalleros, y siguir su movimiento y voluntad que no los onbres populares y baxos porque los cavalleros y fijosdalgo son más puros y de mejor linage, y aún porque están más cercanos del superior, el qual influye en ellos más influencias y mercedes y gracias, y por tanto le deven mejor y más lealmente obedecer. (II.14, ff. 96v-97r)

Similar critiques and warnings were forwarded in Diego Enríquez del Castillo's (*c*. 1431-*c*. 1503) *Crónica de Enrique IV* (first redaction *c*. 1481; second 1485-1502), where the author attributes idleness and a lack of concern for the *bien común* and *fama*, as major causes of Rome's fall (1953: Vol. I, Ch. 8). As a result of their status and privileges, the elite should be especially obedient and respectful to the monarch, signifying that their disobedience required harsh punishments (II.15, ff. 98v *ff*.). Arévalo follows these views by a reference to how the Romans were able to create peace and stability only by having their elite buy into these concepts, citing Vegetius' (flourished fourth century CE) *De re militari*, but actually pulling the information from *Policraticus* (*Suma* II.15, ff. 99r-99v;

Salisbury 1909: VI.2 §593a);[156] he then concludes by stating: "a todas estas naciones y a todas estas ventajas y excellencias solamente venció la esmerada lealdad, fee y obediencia de nuestros cavalleros a nuestros reyes y príncipes" (II.15, f. 99v). In every sense, citizens

> deven arredrar los daños de la persona real, aunque sea con daño y peligro de los tales súbditos, aunque ayan de padecer. Ca sin ser requeridos y sin armas y sin más consejo ni deliberación, deven ponerse por la salud de la persona real y por su onor y salvación de su estado. (II.16, f. 103v)

If the monarch has to work within the limitations of his power and toward the common good, then subjects also have to be obedient and loyal, playing their own roles in promoting unity and consensus. Arévalo reinforces these ideas by referencing Julius Caesar:

> cuenta Suetonio, en el libro *De los doze césares*, que Julio César, seyendo cónsul, fue embiado por el senado a conquerir a los parcos, para la qual ovo espacio de cinco años, y el dicho Julio César, con gran gloria y onrra de los romanos, conquirió y ganó aquella tierra. Pero por quanto se detubo algunos días allende de los cinco años qu'el Senado le avía assignado, fue privado de consulado y assí fue puñido por pequeña y lieve inobediencia. (II.15, f. 100r)[157]

This example demonstrates to nobles that disobedience to leadership, in this case the Roman Senate, always warrants punishment, regardless of the status and accomplishments of the offender. No level of military might and prestige excuses a lack of compliance and respect for one's leaders and laws, serving as a direct warning to Acuña and indirect one to Pacheco.

[156] Vegetius' Latin original is found in *Mil*. I.1; I have provided an edition in Latin and an English translation (1885, 1996).

[157] The original source, Suetonius' *Life of Julius Caesar*, is not where Arévalo obtained the information. The direct source appears to be Paulus Orosius' *History against the Pagans*, owned and much read by Santillana, as the "manecillas" reveal (BNE, Mss/10200: ff. 115r-122v). For more information on its textual transmission in Spain, turn to Romero Cambrón's and García Pinilla's introduction (2008: XXXIII). This text is also included in *General estoria* and *Primera crónica general*, contributing to its dissemination among fifteenth-century writers (Jiménez Vicente 1993; Fernández-Ordóñez 1994). Santillana relied on *General estoria*, as well (De Nigris 1975). See some remarks on its use by Santillana (Lawrance and Morrás 2022).

Suma exemplifies that the fifteenth century saw the continued interplay between literature and politics. *Letrados* were beginning to hold substantial roles in the promotion of ideology and propaganda through their special skills that would enable them to argue based on history, literature, and legal precedent. As the century saw an increase in the prestige of literature and learned culture, *letrados* gained additional power across Spain; this permitted them to have an outsized influence in the trajectory of literary and political ideology. Different writers would advocate distinct variations on the roles, rights, and privileges that each of the *estados* would have, yet the use of literature and history within the general constructs of the Alfonsine conception were there to stay. Arévalo was a proponent of the monarchy, but even a king had to respect laws and traditions. Encouraging all parties to strive for virtue and the common good, *Suma* could be considered Castile's first political science treatise, motioning his readers to Aristotle's golden mean. In some ways *Suma* is based on precedent, but it is related to humanist political literature, adjusted to the Castilian experience; it functioned as "a reform project that was in a certain sense *supra partes*, directed at the political elite in general, whatever regime they served" (Hankins 2019: XXI). If Arévalo shows himself to be in an indirect dialogue with the king, Diego de Valera will infiltrate the core of the monarchy. In letters, chronicles, and treatises to the Catholic Monarchs, Valera reveals the impact the *letrados*, literature, and learned culture were having on the political and ideological developments.

Chapter 4. Diego de Valera's *Doctrinal de príncipes* (1475/1476): Classical Allusion and Legitimizing a King

After Enrique IV's reign (1454-1474), the kingdom of Castile moved toward a transitional monarchy that eventually (re)shaped the peninsula and world. The Catholic Monarchs (reigned 1479-1504) helped lay the groundwork for the political and organizational structure of their adjoining territories on the path toward absolutism and

the configuration of the early modern state, even if "*Spain* still existed only in embryo" (Elliott 1963: 115). From a literary, historiographical, and ideological perspective, the monarchs left an indelible imprint on the global stage. One of the most charismatic and interesting writers and royal advisors during their reign was Diego de Valera (1411/1412-1488), serving as a type of political scientist for the monarchs (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 196). Valera's lifespan would cover the reigns of Juan II (1419-1454), Enrique IV, and part of Catholic Monarchs, but his literary efforts over the course of the last reign may have been the most impactful.

Valera wrote many works, but I shall focus on *Doctrinal de príncipes* (1475/1476) for a number of reasons.[158] First, *Doctrinal* was dedicated to Fernando (1452-1516) early in his joint reign in Castile with Isabel (1451-1504), giving it an influential place in guiding the king on every matter from the role of the monarch to ethics, with a heavy dose of *exempla* from classical and Castilian literature and history. Second, Valera carves out an important place for learned culture within the royal court, building on the cultural precedents set by Juan II; Valera presents a learned style with blends of humanism, while demonstrating how he could be a *name-dropper* to promote himself (Rodríguez Velasco 2014: 88-89). Third, one notes a striking emphasis on the importance of virtue throughout the treatise, continuing the trends of "virtue politics" (Hankins 2019; see above, p. 150). Fourth, there is a promotion of justice and Christianity to create more order, infused by humanist style references. Fifth, *Doctrinal* exemplifies how the Alfonsine model of governance continued to be relied upon, as Valera outlines the limitations of royal power, while emphasizing the need to rely on learned culture and wise advisors to rule effectively and ethically. And sixth, *Doctrinal* is a worthwhile choice among his corpus since there

[158] I use Penna's edition, but shall make adjustments that I outline below, citing by chapter and page (Sánchez de Arévalo 1959a, in Penna pp. 173-202); from here forward, I shall refer to *Doctrinal de príncipes* as *Doctrinal*.

is no solid critical edition and it comes early in his writings produced during the Catholic Monarchs' reign, permitting new insights from a literary and historical perspective. What *Doctrinal*'s dedication to Fernando and its early date in his reign demonstrate is that Valera was trying to set the agenda on how to govern; it also illustrates that Valera was short-sighted, as he failed to dedicate the work to Isabel, a major error in hindsight.[159] The dedication, at any rate, underlines how literature, politics, and ideology were knotted together to promote a royal program. Valera also represents how blood nobility was becoming less vital to obtaining prominent advisory roles, as literary and cultural knowledge were key, granting lower-ranking men a chance to hold influential positions.[160] In a blend of rhetorical techniques, classical allusion, and Castilian historical and literary precedent, Valera composes a persuasive treatise to influence the monarchy, building on vernacular humanism's impact on literature and ideology. Valera's arguments demonstrate that historical and literary accuracy were not his end game: they are tools to garner influence and foment ideas that would benefit Fernando's attempts to consolidate power within Castile, procuring to legitimize his right and place as a *rey propietario*. Literature was Valera's instrument to participate in politics and persuade the monarch, as well as attain prominence for himself.

Valera, a native of Cuenca, registers on the cultural and historical record in the early part of the fifteenth century at Juan II's court as a young man (1427-1435), affiliated with prince Enrique as a royal page (1429) (Gómez Redondo 1998-2007: Vol. IV, p. 3592). The court's humanist trends left a mark on Valera. His family's connections were also

[159] Valera was alienated at the Castilian royal court, being an advocate of the Aragonese faction, as his Catalan title of *mosén* gives away. He dedicated *Tratado en defensa de las virtuosas mujeres* (before 1445) to Queen María de Aragón (1403-1445), who was at the forefront of the opposition to Álvaro de Luna (see Valera 1983 for an edition). The treatise implies that Valera did not have any strong animosity toward females when comparing him to his contemporaries: see Suz Ruiz (1983: 25-27). Therefore, it seems unlikely that his not dedicating *Doctrinal* to Isabel had anything to do with a sexist position.

[160] This was becoming apparent in the *Consejo Real*, where high-ranking nobles began to lose *de facto* power and influence (Ladero Quesada 2014: 272).

impactful: his father was the king's personal physician, Alonso Chirino (1365-1429). Though not as literarily talented as his son, Chirino wrote his own works, causing some controversy (Penna 1959: C-CI; see also Carriazo 1927: XIX-XX). Juan II's court taught Valera more than how to cite an *exemplum*: he learned the value of self-promotion and cultural prestige, which could make a place for lower-ranking members of the nobility; this mirrors the context, as literacy became useful for climbing the social ranks (Lawrance 2016: 179-181).[161] Many Italian humanists analogously came from humble backgrounds, such as Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444) and Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459). As the son of a *converso*, learned culture was a gateway to gain recognition based on virtue, skill, and wealth; *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (*c*. 1441) is a testament to this effort, written primarily to demonstrate his worthiness for nobility and status (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 203; Peters 2020).[162] If Valera's intellectual roots were based in the court, his travels across the continent as an itinerant knight helped project his self-image.[163]

From 1437 Valera was regularly on diplomatic missions on the king's behalf, jousting, or at battle throughout France, Bohemia, Denmark, and England, as well as finding time to attend a session of the Council of Basel (17 January 1438).[164] Toward the end of Juan II's reign, Valera dedicated treatises to him: *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* and *Exhortación de la paz* (1447/1448). During Enrique IV's rule, Valera's prominence was

[161] Accorsi discusses Valera's attempt to *hacer alarde de su cultura* at a young age, offering some insightful details on Valera's manuscripts, as well (2009; 2010: esp. p. 15).
[162] *Cf.* Accorsi (2011: 134-135). Valera defended his nobility in a poem, as well (Tomassetti 2019: 1063).
[163] Rosell gives information concerning his defense of Juan II's right to bear his arms after Castile's flag was lost in battle at Aljubarrota (1385) (1875-1878: Vol. II, pp. 533-534); Moya García also analyzes how Valera spread his own legend of defending Juan II by interpolating himself into *Crónica de Juan II* (2006: 153-155). Itinerant knights were common; one in particular had a similar profile to Valera: Hugo de Urriés (*c*. 1400-?), serving in many of the same courts, translating Valerius Maximus for the Catholic Monarchs (Conde Solares 2012: 278-279; see also Riquer 2008). The translation is digitalized (BNE, Inc/254): <bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000176292>. *El Victorial*'s Pero Niño is another example of an itinerant knight, though often at sea (Díaz de Games 2014).
[164] This biographical outline is based on: Salvador Miguel and Moya García ("Diego de Valera"); Simón Díaz (1945); Sancho de Sopranis (1947); Penna (1959: XCIC-CXXXVI); Rodríguez Velasco (1996: 195-246); Moya García (2009: XXI-XLIII); Accorsi (2011: 129-136). For more on Valera's travels and their impact on him, see: Torre y Franco-Romero (1914: 52); Carriazo (1941: VI).

limited, as his relationship with the monarch was not a good one (Penna 1959: CIX; Moya García 2009: XXXV); he dedicated no work to the king, but wrote a couple for his *privado* Juan de Pacheco (1419-1474): *Cirimonial de príncipes* (*c.* 1460) and *Providencia contra fortuna* (1462-1467). Moya García has commented that Valera's attitude toward Pacheco was cordial and he did not express any opposition toward him (2009: XXXV-XXXVI; see also Gómez Redondo 1998-2007: Vol. IV, p. 3592). One could hypothesize that this was because he had no faith in Enrique; he may have also viewed Pacheco as governing the kingdom *de facto*, explaining his dedications that would conform to Valera's *modus operandi* of self-promotion by appealing to the powerful. In addition, Valera had a connection to Alfonso *el Inocente*'s (1453-1468) court, underscoring his hostility toward Enrique IV (Perea 2001); this would have also made the transition to Isabel's and Fernando's court easier.

Under the Catholic Monarchs Valera's fortunes improved, having a solid, trusting relationship with Fernando from 1472 (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 243; Moya García 2009: XL). Moreover, his pessimism faded, as the new monarchs filled him with hope (Moya García 2008: 146). Fernando named Valera as *maestresala* (1476) and member of the *Consejo Real* (1477), becoming a *corregidor* in Segovia (1479) (Moya García 2011a: 232). The dates prove that first two roles were given to him after dedicating *Doctrinal* to Fernando; this adds to the evidence that Valera was gaining influence with him, especially since the position of *maestresala* was awarded by the king and not Isabel (see below, p. 183). Valera's appointment as a low-ranking figure to the Royal Council highlighted a tendency during this reign:

> No longer dominated by the magnates who, in the past, tried to use it for their own advantage, it was composed of a prelate, three knights, and eight or nine legists, who by their training in Roman law and their social origin could be expected to give the fullest support to royal authority. As a matter of general policy the king and queen, and João II too, preferred to entrust their affairs to men drawn from the petty nobility

> or the bourgeoisie, while allowing the magnates a primarily decorative role in the royal court. (O'Callaghan 1975: 662-663)

The dates for his appointments and *Doctrinal*'s composition, written the year before his first nomination, prove the treatise's value in earning titles, especially since he openly discusses the type of advisors Fernando should select. This is also reflected by how the Catholic Monarchs used learned individuals to advance their views, which was a cautious aspect of their political agenda (López Gómez 2020: 7). Valera dedicated several works to them, supporting their ideological goals: *Preeminencias y cargos de los oficiales de armas* (*c.* 1480); *Crónica abreviada de España* (1481), the first chronicle printed in Castile (Moya García 2009: XV); *Memorial de diversas hazañas* (1486/1487); and *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1488).[165] What this brief summary highlights is that Valera was influential, his impact being pumped up by his inclination to self-promote.

Doctrinal is a thought-provoking *speculum*, or mirror of princes; this genre was common for giving leaders instruction on ethical and governmental concepts, serving as a way to educate and influence them. The treatise is divided into a prologue and nine chapters, presenting a guideline for prudent governance and the monarch's responsibility as both king and role model. Some of the key arguments are: the value and need to have good, learned counselors; the importance of justice and prudence; the duty of the king to be wise, experienced, and virtuous; and how military obligations and respect for the Church were indispensable to a successful reign. Justice is of significant consideration, reflecting its central importance in Aristotle's philosophy and its major impact on

[165] David Hook discusses two manuscripts of Valera's containing *Memorial de diversas hazañas* and *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* at the British Library, underscoring the difficult task of piecing together the diffusion of medieval works (1990; see Valera 1941 for an edition of the former). Other texts have been attributed to Valera, but there is disagreement about his authorship: *Origen de la casa de Guzmán*; *Libro intitulado remedio de perdidos*; *El libro de amor*; *La mano de amor*; *Historia de la casa de Zúñiga*; and a translation of *Árbol de las batallas* (for the text see Bouvet 2008; see also the introduction by Contreras Martín 2008). For additional information, see: Carriazo (1927: XCVIII-XCVIX); Rodríguez Velasco (1996: 197, n. 4); Cátedra (2003); Blecua (2005); Gómez Redondo (2014); Carriazo Rubio (2014). Scholars have also considered Valera's neglected poetic works: Alvar (1998); Tomassetti (2018, 2019, 2022).

medieval thought (Perkams 2011: 134). All of these points are first explained, defended, and then followed up by references to classical and Castilian history and literature. Penna points to Valera's presentation as one in which the traditional figure of the ideal sovereign dominates (1959: CXXX); yet, the use of classical allusion shows him to have been in step with humanism. In short, there is a combination of medieval literary techniques and references, as well as humanist ones.[166] *Doctrinal* is a prime example of Valera's attempt to persuade the reign in its early stages, directing Fernando to the ideal way to carry out his duties, the type of men who should advise him, and the values that ought to serve as governmental pillars.

A comment on the modern editions and extant witnesses of *Doctrinal* is necessary. There are three published: Carriazo's in 1955, Penna's in 1959, and Monti's in 1982. The first I have not been able to consult, but it did not include all the known manuscripts (9), nor the incunable, but perhaps one manuscript that appears to now be misplaced or lost (Gallardo 1889: 870-871; Carriazo 1927: C, n. 1; Monti 1982: XI).[167] One PhD thesis (1964, University of Kansas) also edits it, but I have been unable to access a copy;[168] nonetheless, it seems that it would be of limited use: it is only based on four manuscripts, and Monti asserts that it has little critical value (1982: XII, n. 17). As for Penna's and Monti's editions, they are not always reliable. Each has spurious manuscript readings, faulty or nearly non-existent critical apparatuses, and neither incorporates all the extant witnesses (Penna uses four; Monti includes six). Lucía Megías and Rodríguez Velasco offer the most reliable and updated information regarding the witnesses, adding three

[166] Penna hypothesizes that *Doctrinal* could have influenced Machiavell's *Il principe* (1532), but admits that he found no textual evidence (1955; 1959: CXXXV). It is unlikely, but Monti lists one manuscript in Parma that could be a potential link to *Doctrinal*'s influence in Italy, which she dates at the end of the fifteenth century (1982: XXII; for more on the dating, see: Lucía Megías and Rodríguez Velasco 2002: 421).
[167] For details on BNE, MSS/12672, see: Valero Moreno (2017: 133-140); Weiss (1995: 188-189).
[168] See: <www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/302143112>

manuscripts and an incunable (2002: 421-422). Despite their contribution, they did leave out one manuscript in Monti's edition: BNE, MSS/17804, used as her base text (1982: XXI-XXII, XXVII). Their study does give a more precise dating of the manuscript (1475/1476), indicating that Fernando received *Doctrinal* on 17 February 1476 (2002: 421). Carrasco Manchado adds a detail: on the same day Valera was rewarded for dedicating *Doctrinal* to Fernando, he was named *maestresala* in another letter from the monarch (2006: 213, n. 185; see also Reyes Católicos 1959: Cartas III, IV). This information can narrow down when *Doctrinal* was composed. With just over six weeks having passed between the beginning of 1476 and Fernando's receiving the treatise, it seems likely that most if not all of *Doctrinal* was composed in 1475. These data have led me to cite Penna's edition—as it is more readily available—for the quotations included in this chapter, modifying the punctuation to facilitate the reading. Whenever Penna's text has questionable readings or differs from Monti's, I have consulted the digitized manuscripts;[169] in these cases, I shall use MSS/1341 as a base text (as Penna did), and described by Lucía Megías and Rodríguez Velasco as the witness with the fewest textual problems (2002: 422).[170]

The prologue gives a general idea what Valera intends his treatise to be and how he views the current struggles over legitimacy. The author makes it clear that he wants to equate his presenting the treatise with Roman tradition:

> Entre los cavalleros romanos fue antigua costunbre, muy sereníssimo prínçipe, que quando señor nuevamente resçebían cada uno se esforçava algún agradable serviçio fazerle. […] E como la adversa fortuna denegase mi deseo en efecto reduxese et mi

[169] See: MSS/1341, MSS/2953, MSS/10445, and MSS/12672, found on the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica: <bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/Inicio.do>

[170] I shall rely on the same manuscript for the graphical presentation and as a guide for improving the punctuation in order to regularize the distinctions between vocalic and consonantal *u*/*v* and *i*/*j*, simplify or modernize double consonants such as *-nn* and *-rr*, and add accents to distinguish between atonic enclitic *nos*/*vos* and tonic pronouns *nós*/*vós*; I have also presented the Tironian sign ⁊ as *et*.I shall also edit the punctuation of Penna's edition of Valera's *Epístolas* and *Exhortación de la paz*, and correct silently the occasional mistranscription.

> hedat sea a la veges llegada et las corporales fuerças me vayan fallesçiendo, delibré la presente obra a la alta doctrina de vuestra real et muy exçelente persona conviniente conponer: no abtorizada de mi flaco juyzio, mas de los altos y claros yngenios de famosos abtores. (Pro., p. 173)

The mentioning of his age is significant. First, it permits him to present himself as a wise sage, reflecting the well-known classical *topos*, on whom Fernando should count for his life experiences and knowledge. The claims of his advanced age and lack of physical capabilities are also exaggerated; he later participated in military campaigns on behalf of the Catholic Monarchs during the war against Portugal (Moya García 2011a: 232; see also 2009: XL-XLI).[171] Since Valera was angling to become an advisor, this emphasis on his mental attributes and experience explain his self-presentation as a rhetorical tactic: he insinuates himself by his comments and the treatise itself for the role of a wise, elder counselor; this is an effective technique.

Questions over legitimacy were essential for Isabel and Fernando in 1475. Apart from this treatise, *Valeriana* intended to help the Catholic Monarchs legitimize their rule (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 245, 252; Moya García 2007: 17-26; 2008: 162; 2009: XVI, LIX).[172] Valera's texts were not the sole examples, and these efforts continued later in their reign; for example, the monarchs were effective at seizing on literary means to promote their rule as a return to a Golden Age, exemplified by Antonio de Nebrija's (1444-1522) *Gramática de la lengua castellana* and *Introductiones Latinae*, which had value as propaganda (Lawrance 2008: 1, 6, 10). In the 1470s, defending Fernando's

[171] *C.f. Libro de Alexandre*'s perspective: "Los mejores guerreros no son los más jóvenes, pues, sino los mayores, con creces" (Carta 2018: 46). Valera was an apt political mind, but had a poor track record in his *vida activa* at war and as a *corregidor* (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 243). However, Valera's counsel concerning the conquest of Granada was wise and effective (Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 244; see also Carriazo 1927: LXV-LXVII; Hillgarth 1978: Vol. II, p. 374; Edwards 2000: 131-132).

[172] *Valeriana* was popular after publication (1482) (Moya García 2014: 103, 119-120). In part, this was the result of the Catholic Monarchs' promoting it for political propaganda (Moya García 2009: XV-XVI). For more on their use of printing to advocate favorable political and ideological arguments, see: Cátedra and López-Vidriero (1998: 13); Ruiz García (1999: 299-301); Edwards (2000: 275); Nieto Soria (2001: 193); Moya García (2007: 21); Gómez Moreno (2008: 74); Ladero Quesada (2014: 431-435). Isabel also played a role in her propaganda, delegitimizing her half-brother Enrique as "effeminate and impotent" (Weissberger 2012: 505).

and/or Isabel's right to rule Castile was sensible since they were not fully recognized until after the war of succession (1479) (O'Callaghan 1975: 661).[173] Before this, the contention was complicated by two factors: the treaty of Toros de Guisando (1468), signed by Enrique IV to formally name Isabel as his legitimate heir (Ruiz 2011: 99-100; see also Edwards 2000: 9-33; Val Valdivieso 2001: 21-22); and Enrique's breaking of the treaty when Isabel and Fernando decided to marry against the monarch's will (1469), resulting in his denouncing it as a breaking of the agreement. Enrique then proclaimed (1470) that "Juana was his true daughter and proper heir to the throne" (O'Callaghan 1975: 575). In the four years until the king's death, the questions over succession were unresolved, leaving it up to the factions that supported Juana (1462-1530) and Isabel to battle it out (O'Callaghan 1975: 575). The sisters were not the only ones looking to promote their legitimacy and procure support: it was a contentious matter between the Catholic Monarchs themselves.

The rivalry played out between the *fernandinos e isabelinos* (Val Valdivieso 2001: 15). Both wanted sole hereditary power over Castile. Fernando's side tried to position him as more suited to rule as a male who could claim almost as many dynastic titles as his spouse (Belenguer 1999: 79). Fernando had many supporters, chief among them Alfonso de Palencia (1423-1492); the humanist was forceful in advocating Fernando's right to be the sole *rey propietario* (Carrasco Manchado 2006: 32). This partly could have been because he believed Fernando rightfully deserved the title, a defense Palencia accompanied with misogynist attacks against Isabel in *Gesta hispaniensia* (the first three decades being completed *c*. 1477, and the last *c*. 1481) (Carrasco Manchado 2006: 32).

[173] Elliot gives background details concerning the union of the kingdoms (1963: 5-12). Edwards contends though that it was not technically a union (2000: 38-39). After Isabel's death (1504), the intense opposition to Fernando in Castile shows that it was difficult to cement the idea of the "common good" between the various kingdoms (Thompson 2020: 133); this also serves as evidence for why Valera's efforts to promote Fernando's cause in Castile through *Doctrinal* was an uphill battle. Edwards also gives an excellent summary of the war of succession (2000: 1-37).

On the other hand, *isabelinos* indicated that Salic Law did not apply in Castile, arguing that queens had been eligible to rule in their own right since the thirteenth century (Pérez 1988: 69; Val Valdivieso 2001: 31). With no guaranteed path to the throne, Isabel was prudent to immediately act upon Enrique IV's death (11 December 1474). Moving with celerity, she claimed the throne for herself, declaring that she alone was the *reina propietaria*, delegating Fernando to the role of *rey consorte* (Suárez 2019: 47); moreover—and perhaps proving herself more worthy of Machiavelli's admiration than her husband—, Isabel was slow to inform Fernando of Enrique's death while he was not in Castile, leaving the Aragonese faction to suspect malfeasance (Val Valdivieso 2001: 25-26; Suárez 2019: 47). Palencia was among those who viewed the slow-arriving letters and fast-moving royal proclamation as an underhanded attempt to acquire sole power (Carrasco Manchado 2006: 66-67); he was likely correct, plausibly revealing that his attacks on Isabel's sex had to do with a subconscious fear of her as a political actor. In short, the Aragonese counselors saw their concern come to fruition: Isabel's camp wanted to minimize Fernando's role to that of a consort (Belenguer 1999: 96). Fernando's partisans then began to produce counter-propaganda depicting him as *rey propietario* (Carrasco Manchado 2006: 64-65). The political chess match commenced.

These moves must also be contextualized. The Cervera marriage capitulations (1469) named Fernando as a mere *príncipe consorte*, giving his wife complete political and governmental power in Castile when the Crown of Aragon was negotiating from a position of weakness (Pérez 1988: 82; Val Valdivieso 2001: 28-30). After Enrique's death, Fernando and his allies demanded a compromise since they had more leverage, as the kingdom contended with *juanistas* and fragmented political support. In this context, Fernando was more able to challenge Isabel's designating him only as *legítimo marido* when she claimed that of *reina y propietaria*, as her royal proclamation would have it

(Pérez 1988: 93-94). The *Concordia de Segovia* (15 January 1475) reached a compromise: "Fernando gobernará en Castilla, pero ha quedado claro que la reina heredera es Isabel" (Val Valdivieso 2001: 31; see also Pérez 1988: 96; Suárez 2019: 49-50). Isabel still had the upper hand, but Fernando gained some ground; the *fernandinos* would not be satisfied, wanting more: disputes played out after the signing of the agreement. Fernando continued to claim his rights throughout 1475:

> El derecho que está en liza no es el que en la mayoría de los discursos se dice pertenecer a Isabel, sino que es el propio derecho del príncipe Fernando a suceder en el trono de Castilla. (Carrasco Manchado 2006: 126)

Valera's advice to Fernando in *Doctrinal* could then be interpreted as a way for him to *reivindicar* his power and title through propaganda and actions to make him *appear* legitimate. This served Valera as an opportunity, and he knew that Fernando would be eager for anything that promoted his right to the Castilian throne.

From the opening paragraphs of *Doctrinal*, Valera highlights how the king should value and use knowledge, indirectly suggesting the worth of those who can provide him with wisdom, such as Valera: "De lo qual, preclaríssimo prínçipe, podrá resultar vos venir en la perfecçión del saber a vuestro real ofiçio conviniente" (Pro., p. 173). He continues by claiming that knowledge is more vital to Fernando. Bearing in mind his messianic position in relation to—from Valera's perspective—the inevitable triumph of Castile to unite and dominate the peninsula, he recognizes the king as a promised savior, countering similar messages by his rival Alfonso V of Portugal (1432-1481):

> Et sy a todo prínçipe el saber conviene, a vós más que a otro, muy humano señor, es nesçessario, de quien es profetizado de muchos syglos acá que no solamente seréys señor destos reynos de Castilla et Aragón que por todo derecho vos pertenesçen, mas avréys la monarchia de todas las Españas et reformaréys la silla ynperial de la ýnclita

> sangre de los godos donde venís, que de tantos tienpos acá está esparzida et derramada. (Pro., p. 173)[174]

The prophetic overtones are clear (*profetizado*); Valera also asserts that it has been long-awaited (*muchos syglos acá*), adding to the historical role that Valera claims Fernando will have. These points underline Valera's belief that the monarch should serve as a savior for his realm (Nieto Soria 1993: 238).[175] In this regard, Valera prophesizes that Fernando will head the reunification of the peninsula, establishing a new political order based on historical precedent. The Catholic Monarchs together leaned on prophetic imagery, as they perceived their marriage as the first step toward politically unifying their two kingdoms (Ladero Quesada 1989: 91).[176] According to Valera, Fernando would likewise lead a transformation of the *silla inperial*: he predicts that the king will recover the lost Visigothic empire and bring about religious, governmental, and moral reform.[177] Valera's views on Fernando are not original and unusual in his context, but paint a particular image of the monarch and his faction for opportunistic reasons to help him accumulate power and hold it, especially as Isabel was proclaiming herself as the sole *reina propietaria*.

If Valera hints at Fernando's place as the legitimate monarch in the above quotation (*por todo derecho vos pertenesçen*), he is more explicit elsewhere:

[174] Alfonso V not only used similar prophetic messages to raise his fame and cause in Castile, but he also preempted Fernando's propagandistic campaign (Edwards 2004: 275; Carrasco Manchado 2006: 88-89). For an overview of messianism and prophetic visions in Portugal and Castile see: Amran (2009b: 112-136); Oliviera Serrano (2014: see esp. pp. 367-376). Amran also analyzes Jewish messianism (2009a: 142-147). Other works, such as *Historia de los hechos del Marqués de Cádiz* (end of fifteenth century), likewise forward messianic images to support the political ambitions of the Catholic Monarchs (Carriazo Rubio 2003: 41, 89-121).

[175] See also Claussen (2020: 99).

[176] Beliefs in messianism were held by Fernando himself, who thought that he would capture Jerusalem for Christianity (Edwards 2000: 223; see also Serra Desfilis 2019: 5); Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) also shared this view about him (Housley 1998: 123-124). This image of Fernando was spread more so after the conquest of Granada, reaching Italy (Fernández de Córdova Miralles 2015: 230-231). These messianic tendencies continued into the sixteenth century (Nalle 1998).

[177] The contemporary *Historia de los hechos del Marqués de Cádiz* rely on Visigothic history or references to legitimize the Catholic Monarchs, as well (2003: Ch. 2).

> et a nuestro Señor aya plazido merçed tan ynmensa fazernos de vós dar estos reynos por ligítima suçessión de la muy alta et muy esclaresçida prinçesa reyna y señora nuestra doña Ysabel. (Pro., p. 173)[178]

This point is contradictory. If Valera argues that Fernando is the legitimate king of Castile and the pro-Aragonese faction was endeavoring to relegate her to the lesser title of *reina consorte*, then there are two plausible solutions: Valera is suggesting a shared power setup, putting them on more equal footing; or the text was subject to later revisions, permitting Valera to depict himself as a defender of—or at least not questioning—Isabel's right to the title. All four of the digitalized manuscripts offer the same reading of Isabel's title; moreover, Monti does not note any difference in her critical apparatus (she also examined: BNE, MSS/17804; Biblioteca Palatina di Parma, MSS/Pal 86). As for the first point, it is unusual that Valera did not dedicate *Doctrinal* to both monarchs if he was trying to defend them. However, Carrasco Manchado's aforementioned point emphasizes that Fernando's right was more questioned in Castile. At any rate, whatever Valera's views of Isabel and her role, *Doctrinal* defends Fernando and gives him a path to prove himself as a worthy *rey propietario*.

The terminology applied to Fernando by Valera frequently refers to him as *prínçipe*. *Doctrinal* does consider the title of *rey*, but his use of *prínçipe* reflects Renaissance trends, as well as the growing impact of Roman law in Castile, described as "royal humanism" (Stacey 2011: 52). Valera's word selection regarding Fernando's title mirrors this tendency. But when he refers to Isabel, he does not simply call her *prinçesa*, but *prinçesa reyna*. Isabel's gender likely complicated matters: if medieval political terms were not always precise, "masculine anxiety" regarding female power would have added a layer of complication (Earnfight 2007; Weissberger 2012: 500). If there is confusion over the

[178] Ladero Quesada discusses how Isabel was presented by her contemporaries, as well as how she projected her own image (2006).

titles of each monarch, then it reflects the general uncertainty of the time, as well as the propaganda efforts to support each or both of them.

The first chapter discusses how the *rey* must serve as an exemplary model.[179] This continues Valera's fascination with titles, which certainly was on Fernando's mind, as well. The chapter's rubric is misleading: "dónde se diriva este nonbre rey" (Ch. 1, p. 174). Valera is more focused on the king's duties, ethics, and legal responsibilities than etymology:

> E dize que entre los antiguos avía tal proverbio: rey serás sy fizieres derecho. Et por eso, los griegos llaman los reyes *basyley*, que quiere dezir pilares; porque asý como los pilares sostienen con su derechura toda la carga de los hedefiçios, asý los reyes son obligados a sostener con justiçia los pueblos por Dios a ellos encomendados. (Ch. 1, p. 174)

This demonstrates how Valera frequently relies on classical authority to decorate his works with erudition, giving them an added "*plus* de credibilidad" (Cappelli 2014: 16). CORDE gives related forms up to the year 1500:

- Fernández de Heredia's *Libro de actoridades (Rams de flors)* (1376-1396): "Et nonbrasse en griego *basileas*, que quiere dezir bassa, tanto como es sostenimiento de pueblo."
- The anonymous *Las etimologías romanceadas de San Isidoro* (1450): "E por esta razón los reyes entre los griegos son llamados *basilei*, esto es, 'sostenedores': porque sostienen el pueblo así commo pilares o colupnas."
- Alfonso de Palencia's *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance* (1490): "Reges grece dicuntur *basilei* quod tanquam bases populum substinent."[180]
- Antonio de Nebrija's *Vocabulario español-latino* (1495): "Rei en griego. *basileus*."

These examples accentuate that the term was quite extended, and it might have been culled from early medieval sources:

> Por los siglos IX y X el intercambio de emisarios bizantinos y cordobeses fue bastante frecuente. Se conoce el influjo bizantino en el arte de Córdoba. […] Es posible que alguna de las embajadas avanzase hasta los reinos cristianos del norte de la Península,

[179] These general concepts can be found in book five of Aristotle's *Ethics* (Nogales Rincón 2020: 208).
[180] The same work by Palencia also gives two more listings under *basileos*.

> ya que Ramiro III en 974 aceptó como título imperial el de *prínceps magnus basileus unctus*. (Dubler 1951: 126-127)

I have been unable to find any examples in *Primera crónica general* or *General Estoria*, but it was plausibly used in other chronicles. There is another contemporaneous example on the façade of the University of Salamanca's *portada rica,* inscribed into an emblem dedicated to the Catholic Monarchs: "ΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ ΤΗ ΕΝΚΥΚΛΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, ΑΥΤΗ ΤΟΪΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣΙ" ("The kings for the university, and the university for the kings").[181] The work began in 1504, finished between 1520 and 1528 (Domínguez Casas 2014: 116). Despite its metaphorical uses in *Doctrinal*, its exact etymology is unclear:

> [m.] "king (especially the Persian king), prince" (Il.). […] Beside βασιλεύς, Greek has two other words for "king", κοίρανος and ἄναξ. βασιλεύς is the youngest; see Wackernagel 1916: 209ff. The word is no doubt of Pre-Greek origin (i.e., not a loanword from another country); labiovelars are well-known in this language. ("βασιλεύς": 2010)

As Scholl explains, *basileus* was not officially used by the Byzantine emperors before Heraclius' reign (610-641), but it can be found in other literary sources before this time (2017: 35).[182] References to Byzantine and Roman emperors were not unusual in the Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire:

> In nearly all the "Barbarian" kingdoms which were created on formerly Roman soil during the Migration Period, the monarchs adopted certain elements of the ruling style employed by the Roman or Byzantine emperors. (Scholl 2017: 19)

The title of *basileus*—and ones such as the "Emperor of Constantinople"—, therefore, was employed to gain cultural and political prestige throughout the continent, as it projected a sense of novelty superior to the "old titles" (Burkhardt 2017: 297; Scholl 2017: 23-24). It was present from an early time, utilized by Charlemagne (747-814) for

[181] See Domínguez Casas for a photograph of the emblem (2014: 131, image 19). I want to thank Stefano Cianciosi for help translating the Greek and answering some questions. I have selected to translate "ΕΝΚΥΚΛΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ" as "university" instead of "education", given that it is written on the façade of a university building. See Canto for more details about the architect and sculptor, Juan de Talavera (1476-1531), as well as some general contextual information (2014).

[182] Chrysos gives an overview of this title in the Byzantine and Persian empires, as well as how the term migrated throughout Europe, the Middle East, and Africa (1978).

his coronation in Rome (800) (Chrysos 1978: 60).[183] Wherever Valera got the information, it helped him represent an image of himself as the wise, elderly counselor. The idea and description of *pilares* also served to address the real point Valera wished to make: as the pillars of society, kings must uphold justice and law as they were given their positions from God. As an individual who eagerly promoted his status through (highly questionable) claims of nobility and who was now advocating Fernando's own claims to a title, Valera would have been attracted to such references. The Greek word or concept is a medium to demonstrate that, based on classical tradition, the very meaning of *rey* reflects the primary role of upholding justice. If Fernando wants to equate himself with the image and title of legitimate king, then this would be a step he needs to take.

Valera utilizes a Latin source to add *auctoritas* to the point, continuing his practice of classical allusion adapted to the vernacular:

> Ca dize Tulio en el primero de *Ofiçios*: asý como de la tutela es la governaçión de la cosa pública no para provecho de los que la goviernan, mas para utilidat et bien de los que han de ser gobernados. (Ch. 1, p. 174)

Though I have not been able to find an exact quotation in Cartagena's translation, it is a point that holds steady throughout the text (1996). Another part of justly and properly heading the government is doing it for the common good and not one's benefit. Valera alludes to *Siete Partidas* as supporting evidence:

> dize que los reyes son tenidos de mantener en justiçia y en verdad a los de su señorío, castigando et corrigiendo los malos et faziendo merçedes et beneficios a los buenos, proporçionando estados, linajes, serviçios, virtudes, çiençias a cada uno, dando según los méritos de su persona. (Ch. 1, p. 174)[184]

[183] See Lestremau for more details (2018).

[184] As discussed by Scandellari, *Siete Partidas* is essential to Valera's concept of political theory (2007: 155-156; see also Alfonso X 1555: II.i.5). Valera has an analogous message in *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (1959f: Ch. 4, p. 92). Valera takes his points from Bartolus de Saxoferrato's (1313-1357) *De dignitatibus* and Proverbs (1530: § 61; *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha* 2010: 8:15-16). For more on Bartolus and his impact on ideas of nobility, see: Keen (1984: 148-151). There is a similar message in *El Victorial* (2014: Pro., p. 8).

Justice and order are crucial to the king's position, emphasized throughout the work, leaving it to the ruler to maintain both by meting out punishment. Another vital aspect of just leadership is rewarding *merçedes* to those who have earned them based on merit, as well as promoting virtues and *çiençias* for the common good. Valera's *Exhortación de la paz* has an analogous argument:

> La justicia [distributiva] es aquella que conviene al rey o príncipe, duque o governador, de la tierra en el dar o repartir de los oficios, dignidades e rentas y en el rescebir de qualesquier cosas que le pertenescan; […]. Ca el rey o príncipe es o deve ser común administrador de la cosa pública de su reino […;] el príncipe que bien guarda esta igualdad en las distribuciones, tiene la parte de la justicia distributiva. […] Mas [de la justicia particular] dévese en ello acatar la qualidad de las personas, virtudes, linajes, estados, servicios, tienpos, […] no dexando por eso de fazer bien a todos según los méritos de cada uno. (1959g: 81-82)[185]

> [...] conviene agora que sepamos qué términos deve tener en dar las penas, donde aquesta parte de justicia, que severdad se llama, es así definida: severdad es virtud por la qual, guardada la común utilidad, discretamente nós avemos en el dar de la penas. (1959g: 82)

Valera advice anticipates the Catholic Monarchs: in the Cortes de Toledo (1480), they would reduce and revoke *mercedes*, especially those given out by Alfonso *el Inocente* (considered illegitimate), but would not entirely discard benefits (RAH, Inc./158: sig. c1r-c2r; see also: Pérez 1988: 142; Belenguer 1999: 123; de Dios 2001: 252-253; González Alonso 2001: 303-312).[186] The monarch, then, should foster social, political, and intellectual justice, creating a healthy balance of reward and punishment.

The second chapter additionally highlights the need for the king to fear and love God, as it obliges the former to carry out justice for the public good. *Justiçia* itself is one of the major themes that is stressed (Scandellari 2007: 150); moreover, there is a pattern in the Castilian monarchs referenced: they were either pivotal to the Reconquest and/or able to enforce justice through violent measures. The opening lines underscore the importance

[185] Aquinas analyzes distributive justice in *Summa Theologiae*, but I cannot find a similar quotation (1867: I-II, q. 60, 61, and 67).
[186] The incunable can be consulted here: <bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=406486>.

of being God's servant, serving, fearing, and loving him at all times (Ch. 2, p. 174). Valera then goes on to discuss different rulers, connecting them to specific moral or character traits. As for justice, Valera alludes to one of his favorite *exempla*:

> De Postunio cónsul et Manlio Torcato escrive Valerio en el segundo libre suyo en el título de *Disçiplina et correcçión militar* que como estoviesen en hueste et mandasen que ninguno pelease, salvo en batalla ordenada, como dos fijos destos a requesta de los enemigos con otros dos dellos se conbatiesen et los vençiesen, asý victoriosos fueron por sus padres descabeçados. (Ch. 2, p. 176)[187]

Valera reuses the reference, and makes the same error, as he did in *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* (1959f: 106). He confuses two historical figures—Postumus Cominius Auruncus (?-486 BCE) and Tito Manlio Imperioso Torcuato (?-299 BCE)— and transforms them into one example originating from Valerius Maximus' (flourished 30 CE) *De disciplina militari* (1888: II.7.6). The account is about Torcuato, and it serves as a classical source to validate his point regarding the importance of justice and discipline: a ruler's son should not be spared in order to uphold law and order.

Another example ties into my second chapter, accentuating how often violence and justice were interconnected:

> El rey don Alfonso, honseno deste nonbre, que fue padre del rey Don Pedro, quarto avuelo vuestro, amó tanto la justiçia que seyendo de quinse años […] mandó matar en Toro, Día de Todos Santos, a Don Johán el tuerto, fijo del ynfante don Johán, su tío, et a Garçí Fernandes Sarmiento et a Lope Álvarez de Fermosilla porque fue çertificado que le andavan en trayción. (Ch. 2, p. 177)

A part of justice is the ability to carry out violent acts, regardless of the person's status or family connections. Valera mentions Alfonso VIII of Castile (1155-1214) as a prime model:

[187] See the readings of Postumus: Postumo (Monti); Postunio (Penna). The witnesses that I have access to read either *-n* or *-ni*. In MSS/1341 it appears to be a *-m*, but the scribe is careful to avoid confusion; when a *-m* is in the middle of a word, he places a line over the consonant (f. 117r: e.g., co$\bar{m}$o). In her edition's criteria, Monti renders *-$\bar{m}$* as a double consonant (1982: XXVIII; e.g., commo). In Cartagena's translation of *De officiis*, the name is as follows: Postumio (1996: Bk. 2, Ch. XIII).

> se lee que fue tanto justiçiero que estando en Galysia un ynfançón que se llamava don Fernando, que tomó çierta heredat a un labrador por fuerça, él [Don Alfonso] le mandó dar sus cartas para el ynfançón, mandándole que luego tornase lo suyo al labrador. De lo qual, como el ynfançón fuese muy sañudo et amenasase al labrador, él se bolvió para el enperador et le contó lo qu'el ynfançón le avía respondido. E luego el enperador se partió de Segovia muy secretamente con dos de cavallo, et mandó en su palaçio que dixiesen que estava doliente, et a grandes jornadas se fue a Galisia, et llegando al logar donde el ynfançón estava, mandó saber la verdat; et sabida lo mandó enforcar a la puerta de su casa. (Ch. 2, p. 176)

Violence and justice are integral to order, discipline, and equality, and social status cannot exempt anyone from these standards.[188]

There are other qualities that a monarch must have: clemency, liberality, kindness, modesty, and other virtues (Ch. 2, pp. 178-180).[189] Valera focuses on clemency, prudence, and wisdom. Clemency, as noted, could be particularly important looking ahead to the end of the struggle over royal succession. Nevertheless, all the examples come from the classical past, as Valera offers no Castilian model. The first figure mentioned is *Otaviano*:

> escrive Séneca en el segundo libro de *La clemençia a Nero,* que como un cavallero de su casa, llamado Luçio Cuyna, fisiese conjuración en su muerte y él fuese dello çertificado, que no solamente lo perdonó, ante le fizo muchas merçedes. (Ch. 2, pp. 177-178)

The source appears to be Cartagena's translation:

> Ca paresçe que Luçio Cuyna tenía tractado de matar a Otaviano al tienpo que estudiese sacrisficando. Desto dicho, callava un poco. E después tornava en más altas bozes assañar consigo mesmo más que si se assañase contra Luçio Çuyna. E dezía asý fablando consigo mesmo: "para qué bives, Augusto, si a tantos cunple que mueras quando farás fyn de dar tormentos. E pues tú cabeça tan deseada es por muchos nobles mançebos et contra ella aguzan sus espadas; non es de tener en tanto tu vida que fagas morir tantos fijosdalgo por que tú non mueras." Entonçe Livia, su muger, llegóse a él et dixo: "Otaviano, quieres agora resçibir un consejo de muger, faz lo que los físicos suelen fazer; los quales quando veen que las mediçinas usadas non aprovechan, pruevan las contrarias. Tú ya provaste el furor et non te aprovechó. [f. 16r] […] Agora como te fallarás con la clemençia et perdona a Luçio Cuyna. Ca pues ya has sabido lo que quería fazer, non te puede dañar. E puede mucho aprovechar a la fama." Entonçe

[188] One scholar links violence and political success: "the Catholic Monarchs profited from the fact that they did not share Enrique's reluctance to shed the blood of their subjects" (Hillgarth 1978: Vol. II, p. 347).
[189] Cartagena lists his moral virtues in *Memoriale virtutum* (2022: Bk. 1, Ch. 8, lin. 1-3).

> Otaviano alegróse en fallar tal abogado que le consejase bien. […] [f. 17v] E dióle [a Luçio Cuyna] después un consulado syn que lo pediese, quexándose d'él porque no gelo osava pedir. E dende en adelante sienpre le falló mucho amor et muy leal. (BNE, MSS/5568, ff. 15v-17v)[190]

Valera simplifies the story.[191] At any rate, the example illustrates the value of forgiveness based on classical precedent, stressing how it is a central part of justice and social cohesion. Bearing in mind the extent to which conflicts in Castile often resulted in nobles changing *bandos*, the lesson emphasizes that Fernando must show clemency for the worst of conspiracies.

Prudence and wisdom are also discussed in depth.[192] They are especially relevant topics because they are vital for making sound decisions, behaving virtuously, and selecting adequate advisors. Through models and advice, Valera indirectly implies his ability to serve as a wise counselor. Two qualities that stand out in suitable advisors are prudence and honest living:

> Conviene al rey tener çerca de sý onbres prudentes et de onesta vida. Ca dise Séneca: çerca de ti deves sienpre tener tales personas ante quien ayas vergüença de pecar, a cuyo consejo el rey deve estar […].
>
> Así, muy exçelente señor, conviene que en vuestro consejo tengáys onbres en vida et çiençia aprovados. […] Deven ser los consejeros de santa et provada vida, porque en el fallar de los consejos mucho aprovecha la bondat de la vida, la perrogativa de las virtudes. (Ch. 2, pp. 180-181)[193]

In praising past leaders who chose honest, wise advisors, Valera references a few, including Fernando's relative:

> Y en nuestros días el muy ýnclito rey Don Alfonso de Aragón, tío vuestro de gloriosa memoria, desía que más le plasía por consejo de sabios herrar que por su solo seso açertar. (Ch. 2, p. 181)

[190] I have edited the text to facilitate the reading. See: <bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000045123>. For a list of Cartagena's translations and overall output, reflecting his impact on Castilian intellectual life, see: Morrás (1991: 219-237); Morrás and López Casas (2001: 161).
[191] See Seneca's original work for comparative purposes (1928: I.9, ii-vii)
[192] Given Aristotle's and Aquinas' impact on the topic of political prudence, Lambertini presents a general overview (2007).
[193] Analogous ideas are in *Exhortación de la paz*, but all of the classical examples are in Latin (1959g: 84-85).

The allusion to the Aragonese king is another instance of Valera's bias toward this faction. In one of Valera's letters to Fernando, the author similarly recommends that these wise counselors ought to be the ones the king entrusts with enforcing justice (1959b: Epístola IX, p. 15). For a king to be effective, he must surround himself with worthy mentors. Parallel advice is in *Exhortación de la paz*:

> E porque naturalmente todo onbre conseja mejor en las cosas agenas que en las propias suyas, es nescessario que cerca de vuestra persona tengáis onbres aprovados en vida, no sugebtos a las pasiones ya dichas, con quien todas las cosas comuniquáis […].
>
> De los quales así escogidos, estrecho juramento se deve tomar que guardarán vuestros secretos e vos dirán verdat de todo lo que les paresciere más convinente al honor e provecho de vuestra persona real e bien común de la cosa pública de vuestros reinos. (1959g: 78)[194]

These advisors must be wise and prudent, but they should also be known for good moral conduct, putting virtuous behavior above all else.

The *princeps* must likewise prioritize his own wisdom to be able to make morally- and intellectually-sound decisions:

> Al rey conviene ser mucho sabio, como se nota en el prólogo de la primera *Partida*, porque no puede derechamente bivir quien no sabe qué es derecho. Et quien a sý no sabe regir, mucho menos sabrá ni podrá governar ni regir tan gran muchedunbre de gentes, así diferentes en costumbres et condiçiones, quantas en un reyno son. (Ch. 2, p. 181)

Wisdom is a key to understanding laws and doing what is right, giving a decided nod to learned culture. Furthermore, the second sentence relates to the beginning of the Catholic Monarchs' reign, which saw the combining of two kingdoms and a *muchedunbre de gentes*. It would be necessary for a monarch in this situation to be aware of the different historical and cultural norms within each of these "nations" to effectively rule them. It seems likely that Valera is insinuating two points: as the norms and laws of Aragon and

[194] Carrasco Manchado offers an interesting study on *bien común*, including a useful table on similar *sintagmas vernáculos* from other languages (2019: esp. pp. 59-63). She also studies the same topic applied to the *Seguro de Tordesillas* (2016: 50-52).

Castile were distinct, then Fernando's leadership in each will require a separate approach; and with Valera advocating and prophetically predicting the incorporation of Muslim territory into the kingdom, he is suggesting that it would necessitate Fernando's considering the proper tactic for governing them. Valera follows this praise of learned culture with precedents from other rulers:

> Así los antiguos prínçipes, que grandes fechos fisieron, se dieron mucho a las çiençias et trabajaron de aver maestros muy sabios. Donde se lee que el enperador Trajano ovo por maestro a Plutarco, et Nero Çésar a Séneca, et Octaviano a Cleandro, et Alixandre a Aristótiles. (Ch. 2, p. 181)

These examples underline that Valera, reflecting his knack for self-promotion and being a social climber, tries to position himself as Fernando's main wise counselor; given that Valera would go on to be named *maestresala* directly after the monarch received the work and a year later a member of the *Consejo Real*, then he certainly accomplished his goal.

Valera continues by illustrating the type of counselors that are necessary for the monarch, exemplifying the importance of wisdom and learned culture with the *topos* of *fortitudo et sapientia* prevalent since Alfonso X's reign (Carta 2018). Some of the most important intellectual figures of Valera's time followed suit, carrying out prominent military roles, as well (Carta 2018: 57). Its permeation in society was so extensive that it was used in Juan de Lucena's (*c*. 1430-1506/1507) *Repetición de amores* (*c*. 1497):

> se dirige a un auditorio de escolares burlonamente invertido en nobles damas para responder a la *quaestio* de quién es mejor para los amores, el hombre de ciencia o el de armas. (Gómez-Ivanov 2007: 125)

It should also be noted that Cartagena promoted this among leadership in *Memoriale virtutum* (1422), forwarding "a project to foster a new kind of nobleman and prince, cultured and virtuous, at the heart of the *respublica*" (Morrás and Lawrance 2022: 19; for specific examples, see: Cartagena 2022: Bk. II, Pro., lin. 19-29). In other words, from Alfonso's reign until Valera's time, the motif was of interest among the elite.

Valera first introduces classical examples before moving on to a more contemporary one:

> El Çésar asý mesmo fue muy grande orador, del qual escrive Suetonio en el libro de *Los doce çésares* que todas las cosas dignas de memoria que de día fasía, de noche las escrivía. (Ch. 2, p. 181)
>
> E Lucano dise en el dezeno libro suyo que el Çésar falló la cuenta del movimiento del sol et de la luna. (Ch. 2, p. 181)
>
> Del enperador Theodosio se lee que fue gran letrado et comúnmente estudiava, et ni por çiençia el exerçiçio de las armas dexava, ni por las armas la çiençia. (Ch. 2, p. 181)
>
> De Mitridates, rey de Ponto et de Armenia, se lee que fue muy gran sabio et tovo sienpre philósophos consygo et fiso a los romanos çinquenta años cruel guerra. (Ch. 2, p. 181)

After examining these learned leaders, one in particular seems to apply to Fernando's circumstances: Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437) (Ch. 2, p. 181). This ruler is likely cited because of the composite construct of his kingdom, as well as Valera's description of the type of *consejo real* that he had:

> Y en su consejo teníe la siguiente manera. Que como señorease alemanes et úngaros et boemios, que naturalmente son enemigos los unos de los otros, tenía tres maneras de consejo: el uno de guerra, el otro de fasienda y el otro de justiçia; y en cada uno destos avía onbres de las nasçiones ya dichas porque en las cosas de cada provinçia diesen rasón los naturales della; y en cada uno destos consejos avía un diputado para le faser relaçión de las cosas en los consejos pasadas. (Ch. 2, p. 182)

Sigismund would likewise have had to balance out the different peoples that were sometimes at odds, while utilizing counselors from each of them in order to effectively rule. Valera goes on to describe how Sigismund gave his subjects a chance to be heard from him personally (Ch. 2, p. 182). This example accentuates that prudence and understanding are necessary to efficiently manage nations divided by culture, traditions, and history, while describing the monarch's need to personally handle justice and make himself accessible.

Valera's praise of wisdom does not stop there, as he turns to three models from *Hispania*: Alfonso X, Juan II of Castile, and Alfonso V of Aragon (1396-1458). Valera points out their learned accomplishments:

> E mucho más exçelente en çiençia fue Don Alfonso, deseno deste nonbre, que fue elegido por enperador, el qual fue muy gran philósopho y estrólogo; et conpuso el libro del *Thesoro* et las *Siete Partidas* et la *General estoria* et las *Tablas alfonsís* que en todos los estudios generales se leen. Y en las armas fue tan valiente que ganó de los moros el reyno de Murçia et la çibdat de Xerés. (Ch. 2, p. 182)

> E aun en nuestros días los muy exçelentes prínçipes de gloriossa memoria, Don Johán, el segundo deste nonbre en Castilla, et Don Alfonso de Aragón, tíos vuestros, no menos se dieron a la moral philosophía et lengua latina et arte oratoria et poesía, et ni por eso los abtos bélicos dexaron de exerçer. (Ch. 2, p. 182)

In Alfonso X's case, Valera presents the historical record in a slightly misleading manner; nonetheless, he follows the image that the Wise King passed down to posterity to propagate himself as a *rex litteratus* (Kennedy 2000; Kleine 2015: 64; Haro 2016). Alfonso was not the sole king to engage in these techniques, as before him Sancho VI of Castile (1150-1194) was depicted as *el sabio* (Rucquoi 1993: 5; Rodríguez de la Peña 1997; Kennedy 2000: 176; Kleine 2015: 90-91). Nonetheless, Alfonso X was a prime example of a learned Castilian king, especially considering how his legal works were the basis of political thought and justice going forward; the Catholic Monarchs would build on his legal precedents, as well.[195] Alfonso X underscores Valera's viewpoint: despite dedicating himself to learning, he still had successful military triumphs; in other words, he was capable of effectively combining *armas y letras*.

The reference to the other two monarchs would have also been taken into account by Fernando, as Valera was

[195] They did in several ways: providing copies of his legal works to cities; attempting to create definitive copies of these texts; promulgating legal ordinances, *bulas*, and *prágmaticas* to cement and build on the Alfonsine legacy; producing their own legal compilations expanding on the same legal works; and furthering the use of royal figures, such as *corregidores*, to establish royal power (Elliot 1963: 75-87; Hillgarth 1978: Vol. II, pp. 345-348; Andrades Rivas 2006: esp., 376-391; Gassó 2012).

> el primer cronista que intentará salvaguardar la memoria de Juan II, achacando las culpas de los conflictos que se suceden en este reinado a los bandos que se forman en torno a los infantes de Aragón y a los enfrentamientos movidos contra don Álvaro de Luna. (Gómez Redondo 2014: 127; see also Moya García 2011b: 156-161)

This could be of significance in the context of *Doctrinal*'s ideological alignment with Fernando. *Valeriana* (1481) was commissioned by and dedicated to Isabel, who was eager to revindicate her father's image and memory. In other words, the aforementioned idea that Valera made an error by not dedicating *Doctrinal* to both monarchs may explain this later defense of the queen's father, serving as a *culpa mea* to ingratiate himself with Isabel. Apart from this consideration, the two above Castilian examples are components of an effort to forward models of intellectual, virtuous, and military behavior.

Valera also praises classical heroes for their *virtudes* and how "buenos fueron mirados, et con acatamiento et reverençia tratados" (Ch. 2, p. 182). The virtues and valor of the Roman leaders contrasts with contemporary ones:

> Si aquellos gentiles que por la divina graçia no fueron alunbrados, victoriosíssimo príncipe, en tanto honor et reverençia tovieron la virtud et los abtos della, quánta ynfamia et vergüença sea a los que biven debaxo de la christiana religión consentir ésta ser menospreçiada, abiltada et abaxada por la manera que en nuestros tienpos está; cada uno lo puede ligeramente conosçer. E sy de lo tal a los prínçipes pequeño cargo viene, esto dexo al juisio de todos. (Ch. 2, p. 182)

The quotation directs the reader to another topical argument: Classical pagans were able to grasp and follow Biblical truth more than Christians. Valera sees a current dearth of leadership and moral integrity, mirroring an analogous view in *Espejo de verdadera nobleza* when comparing medieval knights with their Roman equivalents:

> Ya son mudados por la mayor parte aquellos propósitos, con los quales la cavallería fue comenzada: estonce se buscaba en el cavallero sola virtud, agora es buscada cavallería para no pechar; estonce a fin de honrar esta orden, agora para robar el su nombre; estonce para defender la república, agora para señorearla; estonce la orden los virtuosos buscavan, agora los viles buscan a ella por aprovecharse de solo su nonbre. Ya las costunbres de cavallería en robo e tiranía son reformadas; ya no curamos quánto virtuoso sea el cavallero, mas quánto abundoso sea de riquezas; ya su cuidado que ser solía en conplir grandes cosas es convertido en pura avaricia; ya no envergüençan de ser mercadores e usar de oficios aun más desonestos, antes piensan aquestas cosas

> poder convenirse; sus pensamientos que ser solían en sólo el bien público, con grant deseo de allegar riquesas por mares e tierras son esparzidos. ¿Qué diré? En tanta contrariedad son nuestras cosas a las primeras que remembrarlo me fase vergüença. (Valera 1959f: Ch. X, p. 107)

In both paragraphs, there is a sense of nostalgia for a Golden Age, falling into the common trope of romanticizing the virtuous, ideal past to the detriment of the present.[196] In comparison to *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*, *Doctrinal* has more of a religious overtone. One does wonder whether Valera concentrated more on Christian references to appeal to the monarchs in light of their apparent devotion to orthodox ideology, as well as Valera's and their desire to kickstart the Reconquest. Regardless, Valera's overall message is one that stresses virtue, justice, military prowess, and reliance on quality advisors.

Valera turns to bad role models to warn Fernando away from falling into the same traps:

> E bien asý como debaxo de buenos prínçipes las tales costunbres fueron guardadas, así en tienpo de los malos fueron menguadas et corronpidas; testigo [es] el Philósopho en el quinto de las *Héticas*, donde dise que en tienpo de tirano pocos virtuosos se fallan, porque a enxenplo del rey todo el reyno se conpone. (Ch. 2, p. 183)

He repeats that the monarch is the kingdom's primary model, whose conduct and values will be mirrored by his people. Some of the vices rulers have displayed are:

> Ca dise san Gerónimo en la çentéssima quarta epístola que por la maldat de Nero el ynperio fue muy menguado, et por enxenplo suyo la gula tragó todas las cosas, et su desordenada luxuria mansilló el mundo, et el avariçia de su pecho consumió las riquesas, et su sobervia quebrantó toda la tierra et la maldat suya dio a todos suelta liçençia de pecar. (Ch. 2, p. 183)
>
> Semejante caso se lee de Sardanápalo, rey de Asyria, el qual dado a toda vilesa et luxuria et abominables pecados no curando de la administraçión de la justiçia, perdió la vida y el reyno con ella. El qual dexó subgeto a los de Media, aviendo seýdo de grandes tienpos libre la corona de su reyno. (Ch. 2, p. 183)
>
> Et por los aborresçibles et destesables pecados destos dos malvados reyes [los godos Vitissa y Rodrigo] permitió nuestro Señor quel rey Don Rodrigo forçase la Cava, fija del conde don Julián, et para vengança de su desonra él oviese de meter moros en España […]. Lo más de lo qual, después de muerte de ynfinitos onbres, fue

[196] For the presentation of the Catholic Monarchs' reign as a new Golden Age, see Lawrance (2008).

> puesto en yugo de servidunbre de los enemigos de nuestra Santa Fe Cathólica. (Ch. 2, p. 184)

Though the examples slightly differ, they all tie into the leader's need to avoid immoral conduct, resulting in either chaos or the loss of a realm.

To counter these bad examples, Valera balances them with the message that "sienpre el contrario acaesçió en tienpo de buenos prínçipes" (Ch. 2, p. 184). Valera then analyzes classical *exempla*, stressing that these leaders were paradigms of virtue, learned habits, and military bravery:

> Ca se lee de Octaviano Çésar que con sus bondades tanto acresçentó el ynperio que fue monarca en el mundo et por sus leyes lo governó. Del qual escrive Suetonio, en el libro de *Los doce çésares*, que fue gran versificador et conpuso singulares obras. (Ch. 2, p. 184)

> Tito, que ynperó después de Vaspasiano, fue muy notable prínçipe, et fue muy valiente en armas, et acresçentó mucho el ynperio, et ovo grandes victorias contra sus enemigos, et fue gran letrado en lengua greca et latina, et grande orador et versificó muy bien. (Ch. 2, p. 184)

> Nerba, enperador natural de vuestra España que porfijó a Trajano, con su virtud acresçentó mucho el ynperio et fue gran letrado, et no menos a las armas que a las çiençias se dio. (Ch. 2, p. 184)

All of the leaders combine *armas y letras*, while the last one serves as a *laus hispaniae* for having provided an exemplary Roman emperor, raising the status of the contributions made by Castile.

Throughout the rest of the second chapter, independent of the topic, Valera returns to the importance of continuing to learn, forwarding a message of *historia magistra vitae*. He again touches upon the importance of *sabiduría*. Valera begins with the significance of historical knowledge, warning that being too trustworthy or naïve can be dangerous (Ch. 2, p. 185). The monarch must be aware that not all advice is to be trusted, indirectly suggesting that he is trustworthy. Valera uses classical history to highlight that naivety led to the downfall of many:

> Que sy Theseo no creyera ligeramente a Fedra, no muriera el ynoçente Ypólito, asý crudamente como murió; ni Troya en bivas llamas ardiera si Príamo con ligero consejo no demandara Ansiona a los griegos. Ni por eso digo yo, muy poderoso señor, que los cuerdos deven menospreçiar todo lo que se dise; mas digo que con discreto acatamiento es mucho de mirar quién fabla, y en qué tiempo et lugar, et si el tal es amigo o enemigo, et sy fabla con yra o con saña et si es onbre onesto o ynfame. (Ch. 2, p. 185)

One is unable to personally have every experience to know which advisors to trust and how to distinguish good from bad counsel; hence, Valera states that it is vital to read historical accounts about the past's good and bad leaders to learn from their examples (Ch. 2, p. 186).[197] To drive home his argument, Valera ends the chapter by stressing the value of learning and religion:

> Deve el rey curar que en sus reynos aya estudios generales y en ellos notables maestros en todas las çiençias por los sacros cánones aprovadas, a los quales deve mandar dar honorables mantenimientos. Deve el rey mucho honrar las personas de çiençia, mayormente eclesiásticas et religiosas, porque representan en la tierra la persona de los apósteles. Conviene al rey ser limosnero, mayormente a los onbres fijosdalgo venidos en pobresa. (Ch. 2, p. 187)

The closing paragraph in the second chapter exemplifies two threads that run throughout the work: the reliance on learned culture and historical examples, as well as Christian doctrine. Both work in unison to promote a virtuous, learned monarchy that takes precedence from classical standards, but should surpass their moral and intellectual triumphs as followers of the "true faith". The constant nod to *sabiduría* is apparent, and the language of equating the king to God on earth and his place as the protector of Christianity underscore this message. Finally, the last sentence emphasizes how the monarch has an especially critical role to help and honor *fijosdalgos* going through

[197] Valera mentions in *Ceremonial de príncipes* the importance of relying on examples from the past, referencing Cartagena's discourses in Basel (1959e: 162). Valera's familiarity with Cartagena's work has been noted (Accorsi 2010; Rodríguez Velasco 2014: 92). Valera likewise describes the need to recognize the good and the bad in *Espejo de la verdadera nobleza* (1959f: Ch. 9, p. 105). The idea comes from Seneca's *De clementia* (1928: I.2.2); the Spanish translation could have been Valera's source: "Ca donde no se faze diferençia entre los buenos et los malos, síguese grant turbaçión et osadía para cometer todo pecado" (BNE, MSS/9180, f. 52r: <bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000096000>)

difficult times, giving him a pastoral and charitable role toward esteemed men of the realm.

The third chapter maintains the message of the king's being God's representative on earth, expecting him to hold his *oficio* to the highest standards, promoting justice, peace, and order. This comparison has a clear objective:

> Esta insistencia en la "divinidad" del rey—digámoslo claramente por fin—no es nada inocente: es así como Valera, interpretando correctamente el espíritu de la mejor teoría política humanística, puede agigantar la figura regia hasta límites insospechables, elevando al soberano hasta situarlo en una esfera cualitativamente distinta de la de la nobleza—la esfera del *corpus politicum*, es decir, de lo público—y convirtiéndolo en contraparte paritaria respecto del poder eclesiástico. (Cappelli 2014: 14)

This is a method of elevating the monarch himself, but it also could be added that it is a way to expect much from the king regarding his behavior, his ability to promote justice, and his need to be virtuous. The chapter's opening confirms Cappelli's argument:

> A lo terçero digo que el ofiçio del rey en la tierra es, o deve ser, el quel ánima tiene en el cuerpo, o el que Dios tiene en el mundo, segund Santo Thomás dise en el libro çerca alegado; porque así como el ánima da vida al cuerpo et lo mueve et lo rige, asý en la virtud del rey biven los súbditos a él encomendados. E como Dios por su clemençia en este mundo sostiene los buenos et los malos, los fieles e los ynfieles, a vezes blandamente castigando, a vezes tolerando nuestros herrores, a veses ásperamente corrigiendo, así los reyes que tenéys su lugar en la tierra devéys corregir et castigar los eçesos, acatando la qualidat de los delytos et de las personas deliquentes y el tienpo et lugar. (Ch. 3, p. 187)

The monarch resembles God to his people, serving as a model and stern *magister* to influence, guide, and punish them. As a God on earth, the king should not solely mete out punishments, but also be forgiving: "Así, estas cosas bien miradas, el prínçipe deve dar penas a los meresçientes de aquéllas, aviendo de aquéllos misericordia como de propios mienbros suyos" (Ch. 3, p. 187). If the monarch holds such a powerful and influential place in society, it is not without risk, as God ultimately will be the arbiter of his role as his representative on earth. Valera then warns Fernando, alluding to St. Isidore of Seville's (*c*. 560-636) *De summo bono*:

> que si los prínçipes no acatan al temor de Dios et a la ynfamia et peligro que del mal regimiento se les puede seguir, ligeramente tropieçan et caen en toda manera de viçios et pecados. E quanto en mayor dignidat son puestos, tanto más gravemente serán penados porque aunqu'el pecado del prínçipe en quantidat sea egual al de otro onbre, en qualidat es mucho mayor; porqu'el pecado del prínçipe da causa, ocasión et osadía a los súbditos de pecar. (Ch. 3, p. 188)

If much is given, much is expected. Society starts at the top with the monarch; in order for it to function morally and politically, the ruler must serve as an *exemplum vivi* to his people:

> E por eso los reyes devés ser muy más exçelentes en toda virtud que todos los de vuestro señorío; porque de vuestras virtudes o vicios de neçesidad fasés vuestros súditos partiçipantes. (Ch. 3, p. 188)

In other words, the people will be as virtuous or sinful as their ruler, the one reflecting the other.

If the previous chapters outline the place of the monarch as a role model for his subjects, the three that follow give an idea as to how he should behave toward them in order to avoid tyranny. As discussed by Beceiro Pita, since the thirteenth century the "rey-tirano es, ante todo, el que sustituye la justicia por la crueldad, tal y como se resume en las acusaciones lanzadas contra Pedro I y Enrique IV" (2002: 216). Valera adds to these considerations. First, he states that the monarch should treat his people as he would want God to be toward him (Ch. 4, p. 188). He continues:

> que no es dubda qu'él deseara fallar a Dios benigno et clemente; asý tal deve él ser a sus súditos. Querría él de Dios ser oýdo et ayudado en sus fatigas et neçesidades, así él deve benignamente oýr a sus súditos et remediar sus miserias, trabajos, angustias et afliçiones. (Ch. 4, p. 188)

Valera follows this with two classical examples and a Castilian precedent,

> tomando enxenplo de Trajano que desía que tales devían ser los prínçipes a los suyos quales querrían que Dios fuesse a ellos. Y el grande Alixandre desía que asý quería amar, socorrer et ayudar a los suyos como quería ser dellos amado, servido et ayudado. (Ch. 4, p. 188)

> Del santo et bienaventurado rey Don Fernando, que ganó Sevilla et Córdova et la mayor parte del Andalusía, escrive el arçobispo Don Rodrigo que fue tan benigno et tan plasiente et tan franco a sus súditos que más paresçía padre de todos que rey ni señor. (Ch. 4, p. 188)

Related to these reasons about the king's treatment of his subjects is the question concerning what separates a tyrant from a king. Mentioning Seneca (*c*. 4 BCE-65 CE), Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), Giles of Rome (*c*. 1243-1316), and Aristotle, Valera states:

> la diferençia que ay entre el rey y el tirano es esta: qu'el rey tiene las armas para defender la república, el tirano para ofenderla; el rey busca el provecho de sus súditos, el tirano el provecho suyo; […] el rey govierna según las leyes, el tirano segund su voluntad. (Ch. 5, p. 188)[198]

It seems likely that Valera took these references from a single source, but I have been unable to locate it. A very similar statement is in *Exhortación de la paz* concerning the main difference between the two (1959g: 83). Valera then emphasizes the general disregard that tyrants display for the common good and lack of respect for protecting and acting justly toward their subjects by outlining what constitutes tyranny, referring to Bartolous' *De tirannia*, Aristotle's *Politics*, and *Siete Partidas* (II.i.10):

> dos maneras son de tiranos o de tiranía. La una es de aquellos que ocupan reyno o señoría por fuerça no les pertenesçiendo por legítima suçesión o derecho hereditario […].
>
> Otra manera de tiranía es de aquellos que jurídicamente poseyendo el reyno o señoría por su condición se fasen tiranos et yndignos del regimiento, fasiendo contra su ofiçio et yendo contra la propiedat de su nonbre. (Ch. 6, p. 189)

In the context of the political struggle over legitimate succession and justly holding legal power, the *exempla* are noteworthy.

As for the first point, it is interesting that Valera does not mention Juana "la Beltraneja" as an example of someone attempting, in the Catholic Monarchs' view, to unjustly usurp

[198] For Valera's use of Aristotle, see the useful table by Taylor (2018: 309-314). His use of Seneca is analyzed by Blüher (1983: 205-211).

the throne; on the other hand, as *Doctrinal* is geared toward Fernando's aspirations in Castile, this matter is not of direct interest to Valera. This may also add evidence that Isabel's interests in Castile were more settled in Valera's mind, and what was up for debate was Fernando's status and power. Another plausible justification is that the omission of Juana or the struggle could be a way of undermining and not speaking into existence the forces that oppose the Catholic Monarchs' rule. This exclusion is more remarkable since Valera does later directly call Juana illegitimate and rejects her being Enrique IV's child in *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1927: Ch. 1, p 4; Ch. 3, p. 8). This could also serve as another attempt to get into the queen's good graces. Instead of mentioning Juana in *Doctrinal*, he first cites an exchange between a pirate and an emperor, allegedly culled from St. Augustine's (354-430) *City of God* (426):

> como lo nota santo Agustín en el quarto de la *Çibdat de Dios*, donde dise que como un cossario llamado Diomedes fuese traýdo presso ante Alixandre, y él le preguntase que por qué tormentava todos los mareantes robándoles lo suyo; él respondió: "Por la misma razón que tú atormentas la tierra y el mundo todo et los robas; et porque yo esto fago con una pequeñuela nao llámanme robador; et porque tú lo fases con gran flota et infinitas gentes llámante enperador." (Ch. 6, p. 189)[199]

Valera does give one Castilian example concerning tyranny, but far enough in the past to avoid any potential polemical reactions:

> De lo qual avemos enxenplo en estos vuestros reynos en el rey Don Pedro, el qual por su cruesa et dura governaçión perdió el reyno que por justa et derecha suçesión le pertenesçía; et cobrólo Don Enrique, segundo deste nonbre en Castilla y en León, no le pertenesçiendo de derecho, el qual asý virtuosamente se ovo en la governaçión destos reynos, que meresçió de todos ser fielmente por rey obedesçido et acatado, et por tal fue por el santo padre avido et aprovado. (Ch. 6, p. 189)

[199] See Cicero's *De officiis* and Livy's *History of Rome* for comparable accounts (1913: II. 11.40; 1919-1967: XXXVII.11). Cartagena's ciceronian translation does not include the exchange or a reference to St. Augustine (1996: 292-293); *Memoriale virtutum* mentions Diomedes, but the example is different (2022: Bk. I, Ch. 20). Arévalo's *Suma de la política* has a similar citation (1959: Bk. II.11, p. 299).

This example highlights the conceptual difficulties over when and under what circumstances it is permissible to defy a legitimate ruler and declare him unfit for being tyrannical.

Valera justifies the overthrowing of the monarchy based on Pedro's tyranny, but there is also another unstated motive: Enrique II (reigned 1369-1379) was the founder of the Trastamara dynasty, meaning that Fernando and Isabel were the descendants and beneficiaries of Enrique's usurpation. Valera follows this by offering a defense of the current political situation:

> Asý digo, prínçipe muy humano, qu'es mucho peor el rey que por su condiçión se torna tirano qu'el que tiránicamente syn le pertenesçer ocupa o posee reyno o señoría; porque como quiera que según Dios et buena conçiençia quien possee alguna cossa con mal título syenpre es tenido a la restitución, como se nota en el capítulo *Vigilanti de prescriçionibus*; pero quanto a la propiedat del ofiçio, justa et derechamente rigiendo los súditos cobra el nonbre de verdadero rey et fásese capás del regimiento. (Ch. 6, p. 189)

Tyrannicide, the deposition of rulers, and the usurpation of the crown were popular topics not only during this century, but in the classical world and Visigothic Spain (Castillo Lozano 2016-2017: 10-25). Among the most important Visigothic sources was St. Isidore, who helped spread these concepts in Castile (Castillo Lozano 2016-2017: 22-25).[200] In some ways, this explains Valera's focus on justice and ruling with virtue and wisdom. This attention to one's personal behavior and being socially conscious is a constant in Valera's work, as well (Di Camillo 1996b: 230). Valera justifies an usurpation if, after the fact, the new monarch is able to rule with justice; that is, the initial illicit act can be rectified if the person proves himself:

> Ca los reyes deven guardar las leyes como paresçe por la desena ley del título primero de la primera *Partida*: donde dise que el rey deve guardar sus leyes como su honrra et su fechura y el pueblo como a su vida et su guarda, que el rey que sus leyes no guarda tirano et no rey se deve llamar. Ca dise santo Esidro en el terçero *De sumo bono*: entonçe tenga el prínçipe que serán sus leyes bien guardadas quando las él guardare et

[200] For how mirrors of princes in Castile presented images of good kings see: Rucquoi and Bizzarri 2005.

> las acatare con reverençia; que los prínçipes tenidos son de honrrar et guardar sus leyes. (Ch. 6, pp. 189-190)

The argument is interesting from an ethical and rhetorical perspective. Though he does not explicitly suggest it, Valera gives Fernando a scheme for becoming the *verdadero rey*. The position forwarded in this context is essentially that a king can prove himself to be legitimate and worthy by—after taking the crown—upholding and defending the laws, living ethically, and protecting his people: that is, Fernando can become the rightful heir to Castile by following this *esquema valeriano*. Valera's view on these legal matters are consistent to his thought, as he is

> uno de los más eficientes propagandistas de ambos reinados, el de Enrique IV y el de Isabel, insiste en que el juicio acerca de un soberano sólo puede emitirse correctamente si se tienen en cuenta las buenas leyes que entonces se promulgaron y cómo fueron cumplidas, ya que de ello dependía el bienestar de la "república". (Suárez Fernández 2001: 31)

This appears to give Fernando an approach to gain legitimacy. If there are undoubtedly subjects who will challenge his validity, this may be remedied by ruling with justice and virtue; that is, acting the part will give you the part. This could explain why Valera puts such a strong emphasis on virtue, justice, morality, and historical *exempla*: these are the keys to ensuring that Fernando can acquire legitimacy and stabilize the realm.

Valera also analyzes the responsibilities subjects have toward their leader. The primary task for them is: "deven amar et servir et temer su rey de todo coraçón et de toda voluntad et con todas sus fuerças como paresçe por el título treseno de la segunda *Partida*" (Ch. 7, p. 190).[201] This parallels the message from chapter two's rubric that discusses how the king should do the same toward God. Tying into Arévalo's message about limited

[201] Valera has a slightly different message to Rodrigo Pimentel (1440-1499) about fear in *Breviloquio de virtudes*: "Pues entre todas las otras cosas procurad ser más amado que temido; la contraria condición, de lo qual todos los tiranos procuran y no son poco en ellos engañados" (1959d: 150).

monarchic power in the previous chapter, Valera makes an interesting comment about the people's duties to the ruler:

> deven asý mesmo los súbditos conplir et obedesçer los líçitos mandamientos de su rey et con toda diligençia esecutarlos; deven guardarlo de todo peligro et poner por él sus personas a la muerte. (Ch. 7, p. 190)

This puts limitations on the monarch's power, undermining his ability to give any command without pushback (*líçitos mandamientos*). This mirrors views expressed in one letter and *Exhortación de la paz*. In an epistle to Enrique IV (1462), he states the need for faithful servants to give honest advice to prevent the downfall of the kingdom (1959b: Epístola IV, p. 8); this is illustrated by rulers who behaved tyrannically and did not know how to manage their realm, resulting in negative outcomes:

> trese reyes godos que en España murieron por manos de sus vasallos, por su mala governación […] [. Y] no devéis, señor, olvidar al rey Don Pedro, que fue quarto avuelo vuestro, el qual por su dura e mala gobernación perdió la vida y el reino con ella. (1959b: Epístola IV, p. 9)

The author, thus, does not present the monarch

> con poder omnímodo, sino sujeto al bien de su pueblo, al que debe dar mayor entrada en las tareas del gobierno, siquiera sea en el asesoramiento y el consejo (tema reiterado en Mosén Diego); así también en las medidas de estricta justicia, tales como retribuir sus servicios debidamente. (Toda Oliva 1950: 169)

Valera also places personal limits on the king's power in *Exhortación de la paz* (Valera 1959g: 85-86; see also Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 234). Related to upholding justice, peace, and order is having honest and wise advisors (Valera 1959g: 78; see also Rodríguez Velasco 1996a: 234). The blending of wise, truthful counselors, the promotion of peace and justice, and the limitations all worked toward a goal that is common in *Exhortación de la paz*, as it is "un sintético regimiento de príncipes en el que insta al monarca a definir un nuevo ámbito de concordia cortesana" (Gómez Redondo 2014: 133). In *Doctrinal*, there are comparable arguments, as well as a clear message directed toward the monarch's power over his subjects: obedience and compliance, yes, but only if they are licit

commands. With these perspectives in mind, the following evaluation is only partially true:

> Valera es también un monárquico convencido, en el sentido descrito por Maravall, defensor de una monarquía absoluta, imperial hispánica y proteccionista. De esta manera, su interés legal es devolver ese estatuto a la monarquía española, tal y como fue concebido jurídicamente por Alfonso X y Alfonso XI. (Rodríguez Velasco 1996: 269)

Valera's perspectives appear more aligned with Arévalo's *Suma de la política*. Valera supports a strong monarchy that is able to operate more independently; however, as Rodríguez Velasco indicates, it is in the mold outlined by Alfonso X and expanded by Alfonso XI: that is, the limitations can more precisely be placed within the contextual developments over the past few decades concerning the power of *privados* and *poderío real absoluto* (see above, pp. 159-160). Consequently, Valera's theory of monarchy is one based on a massive amount of power and independence, but limited so as to not exactly encompass *una monarquía absoluta*: a subject cannot be expected to follow illegitimate orders, which likely means that one should not acquiesce to instructions that directly break the law or custom, ignore knightly ethical obligations, or go against Catholic dogma. Given the stress placed on the monarch's virtuous behavior and ability to promote justice and order, one could argue that demands that went against both would be seen as illegal.

This calls into question a couple of matters, while also complicating what separates a tyrant and illegitimate government from a king and legitimate one. First, who is the ultimate arbiter as to whether the king's order is illicit? Second, what exactly should happen if the monarch does overstep limits? Valera is silent on both points, but this was a constant problem then and now, as it was and is difficult to "encontrar un mecanismo institucional que impida la transgression de [los principios éticos]" (Scandellari, "Mosén Diego de Valera": 7). It is likely that this would have made the monarch ponder the

question, given the developments of the *Farsa de Ávila* (1465) and Valera's lack of support for Enrique IV; as mentioned, reigns like that of Pedro "the Cruel" were viewed in a negative light (Ch. 6, p. 189). It is then plausible that Valera is warning Fernando that consent and a working relationship with his subjects must be kept in mind, as he cannot simply do as he pleases.

Another topic that is related to Valera's advice to monarchs is his being prone to making direct and at times risky comments, giving blunt counsel and opinions, especially in the aforementioned epistle to Enrique IV (1959b: Epístola IV, 8-9).[202] Valera also indicates this is the proper *modus operandi* for advisors in *Doctrinal*, hinting at his suitability:

> Dévenle revelar toda cosa que sepan ser conplidera a su serviçio et al bien común de la cosa pública de sus reynos, dándole provechosos et saludables consejos no çercanos a su voluntad mas convenibles a su serviçio et a utilidat et bien de sus reynos […]. E los que a sabiendas a su rey consejasen el contrario desto farían trayción conosçida, como se nota en la quinta ley del título noveno de la segunda *Partida*. (Ch. 7, p. 190)

A loyal, trustworthy subject must not simply affirm a monarch's belief, but is obligated to give the best advice for the common good. Similar counsel is detailed to Pacheco in *Tratado de providencia contra fortuna*:

> De la quinta e postrimera [arma contra la fortuna], que es el consejo, devéis mucho trabajar de aver tres o quatro personas fiables con quien todos los fechos comuniquéis. (1959c: 143)[203]

Exhortación de la paz stresses that an advisor should not give counsel only to appease the ruler, but tell him what he should know (1959g: 79). Both of these comments and the one

[202] Valera's letters are discussed in detail by Pontón (2014). Lawrance considers how the appropriateness of commenting on political matters was debated in Valera's epistles, as well as Pulgar's (1988). See also Scandellari (2007: esp. pp. 145-150). I want to thank Jeremy Lawrance for sending me a copy of his article for this chapter.

[203] This same treatise also advises Pacheco to obtain a *juramento* from his advisors; this underscores the consistency with which texts had to consider this matter (1959c: 144).

limiting the king's power in making orders carve out some room for counselors and subjects to push back on the monarch's will.

As virtue is a constant theme, Valera dedicates the last two chapters (eight and nine) to defining and describing it.[204] He gives the definition for virtue referencing several authors, in the following order below—Panaetius of Rhodes (185-110 BCE), Aristotle, Lactantius (*c*. 250-*c*. 325 CE), St. Augustine, and St. Gregory (540-604 CE), though the first author only survived via Cicero's *De officiis*:

- virtud es saber qué es bueno, qué malo, qué torpe, qué honesto. (Ch. 8, p. 190)
- virtud es un ábito voluntario en medio consistiente quanto a nós. (Ch. 8, p. 190)
- virtud es fuyr del viçio, vençer la cobdiçia, refrenar el deleyte. (Ch. 8, p. 190)
- "virtud es una ygualdat de la vida en todo lugar consonante a la rasón." Et por él en otra manera, "virtud es un ábito de la voluntad bien ordenada." (Ch. 8, p. 190)
- virtud es derechamente de Dios sentir et derechamente entre los onbres bivir. Asý la voluntad es bien ordenada quando la razón derechamente conseja et la voluntad derechamente manda et las fuerças subgetas derechamente obedesçen. (Ch. 8, p. 190)

The citations resemble those presented in *Exhortación de la paz*, given in the same order—except the last quotation is attributed to *Crisóstomo* (John Chrysostom, 347-407)—, adding to the parallels between the treatises:

- Virtus est scire quid bonum sit et malum, quid turpe, quid honestum. (1959g: 83)
- Virtus est abitus voluntarius in medio consistens quo ad nos. (1959g: 83)
- Virtus est vicium fugere, cupiditatem compescere, libidinem refrenare. (1959g: 83)
- "Virtus est equalitas quedam vite undique consona[ns] racioni." E por él en otra manera: "Virtus est abitus mentis bene institute." (1959g: 83)
- Virtus est recte de Deo sentire et recte inter homines agere. (1959g: 84)

[204] Villa Prieto has a chart that summarizes Valera's description of the *virtudes capitales* in *Breviloquio de virtudes* alongside its dependence on *Siete Partidas* (2011: 169).

I have been unable to find a single source that transmits these quotations, but I shall consider each one. The first matches in each text, apparently from Cartagena's translation of *De officiis*, which has a chapter on *Paneçio*:

> Paneçio, el qual sin contienda disputó de los ofiçios cuidosamente—e nós prinçipalmente le seguimos con alguna emienda—, propuestas tres maneras, en las quales los omes suelen deliberar e aver consejo sobre el oficio: la una, si es honesto o turpe lo que dubdan si se fará; la otra, si es provechoso o no; la tercera, si aquello que paresçe ser honesto repugna con aquello que paresçe ser provechoso. (1996: Bk. 2, Ch. 1, p. 318, lin. 1-6)[205]

The quotations do not line up exactly, but Valera transmits some of the main ideas, as well as the reference to *Paneçio*. The second quotation originates from Aristotle's *Ethics* (1926: II.1); however, it seems more plausible to have been directly rephrased based on one of Aquinas' comments in *Quaestiones disputatae de virtutibus*: "Praeterea, philosophus dicit in II *Ethic*., quod virtus est habitus electivus in mente consistens" (1999: Art. 1, *sed contra* 2). Bearing in mind Aquinas' influence on medieval thought and the interpretation of Aristotle, it would have been easy to come across in some text or florilegium. The third quotation is also a blend of ideas from Lactantius' *Divinae Institutione*, but was almost certainly taken from some intermediary work. The first idea is aptly attributed to Horace (65-8 BCE) by Lactantius, while the rest seems to be from latter:

> "Virtus est, vitium fugere et sapientia prima | stultitia caruisse." […] Verum nos faciamus, quod ille debuit. Virtus est, iram cohibere, cupiditatem compescere, libidinem refrenare; id est, enim, vitium fugere. (1844: Bk. VI, Ch. 5, p. 652)[206]

Quotation four originates from Aquinas' *Dogmatum theologicorum de Deo, Deique Proprietatibus*: "Nunc attende utrum tibi videatur virtus esse quedam equalitas vite, rationi undique consentientis" (1730: Vol. III, Bk. III, Ch. XIX, p. 153a). The main

[205] See also Lactanctius' *Divinae Institutione*: "virtus est homini scire id quod quaeque habeat res, virtus, scire homini rectum utile quid sit, honestum, quae bona, quae mala item, quid inutile turpe inhonestum" (1844: Bk. VI, Ch. 5, p. 649).
[206] For Horace's work, see his *Epistulae* (2010: Bk. 1, Epistle 1, p. 252, v. 41).

difference is between *consentientis* and *consona[ns]*.[207] The second part of the fourth quotation appears to be from St. Augustine, but I have only confirmed this based on a scholar's work (Pansters 2020: 215, n. 46). Pansters gives the quotation: "Virtus est habitus mentis bene compositae." Close, but not exactly the same. Finally, the last quotation I have been unable to track down, but it probably is not the direct source. Although these definitions differ somewhat in *Doctrinal*, Valera summarizes what matters—in his view—from these authorities:

> E aunque aquestas difiniçiones, prínçipe muy ylustre, parescan en algo diferentes a un fin tienden et una mesma cosa quieren; es a saber, a nós apartar de los viçios et pecados et atraernos al serviçio de Dios et limpieza de nuestras conçiençias. (Ch. 8, p. 190)

The synopsis is intriguing. Despite only the last of the definitions referencing God, Valera does; this highlights how he is insistent upon the monarch's connection to God and his role on his behalf. Finally, what these citations demonstrate above all is the importance of relying on classical *exempla* for an added sense of *auctoritas*, building upon the cultural and intellectual precedents of the Ancients. Despite the altering or distorting of the quotations, Valera does so in a pioneering way by using rhetoric and classical allusion adapted to Castilian vernacular humanism to give his advice a sheen of unquestionable learnedness and authority.

After giving the general description of virtue, in the last chapter Valera digs into the details and requirements:

> Pues desçendiendo a la división de las virtudes, prínçipe muy esclaresçido, digo que son quatro maneras de virtudes según Egidio de Roma escrive en el su conpendio, conviene saber: cardinales, theologales, yntelectuales, corporales. (Ch. 9, p. 191)[208]

[207] Penna's emendation is reasonable based on the testimonies: "conſonas racionj" (BNE, MSS/1341, f. 56r); "cō̄ſonas racionj" (BNE, MSS/9263, f. 12r)

[208] *Cf*. Cartagena's *Memoriale virtutum*: "Sciendum est ergo quod virtutes distinguntur in tria genera principaliter: alie enim sunt theologice, alie intellectuales, alie morales" (2022: Bk. 1, Ch. 2, lin. 3-4). Valera also has a gloss that is similar to *Doctrinal*'s quotation in *Tratado en defensa de las virtuosas mujeres* (1983: 64-65).

Valera's reference to Giles of Rome is not surprising:

> *De regimine principum* (*ca*. 1280), the most influential *speculum principis* of the Middle Ages, set a major precedent for following Aquinas' teachings on the virtues in a political context and itself became a major source of moral philosophy for late medieval readers. (Bejczy 2007b: 139)[209]

But Valera spends most of the remaining discussion on intellectual virtues, describing them as:

> Yntelectuales son las çiençias especulativas, es a saber: filosofía natural, raçional, metafísica, matemática, geumetría. […]. Et las virtudes yntelectuales por algunos son nonbradas en otra manera; es a saber: sabiduría, çiençia, entendimiento, prudençia et arte. (Ch. 9, p. 191)

This reflects Cartagena's *Memoriale virtutum*: "Intellectuales virtutes sunt quinque, videlicet, sapiencia, sciencia, intellectus, prudencia, et ars, sicut sunt quinque modi per quos anima dicit verum" (2022: Bk. 1, Ch. 4, lin. 1-2). Valera then weighs the subcategories of intellectual virtues.

Before moving on to these virtues, I shall analyze an interesting reference related to Valera's own attempts to influence royal policy. Under the theological consideration of *caridat*, Valera discusses human errors when dealing with their *próximos*, citing how we are all in the end the children of Adam and Eve:

> Quiso nuestro Señor un onbre solo formar, del qual todos los onbres proçediéssemos porque todos así como hermanos nos amásemos. No assí fiso de los brutos animales, ni de los ángeles. El amor es una debda natural de que ningún onbre es eçeptado. (Ch. 9, p. 192)

The gloss that accompanies this quotation is what is more interesting, supporting violent acts against Muslims, while defending Jews; in it Valera addresses why, keeping in mind

[209] See for information on Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* regarding this same topic (Bejczy 2007b: 157). *Siete Partidas* also addresses the four cardinal virtues: *cordura*, *temperança*, *fortaleza*, and *justicia* (1555: II.v.8). Cartagena's *Memoriale virtutum* does, as well, but places justice first (Morrás and Lawrance 2022: 12; for the exact reference see Cartagena 2022: Bk. 1, Ch. 8). The cardinal virtues were of constant interest among knightly authors (Keen 1984: 158-159).

his opinion about loving and caring for one's *próximo*, it is appropriate to engage in war against *moros* and not *judíos*:

> Al qual se puede responder que la guerra se fase o deve fazer a los moros porque según la muchedunbre et poder grande suyo si guerra no se les fisiese, podrían en tanto cresçer que sojudgasen la christiandat. […] A los judíos no es permiso faserles guerra por dos rasones. Primera, porque son puestos so yugo de servidunbre de todas las gentes por el grand desconosçimiento que a nuestro Señor ovieron, aviendo d'Él resçebido mayores beneficios que ninguna otra nasción. […] Segunda razón, porque los judíos fueron fundadores de la Iglesia. (Gloss 18: pp. 200-201)[210]

This argument is common among *conversos*, going against the idea of *limpieza de sangre* after the Toledo riots (1449); two prominent texts are: Cartagena's *Defensorium unitatis christianae* (after 1450), and Juan de Torquemada's (1388-1468) *Tractatus contra madianitas et ismaelitas* (1449?) (Brocato 2018: 171). Brocato also details the political ramifications behind the event, indicating that the

> attacking [of] Álvaro de Luna and *conversos* is an indirect means of intervening in the conflict between Juan II of Castile and his cousins, the *Infantes* of Aragon, of critiquing elites in general, and of reacting to increasing disempowerment of the *pueblo y común* and the extraction of wealth from the latter. […] [T]his complex interplay of elite political alliances can with reason be characterized on one level as consisting of two opposing sides—Juan II, Álvaro de Luna, the royal administration, and the shifting array of nobles supporting the crown; versus the *Infantes* of Aragon, the *común*, and the shifting and often overlapping array of nobles supporting their cause. (Brocato 2018: 186; see also pp. 166, 172-173)[211]

Valera, then, was working in an atmosphere where these questions were not simply debated, but resulted in violence against Jews and *conversos*. There is also logic to Valera's argument. Muslims were a potential threat, despite their numbers and military

[210] Valera does not distinguish Jews from Muslims in *Exhoración de la paz*, providing evidence that the context of the Toledo riots and the atmosphere were on his mind (1959g: 84). Perhaps Valera believed that in the current climate a more forceful distinction between the two was necessary. Netanyahu gives some more information about Valera's defense of the Jews in *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*, arguing that chapter nine was written after the Toledo riots against the *converso* population in 1449 (1995: 525, 1151); see also Amran (2009) and Accorsi (2011: 191). Armán also states that Valera discusses other confrontations between Jews and Christians, such as the "Fuego de la Magdalena" in Toledo (1467) (2020). For more on issues faced by Jews and *conversos*, as well as related texts, see: Amran (2009: esp. pp. 65-71, 77-93). Valera frequently turns to *autoglosa* in his works (Rodríguez Velasco 2007); *Tratado en defensa de las virtuosas mujeres* especially confirms the scholar's point, as the glosses are longer than the work itself: the text (pp. 49-60); the glosses (pp. 60-83) (Valera 1983).

[211] For more information on the Toledo riots and the questions concerning *conversos*, see: Amran (2009a: 71-78); González Rolán, Saquero Suárez-Somonte, and González Saquero (2012).

power having greatly diminished over the course of the fifteenth century. In contrast, Jews were always a minority in the Iberian Peninsula and could not realistically challenge the Christians through force; Valera's claim that they were essentially a subdued people is accurate. There is another personal reason for Valera's argument. As mentioned, Valera's father was a *converso*, adding to the rationale for defending Jews. This is not the only time he had done so. In *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*, similarly to Cartagena's *Defensorium unitatis Christianae*, Valera contends that Jewish converts are able to earn true nobility, stating that it is no blight on their record to have once been Jewish and then converted to Christianity; in fact, if anything, noble Jews who become Christians raise their nobility by also obtaining *nobleza theologal* (Peters 2020: 323).[212] Having been written in 1475/1476, *Doctrinal*'s defense of Jews tries to protect them from any intrusive policies that could lead to a type of *guerra* against them. Valera claims that Jews are already subservient and few in number, so are not a threat to the kingdom; he also ties them to Christianity by giving them the special status of having founded the Church. Overall, his defense has both a military, tactical argument, as well as a moral one.

Valera continues by promoting intellectual virtues. The first one focuses on prudence, subdivided into categories. Perhaps the most interesting and discussed among these is *clemencia,* as it could have further significance during the war over succession: "muy magnánimo prínçipe, la clemençia es virtud muy neçesaria para socorrer los humanos herrores" (Ch. 9, p. 194). He adds more details:

> ni conviene tener clemençia tan larga que a todos perdonemos, ni tan estrecha et apretada que no perdonemos a ninguno; porque no menos sería crueldad a todos perdonar que no perdonar a ninguno. Y deve el prínçipe ser muy más ligero en perdonar sus ynjurias et ofenssas que en las agenas, paresçiendo a nuestro Señor cuyo lugar tiene en la tierra; el qual muy más ligeramente perdona los errores que contra Él cometemos que las ynjurias o dapños que a nuestros próximos fasemos. Que perdonar

[212] *El Victorial*'s discussion on what is and who can count as a knight is more restrictive than Valera's merit-based view (2014: Pro., Ch. 8; Pt. 1, Ch. 29, pp. 115-116).

> los daños agenos no es clemençia, mas ynjustiçia; y el rey de su ofiçio es obligado a la faser, et muy mayormente sy es requerido. (Ch. 9, p. 194)

The advice suggests a middle ground. The monarch should overlook some of the offenses against his own person or interests, but he, as the protector of his people, ought not pardon any against his subjects. Valera's rationale would later be followed in the Cortes de Toledo: although those opposing Isabel had more of their *mercedes* revoked than her allies, they were not completely stripped of their privileges (Belenguer 1999: 123). This message is sensible for the decisions that Fernando would have to make after the conflict.

Another intellectual virtue that is discussed is justice; this is particularly important since it is an emphasized point throughout the treatise. Valera subdivides justice according to three separate authors: Macrobius (370-430 CE), St. Augustine, and Aristotle. As for the first: "La justiçia según Macrobio en el primer libro suyo tiene siete partes; conviene saber: religión, piedad, ynoçençia, amistança, reverençia, concordia, misericordia" (Ch. 9, p. 194). Macrobius' *In Somnium Scipionis commentarii*'s (*c*. 400) reception was more confined to the latter part of the Middle Ages, but it "stimulated the connection of political virtues with the religious dimension of life" (Bejczy 2007b: 216). As Valera correlated political and religious virtue in *Doctrinal*, the reference is sensible. The original quotation from Macrobius is: "iustitiae [politici], servare unicuique quod suum est; de iustitia veniunt innocentia, amicitia, concordia, pietas, religio, affectus, humanitas" (2014: Bk. I.iv.7). In spite of the alterations, Valera is presenting Macrobius' argument, although if it is unlikely that he took the citation directly from him.[213]

[213] The BNE has one Latin copy of the complete work from the fifteenth century (Mss/9000: <bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000088909>). Kelly lists a fairly large number of anthologies, florilegia, and manuals that contain Macrobius' works across Europe (1999: 23-25).

Amistança and *concordia* are also relevant to justice, showing the continued importance across the four chapters. Friendship was an important sociopolitical consideration:

> The medieval concept of friendship was derived from the classical tradition where true friendship was defined principally in relation to virtue and was seen as a strong personal bond but one which united the virtuous to the greater good and so as integrally related to political interactions. (Haseldine 2013: 70)

Moreover, the concept had legal value (Monsalvo Antón 2017: 342); and more broadly writing helped to create pacts that publicized efforts to quell conflict, having the dual function of promoting personal and political alliances (Quintanilla Raso 2013: 70, 75; see also Nieto Soria and Villarroel González 2013). Valera states what it entails:

> Amistança es una egualdat de los coraçones en querer lo líçito et honesto, cuya ley según Tulio es que de los amigos honestas cosas pidamos, et por causa de los amigos honestas cosas fagamos. (Ch. 9, p. 195)

The reference is taken from the *Vademecum* florilegium, which I shall cite from Cañizares Ferriz's article: "Hec igitur lex in amicicia sanciatur, ubi neque roguemus res turpes neque faciamus rogati" (2010: 228; see also: *Siete Partidas*: IV.xxvii.1-7; Heusch 1993: 48; Cartagena 1996: 331).[214] This virtue is likewise glossed by Valera:

> Para conosçer quál es verdadera amistança es de saber qu'el Philósopho en el octavo de las *Éthicas* pone tres maneras de amistança; conviene saber: provechosa, deleytable, honesta. […] De la terçera que es por virtud, ésta es verdadera amistad. De la qual Tullio fablando dise: "Yo vos amonesto qu'el amistad antepongáys a todas las cosas humanas: ninguna cosa es más abta, ninguna más conviniente para las cosas prósperas o adversas, ninguna cosa mejor avemos de los dioses ynmortales, ninguna más alegre que la amistad. La qual segund sentencia suya no puede aver lugar salvo entre los virtuosos; ca entre los malos, concordia o egualança puede aver, verdadera amistad nunca." (Gloss 21: p. 202).

Part of this quotation comes from the same florilegium, culling it from *De Amicicia*: "Ego bos ortari tantum posum ubi amiciciam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis" (Cañizares

[214] For more details on this manuscript and another related to it: BNE, MSS/9513 and MSS/9522 (Muñoz Jiménez 2006).

Ferriz 2010: 228). The second part is pulled out of the same source, but Valera alters it to fit into his argument: "Reperiuntur itaque uere amicicie dificilime in hiis qui in honoribus rei publice uersantur" (Cañizares Ferriz 2010: 228). The quotation is analogous to *Siete Partidas*, accentuating how this topic was a common one to build better ties between the elites and promote virtue (Alfonso X 1555: IV.xxvii.1-7). The gloss also indicates how friendship, virtue, and peace were intertwined. As for *concordia*, in addition to the quotations, Valera argues: "Concordia es virtud que conserva los pueblos et los acresçienta" (Ch. 9, p. 195).[215] Conceptualizing both together is logical, as the language of friendship "has been seen to function as a language of inclusion, articulating and promoting group or institutional identity in ways that transcended simple instrumental strategies" (Haseldine 2013: 73). Hence, both would work toward collective cohesion and the common good (Haseldine 2013: 74). For a body politic to have a chance at success, there must not be divisions among the people.

Valera especially focuses on the intellectual virtue of justice. The author considers it as a matter of reward and punishment based on one's actions: "La justiçia según santo Agustín en el libro *De spiritu et anima*, tiene dos partes; es a saber: severidat et liberalidad" (Ch. 9, p. 195). Valera details the first part's place in society:

> Severidad es virtud que da penas condignas a los merescimientos; o en otra manera, severidat es virtud por la qual discretamente nós avemos en el dar de las penas. (Ch. 9, p. 195)

Punishment is critical to maintaining justice. On the other hand, the ruler should not solely mete out *penas*, but be seen as one who encourages good behavior with rewards: "Liberalidad es aquella virtud que da donde deve y a quien deve, y lo que deve y quando deve; y resçibe lo que suyo es no tomando de lo ageno" (Ch. 9, p. 195). In the context of

[215] The opening lines of *Exhortación de la paz* likewise focus on *concordia*, adding to the parallels between the works, both written during a civil conflict (1959g: 77).

a monarch, he would be expected to give *mercedes* and other benefits according to what is earned and the status of each individual. Valera also references Aristotle's view on the topic:

> E según el Philósopho en el quarto de las *Éthicas* la justiçia tiene quatro partes; es a saber: legal, particular, comutativa, distributiva. Legal es la justiçia escripta […]. Particular es aquella justiçia que cada uno de sí mesmo fase. Comutativa es aquella que se exerçe en las contrataçiones que unos con otros fasemos; quando sin engaño o maliçia en ellas nós avemos. Justiçia distributiva es aquella que da ofiçios et dignidades a quien deve et como debe, según çierta proporçión dando las mayores cossas a los mayores et más dignos; a la qual conviene resçebir sus rentas y exaçiones de quien deve, no agraviando los súbditos, ni poniéndoles nuevos tributos syn muy gran nesçesydat, mas discretamente según la oportunidat de los tienpos lo requiere. (Ch. 9, p. 195)

Cartagena focuses on justice and the ethical considerations that the ruler must make when handing out dignities in *Memoriale virtutum*, as well:

> Videmus in provinciis que reguntur sub rege quod reges distribuunt inter subditos bona communia, conferunt enim dignitates et officia subditis suis et donant peccunias et alias res mobiles et inmobiles. (2022: Bk. 1, Ch. 11, lin. 5-8)

> […] In distributiva enim justicia proporcio fit sic: debet attendi qualitas personarum quibus distribucio fit et quantitas rerum que distribuuntur, et proporcionare quantitatem rei cum qualitate persone, et hac proporcione habita distribuere, ut in exemplo: si princeps vult distribuere centum decem militibus et cuilibet militia dat decem, equaliter videtur distribuere quantum ad rem, sed non est equalis distribucio si persone sunt inequales, est enim digniori magis tribuendum. (2022: Bk. I, Ch. 12, lin. 5-12)[216]

Given the polemics and violence that resulted from *mercedes* and other dignities handed out to nobles, this is prudent advice. The monarch must strike a balance between rewarding individuals who have earned their due and not overly penalizing them unless absolutely necessary, while still recognizing the importance of hierarchy and merit when distributing these benefits. In other words, status and rewards must also be a part of the royal strategy in order to rule justly.

[216] In a note to the second part of this quotation, Morrás and Lawrance direct the reader to Aristotle's *Ethics* (1131a26-29) and Aquinas' *Sententia Ethicorum* (V.4.11) for comparative purposes (2022: Bk. I, Ch. 12, n. 100).

Doctrinal underscores the continuing influence, and perhaps ultimate triumph, of learned culture within the government's power structure, especially after the Cortes de Toledo (1480) where court functionaries essentially had to be university graduates in order to serve (RAH, Inc./158, sig. c1r-c2r);[217] the positions at the royal council gradually excluded the high nobility, as they became more of "a fulltime and often long-term job", requiring a professionalized bureaucracy (Strayer 2011: 93-94). *Letrados* would prove to be necessary and effective for promoting ideologies, increasing the value of and interest in history and literature. Though blood nobility—however defined or limited—was never irrelevant, its power increasingly waned, forcing members of the political elite to take more interest in intellectual pursuits if they wanted to have an impactful voice. The 1480 *corte* and the general cultural movement instantly drew second sons of the nobility into the university to make it as a functionary; yet, there was a marked difference with previous periods, as these new university students were lay lawyers and not churchmen, making possible the laicization and adding to the administrative foundations of the "state". The monarchy's interests were more united with nobles, *letrados*, and ecclesiastical figures, where each of them could benefit from regal power and its ability to give privileges (de Dios 1985: 38, 45; see also Gil 2020). Power has always been the combination of *fortitudo et sapientia*, but the closing decades of the Middle Ages and the early stages of the modern era highlighted the effect that literate society was having on *Hispania*. Diego de Valera perhaps epitomizes the way learned culture could be used to gain power and influence; he would not be the last.

Conclusion

[217] In this same text, the importance and prestige of learned culture is evident. First, the monarchs are sure to address those who falsely impersonate *letrados*, requiring all new graduates to prove their degrees upon earning them, underscoring its value in society (sig. d1r); second, books are excluded from import duties to make them more available (sig. c7v).

The transition from feudal monarchy to the modern state, common to all of Europe, followed a specially bumpy road in the case of the Hispanic kingdoms: the receding but persistent contact with Muslim territories, particularly significant in making Castile a frontier land, the successive alliances and confrontations between the peninsular Christian kingdoms, and the tensions between and melding of classical, Germanic, semitic, and Hispanic cultural traditions complicated the evolution toward a cohesive, stable *señorío*. An intricate part of this process in configuring a new *res publica* and establishing the various roles that the monarch, nobles, and *letrados* would have was played out through literary works that helped to debate, explain, and understand the political and social challenges that faced the kingdom.

These chapters demonstrate that these long sought-after aspirations were as much a product of violence as writing, but the latter would prove to be a tool that would never again be taken for granted as an instrument conducive to power and influence. The relationship and mutual dependency between the court and literature to promote discourses and ideologies are evident, but it takes on variegated forms, absorbing and (re)creating its cultural milieu. If those in power needed learned culture to promote ideologies and propaganda favorable to their interests and causes, the lettered "class" depended on rulers willing to support their bookish interests, giving them a more prominent rule in society with the passing of time. From the early Alfonsine foundations and disputes over the respective roles of the monarchy, nobility, and *letrados*, the nobles would see their status challenged. Don Juan Manuel sensed the threat to blood nobility in *Libro de los estados*, but the recovery and seduction of the past for the benefit of the present made those devoted to learning more influential. Juan Manuel could not have foreseen it, but the *concepto alfonsí* would lead to the triumph of the university-educated at the Cortes de Toledo (1480).

The advocation of learned culture and the concepts that came with it were, therefore, integral to the creation and promotion of key ideas to solidify the relationship between the court and literature, shaping society's mentalities and ethics. In the historiographical and literary discourses forwarded by the various influential players—kings, nobles, and *letrados*—, ideas would be exchanged, debated, and challenged, so much so that certain ethical and political concepts would become common currency, whether based on actual or feigned first-hand knowledge. Virtue politics, the common good, peace, *concordia*, friendship (in both a social and legal sense), and a long list of ethical notions were vital to the promotion of ideologies and viewpoints; however, as learned culture took on more prestige and became linked to status, it was not enough to simply have an idea: it had to be based on *exempla* and *auctoritas*. Literature took on the role of making and participating in politics.

As outlined in the introduction, some approaches and ideas would remain, but they would evolve with the times, varying according to the perspective and context. In the case of Alfonso X, he served as a founding father, delineating the framework under which the body politic and culture could potentially develop. This model did not remain unchanged, but would be modified over time. Nonetheless, *el Sabio*'s legal construction would be influential in law, literature, and historiography. It was the first major step to legitimizing learned culture in the vernacular, forever changing history and the role of *letrados* and learning more broadly. If this was one giant leap for Castile, the rise of Renaissance humanism was a long-jump for humankind: language and literature would take center stage, as well as mankind's central place as an actor and creator in the world. This sharpened focus or new orientation leaned on the past, but was building for the future, solidifying the relationship between power, language, and politics. The very foundations

of culture, beliefs, and knowledge were being put under a microscope, and quite literally at the end of the sixteenth century.

If these concepts and developments were integral to the Middle Ages and the early parts of the modern era, they open additional lines of inquiry beyond the Iberian Peninsula, reaching the New World. As the Catholic Monarchs' reign would expand the known world beyond Europe's wildest imagination, it also opened up new realms to test out and debate ideological and political topics. Learned culture had gained a privileged place in Spain, but what would some of these concepts mean to the status of the indigenous populations "discovered" across the Atlantic and beyond? What would the debates over virtue, the common good, blood and "true" nobility, meritocracy, and other central matters considered in this thesis mean in the New World? How would these concepts be used, transformed, or discarded in the early viceroyalties? Furthermore, to what extent did the relationship between these new courts and literature continue to develop in the New World?

The configuration and unification of the early modern "state" in Spain was an incomplete mission; nonetheless, though the Iberian puzzle was still missing some pieces, Spain pursued a dream. Spain's hopes and ambitions would not merely be carried out by force alone, as rhetoric began to drive a new sense of, to use a modern term, public opinion. Swords would not be put on display as historical monuments to the past, but the quill was increasingly a favored instrument. More than a Renaissance, the new era inaugurated a *Reimaginatio*: Spain crafted an image that blended together the Roman and Visigothic empires; deciphered history, literature, and mythology to form its own ideological rendition of the past and present; and cemented itself into the annals of history to be imitated, criticized, and above all remembered.

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