

THE CHRONICLER OF PEDRO THE CRUEL - PEDRO
LOPEZ DE AYALA.

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Thesis presented for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy (Glasgow) .

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CHAPTER I.

Historical Studies in 14th Century Castile.

The base of Spanish historical literature, like that of any other culture depending on Rome, is naturally to be found in manuscripts written long before the romance tongue became the official means of spreading information. The chronicones, produced by churchmen who set down in monasteries widely separated by tracts of depopulated or semi-barbarous land, the annals, often meagre, of their days, were the seed from which sprang the more elaborate histories in which chroniclers of greater name passed on to their unlearned countrymen the story of their race. Without the labours of Sebastian, bishop of Salamanca in the 9th century, of San Isidro, of the Monk of Silos, of the anonymous author of the Cronica Najerense, and many more, Don Lucas de Tuy, Rodrigo the great archbishop of Toledo, and Alfonso the Learned himself, could never have produced the work for which they are renowned. For this reason if for no other the student of Castilian history cannot fail to take into account these early Latin annals; but some present in themselves a definite interest. Their general ethical and religious view regarding the function of history was to be re-echoed down the centuries, remaining/

remaining as a conventional formula even after the historical outlook had in all other respects completely changed; and some of the Latin chronicones gave to later Castilian writers not merely a point of view but also suggestions for the framework of their history. Without the example set by the *Historia Silense*, for instance, in the early part of the 12th century, Lucas de Tuy would probably not have imported into his *Chronicon Mundi* traditions formerly confined to poetical literature; and it was the anonymous author of the *Cronica Najerense*, also of the 12th century, who, in the opinion of Sr. Menendez Pidal, not only by his admission to serious history of non-royal heroes such as the Cid, pointed the way to "otro tipo de historia mas amplio y comprensivo, de ⁽¹⁾espíritu castellano", but even provided the framework to be adopted later by the great general chronicles of Spain.

The fact that the chronicones were written in Latin means however that their direct action on ordinary readers of the early 13th and 14th centuries must have been extremely slight. Sr. Sanchez Alonso, in his article on "Las Ver-⁽²⁾siones en Romance de las *Cronicas del Toledano*", indicates that/

(1) *Revista de Filologia Espanola*, t.X, p.330.

(2) *Homenage a Menendez Pidal*, t.I.

3.

that the rapidity of production of Castilian versions of the Historia Gothica of Don Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada was due to the difficulty already existing at that period in the comprehension of Latin, including the medieval form of that tongue. The appearance in increasing number of a new class of readers, keenly interested in history - regarded as an essential part of a nobleman's education - preparing even to undertake themselves, laymen as they were, the actual writing of it was to have an important reaction on the whole art of historical narrative. It was for this class especially that Alfonso the Learned prepared his great general chronicle, and from this class that many of the later chroniclers were to spring.

It is not however possible to pass directly on to the Cronica General, which must, in some form or other, have represented the main source of historical knowledge amongst educated/

- (1) D. Juan Manuel: Libro de los Estados, ch.59, speaking of "emperador". "Si non podiere dormir, debe mandar que leyan ante el algunas buenas historias de que tome buenos ejemplos." Again, in same book, ch.67, of education of princes, "deben facer cuanto pudieren porque tomen placer en leer las cronicas de los grandes fechos et de las grandes conquistas." The importance of a knowledge of history in the development of a good knight is stressed likewise in the Partidas of Alfonso el Sabio, Ley 20, tit 21, Part II - "Como ante los caballeros deben leer las historias de los grandes fechos de armas quando comieren."

educated laymen of the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries, without saying something of the two great churchmen on whose histories that of Alfonso the Learned is based. Sr. Menendez Pidal is of the opinion that the editors of the Cronica General had before them an early version in Castilian of the Historia Gothica⁽¹⁾; and that this was probably the translation included in the "Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de Espana", no.88, under the title of the Estoria de los Godos. As the latter is, however, a much abbreviated version, displaying moreover decided freedom in handling the actual words of Don Rodrigo, the collaborators of Alfonso the Learned were no doubt able to control and expand by reference to the actual Latin text. The Chronicon Mundi of Lucas de Tuy was, it would seem, known to them only "en su latin"⁽²⁾; but the Tudense is used mainly as a means of checking facts and figures given by the great archbishop of Toledo. For the period covered by Don/

(1) Men.Pidal: (Estudios Literarios, Atenea, Madrid, p.212), comparing Cronica with authentic text of the Toledano on one hand and the Cuarta Cronica General on the other, arrives at the conclusion that the latter and the Cronica depended on "una traduccion antigua, fuente comun que explicaria estas coincidencias parciales" - possibly a translation with continuation to end of reign of San Fernando, not completed by archbishop.

(2) Cirot, in "Les Histoires Generales d'Espagne", p.11, says however "Il existe au moins une traduction du Chronicon de Luc de Tuy, avec continuation jusqu'en 1252."

Don Rodrigo the Cronica contents itself as a rule with a faithful reproduction of the Historia Gothica, with occasional references to any conflicting opinion held by the Leonese writer, and the addition of poetic legends omitted by both.

The historical outlook and methods of the warrior archbishop of Toledo were bound to have a decisive influence on the readers of the Cronica General. The man whose restless energy inspired the building of the Cathedral of Toledo and the foundation of the first Spanish university at Palencia, was himself a true son of the Middle Ages. He did not merely preach death to Moors and heretics. He in person went out against them, and it was he who at the great battle of Ubeda cheered on his king to victory with the promise of a crown of triumph, not of death. For him the ideal monarch is he who sallies forth against heretics and foreigners, kills and plunders, and returns laden with booty and honour. The evil monarch is the man who, like Witiza (I, 180) gives privileges, land, and honours to the accursed people, the Jews. As we might expect, then, much of the eloquence of Don Rodrigo has a wholly medieval and ecclesiastical ring. The death of his hero, Alfonso VIII, gives him the text for a sermon, not an opportunity for historical description; and his frequent use of similes suggests/

suggests the churchman trained in Old Testament lore. Don Rodrigo was however something more than an ordinary ecclesiastic of the Middle Ages. He had travelled, he had access to many sources of information not available to less exalted men; and although his education in Paris abated not a jot of his Castilian pride of country, he had heard at least the points of view of men of other races. French jongleurs had sung in his presence their version of Charlemagne's expedition into Spain; and though he is earnest in discountenancing the tales told by "cantares de gesta" of the conquests of the Frankish monarch and uses ecclesiastical documents to disprove some (1) of their assertions, he nevertheless admits into his Spanish history the love-story of Charlemagne and Galiana. Mainly concerned with "el fecho de los principes" and scarcely giving more than a few brief lines to that most popular of all Spanish heroes, the Cid - referred to as "Ruy Diaz, buen caballero" - Don Rodrigo has nevertheless such a genuine passion for his native land that even a poor Latinist of his day would no doubt feel himself amply repaid for his pains when at last he succeeded in perusing the lyrical praises of Spain, or the glowing account of the great victory over the Moors at Ubeda.

As/

(1) Zaragoza could not be one of the conquests of Charlemagne he says, "ca Caragoca...fue despues cobrada, asy como se falla en el registro del Papa Urbano el segundo, despues quel rey don Alonso gano a Toledo."

As we have seen, however, translations of the Historia Gothica promptly made their appearance, one perhaps in the archbishop's lifetime if not actually by his hand; but the various versions, whether mere summaries or actual translations, lost their importance when in 1270 Alfonso the Learned began to collect material for his great Cronica General. The importance of this work cannot be overestimated in considering the historical background of writers of the first part of the 14th century. Even for the better-educated laymen it must have constituted, in one or other of its continually varying forms, the main source of all information concerning their past history. Ignorance of Latin was the rule rather than the exception. Even the great Infante Don Juan Manuel, nephew of the learned Alfonso, and himself the first great stylist in Castilian prose literature, explaining that he was writing specially for the unlearned laymen, said that in the "Conde Lucanor" he deliberately adopted a method "que yo entendí que seria mas ligera de entender, et esto fiz porque non so muy letrado". (Introduction); and the translations of Pedro Lopez de Ayala towards/

- (1) "Para los laicos que no sabian latin no hubo historia antes del rey Sabio. Ocuparon su lugar los cantares de gesta." Ballester, in "Fuentes Narrativas de la Historia de Espana".
- (2) Probably Don Juan's modest disclaimer is merely polite. At least his brother-in-law, Archbishop of Toledo, sent him a Latin treatise "porque yo la trasladasse de latin en romance". (Libro del Cab. et del Escud; prologue).

towards the end of the following century were carried out to meet the demands of friends, deeply interested in literature, classical and modern, but out of from enjoying Livy in the original through ignorance of the Latin tongue. Ayala's superior knowledge was apparently due to the fact that in early youth he was intended for the church; and even he preferred at first at least to take Livy in a French dress. This educated layman class, becoming every day more important in historical as well as other forms of literature, must have derived their first ideas of the function, the scope, and the methods of history in general, from the models they had before them in the compilation of Alfonso and his collaborators.

The learned king did not live to see the completion of his great work. The second part, written under his son Sancho el Bravo, displays the lack of personal supervision in the occasionally hurried or slovenly style, and in the absence of a unifying force to bind together the different narratives. Alfonso had, however, prescribed the framework to be used, and indicated the purpose pervading the entire chronicle. The two important innovations on the work of Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada and of Lucas de Tuy, who provide the basis of the narrative, are the space allotted to/

(1)
to Roman history in the first part, and to poetic legends (2)
in the second. The "primer renacimiento del humanismo en
(3)
España, as Sr. Menendez Pidal terms this indication of
interest in Latin literature, proved however premature.
The revised chronicle of 1344 suppressed almost in its
entirety the section dealing with the Roman period. (4)
Very
different was the reception given to the national epics,
now for the first time admitted in full to serious history.
This in itself reveals the reaction on the aims and methods
of history of the layman class of reader, with his compara-
tive freedom from ecclesiastical prejudices, his keen
family and national pride, and his genuine concern with
material facts and personalities. The Historica Gothica
had barely mentioned the Cid and that traditional founder
of/

- (1) The previous historical tradition took the Goths as the beginning of Spanish history.
- (2) Discourse sobre la Cron.Gen.Estudios Literarios, Atenea S.E. Madrid. p.210.
- (3) The impulse given by the Rey Sabio was, according to M. Pidal, so premature that it was not even understood by the 14th. century. "Necesitamos llegar a mediados del siglo XV a los tiempos de Juna II y siguientes, para encontrar un movimiento" en pro del clasicismo que se parezca al promovido por Alfonso X. Estudios literarios, p.210.
- (4) "La historia era generalmente una produccion official; la monarquia y el clero eran sus dos factores esenciales: la monarquia obra e inspira, y el clero inspira y escribe segun las concordes tendencias del trono y el altar; los reyes son, pues, la materia y el alma de las cronicas." M. Pidal: Estudios literarios, p. 220.

of Castilian nationality, the Count Fernan Gonzalez. The Cronica General gives some two hundred chapters to the exploits of the Cid Campeador, and treats of Fernan Gonzalez with a lavishness exceeding even that of the poem which survives under his name. The varying emotions, the conflict of private views and interests, the personal characteristics of the heroes of the dramatic events now recorded as history, are all regarded as of real interest to the reader of the chronicle. The result is naturally a greater emphasis on the outward and dramatic aspect of things. When he chose, the great Don Rodrigo had been able both to see clearly and to describe picturesquely. His account of the physical peculiarities of a negro force - "Eran negros como la pes los cuerpos e las caras e los cabellos muy crespos e retorcidos, e los dientes mucho blancos, e non semejavan sino a diablos" - could scarcely be more vivid. When however he has to speak of the great people of his own day - the virtuous queen Berenguela, or the hero of Ubeda, Alfonso VIII, he gives mere eloquent rhetoric about their good deeds and no information whatever about themselves, in their merely human characteristics. The fact that the Cronica General retains not merely the events narrated in the poems on which it draws, but the vivid details - the white hands of the Count Garci Hernandez, so beautiful that "muchas vegadas avie verguenna de las traer descubiertas"; the blow in/

in the face administered to the Infanta Sancha as she strove to save her lover; the Cid Campeador fighting with blood up to his elbows - indicates on the part of its readers a decided relish for the concrete and dramatic even in their serious studies. This fact has a striking proof in the scrappy final section of the Cronica, where the continuator, deprived of the foundation given by Don Rodrigo's history, has recourse to various sources for his material. In the army of Fernando el Santo one of the most outstanding characters was Garci Perez de Vargas, whom later generations (1) took as the type of a doughty warrior. This knight was to endear himself to readers of the Cronica for two reasons. He had a sense of humour - and he was very bald! When he rode out singlehanded on one occasion against seven Moors, he was seeking, not honour, but his fallen headgear; for, said he, answering the expostulations of his squire, "non me fables en ello, ca bien veyes que non he cabeza para andar sin cofia"⁽²⁾; "et esto dezia el" - continues the chronicler - "porque era muy calvo, que non tenie cabellos de la meytad de la cabeca delante". It has not yet occurred to the chroniclers/

(1) Poema de Alfonso XI: "Don Garci Perez de Vargas, Non fue mejor caballero." Also in Conde Lucanor, XV.

(2) Cronica General. 1084.

chroniclers that the readers who so highly appreciated piquant physical details in the description of a mere knight might care to see the same methods applied to the characterization of that knight's master. The eulogy of San Fernando which concludes the Cronica General follows the usual lines. All his virtues are detailed. The sorrow felt at his death is expressed with all due eloquence. No reference whatever is made to his physical appearance or individual peculiarities. Nevertheless the Cronica has taken a step nearer to the character sketches of notable personages which were to form one of the literary pleasures of the following century.

The aim of Alfonso the Learned in compiling the Cronica General was to make information more accessible to the ordinary reader. This information he endeavoured to secure from as many sources as possible, adding to the authorities already used by Don Rodrigo some previously inaccessible, such as, for instance, Suetonius and Lucan for the Roman section, and for the period of Alfonso the VI the Arabic account of the exploits of the Cid. He did not attempt in any way to modify the traditional view of the function of history or the methods to be employed in the interpretation of facts. The purpose of history is still the moral improvement of the reader. The deeds, good or bad, which it/

it recounts are chronicled "por que los que despues viniessen por los fechos de los buenos punnassen en fazer bien, et por los de los malos que se castigassen de fazer mal." (Prologue). The personages are still the "principes" of this world, interpreted however in a wider sense to include heroes of non-royal blood. The methods of historical criticism are no more scientific than in preceding chronicles. It is true that, as Sr.Menendez Pidal says, in certain parts "la obra...no paso del estado de mero borrador"⁽¹⁾, and that if the initiator of the Cronica had lived to complete the supervision of the entire work, some of the incongruities might have been removed. Some attempt might have been made, for instame, in the section dealing with the Count Fernan Gonzalez, to remove the contradictions between the two views of that personage, the enthusiastic Castilian account and the dry hostile references of Leonese writers. As Puymaigre points out, however, one of the most striking characteristics of the medieval chronicler was his complete impassibility in face even of the most surprising or affecting statements.⁽²⁾ His business was to chronicle facts/

(1) La Cronica General, in "Estudios Literarios", Atenea, Madrid.

(2) "Rien n'émeut ces vieux historiens" - "Vieux Auteurs Castellans", t.2, p.251.

facts as he found them stated by previous writers, not to pass judgment on them. Don Rodrigo had, it is true, made some discrimination between authorities, and, if he failed to find any assertion corroborated in "los libros antiguos" he had preferred not to take upon himself the responsibility of stating it as fact. (II 51) When, however, the "libros antiguos" presented him with two contradictory accounts, he considered it no part of his business to judge between them. The whole onus of decision was cast upon the reader. "Porque la verdad de la estoria es a las veces dubdosa, por ende el que lee meta mientes e tome lo que debe provar e leer" (II 7). When such was the view of a personage of such individual force of character as the warrior archbishop, it is not surprising that a miscellaneous compilation like the Cronica General is marked rather by extreme receptivity than by a power of discrimination between opposing versions. When the account of Lucas de Tuy is referred to in doubtful points, it is generally to settle some trifling matter of date; and even with regard to dates, in spite of the medieval delight in the most intricate and detailed systems of chronology, the Cronica displays a large and easy tolerance. After telling of the conflicting views of the precise date of King Garcia's death for instance it dismisses the problem unsolved with the/

the comment that "en poco de yerro en estas cronicas non y a fuerza" (ch.876). It admits as a natural thing in a historian even of the highest order a little invention, if such invention enhances the interest of the narrative. Various stories were told, the Cronica informs us, of the manner in which Alfonso, king of Aragon, met his end.

"El arcobischo don Rodrigo dize, por ventura por affremosar la palabra, que murio colgado." (par.967). With this tolerence of possible error or even invention on the part of previous writers the Cronica combines an extreme unwillingness to alter in any way even the words of the authorities on whom it draws. An obvious comment on the injury inflicted on King Ordoño's reputation by his treacherous slaying of the counts of Castile must be ascribed to its author. The Cronica accepts no responsibility. "E cuenta aqui la estoria en esta razon, que menoscabo el rey mucho en su prez por ello."

As regards style, a compilation which gathered together its material from so many sources, and so faithfully retained the peculiarities of each that it is an easy matter to distinguish the dry, meagre style of the paragraphs dealing with the late Roman empire from the rich ecclesiastical eloquence of Don Rodrigo, or from the racy narrative of the epics, can scarcely be said to possess an individuality of its own. The unity of the Cronica must

be looked for elsewhere than in the manner of narration.

Two characteristics so pervade the whole of the general chronicle that they give the compilation, collective work though it be, a character all its own. The first - which must have endeared it to its earliest readers - was the intense national pride, visible not only in the faithfulness with which it rendered the famous "loores de Espana", but also in its glorification of the Goths - "aquella gente de los godos que siempre fue vencedor e noble" - its intense delight in the exploits of the national heroes, and in its hostile or superior attitude to other races. Bamba's comment (Cron.516) that "Sy ovieron batalla los franceses e los godos, siempre los godos ovieron la mejoría e los franceses lo peor" was to have its echo long after in the days of Ferdinand and
(1)
Isabella in the remark of the Cura de los Palacios, that "Siempre los espanoles fueron vencedores y los franceses vencidos." Towards the infidel, the attitude was, of course, one of loathing. Even when circumstances compelled some grudging praise, it had to be qualified by reference to the accursed race. The Moor Abenhut, for example, was brave/

(1) Re.attitude towards French, see Cron. of Sancho IV, ch.2.
"Los franceses son satiles e pleyteosos e muy enganosos e danosos a todos aquellos que an a pleytear con ellos, e todos los verdades posponen por facer su pro."

brave, frank, just, and loyal; "pero así como la deslealdat et la suziedad de aquella gente desleal lo sufre seer entre si." (Cron.1037).

The other unifying element, much more characteristic, is one which is possibly to be looked for in a work undertaken with a definitely educational purpose. It is that passion for imparting instruction which displays itself, in season and out of season, on every page of the Cronica General. For the unlearned reader - and obviously the editors had no illusions about the general level of intelligence or information in their day - even the simplest terms must be explained. "El enemigo del humanal linage, esto es el enemigo de los omes, et este es el diablo." "Et judgol el rey don Fernando de sentencia capital, esto es que moriesse por ello." "Magno quiere decir tanto como grand." Such laborious explanations, which are of constant occurrence, are varied by fantastic instructions in etymology or elaborate chronologies going back to the deluge. Nothing is safe from the pedagogic ardour of the Cronica. The great victory of Fernan Gonzalez over Almanzor is interrupted by a prosy explanation of the meaning of a name; whilst the lyrical fervour of the lament over the downfall of Spain - "Espanna sobre todas es adelantada en grandes et mas que todos preciada por lealtad! Ay, Espanna, non/

non a lengua nin engenno que pueda contar tu bien." is rudely interrupted by a lesson on geography. "Sin los rios cabdales que desiiemos de suso, muchos otros ay". A list of rivers, with their sources, then follows, and when the instruction is complete the lament is taken up anew, with no apparent perception of any incongruity. The gathering in from every quarter of a store of information, to be passed on to readers out off from access to most sources of knowledge - that was the aim of the Cronica. It nobly fulfilled its purpose; and the reader of that day at least was not churlish enough to cavil at information, even when presented in unexpected places. For the modern student the value of the Cronica, apart from its influence on succeeding historians, may be summed up in the words of Menendez Pidal. "Acogiendo en sus paginas los restos de la epopeya, no solo salva esta importante manifestacion poetica de la perdicion casi total en que cayo, sino que hace llegar a nuestros ojos un reflejo intenso de vida pasada; trae a nuestros oidos el eco lejano, pero aun recio y distinto, de la vida intima, de la pasion y el tumulto de las generaciones primitivas de Castilla, devoradas por el olvido hace tantos siglos. Los hombres que dieron origen a Castilla, su historia nunca escrita entonces, su literatura abismada en el gran naufragio de aquella vida, solo nos dejan su recuerdo en la/

la Cronica." (Estudios Literarios, p.245).

Fresh versions of the Cronica General - abbreviated, expanded, re-arranged in accordance with different tastes or different requirements - followed one another for three centuries after the learned king first began to plan his monumental work. These developments, studied in minute detail by the most distinguished critics of modern days,⁽¹⁾ reflected the wider knowledge of antiquity or classical lore, acquired by chroniclers affected by the movement of the renaissance which the labours of Alfonso had foreshadowed; they did not, apparently, display any great change in the attitude towards historical truth or the methods to be employed by the chronicler himself in dealing with remoter periods of his national history. Developments in the purpose, scope, and methods of history can however be studied, after the date of the Cronica General, in the special detailed biographies of recent or contemporary kings which first appear in Castilian literature in the collection known as the Tres Coronicas, with the accompanying Cronica de Alfonso XI, and which were to attain European fame with Ayala's great chronicle of Pedro the Cruel.

The/

(1) See works of Menendez Pidal, *passim*. Also Cirot, "Histoires Generales d'Espagne."

The question of the authorship of the Tree Coronicas - giving the biographies of Alfonso X, Sancho el Bravo, and Fernando IV - and the chronicle of Alfonso XI, is an interesting point, not yet settled. As recently as 1905, Cirot indicated his concurrence in the theory put forward by Amador de los Rios and accepted by Cayetano Rosell when editing all four chronicles for the Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles. According to this theory, there is no difference in style between the chronicle of Alfonso XI⁽¹⁾ and its three predecessors, and all four as to be considered the work of a single author, referred to as Fernan Sanchez "de Tovar or Valladolid", regarded as a contemporary of Alfonso XI, and described by Rosell as a "rico-hombre de Valladolid, jurista acreditado, alcalde primero de la Casa Real, notario despues del reino de Castilla, embajador dos veces de la corte romana y una de la francesa, canceller del sello de la puridad, y finalmente consejero aulico de Alfonso XI." Unfortunately for the clarity of the view held by Amador de los Rios, his references to data concerning this/

- (1) "Revelan una misma pluma y una misma idea" Amador de los Rios. Historia Critica, vol.4.
 "Lo unico en que no hay disparidad es que todas ... son de una misma mano." Ballester, in "Fuentes Narrativas para la historia de Espana."

(1)
 this personage given in the Cronica de D. Pedro reveal his impression that the dignitary of the days of Alfonso XI, consistently referred to in the Cronica of Alfonso XI and mentioned in the Poema as Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid may be identified with that Fernan Sanchez de Tovar who rose to high favour under Pedro, abandoned him before Najera, and after a distinguished career as admiral under Enrique II and Juan I died of plague at the siege of Lisbon in 1384. The two personages are of course entirely different; and as every indication points to a contemporary as the author of the biography of Alfonso XI, the claim of Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid, to whom the description of Rosell does accurately apply, must be studied in preference to that of the younger man.

Before proceeding to discuss the problem of the extent of the responsibility of Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid, however, it is but fair to mention one very interesting theory of the Cronica de Alfonso XI which would exclude him altogether from participation in that work. It was advanced in 1866, at a period when some credit was still given to the authorship of Villalisan - responsible for the copies/

- (1) Tovar mentioned in Cronica de D. Pedro, IV 15, V 15, V 32, IX 3; also in connection with naval expedition to Aragon, and the troubles at the end of Pedro's reign. (XVIII 4,14). Later career can be followed in chronicles of Enrique II and Juan I. Death, Cronica de Juan I, VI, II.

(1)
copies made in 1376 - by Angel de los Rios y Rios. His view is, briefly, that the Cronica de Alfonso XI and the Poema of the same king were both the work of the "Rodrigo Yannes" whose name occurs in the poem after a reference to Merlinic prophecy.

"La profecia conte
E torne en desir llano,
Yo Rodrigo Yannes la note
En lenguaje castellano."

-(Poema, 1841)

This person Rios y Rios identifies with the Rodrigo Yanez, Comendador Mayor of the Templars of Castile, who was in 1310 summoned to undergo examination by the bishops in connection with the affairs of his order, extinguished two years later. To support his belief in the single authorship of Cronica and Poema - a view supported by some other authorities - Rios y Rios relies chiefly on the fact that they cover the same ground and both end at the same point, namely the taking of Algeciras in March 1344. His arguments in favour of the Templar Rodrigo Yanez being the author are somewhat more detailed, and are based mainly on the unusual knowledge of Moorish and European affairs displayed in the Chronicle - a knowledge natural enough to one/

(1) In a "Nota presentada a la Real Academia de la Historia". Madrid, 1866.

(2) See Cronica de Fernando IV, chapter 15.

one in his position - and also on what he considers his significant silence regarding the whole affair of the extinction of this order, in the chapter which tells of the death of their great foe, Philip le Bel, and the failure of his lineage. The chronicler, regarding the end of Philip's dynasty as a judgment for sin, tells of various explanations given by men of his day - the imprisonment of the Pope, the "grandes despechamientos en el Regno de Francia, mas que ficieron ningunos de los otros Reyes que fueron en Francia ante que el", the expulsion of the Jews, - and concludes simply: "pero la razon porque acaescio, Dios es sabidor." Rios y Rios obviously concludes that the reason thus held in reserve was Heaven's wrath at the extinction of the Templars. It must be noted, however, that modern scholars are not inclined to accept the "Rodrigo Yannes" of the Poema as anything more than a translator⁽¹⁾ from an original version in Galician dialect, and that the Rodrigo Yanez, who had been Master of the excommunicated order of Templars, was not likely to be persona grata with a king engaged, with the approval and support of the Pope, on a holy war against the Moors. The "muy noble Reyna", Maria de Molina, who in the chronicle of Alfonso XI as well as in those of Sancho IV and Fernando IV appears as a model of wisdom and integrity, reproved her son the Infante/

(1) Hurtado y Palencia, Historia de la Literatura Espanola, p.132.

Infante Felipe for entering in 1308 into negotiations with Rodrigo Yanez, then struggling for the retention of the Templars possessions in Castile. "Ficiera mal", said the wise queen, "de facer pleito como ficiera con omes descomulgados e que eran acusados de herejes antel Papa." ⁽¹⁾ Maria had already discovered, according to the chronicle, that Rodrigo Yanez was not to be relied upon to fulfil his agreement to deposit his castles in the hands of the queen till the Pope's pleasure should be known. "El Maestre aseguro a la Reina que lo cumpliria asi, e puso plazo cierto a que gelos entregase, e al plazo que puso nin gelos entrego, nin vino." Even if Rodrigo Yanez succeeded in overcoming the prejudices attached to his unhappy position, it is strange that neither Poema nor Cronica includes him in their generous lists of notabilities serving in the forces of Alfonso XI; and in the absence of more conclusive evidence in favour of the thesis of Sr. Rios y Rios, we may turn to tradition as on the whole a safer guide.

Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid, then, may be taken as having played some definite part in the composition of the chronicles of Alfonso the Wise and the three succeeding kings. ⁽²⁾ What however is that part? Hurtado and Palencia consider that he may possibly be the author of the chronicles of/

(1) Fern. IV, ch.16.

(2) Literatura Espanola, p.146.

of Alfonso X, Sancho IV, and Fernando IV, but that the attribution to him of the much longer chronicle of Alfonso XI is very doubtful. It is to be regretted that they do not state their reasons for this belief. Careful reading of all the chronicles led me to precisely the opposite conclusion. Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid does not appear by name till after the death of Maria de Molina, for whom the author of the earlier chronicles displays an almost fanatical devotion. His political importance belongs entirely to the reign of her grandson, and the emphasis laid, throughout the chronicle of Alfonso XI, on the important tasks entrusted to him, as envoy to the Pope, to the ever-troublesome Don Juan Manuel, or to France, and on the confidence and trust placed in him by his king - "era del su Consejo et de quien el Rey avia fiado ante desto muchas mandaderias et de grandes fechos" - helps to explain that devotion to his king which is one of the chief characteristics of the chronicle of Alfonso, a monarch "complido muy mucho en todos bienes." (ch.236). In the great siege of Algeciras, which fills almost seventy chapters of the chronicle, Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid took an active part, and, if we are to believe the Poema, was in close attendance on/

(1) Cron.de Alfonso XI. ch.174. See references to F.S.de Valladolid, also in chs. 31, 49, 99, 150 and 188.

on his king.

"E feriendo bien la lid
E en los moros matando,
Ferrand Sanches de Valladolid,
El noble rrey aguardando."

"E desiendo: buen sennor,
Adelante una vegada
Oy dades muy grand loor
A Castiella la honrrada!

"E yva el cavallero
Noble mente aquel dia,
Johan Sanches delantero,
Su fijo que bien queria."

The Poema, in fact, which normally confines its references to individual knights to commendation of specific acts of bravery, or to casualties on the field of battle, here goes out of its way to emphasise the special importance of Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid. In referring to the suggestion that the Cronica and the Poema may be the work of the same hand, Hurtado and Palencia express no definite opinion of their own, but declare that in any case the author of the prose chronicle must have been acquainted with the Poema. The assumption apparently is that the Poema was the earlier composition, although to the facts as given in the Cronica the Poema, they say, "añade muchas noticias". As a matter of fact, however, what the Poema adds is merely the poetical ornamentation - Merlinic prophecies, laments of Moorish kings, exhortations, and the like - while it retains faithfully the whole content of the chronicle, its arrangement/

arrangement, sequence of events, and even its political reflections, the latter in much abbreviated form, but inserted at exactly the same point in the narrative. The Cronica discusses in detail, for instance, (ch.37) the evils of a minority. The Poema summarizes the misdeeds of the tutores

"Cadal dia ases parando
Astragando los menores,
Las tierras robando
Matando los labradores," etc. (1)

The Cronica stops after the battle of the Rio Salado to discuss the question "Qual batalla es mas de loar, esta o la de Ubeda," deciding in favour of the Rio Salado because it was won without foreign aid. "Mas virtuosa fue esta sanota batalla, por quanto la vencieron omes de los regnos de Castilla et de Leon." The Poema, although hastening on to the adornment of Merlinic prophecies, retains the brief but triumphant comment -

(2)
"Castellanos la vencieron."

Even slight details inserted by the Cronica to bring out the restless disposition of the king are faithfully reproduced by the Poema. If the probability that in its original form the letter was written, not in Castilian, but in some Galician dialect, and the excessively laudatory

reference/

(1) Poema (81).

(2) Cronica, 252. Poema, 1804.

reference to Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid already quoted, render it somewhat unlikely that he in person versified his own chronicle, it is by no means incredible that the versification was done, very soon after the completion of the Cronica de Alfonso XI, by some poet closely attached to the fortunes of the Notario Mayor and writing possibly under his supervision. The difference in time must in any case have been extremely slight. Leonor de Guzman was still supreme when the Poema was composed -

"Aquesta muy noble flor
 Ssiempre nomblada ssera.
 Sau bondat e valor
 Por espejo fincara"

- Poema, 373.

and the birth of her children was still an occasion for public rejoicings.

The date of composition of the Poema is not however our main problem at the moment. Let us turn to the question of authorship of the Tres Coronicas which preceded both Poema and Cronica de Alfonso XI. If we accept Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid as the chronicler of Alfonso XI we cannot, despite the affirmations of Amador de los Rios and Cayetano Rosell, attribute to him likewise the original composition of the chronicles of Alfonso X, Sancho el Bravo, and Fernando IV. A difference in style does exist. The sentence-structure in the chronicle of Alfonso XI is much more highly developed than in any of the Tres Coronicas, the formulae of introduction/

introduction are of a different sort, and there is on the part of the "estoriador" a keener consciousness of his mission and responsibilities. The centre of interest, too, is different. The author of the earlier chronicles had one great devotion, to the "noble reyna Dona Maria", whose absolute rightness on every occasion he is never wearied of emphasizing. In the chronicle of Alfonso XI she is still the "noble reyna"; but her death, although spoken of with due solemnity, does not produce the lament which we should naturally expect from so whole-hearted an adherent as the author of Fernando IV. The special interest of the chronicle of Alfonso XI, apart from the hero-king himself, lies in details of warfare and in diplomatic negotiations abroad. The author of the Tres Coronicas betrays on the other hand a special concern with the "fuero" of Castile, and gives on various occasions details of funeral customs, peculiar points of law, or the relations between Castile and the Papacy, which indicate some keen professional interest in the internal management of the country. The tres Coronicas were, we are told in the prologue, put together by command of Alfonso XI to fill in the gap in Castilian history from the time of Fernando el Santo. It does not seem an unreasonable conjecture that Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid, when charged by his master with the task of completing the chronicles of the missing reigns, merely edited for the earlier/

earlier period a collection left incomplete by some devoted adherent of Maria de Molina, and began his original work only where the previous chronicler had broken off. The first thirty chapters of the chronicle of Alfonso XI bear a marked resemblance in style to the Tres Coronicas themselves, whilst the section which treats of the adult life of the king presents decided variations in outlook, interest, and arrangement.

An examination of the Tres Coronicas, considered as a separate work, does not reveal any definite modification of the traditional view of the moral function of history, or its exclusive preoccupation with the actions of the monarch. The fact that the chronicler is dealing with contemporary or very recent history does however affect to a certain extent his depiction of events. Details of general interest come to have some place in the picture, and provide a sort of rudimentary sketch of social conditions. The evils resulting in the reign of Alfonso X from the debasing of the coinage and the attempt to fix prices, the miseries caused by the feuds of the great lords, the relations between Spain and "el papa Martino, frances" - the chronicler has a sturdy hatred of the French, as being "sotiles e pleyteosos e muy enganosos e danosos"⁽¹⁾ - or the horrors of a famine, all these are/

(1) Cron.de Sancho el Bravo.

are matters which affect the man in the street no less than the monarch, and, taken along with the author's lively interest in the "fueros" of his own land, foreshadow a type of history more concerned with social problems and less exclusively centred on the person of the king. In the Tres Coronicas such references are however still merely incidental. A characteristic outburst on the part of Sanchez el Bravo, or some reasoned judgment of the "noble Reyna Maria de Molina" far outweigh in importance for the chronicler all such contributions to the social history of Castile.

The interest of the three chronicles is, naturally enough, uneven in quality. That of Alfonso X, most remote from the writer himself, is the dullest from the point of view of the ordinary reader, who is apt to become confused by the long list of unexplained acts. There is no halting to gather up the threads of the narrative, and the motives of the conflicting personalities, including those of the "Sabio" himself - not a very admirable figure in the story - are left extremely vague. There is a lavish use of documents in the form of letters passing between the king, his discontented lords, and the Moors, mostly however of a purely formal character. One interesting exception is the letter sent by Alfonso to his son Fernando, and conveying, in a style which by its balanced phrasing reveals the man of/

of letters, his indictment of the behaviour of his subjects. Such depiction of character as occurs in the narrative appears to be merely accidental, the striking personalities of Queen Violanta and her son Sancho being revealed only in casual references to some outstanding act or saying. The uncontrollable yet religious nature of the latter, in particular, obviously made a deep impression on the chronicler, who deserves praise for so faithfully recording Sancho's proud retort to his father's threats of disinheriting him. "Senor," he said, "Non me fecistes vos, mas fizome Dios, e fizo mucho por me facer, ca mato a un mi hermano que era mayor que yo e non lo mato por al, si non porque lo heredase yo." ⁽¹⁾ These glimpses at the personality of "el Bravo", and an occasional picturesque detail ⁽²⁾ which sheds light on the hardships of life in camp or fleet, enliven what is on the whole an uninspired record of a particularly unhappy reign.

There is no monotony in the thirteen chapters which make up the brief chronicle of Sancho el Bravo. The violent temper of this "ome de gran corazon", who with his own hands beat one who endeavoured to hinder the work of his officials, who sturdily refused, despite all difficulties in/

(1) Cron.de Alf.X, ch.75.

(2) See ch.2 of plague of flies in camp, or ch.72, which tells how in fleet, owing to privations, the teeth of the sailors began to fall out.

in the way of securing the Papal dispensation, to discard his dearly-prized Maria de Molina - "por tan bien casado se tenia el, que en el mundo non avie rey que major casado fuese que el era" - and who was nevertheless a "rey muy catolico", taking pleasure in watching the growth of pious foundations⁽¹⁾ and deeply concerned about the Christian burial of his kin, suffices in itself to impart liveliness to the narrative. There are in addition, however, indications of that whole-hearted adoration of Sancho's queen which was to colour every page of the record of his successor, Fernando the Fourth.

The last of the "Tres Coronicas", much fuller and more interesting than its predecessors, departs altogether from the usual impassive style of the early records. On every occasion the chronicler holds himself ready to point out with eager devotion the absolute rightness of each decision and action of the regent Maria de Molina. The comment, "la fizo Dios de buen entendimiento en todo" is of constant occurrence. The "concejos", representing the aspirations to ordered government, showed keen appreciation of the fact that always in her dealings with them Maria "andaba con bien e con verdad e queria pro de la tierra." Before the combination/

(1) Ch.8, Visits Palencia "aviendo muy grand placer porque viera y muchos frayles ayuntados."

combination - apparently unusual in those times - of principles and spirit in the character of the young widow who against overwhelming odds strove to guard the interests of the child-king, even the turbulent grandees felt dismay. The most formidable of them all, D. Juan Núñez, we are told, "cuando supo que la Reina y venia, ovo ende muy grand pesar, que mayor miedo avie della que de cuantos y estaban." (ch.3.). Even when her son, declared of age to govern, was lured from her side by evil advisers, and Maria's power suffered a temporary eclipse, the dignity of her character remained unaltered. She waited, making no unseemly complaint, and in due course Fernando turned again to his mother for advice, confident that she alone could help him in his perplexities. Every reference, throughout the chronicle to the "noble reyna" is one touch more in the final portrait of Maria de Molina, a portrait drawn by an enthusiast, who gives in fullest detail every argument urged by the queen to justify the measures she adopted, and rejoices with pious satisfaction in the "miraglo" which by the special dispensation of Heaven brought doom upon the evil knight who turned her own son against her. (ch.8.). Despite such open partizanship, however, the portrait bears a convincing air of reality. The great queen was very human. When proposals were made for the marriage of her children, still tiny, the mother refused/

refused to listen. "En casamientos de sus hijos que le non fablasen, que eran muy pequenos, e que non perderian tiempo por non casar tan aina"; and when by exception we find her "muy sanuda" it is because one of her children has been deprived by his brother the king of his position as merino of Galicia. Beside the great figure of his mother, Fernando el Emplazado, although giving his name to the chronicle which glorifies her, appears colourless. Even his dramatic end did not rouse his chronicler to any detailed study of his qualities or failings, or to any deep sense of loss. Castile once more was left with a child-king; but the child's grand-mother, Maria de Molina, still lived, and once more was to show her gifts as regent. The early years of Alfonso XI, added to the reign of his father Fernando, make up what might well be read as a single chronicle, not of any king of Castile, but of one notable woman, Maria de Molina.

The arguments for the theory that the chronicle of Alfonso XI is by another hand than the Tres Coronicas have already been stated. If, as seems to me probable, its author was indeed Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid, that devoted servant of the warrior king has produced a record of his master's personality and reign which does credit to his sense of observation as well as to his enthusiastic loyalty. The chronicler, with gaze directed for the most part/

part outwards to the area of warfare, shows perhaps less concern than the biographer of Maria de Molina for the details of internal politics and local customs; but on the other hand his interest in the foes with whom he came into direct personal contact has led him to devote no fewer than twenty-six chapters to an account of the Moorish kings of Granada, whilst the detailed knowledge of events in France and at Avignon, natural in a man frequently employed in negotiations abroad, is displayed in several chapters specially devoted to foreign affairs. When he finds occasion to linger over the internal history of his own country, he shows himself, moreover, by no means incapable of general observation of social conditions, as may be seen in those chapters where he analyses the general state of the land at the majority of Alfonso XI,⁽¹⁾ or the unhappy plight of the towns.

It is however by his merits as a biographer that the writer must be judged. Impartiality we need not of course expect. From the moment that the young king took over the government of his realms, to his day of triumph at Algeciras, his every act is recorded by a fervent and pious devotee, in whose sight "este noble Rey D.Alfonso era complido en todos bienes," for whom the war against the Moors was a holy war, and who considers Alfonso's victory at the Rio Salado - that "sancta et muy bien aventurada batalla/

(1) See Cronica, chapters 37 and 136.

batalla" - as even more glorious than his ancestor's great triumph at Ubeda, because it was won without foreign aid. Any debatable acts of his hero, such as the deaths of Don Juan, son of the Infante Juan, and Count Alvar Nunez, are recounted with extreme rapidity and vagueness of actual detail, whilst the monarch's solemn and public justification of his measures is dilated upon at length. Even for such a fact as Alfonso's association with Leonor de Guzman his chronicler has to find an explanation reflecting honour on the manly nature of his sovereign; and all who in any way thwarted that sovereign's aims are rewarded by the writer's cold dislike. In Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid patriotism seems to have taken the not unusual form of suspicion of all foreigners; but it is interesting to compare his attitude to the English knights before Algeciras with his position towards Gaston, Count of Foix. The English were certainly rather troublesome supporters. In their ignorance of the ways of Moorish warfare they got into awkward situations, and had to be helped out again. In their capacity as mere visitors they spent money too lavishly and sent up the prices of provisions in camp. They did however make an honest attempt to aid Alfonso in his warfare, and it is counted to them for righteousness. The Count de Foix, on the other hand, not only showed himself cowardly in actual/

actual combat, but demanded payment for his aid at a moment of utmost difficulty for the king - an act censured as "muy grand descortesia" by the other foreign adventurers in camp - and then abandoned him altogether in his need. The rancour of the chronicler was not softened by the Count's death at Seville on his homeward journey. In his eyes it was an obvious judgment of Providence; and even at the end, in giving his list of casualties, he has one more pungent comment on the man who met his end "yéndose del real, et desamparó al Rey Don Alfonso al tiempo que lo avia mas menester."

The aim of the biographer was then on every occasion to place in highest relief the great figure of his king. The resulting portrait does not however display the monotony of perfection which might so easily have defeated his own ends. The chronicler knew the importance of small details; and when on one occasion Alfonso whiled away two tedious days of waiting for his troops, shooting at swans with the cross-bow, the fact is noted as important for the comprehension of his restless nature. "Esto cuenta la estoria", he says, "porque el Rey catava todo el tiempo que ficiese." Compared with the vague eulogies of an earlier day, which despite all their glowing eloquence failed to reveal the essentially human qualities of such great kings as Alfonso VI or VIII, the depiction of Alfonso XI/

XI has the interest of a psychological study of a real and by no means angelic man. Restless energy and relentless determination were in the eyes of his biographer the distinguishing characteristics of the king; and for him the portrait was not marred by the inclusion of a certain brutality which in that violent age was the necessary attribute of a "rey justiciero". Harsh measures were required to drive any sense of discipline into subjects of so rowdy a disposition that on one occasion the king himself, riding into the midst of a quarrel to quieten the participants, received a wound⁽¹⁾; and when Alfonso XI ordered the hands and feet of an emissary of D. Juan Nunez, implicated in the misdeeds of his lord, to be cut off, Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid relates the fact as in no way discreditable to his sovereign. Punishments of this sort must be recounted for their valuable moral effect on the unruly, "porque los que esto oyeren sepan como han de hacer conocimiento al su Rey e a su Senor"⁽²⁾.

The historian - it should be noted that only in the Cronica de Alfonso XI does he refer to himself as "el estoriador" - holds, we see from this last remark, the usual moral view of the function of history. He makes however a marked concession to purely intellectual curiosity when he explains, in a phrase of frequent occurrence, that his/

(1) See Cron. ch.180.

(2) Ch.139.

his account has been set down, so that "sea sabida la razon porque fue". This preoccupation with motives, reflected in the lengthy discussions which in his account usher in most of the important decisions of the reign, is combined in the author of the *Cronica de Alfonso XI* with a very clear idea of the personal responsibility of the historian. He is no longer a mere instrument for recording facts, and free from all obligation to express any personal judgment about events, motives, or personalities. The historian, for Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid, plays his part in swaying the minds of men. "Es cosa que pertenesce a los estoriadores", he declares, "facer departimento de los fechos, porque los omes sepan qual es mas de alabar."⁽¹⁾

I have already suggested that the first section of the chronicle of Alfonso XI, which continues the record of the life-work of Maria de Molina, may be ascribed to the author of the *Tres Coronicas*. In that case, the artlessness which allows the deaths of even such important personages as Don Juan Nunez or Queen Constanza to be consigned to one brief sentence, hidden away in the middle of a long chapter dealing mainly with other things, may be set to the account of the earlier writer. Artlessness, whether of general treatment or of prose style, is not the special characteristic of the chronicler of Alfonso XI. In prose style/

(1) *Cron. de Alf.XI*, ch.252.

style , indeed, despite occasional lapses into such ugly repetition of sound as "Como quier que algunos pasaron por aquel paso por do aquel paso, pero otros pasaron el rio" -- lapses of which, be it said in passing, even Pedro Lopez de Ayala, for all his much-lauded "elegancia" of style, is not entirely innocent -- the Cronica de Alfonso XI represents a distinct advance. Combined with this new mastery of style are occasional felicitous touches, indicating a keen sense of the dramatic moment, and a concern with shades of character and interplay of motives, which must have made the work of Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid peculiarly acceptable as a source of study and inspiration to a much more celebrated chronicler, his successor. Even as early as the fourteenth century copyists were beginning to display a tendency to attribute any unnamed chronicle, general or otherwise, to the famous Chancellor Mayor of Enrique III, Pedro Lopez de Ayala. We may be sure he would have felt no shame had he learned of the attribution to him of the chronicle of Alfonso XI. The Poema/

(1) See ch.LI8: "Et estando el Rey et su hueste" and ch.253, siege.

(2) See Gallardo, t.2. under "Cronicas", reference to S, 56. "Cronica sacada de la que escribio el arzobispo D. Rodrigo hasta el Rey D.Sanchez el Deseado, y de la que escribio P.Lopez de Ayala hasta D.Sancho el Bravo; letra del siglo XIV.

Poema of that monarch inspired him in the conclusion of his great chronicle of Alfonso's son and successor, Pedro the Cruel. The chronicle too must have been familiar reading; and a material link was soon to be made between Ayala's own work and that of his predecessor. The pious thanksgiving for the taking of Algeciras in March 1344 marked the end of the original chronicle of Alfonso the XI (Escorial and Mayans manuscripts). Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid possibly died before his master; and a later editor had the happy thought of filling in the blank of the five remaining years of Alfonso's reign by a close adaptation of the introductory chapter of Ayala's chronicle of his successor. The portrait of Alfonso XI which is found at the end of his chronicle is therefore the work of Ayala, placed, in accordance with Ayala's method, immediately after the account of the king's death by plague before Gibraltar. The thumb-nail sketch is in Ayala's usual style, and the brief summary of the physical qualities of Alfonso, "non muy grande de cuerpo, mas de buen talante, et de buena fuerza et rubio et blanco, et venturoso en guerras", forms an interesting contrast to the appreciation of the king's character set down by his own chronicler near the beginning of his adult reign. For Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid and his contemporaries the physical aspect, familiar to them in daily intercourse, needed no description; but/

but the final sentence of his characterization of Alfonso reveals in a flash of inspiration the moral qualities which made him, for men of that rough age the ideal figure of a truly national king. Alfonso was abstemious in food and drink, in dress "muy apuesto", and in all other respects "avia buenas condiciones: ca la palabra del era bien castellana, et no dubdaba en lo que avia de decir."⁽¹⁾ When Ayala, with a recollection of this characterization of Alfonso by the earlier chronicler, recorded that Pedro the Cruel, so like his father in temperance in food and drink, and in love of the chase and of warfare, "ceceaba un poco en la palabra", the difference in the very manner of their speech may well have symbolized to him the contrast between the direct, forcible nature of the father, and the sinister twisted ways of his lisping son.

(1) Cron.de Alf. XI, ch.38.

CHAPTER II.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala - early Life and Education.

I. Birth place and lineage.

The author of the Tres Coronicas, and even the distinguished biographer of Alfonso XI, were soon, despite their not unimportant contributions to Spanish history, to be completely overshadowed by the appearance of the man whom later eulogists were to hail as the renewer of Spanish literature and the greatest Spanish historian of the middle ages, whilst another section, no less vehement, denounced him as a traitor in conduct and a deliberate falsifier of the truth of history. The life of this celebrated writer was long and eventful. Born in 1332 at Vitoria, in the province of Alava, Pedro Lopez de Ayala played an active part in the political and diplomatic history of Castile, a land so troubled that by comparison the France of 1373 was "tierra mas sosegada e non con tantos bollicios"⁽¹⁾ and much more desirable as a peaceful dwelling-place, and he saw the reigns of six kings before he passed away in 1407. Of noble birth, of the line of Haro on his father's side, he shared that pride of race which was hereditary in the house of Ayala/

(1) Cronica de Enrique II, VIII, 2.

Ayala. Their boasted descent from an Infante Don Vela of Aragon is mentioned with reserve by Fernan Perez de Guzman⁽¹⁾ in his brief account of his uncle's life, and possibly their one genuine claim to royal blood was through an ancestress, wife of a previous Pedro Lopez de Ayala, and illegitimate sister of San Fernando; but they were undoubtedly connected by marriage with the greatest families of northern Spain. From Dona Ines de Ayala, a sister of the chronicler, was descended Juana de Casarrubios, mother of the Catholic king Don Fernando himself, whose chronicler Gracia Dei could with reason say, in the verses quoted by Floranes (Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de Espana, No.19, p.49)

"Quien con Ayalas se topa
No le faltaran abuelos."

The reproach the Fernan Perez de Guzman that "en Castilla ovo siempre e ay poca diligencia de las antiguedades" (Gen,y Sembl. chapter on Don Gonzalo Nunez de Guzman) could certainly not be applied to the family of his uncle Ayala. Pedro as a boy probably listened many a time to extracts from the book which his father was composing about his lineage, and he himself and his grandson after him continued in due course the record of the prowess of their race. It is little wonder that a
man/

(1) "Algunos del linaje de Ayala dicen que vienen de un infante de Aragon a quien el rey de Castilla dio el senorio de Ayala, e yo ansi lo falle escrito por don Ferrant Perez de Ayala, padre deste don Pero Lopez de Ayala, pero non lo ley en estorias nin he de dello otra certidumbre." Generaciones y semblanza.

man so filled with pride of race refused to look on kings as made of finer clay than himself, and unhesitatingly maintained that "una naturaleza ellos e nos avemos"⁽¹⁾.

The birth-place of Ayala was one fitted to encourage a somewhat independent attitude on the part of its inhabitants towards the central power. The "illustrious province of Alava" as Floranes calls it in his eloquent panegyric (Doc.Ined.19) had enjoyed a very high degree of independence, including a coinage of its own, even under the dominion of Navarre, and between the years 1200 and 1332 had acted as a free and independent state. In the latter year - the year of Ayala's birth - by a compact between Alfonso XI of Castile and the nobles of Alava, amongst them Fernan Perez de Ayala, the province surrendered its independence, but carefully reserved all its privileges and freedom of internal action. This spirit of freedom is reflected also in the life of Vitoria, a town which counted only a century and a half of existence when Pedro Lopez de Ayala was born. A centre of commerce and mechanical arts from its foundation, according to Floranes, it was subject to no jurisdiction other than that of its own alcalde, and/

(1) Rimado de Palacio, 236. (Bibliotheca Hispanica, 21. Edited by Kuersteiner, and published by Hispanic Society of America. New York, 1920.

and none could hold that post but a native of the town. In later life Ayala was to show himself a firm believer in councils, and in well-guarded towns "de muchos buenos muros e muchos libertades" (Rim.533) and when he would summon to council in matters concerning their interests "omes buenos de villas, que hay muchos onrados" (Rimado 286) he may have had in mind some of the worthy citizens of his native Vitoria.

II. Education.

Any tendency to a parochial point of view on the part of the eldest son of Fernan Perez de Ayala was no doubt modified by a courtly up-bringing and the influence of his diplomatic and wily father. Actual details about the education given to the future chronicler are somewhat scanty, but the "Libro del Linaje de los Senores de Ayala"⁽¹⁾ definitely states that "lo criaba D.Pedro Barroso su tio", and that the boy was at first intended for the church. The "Libro del Linaje" does not expressly state that this uncle was the venerable Cardinal, author - at some time previous to 1293, when he was recommended for promotion by Sancho IV himself/

(1) Gallardo, t.3, N.2729. It is given as a composite document Fernan Perez de Ayala being responsible for the section up to the year 1371, whilst it was continued on the death of his father by Pedro, and carried on still later by his grandson.

himself, - of the earliest original treatise in Spanish⁽¹⁾ on the duties of councillors. From his retirement at Avignon, where his death occurred in 1345, before Ayala had reached the age of fourteen, the aged prelate could scarcely have had much personal contact with his numerous youthful kinsfolk. It is to him, however, that Florenes⁽²⁾ at least is disposed to attribute a decisive influence over the up-bringing of his young relative, and whether it was he in person or his nephew of the same name who supervised Ayala's education,⁽³⁾ it was no doubt owing to hopes based on the Cardinal's position in the church that Fernan Perez de Ayala allowed the eldest of his nine children to receive the position of "clerigo canonigo" of Toledo and Palencia. The death of the old cardinal, and possibly the prospect of a good match for the lad, apparently altered his father's plans for his future. Young Pedro gave up his clerical career, and as "doncel" to the heir to the throne had an opportunity of adding to the/

(1) For account of this personage, see Amador de los Rios, *Historia Critica de la Literatura Castellana*, t.IV part 2, ch,14.

(2) Florenes says of cardinal (Doc, Ined. No. 19, p. 57): "Es verosimil le hubise llevado a su casa, y ya cuando mas adulto dadole su lado para introducirle en la corte y en palacio." He thinks him "acaso su unico maestro hasta en ano 1345 en que murio."

(3) The D. Pedro Barroso, bishop of Sigüenza imprisoned by Don Pedro I in 1345 owing to his association with Blanche, was apparently a nephew of the cardinal, and might be described as "tio" of Ayala.

the excellent grounding in Biblical knowledge so clearly displayed in his *Rimado de Palacio* the more courtly accomplishments recommended by the Infante Don Juan Manuel for the complete instruction of princes and nobles. Alfonso XI, if he neglected his heir in his babyhood, at least provided for his later education the best tutors then available, and Ayala may have shared in the literary and moral instruction ⁽¹⁾ imparted by them to the young prince. Whether he profited by such tuition or not, in one branch of courtly education at least he did not waste the opportunities provided for him. Don Pedro I himself, "muy cazador de aves" as he was, so keen a lover of falconry that when the Adelantado Garci Laso was put to death by his command it was his falcon that he seized as his special ⁽²⁾ booty, was no more a devotee of the craft than his attendant. For Pedro Lopez de Ayala all through his long life falconry was a passion and a solace. Devout churchman as he was, especially in hours of sorrow and distress, he could not resist the temptation to indulge in his favourite sport even on Sunday, ⁽³⁾ and when over fifty, amidst the anguish of/

(1) According to *Floranes* (Doc. Ined. 19, p. 74) these donceles received instruction in the palace itself.

(2) *Libro de Las Aves de Baca*, p. 32. refers to a bird in possession of Don Pedro "que fuera de Garci laso de la vega."

(3) *Rimado*, 29. "Con aves y con canes aquel dia cace."

of body and mind endured in his iron cage at Oviedes after the disaster of Aljubarrota, he was able to forget his troubles whilst with loving care he wrote down, for the benefit of his kinsman the hunting Bishop of Burgos, Don Gonzalo de Mena, the most minute descriptions of birds which he had known and the treatment to be adopted for their well-being and happiness. Ayala himself was a prisoner. The affairs of Castile were at their worst. But the bird which he cherished must have provided for it, in addition to quiet rooms free from smoke and a light burning through the night "algunos cespedes verdes como en manera de prado, que tome plazer con la verdura."⁽¹⁾ This passion for falconry, fostered no doubt by his early association with Don Pedro,⁽²⁾ accompanied him in all his wanderings. Wherever Pedro Lopez de Ayala found himself, in Aragon or in France, at sea or on land, he gathered in from princes, noblemen,⁽³⁾ or traders the queerest and most varied information about the ways, preferences and achievements of his beloved birds.

To/

(1) Libro de las Aves de Caza, p.124.

(2) It is curious to note the entire absence of allusions to birds owned by Enrique II or Juan I. The birds cited are in great part those possessed by Pedro and trained by his falconero, Juan Perrandez Burriello.

(3) Libro de las Aves de Caza, p.149, he quotes a conversation with "don felipe, fijo del rey de francia, duque de bregona", who boasted that a bird entrusted to him by the Duchess of Brittany had in one winter taken more than 200 partridges.

To the varied education imparted to him in the cloisters and at court young Ayala added in his own home the intellectual stimulus provided by his father and his father's friends. The influence of Fernan Perez de Ayala over the mind of his eldest son must have been of the utmost importance in the development of the future chronicler. The elder Ayala was no ordinary provincial noble. An expert in the then universal practice of fishing in troubled waters, he received the reward of his labours in the form of embassies to France and Aragon, delicate missions of pacification to the turbulent Encartaciones del Senorio de Vizcaya, where his family influence was of service, and above all in a respectable increase of this world's goods, which allowed him at the end of an interesting if not particularly edifying life to make his peace with heaven in the conventional manner by the foundation of a monastery. To the diplomatic qualities which enabled him to thread his way through so many perils to so satisfactory an end Fernan added, it would appear, gifts of oratory so highly esteemed in his own day that he was chosen by the protesting nobles in 1354 to be their spokesman at the critical meeting with King Pedro at Tejadillo. In history and literature he showed the keenest interest. If his actual literary composition was limited to the history of his own lineage already mentioned, he appears at least to/

to have gone to considerable pains to acquire information about happenings at home and abroad, and as far as was possible to have maintained contact with the intellectual advances of his day. Books, though dear and difficult to procure, cannot have been lacking in the Ayala household, and not all would be of the type on which Pedro admits that he wasted much precious time -

"Libros de devaneos e mentiras probadas,
Amadis, Lanzarote, e burlas asacadas." (1)

These romances no doubt had their influence on a boy who was fourteen when the Black Prince won his spurs at Crecy, and may possibly account in some measure for the detailed nature of Ayala's description of the dealings of King Pedro with the Prince of Wales after Najera, an account where all that is most chivalrous in the latter's character is brought out with complacent care, providing an admirable foil for the mean rancour of the Castilian king. It is probable, however, that young Ayala, whose adult life was to be characterised above all by cool commonsense, from the beginning looked on such romances as mere relaxations, with no reference whatever to actual life as experienced in 14th century Spain, and that, like his father, he turned
for/

(1) Rimado del Palacio, 162: For the introduction of the Arthurian romances into Spain, see "The Arthurian Legend in the Literature of the Spanish Peninsula", by Professor W. Entwistle. Dent. 1925.

for mental food above all to the historical and didactic writings of his own land. His chronicles reveal, in digressions and in the carefully composed speeches, an intimate knowledge of the earlier historical writers of Spain, whilst his thorough grounding in the scholastic text books of his day is evident above all in the *Rimado*. In a member of the house of Ayala, so intimately bound up with the stormy career of Don Juan Manuel,⁽¹⁾ we may be entitled to take for granted some acquaintance with the literary production of that remarkable personage; and Pedro's keen interest in the text book theories of warfare, so different from the purely chivalric view, was no doubt due in the first place to Don Juan Manuel and his studies of the military art as expounded by Vegetius.⁽²⁾ From readings such as these young Pedro Lopez de Ayala was likely to acquire a stock of ideas about the conduct of life and the real relationship of man to man more adapted to the struggle for existence which lay before him than the lofty idealism of the knights of the round table could possibly be/

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- (1) A previous Pedro Lopez de Ayala, who had been "ayo" of Don Juan's father, is the "Turin" in the *Libro de los Estados*, and Don Juan Manuel, as well as his father, had an Ayala as "mayordomo".
- (2) "Si vos quisierdes saber todo esto que me preguntastes de la caballeria complidamente leed un libro que fizo un sabio que dicen Vejecio, et y lo fallaredes todo." Don Juan Manuel. *Libro del Caballero et del Escudero*, XIX.

be. As a practical man, Ayala never made extravagant demands either on his own virtue or on that of others, and his experiences at court and in his father's house were of a nature to encourage above all his innate talent for compromise. There seems no reason to doubt that in his own way Pedro Lopez de Ayala loved his country and in later life served her well in negotiations abroad, in Aragon, Portugal, and France; but he had no illusions about his country or his countrymen. "A Castilla" complained a generation later the Senor de Batres, nephew of Ayala, "posee y e la ensenorea el interese, lancando della la virtud e humanidat."⁽¹⁾ The contest of greed was no new thing even in Ayala's day. As a boy, reading the records of the past, while he felt the thrill of pride inspired by the heroic actions of his countrymen, he no doubt noted also the many occasions when the stern fight for honour was combined with a keen concern for profit, and in the competition for posts and honours he early resolved not to be left behind.

Before Ayala's education was complete the land was ravaged by the Black Death, and the effect on the mind of a boy of sixteen of the plague and the horrors it brought in its train may be a matter for interesting speculation; but again definite information is lacking. Several times
in/

(1) Generaciones y Semblanzas, chapter on Don Ruy Lopez Davalos.

in the Rimado de Palacio Ayala refers to the depopulation of the land - "A do moraban ciento fincan tres pobladores" ⁽¹⁾ - and the plague may possibly have stirred in him those longings for a rich, well-populated land - "Mucho pueblo rico, que crece cada dia" - which he was later to express so ardently. An inevitable result, however, must have been in him, as in others of his day, a not too sensitive acceptance of the sight of death and suffering as one of the commonplaces of life. On many occasions, he admits in his general confession of sin, he omitted to fulfil that "obra de Misericordia" which consists of giving burial to a dead body encountered on the way. The sight was, to be sure, unpleasant, "Los ojos cerre" he says, "por non le ver de enojo"; but having shut out the offensive sight he was able to pass tranquilly enough on his way.

(1) Rimado, 233.

CHAPTER III.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala: His Public Career.

I. Reign of Pedro I.

The first public appearance of Pedro Lopez de Ayala took place at an interesting moment. It was the month of May, 1353, and in Valladolid preparations were being made for the marriage of the young king to the sixteen year old Blanche de Bourbon. Trouble was brewing. The king's brothers, Enrique and Tello, coming to take part in the celebrations, had arrived in force through fear, as they said, of the still powerful Albuquerque. A clash seemed imminent. The two bands, that of the king and that of the bastards, stood facing each other, so close that individuals in the opposite ranks could readily be distinguished. Suddenly Don Pedro remarked moving before the lines of Enrique's men a knight adorned with the scarlet insignia of the Order de la Banda instituted by his father Alfonso XI. Enquiring his name, he discovered that it was Pero Carrillo, a vassal of Enrique of Trastamara. None but direct vassals of the crown had the right to wear such insignia, declared the king, and straightway sent his "doncel" to order the removing of the offending decoration. The doncel was Pedro Lopez de Ayala, ⁽¹⁾ then twenty-one years of age.

We/

(1) Pedro I, IV,8; see note giving Abreviada version.

We can picture him, "alto de cuerpo, e delgado, e de buena presona", according to his nephew's description, richly dressed - he accuses himself of spending on fine raiment enough to clothe a thousand poor - and "bien quisto" by the sinister young king, with whom he shares two passions, - the chase, and women. All his life he was to love women "mas que a tan sabio caballero como el se convenia", and at twenty-one he cannot have watched indifferently the fate of the unhappy young queen, "blanca e rubia e de buen donayre", whose married life was to be so tragically brief.

Next year, at the famous interview at Tejadillo between the king and the alleged champions of Blanche, Pedro Lopez de Ayala was no longer in attendance on Don Pedro. In the interval there had been abundance of scheming and intrigue against the king of a sufficiently unsavoury kind; but the rising promoted at Toledo, where Blanche was in sanctuary, by the queen's devoted attendant Leonor de Saldana, seems to have been in its origin at least an outburst of chivalric emotion without base alloy. In defence of the "criatura sin pecado" the ladies of Toledo by tears and entreaties, roused up all the caballeros of the city/

(1) F.P.de Guzman, Generaciones y Semblanzas, "Don Pero Lopez de Ayala."

(2) "Con valor de mis panos a mill pobres vestiera" Rimado, 140.

(3) Gen. y Semblanzas.

(4) Cron. de Pedro I, XII, 3.

city except such as by their official position were bound to resist the movement, and these were held as prisoners by their own kin. Toledo was the birth-place of Fernan Lopez de Ayala, and probably the action of his kinsfolk hastened his decision to throw in his lot with the Infante Fernando of Aragon, the head of the protesting faction. Fernan is in any case mentioned in the chronicle of his son amongst the knights who left the king and departed with the Infante to Cuenca; and at Tejadillo Fernan was the spokesman of the protesting nobles. According to Zurita, (*Emiendas*, p.92) the doncel who on that occasion carried the helm and lance of the Infante of Aragon was the future chronicler. Floranes suggests that it was for reasons of morality that the elder Ayala had removed his son from the pernicious influence of Maria de Padilla. It is true that in his later days the worthy Fernan turned to works of religion, and ended his days in the costume of a Dominican friar; but we may be permitted to doubt if any moral or even chivalric considerations swayed him at this juncture. Even his defence of the rights of the unhappy young queen may not have been entirely disinterested. Don Pedro's treatment of Blanca is certainly alleged by the protesting faction, in their letter sent to the king from Cuenca, as the first and main reason for their action; but immediately thereafter comes the/

the complaint that the Padilla family now in power "non
 tenían buen Regimient en el Regno, nin en su casa, nin
facian honra a los Senores y Caballeros que y andaban."⁽¹⁾

Blanche de Bourbon, a convenient rallying-cry, seems in
 the squabbling for positions which took place after the
 virtual imprisonment of the king at Toro to have been
 very completely forgotten by her champions. Their chief
 anxiety, on discovering that all their material desires
 were not being fulfilled to their mind, appears to have
 been to make, each on his own account, the best possible
 bargain with the king. Young Ayala's master, the Infante
 Fernando, consented for a handsome consideration - the
 towns of Aranda and Madrigal, with other possessions in
 Andalucia - to connive at the escape of Don Pedro from
 Toro, and probably his doncel also made his peace at the
 same time with the Padilla faction. Fernan Perez de Ayala
 certainly found it profitable to return to his allegiance.
 Floranes unfortunately cites neither date nor document for
 the acquirement by the elder Ayala of the "señorio,
 jurisdiccion, y rentas del valle de Quartango" which he
 considers fell to the eloquent caballero's share as a
 reward for the good advice given to his sovereign at the
 vistas of Tejadillo; but if Fernan acquired the estate
 about/

(1) Pedro I, V, 24.

about this period it probably came as the fruits of his negotiations with the imprisoned monarch. For almost all concerned, with the exception of the ladies, the "hombres buenos", and certain of the most sincere of the caballeros of Toledo, the rising of 1354 seems in fact to have been a sufficiently discreditable affair; but it may not be fanciful to suppose that in the beginning at least young Ayala's actions were prompted by a genuine emotion. In the account set down in later years it is with real feeling that he tells how in Toledo "todos los que estos fechos hicieron non cataron nin pensaron los peligros que dende podrian venir"; and, he adds, "la obra fue muy peligrosa, segund que adelante parescio."⁽¹⁾

The dangers were not to affect the Ayala's, father and son, for some time. No doubt Fernan made use of his influence with the powerful Toledo family, allied to him through the marriages of three of his six daughters,⁽²⁾ and of the good offices of his brother-in-law, Diego Gutierrez de Zavallos, who was to enjoy such signal, and short-lived, favour of the king. The reconciliation with Don Pedro seems/

(1) Cron.de Pedro V, 22.

(2) Ines, married to Dia Gomez de Toledo; Elvira, to Pero Suarez de Toledo; Leonor, to Fernan Alvarez de Toledo. The latter remained loyal to Pedro to end, being Alguacil Mayor of the city during the terrible siege by Enrique of Trastamara in his second entry. By that time all the other notables of the Toledo family had gone over to Trastamara. (see Cron. de Don Pedro XVII, 18).

N.B. Name "Juan Sanchez de Ayala" occurs in list of 50 with king. (Cousin or brother of Pedro).

seems to have been in any case outwardly complete, and our next glimpse of Pedro Lopez de Ayala shows him, five years later, holding the important position of "Capitan de la flota" in the great navy directed against Aragon. Disappointing in actual results, the expedition was for Ayala of inestimable value for the experience of naval affairs gained in the company of such renowned sailors as the great Bocanegra family and the celebrated Ferrand Sanchez de Tovar, the future scourge of the English coasts. After demonstrations against Barcelona and Ibiza, and days spent in deliberations concerning a naval battle which did not take place, the fleet turned back towards Seville. Six days were spent near Alicante, where in an encounter with the Aragonese Don Diego de Padilla nearly lost his life, and where Pedro Lopez de Ayala apparently found an opportunity of purchasing from a vessel arriving from Africa some choice birds to add to his collection. ⁽¹⁾ Before finally disarming his fleet, Don Pedro, learning of the approach to the straits of Gibraltar of a rich convoy of twelve Venetian galleys laden with treasure, sent instructions to his commanders at Seville to patrol the straits and intercept the prize. Unfortunately for the king, a strong wind drove his watching galleys so far over to the African side/

(1) Libro de las Aves de Caca, p.34: Estando yo en Alicante, que es en Aragon, llego una nae que venia de la berberia et traya muchos de los alfanques, et compre dellos."

side that his intended prey slipped through in safety; but for his captain, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, the time was not altogether wasted, while from the deck of his galley he (1) watched the passage of the storks to their winter quarters in Africa.

The following year, for Pedro Lopez de Ayala as for many others, must have been full of an interest of a most poignant nature. The king's suspicions, too often justified by such actions as the betrayal of Tarrazona in this year by its commander, and further inflamed by the raids into Castilian territory made by Enrique de Trastamara, were demanding victims. Ayala's maternal uncle, Diego Gutierrez de Zevallos, accused of encouraging others to pass over to Aragon, was this year imprisoned, and four years later put to death. A more important victim was the Repostero Mayor himself, Gutier Ferrandez de Toledo, whose death was followed by the ignominious expulsion from Toledo of his brother the Archbishop. Ayala was that year the Alguacil Mayor of the city, and, urged on by "muchas afrentas" made to him in the king's name by the Chancellor Matheos Ferrandez, had the painful duty of hurrying the archbishop into exile, without even the alleviation of a change of raiment or a book to solace his journeying. The increasing asperity of

Ayala's/

(1) Libro de las Aves de Caca, p.153.

Ayala's references to the king's conduct to be noted at this period may indicate an increasing sense of personal grievance; but, however half-hearted their allegiance may have been, it is certain that both Fernan Perez de Ayala and his son remained with the king till he had been forsaken by the majority of the nobles. Even after the proclamation of Enrique de Trastamara at Calahorra in March, 1366, Pedro Lopez de Ayala was amongst those who departed in the king's company from Burgos, and his father came from his command in Aragon to join them as they made their way towards Toledo; but the Ayalas went no further. Don Pedro, hurrying to safeguard his treasures at Seville, appeared to them to have abandoned the position; and father and son did homage to the new king when "con grand placer, e con grandes alegrías" he entered Toledo.

After the flight of Don Pedro to Seville and thereafter through an unfriendly Portugal to Galicia⁽¹⁾ and ultimately to Bayonne, there to solicit aid from the English, the one main centre of active opposition to his rival was Galicia, under the loyal Fernando de Castro, assisted by a few strong towns in Leon. Enrique of Trastamara, however, in spite of general though by no means disinterested welcome elsewhere, was conscious of the real insecurity of his position, particularly/

(1) Note conflicting accounts of route followed. Cp. Account of Chandos the Herald, and Froissart.

particularly when the prospects of an English expedition in Pedro's favour became ever more threatening. The majority of the foreign companies who had assisted Enrique's venture, and who thereafter had resorted to their usual free booting habits and "facian grand dano en el Regno" had been as soon as possible paid off and sent home "muy contentos e muy pagados del;" and this enormous expense, and the lavish rewards showered on his first adherents, had soon exhausted not only the royal treasures which had fallen into the hands of Enrique, but also the "servicios" extorted by him from the Jews. Before the threatened invasion, however, and the necessity of conciliating waverers, the one course open to the newmade king was to solicit from Cortes convoked for the purpose at Burgos a substantial financial aid, and to continue his policy of lavishness. Many of the rewards so liberally conferred at this time were of course more apparent than real. As Ayala remarks with a touch of grim humour "Otorgogelos de muy buen talente, ca asi le complia, que aun estaban por cobrar"; and possibly for his own share Pedro Lopez de Ayala secured for the moment nothing more substantial than the dangerous honour of being appointed standard-bearer of the knights of the Order of the Band, who fought in the vanguard in company with the great Du Guesclin on the disastrous day of Najera.

Ayala's/

Ayala's account of this fierce engagement in which he, in company with Enrique's brother Don Sancho, Du Guesclin, and many other distinguished knights, was made a prisoner, forms a curious contrast with the picturesque narratives of Froissart and the herald Chandos.⁽¹⁾ The preliminaries of the battle, the negotiations with the treacherous Charles of Navarre with regard to the passage through his territory of the English force, the exchange of letters between the Black Prince and Enrique, the preliminary skirmishes, the disposition of the troops on both sides, all this Ayala tells in detail; but of the bitter weather, the open tree-less plain where the battle was fought, the swift rushing river in which so many of the fugitives perished,⁽²⁾ the waving banners and/

- (1) For the battle itself, consult, in addition to Froissart, Chandos, Life of the Black Prince, edited by Mildred Pope and Eleanor Lodge. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1910. and the Victorial, or Cronica de Don Pedro Niño, published in the Llaguno Amirola edition of the Cronicas de los reyes de Castilla, tome 3.
Other authorities for period: Molinier; Cuvellier, Chronique de B. du Guersclin, ed. Charriere (Doc. Ined. sur l'histoire de France).
Grandes Chroniques de France et de S. Denis, edited P. Paris, Paris 1836. From 1340-1380 it is the work of contemporary. There is apparently a modern account of the battle, by C. Garrañ "Episodio Militar del Siglo XIV. La Batalla de Najera", published in 1902 at Logroño, La Rioja.
- (2) In the Abreviada, reference is made to flooded river. Note Pedro I, 18, 12. "Crecio el rio de Najera muy mucho, e facia grand daño a la gente que fuia."

and flashing of armour, he has not a word to say. And yet Ayala's narrative, concise and businesslike as it is, breathes a life and emotion which reveals in every brief phrase the combatant. For Don Tello, that most shifty of the brothers of Enrique of Trastamara, Ayala always had a dislike none the less intense because never directly stated. The cold directness with which he here sets down in bald language his shameful passivity and still more shameful flight is more damning than any rhetoric. Round Ayala's own banner raged the hottest part of the fray. Three times Enrique of Trastamara himself charged into the thick of the battle in the vain attempt to aid the foot-soldiers in the van. The banner was not yet down, but "ninguno los acorria" says the standard-bearer, "e ellos estaban de todos partes cercados de los enemigos." Soon all around him were dead or prisoners, and Pedro Lopez de Ayala might at least be thankful that he had fallen into the hands of the English, and not of his former master.

This English captivity of Pedro ^oLopez de Ayala, despite
 (1)
 the fanciful statements of Puymaigre and Ticknor, cannot have
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(1) Puymaigre speaks of him as enduring, in England, "une longue et dure captivite", and considers that he returned to Castile only after death of Pedro. Comparing his two periods of imprisonment, he considers that the Portuguese captivity "parait avoir ete moins penible et moins longue que la premiere"; but Puymaigre's knowledge of the facts of Ayala's life was scanty. He believes that he exercised the functions of Chancellor Mayor under Enrique II and Juan I as well as under Enrique III. His opinion as to Ayala's/

been of long duration. Najera was fought on Saturday, the 3rd of April 1367. By the late autumn of the same year Ayala had already rejoined Enrique of Trastamara in Burgos, where he was able to reveal to him a characteristic piece of double-dealing on the part of Don Tello.⁽¹⁾ This short captivity was spent most probably in Bayonne "de Inglaterra", the centre of the financial negotiations of the English, and may have had as one important result a more intimate acquaintance on Ayala's part with the French tongue which was later to become so dear to him. Floranes discusses, at greater length perhaps than is merited by the importance of the subject, allegations by detractors of the chronicler⁽²⁾ that his liberation was due to an act of grace on the part of his injured king, moved to pardon through consideration for one of his mistresses, sister or niece of Ayala. The dates cited by Floranes go to prove that the lady in question, a companion of Don Pedro's daughters, cannot have had any intercourse with the king after 1366, and that even in 1367 she was only fourteen years of age, and in no position to help her uncle. It is probable that Pedro Lopez de Ayala regained/

literary achievement is however to be respected. See "Vieux Auteurs Castellans", and also references to Ayala in "La Cour Litteraire de Juan II."

(1) Pedro I, XIII, 35, note giving Abreviada version.

(2) See Floranes. Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de Espana, No.19, pp.97-101.

regained his liberty in the usual fashion, by payment of a substantial ransom to his English captors, and that he immediately used his freedom to begin working for the restoration of Trastamara. Enrique, biding his time in France while Don Pedro squabbled with his English allies over payment, soon received the welcome tidings that "todos los Caballeros e Escuderos suyos que fueron presos en la batalla de Najera, que los mas dellos eran libres e fuera de prision, e que se iban encavalgando e armando, e se ponian en villas e castillos e fortalezas, e facian guerra contra el Rey Don Pedro, e todos estaban por el." If the younger Ayala threw in his lot with this majority, such action would not necessarily be inconsistent with the fact that that accomplished trimmer, his father, had not only secured pardon from Don Pedro but had once more been employed by him. The mission entrusted to Fernan Perez de Ayala, well adapted to his powers of finesse, was that of feigning to urge upon the men of Biscay compliance with the king's public orders to transfer themselves to the Black Prince, whilst secretly fomenting absolute resistance to such a transfer; and the mission was efficiently carried out. "El Principe non ovo la dicha tierra, por quanto los de la tierra sabian que non placia al Rey que fuese aquella tierra del Principe." ⁽¹⁾ Nevertheless, when on the final dramatic re-entry of Enrique de Trastamara/

(1) Pedro I, XVIII, 20.

Trastamara, swearing on his knees as he kissed the soil of Castile never again to depart from it, stronghold after stronghold surrendered afresh to him, and the many caballeros who from their fortresses had been making private war on his behalf rallied round him at Burgos, Fernan Perez de Ayala must have decided that it was time to join his son once more. At the siege of Toledo the elder Ayala is found enjoying a high degree of confidence in the councils of Enrique, and when the latter decided to advance in person to meet his rival as he approached from the south, Fernan and his heroic son-in-law, Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza, were (1) amongst those left to keep watch over the beleaguered city.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala may possibly have been left behind with his father; but the minuteness of the details which give such vividness to his account of the final scene at Montiel suggest that the chronicler was himself one of the company who, to see their way on that dark night before the battle, lit the fires which the doomed king took as signs of the approach of his looked-for reinforcements from Cordoba. In telling of the treachery of Du Guesclin Ayala makes no attempt at palliation or concealment. In fact, by his earnest defence of the loyalty of Men Rodriguez de Senabria to Don Pedro his lord, Ayala would seem to emphasize the/

(1) Pedro I, XX, 5.

the baseness of the conduct of the great men. Armed only with a dagger, the betrayed king encountered his half-brother "ya apercibido e armado de todas sus armas, e el bacinete en la cabeza, esperando este fecho"; and when in the unequal contest Don Pedro was brought down, Enrique of Trastamara "le firio estando en tierra de otras feridas". Ten years later the assassin was to die peaceably in his bed, surrounded by clerics and piously concerned with the schism of the Church, and Ayala pronounces over him a seemly eulogy - of his understanding, his energy, his lavishness; and yet it is conceivable that the one-time Doncel of the murdered king, hostile as he may at times appear to his former master, could never view with wholehearted enthusiasm Don Pedro's supplanter. The tyrant's death is the theme for conventional moralizing; but Ayala does not forget in his estimate of Pedro's character those qualities, of hardness in the chase, and indulgence in love, which in their youth had brought together in some sort of sympathy the violent king and his cautious attendant.

II. Later Career of Ayala.

(a) Under Enrique II.

The importance of the later career of Pedro Lopez de Ayala has certainly not been minimized either by his eulogists or his detractors. The latter see in him the confidant of the usurper, entrusted with the task of setting down the official/

official view of the conflict of Don Pedro and his supplanter, and thereby of falsifying the whole of history. His admirers, fixing their eyes on his high position as High Chancellor of Castile, regard him as the leading statesman of his day, holding the reins of power and controlling the destinies of all Castile.⁽¹⁾

Both parties are misled by their opposing enthusiasms. Ayala was not the official chronicler of Enrique II, who in his account is by no means flattered and who in any case was dead when the chronicles themselves appeared;⁽²⁾ and on the other hand, important though the position of Ayala undoubtedly was amongst the statesmen of his day, on no occasion was he the real ruler of Castile. The much-talked-of position of High Chancellor came to him at last in his old age - he was at least sixty-six - as the crowning reward of a long and laborious life spent not so much in executive power as in affairs of arbitration and diplomatic errands abroad, particularly in France. Most of the accounts of the life of Ayala, based on Floranes, pay too little attention to/

(1) Menendez y Pelayo in *Antologia de Poetas Liricos*, t.IV, prologue, refers to him as the "arbitro de los destinos de Castilla."

(2) He refers in his *Cronica de Juan I*, Ano I, 4, to the birth of Enrique III, "el qual es hoy Rey en Castilla e en Leon."

to his frequent visits to France, and in fact give the impression that what were in fact amongst the most active years of his later life were spent in seclusion in his estates. Documents discovered by Daumet in the national archives of France, and published by him in his most important "Etude sur l'Alliance de la France et de la Castille au 14^e et 15^e siecles" enable us in most interesting fashion to complete this gap in the record of Ayala's life, and to correct the erroneous view of his position and occupations.

Our information about the progress of the chronicler's fortunes under the new regime is to begin with scanty enough; but the uncontested reign of Enrique II opened disappointingly for the Ayala family. Fernan had at once succeeded in having himself named Adelantado of Murcia; but for some reason, possibly not wholly unconnected with the memory of his father, who had held the post before him, the inhabitants protested against the appointment, their objections extending not merely to Fernan in person but to the whole of his lineage. Queen Juana promptly secured
(1)
the post for a first cousin of her own, whose subsequent conduct must have caused the unfortunate Murcians to regret their/

(1) See the "Adiciones a las Notas de la Cronica del Rey D. Enrique II" for the letter addressed on this matter to the city of Murcia by Dona Juana, por la gracia de Dios Reyna de Castilla."

their action, and Fernan was left apparently without compensation for his disappointment. Probably the influence of his son-in-law, Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Mayordomo of Enrique's heir, the future Juan I, enabled Fernan to recoup himself and his eldest son in other ways, as two years afterwards the Cortes held at Toro confirmed Pedro Lopez de Ayala in some of his possessions; and at the same Cortes the influence of Fernan as spokesman of the caballeros was sufficiently strong to prevent the king from carrying out a project for coming to some permanent arrangement concerning the "Behetrias"⁽¹⁾ of the kingdom. It is nevertheless probable that disappointed ambition played some part in turning the old man's thoughts to the religious life which he adopted in 1374.

During the ten years of Enrique's reign we find definite mention of Pedro Lopez de Ayala on one occasion only, in 1376,⁽²⁾ when as messenger from Castile to the king of Aragon he claimed a fair field for Don Juan Ramirez de Arellano, challenged in that year to single combat by the Vizconde de Rueda. The king of Aragon, known to be favourable to the challenger, insisted that the combat should take place in his realm, threatening extreme measures against Juan Ramirez, an Aragonese subject although a supporter and friend of/

(1) En.II, VI, 8, Abreviada version.

(2) En.II, XI, 2, " " .

of the Castilian king, should he fail to present himself by the appointed day. Expostulations were made in vain by the Castilian envoy, who finally delivered with spirit his ultimatum. Juan Ramirez would come, he said: but to ensure fair play, he would come with 3,000 lances to guard the lists. War appeared imminent; but the persuasions of some counsellors⁽¹⁾ favourable to Castile and to the envoy averted the danger and "fincaron los Reyes amigos".

Ayala on this occasion appears as "un su caballero" of the king himself; and in his account of the fruitless expedition against Bayonne undertaken by Enrique two years previously, the minuteness of the details recorded - the rainy summer, the lack of provisions, the difficult nature of the ground - suggests that on that occasion Ayala had in person accompanied the royal forces. For the most part, however, a careful reading of the very meagre chronicle of Enrique's reign leaves the impression that - despite the assertion of Ayala's nephew Fernan Perez de Gusman that in the time of Enrique II his uncle "fue de su consejo e amado del"⁽²⁾ - personal contact between the king and Ayala was not particularly close, and that the interests of the chronicler were more intimately bound up with the household of the Infante Juan, whose conduct of the war waged in 1378 with Navarre/

(1) "placiales de lo que el Caballero del Rey de Castilla disiera." Ibid.

(2) Generaciones y Semblanzas.

Navarre is related in detail. It is in any case a significant fact that the first important embassy of Pedro Lopez de Ayala, despatched to France to draw up a naval agreement with that power, did not take place till after the accession of Juan I.

It is noteworthy also that when Ayala went to France on the mission which was to result for him in the favour of the little French king and a handsome pension, it was in connection with naval affairs. Throughout the chronicle of Enrique's reign, compressed though it may be in other respects, we can observe a constant emphasis laid on the work of the fleet. In fact, the details of naval activities, whether against Portugal or against La Rochelle, as well as the painstaking explanations given on the occasion of any failure by the fleet to obtain its objective, suggest that not improbably the former "Capitan de la Flota" of Don Pedro was, during these years, completing the experience in naval affairs begun on the great expedition against Barcelona in 1359. It is possible that he may even have taken part in the great joint expedition against the Isle of Wight, organized by Ferrand Sanchez de Tovar in company with the French admiral Jean de Viane; but whether present in person or not, it is at any rate clear that throughout these years of Enrique's reign Ayala was absorbing from the naval experts of/

(1) Cron.de Enrique II, V, 4.

of his day information which was under Enrique's successor to serve him well in devising, in concert with the French, means for harassing in all possible ways the naval forces of England. Probably he was also laying the foundation of some of those friendships with distinguished foreigners which were to add interest and variety to his life. When in 1372 Enrique II was in person at Santander, supervising the equipment of the fleet which was to cooperate with France, and negotiations were set on foot for buying back from Du Guesclin the Castilian estates which Don Pedro had conferred upon him; the French agent was "un caballero de Francia que decian Mosen Juan de Rua, el qual en aquella armada iba en las barcas del Rey de Francia."⁽¹⁾ Thirteen years later this same Mosen Juan de Rua, camarero, like Ayala himself, of the French king and present as the envoy of France in the camp of Juan I, was to speak vigorously in support of the advice given by Ayala and the older men before the disaster of Aljubarrota, and to die fighting for Castile in the battle.

(b) Reign of Juan I.

Enrique II died in May 1379. In his will he had made special mention of Ayala's brother-in-law, Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, "que nos ha bien servido", and who was/

(1) Cronica de Enrique II, ano VII, 2.

was to retain his position as Mayordomo to the new king. Pedro Lopez de Ayala was not yet a personage of sufficient importance to receive any mention, but the new reign was to see a constant increase in his prosperity. Already, since the death in 1375 of the previous holder, Gomez Manrique, Archbishop of Toledo, Ayala had enjoyed the position of Alcalde Mayor of Toledo. The office of Merino Mayor of Guipuzcoa, which Floranes declares to have been conferred on him in 1380, may have been intended as a reward for the important services rendered by Ayala and his colleague, the doctor Juan Alfonso, in France at the end of 1379 and early months of 1380. At Paris in February of the latter year the Castilian envoys drew up an agreement for a fresh expedition against the English. The islands of Jersey and Guernsey were to be specially menaced. Twenty Spanish galleys were to go as soon as possible to La Rochelle for instructions. Juan I of Castile undertook to equip the ships and pay half expenses of wages. As a result of the efforts of Ayala, and also of his sovereign, who in person went to Seville to super-intend/

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- (1) The previous holder, Rui Diaz de Rojas, supporter of F.P. de A. on the matter of the Behetrias, had been killed in action, 1378 (En.II, XIII, 5).
- (2) Daumet: "Etude sur l'Alliance de la France et de la Castile", pp.44, 45.
- (3) Ayala however says that in accordance with treaty the king of France paid expenses of fitting out galleys (Juan I,II,1).

superintend the equipment of the galleys, the English ports of Winchelsea, Portsmouth, and Hastings were ravaged by a Spanish fleet under Ferrand Sanchez de Tovar, who actually carried havoc into the very estuary of the Thames. Ayala apparently returned to Castile to report, and when on 18th December 1380 he once more received instructions for France he was now "Alferez" of the king, who had moreover shown his appreciation of Ayala's gifts of commonsense by appointing him, during his brief stay at home in the later part of 1380, arbitrator in the vexed question of rights held by laymen over church (1) possessions.

At Vincennes, on the 22nd of April 1381, Pedro Lopez de Ayala and his colleague, the Doctor Fernando Alfonso de Aldana, formally renewed the alliance so closely kept with France since the accession of Enrique II. In addition, they were no doubt charged to convey the condolences of their master for the death of Charles V of France, which had occurred in the previous September. Ayala certainly succeeded in pleasing his youthful successor. In November 1382 we find him, as camarero of the thirteen year old Charles VI, amongst the knights of the little king's body-guard in the battle waged at Rosebeque against the rebellious (2) Flemings/

(1) Juan I, II, 8.

(2) Juan I, IV, 6.

Flemings; and the annual pension of 1000 francs conferred on him for his service was no mere paper reward. Ten years later, in a financial settlement between the kings of France and Castile, one of the items discussed is this pension due to Ayala, and payable that year by Enrique III,⁽¹⁾ as part liquidation of certain debts to France. Probably Ayala's gifts of pleasant conversation on matters grave and gay, had recommended him to the uncles of the young king. The Duke of Bourgoigne showed him a notable falcon,⁽²⁾ entrusted to his care by the Dukes of Brittany, boasted that in one winter it had taken 200 partridges or more, and possibly supplied the Castilian enthusiast with those French terms for falconry repeatedly quoted in the Libro de las Aves de Caca; and no doubt in more serious moments Ayala had opportunities of discussing with clerics or with learned laymen like the secretary Thibaut Hocie the problems of the great schism or the progress of the blockade of the English near La Rochelle in that year by the Spanish fleet.⁽³⁾ In matters of warfare Ayala, now fifty years of age, had formed/

(1) Arch.Nat. J 603, No.69, (section 44), given by Daumet.

(2) Yo vi un esmerejon a don felipe, fiijo del rey de francia, duque de bregona...que le confiara la duquesa de bretana; diziamos que en aquel invierno...avia tomada 200 pardizes o mas." "Libro de las Aves de caza", p. 149.

(3) It is curious that in his account of 1382 Ayala says nothing about this blockade.

formed theories which had nothing to do with the pageantry of battle so dear to the heart of Froissart; and his commendation of the French soldiers at Rosebeque is given because they all fought on foot, and in good order. (Cronica de Juan I, Año IV, 6).

Possibly from the beginning of 1381 to the end of 1384 Ayala resided continuously in France, his minute information about all home affairs being due to his extensive family connections with the chief advisers of Juan I. The conferring on him of the lands of Salvatierra, an event assigned by Floranes, on faith of a privilegio in his possession, to June 1382, might easily take place in his absence; and his detailed account of such events as the descent in 1383 of an English force, under the Bishop of Norwich, upon the town of Ypres, certainly suggests that he had first-hand knowledge of the hasty expedition sent out against the invaders, and counting in its number eight dukes, 36 counts, and 360 pennants. If Rossell's note to Juan I, VI, 1, is correct Pedro Lopez de Ayala was still in France in the spring of 1384, when instructions were sent him to negotiate a truce with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, a truce which was signed at Boulogne in September of that year. In that case Ayala probably did not experience in person the horrors of the pestilence which ravaged the besieging army of Juan I before Lisbon, and/

and carried off, with many other experienced warriors, Ayala's old colleague in naval affairs, the Admiral Fernan Sanchez de Tovar. When however, in the early part of the following year, Juan I, undaunted by his unhappy experience, summoned all his vassals for a fresh attempt, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, back once more on Castilian soil, was with him as a trusted member of his Council at Seville. There, with copious examples taken from Castilian history, the returned envoy explained, in a long speech which shows very clearly the imprint of Ayala's years of residence in France, his views concerning the proper treatment to be dealt out to the troublesome Count Alfonso.

1385 was for all Castile a year of mourning. The encounter of Troncoso, at which one of Ayala's brothers-in-law, Pedro Suarez de Toledo, fell, was an evil omen. Ayala himself may have accompanied the raiding party, which, encumbered by droves of stolen cattle, fell in unexpectedly with a force of Portuguese. The difficult walking, under a blazing July sun, over ploughed fields where clouds of dust rose up from the dry furrows, reads like a personal experience. But the affair at Troncoso was a mere skirmish, prelude to the great disaster of Aljubarrota which caused Juan I to dress himself in mourning garb, and in which so many of the best soldiers of Castile perished. In vain Ayala and the older men, supported by the opinion of

of the veteran French knight, Juan de Rúa, had expostulated against the folly of engaging late in the day, with troupes weakened by hunger and thirst and marching under an August sun, and on ground where intervening gullies rendered useless the two wings of the army. The persistence of the "omes mancebos", greedy for honour, overruled even the commands of the king; and in the battle which he had striven to avert, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, the Alferéz, after struggling as stoutly to defend his banner as he had done 18 years before at Najera, receiving hard blows and losing teeth in the melee, was made prisoner and taken to the castle of Oviedes, there to spend many weary months of captivity in an iron cage, till the payment of a heavy ransom and the arrival of his eldest son as hostage in his place set him free to return to his duties in Castile.

During this period of imprisonment, "tribulado en cuerpo e en coracon", Ayala had at least leisure to add a notable section to the miscellaneous poetical composition known as the Rimado de Palacio, and to write the delightful "Libro de las Aves de Caca" in which he recalls for his kinsman Don Gonzalo de Mena the many times when he was merry/

(1) The Libro del Linage says 30 months - Floranes 15, basing his statement on Ayala's acting as godfather to Fernan Gomez de Ciudad-Real, born in 1386.

merry at the hunt. Back once more in Guipuzcoa, possibly at the close of 1386, his duties as Merino Mayor of Guipuzcoa and his interest in secret diplomacy would leave him little enough time for verse-making. The Duke of Lancaster, pressing the claims of his wife to the throne of Castile, was already threatening from the north; and despite the pestilence which ravaged his forces, the situation, complicated by the alliance between Lancaster and the Portuguese, was sufficiently grave. Secret negotiations were, however, soon in progress for the final settlement which was so to alarm and annoy France. ⁽¹⁾ Ayala, who gives in minute detail all the transactions between Lancaster and the various envoys of Juan I, from the first genial reception ^{by} of John of Gaunt of the representatives of his open foe, to his frosty interview in January 1389 ⁽²⁾ with Ayala himself and other two envoys of his new ally of Castile - prevented by illness, bad weather, and the difficult passage of Guipuzcoa from fulfilling his promise of attending in person - was apparently able on the latter occasion to maintain with dignity in a somewhat uncomfortable situation the claims of his country. John of Gaunt would gladly have taken advantage of his agreement with Castile/

(1) Daumet, Etude, etc. This action of Juan I was considered treason to the alliance, and an envoy was sent to expostulate.

(2) Lancaster was much annoyed. "Non queria creer las excusas." XI, 3.

Castile to break the long-standing alliance between that country and France; but Ayala and his colleagues, whilst politely expressing the joy they would feel if lasting peace could be attained between England and France, declared firmly on their master's behalf that "en ninguna manera el non podia partirse de la dichas ligas de Francia." A three years' truce was however concluded in August of that same year between France and England and their respective allies, and amongst the Castilian guarantors appears Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Merino Mayor of Guipúzcoa.⁽¹⁾

The reign of Juan I was nearly at an end; but before his sudden death in August 1390 left Castile to face the problems of a minority, the Cortes of Guadalajara gave Ayala ample opportunities for displaying in matters of the utmost moment for the national safety, and especially in the question of the king's abdication, the power of an eloquence adorned by example after example taken from the annals of the race, coloured by reference to public opinion in other lands, and built up on a base of political philosophy. As he urged his monarch, listening with a face of such gloom that "non avia y ninguno de los del Consejo que se non espantase" to reconsider his/

(1) Floranes, Doc.Ined. 19, p.121. declares he held also the positions of Coperero Mayor and Camarero Mayor. He admits inability to find year. Ayala names frequently the holders of these offices, but his own name never occurs in that capacity in the chronicles.

his rash project of dividing his realm and leaving Castile under the government of a Council of prelates, knights, and burgesses, the orator, with an unusual burst of poetic fervour,
(1)
cited the example of the bees, which have but one ruler.

"Muchos omes en un regimiento nunca se acuerdan como cumple" he declared; and "quando muchos regidores ha, la cosa non va como cumple." His words were to be proved only too true. That the speaker was actually to be one of the strongest supporter of the "via del consejo" in the squabbling over the form to be taken by the regency on the accession of the eleven-year-old Enrique III shows that Ayala, like many another orator, did not invariably speak and act with entire consistency.

(c) Reign of Enrique III.

Juan I, before Aljubarrata, had made a will giving detailed arrangements for government in the event of a minority. Of the five laymen who signed the document, there remained alive after the battle only Tel Gonzalez Palomeque and Pedro Lopez de Ayala.
(2)
The latter, who was, according to the statement/

(1) The simile, so unusual in Ayala's unadorned style, is apparently a reminiscence of the tenth chapter of the book known as the "Castigos e Documentos del Rey Don Sancho."

(2) The 3 who were killed were:- Don Pedro, son of Marques de Villena; Diego Gomez Manrique; and Ayala's brother-in-law, Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza.

(1)

statement of Gil Davila, one of the first three arrivals to offer allegiance to the new king, found himself in consequence intimately involved in the disputes which at once broke out concerning the advisability of holding to the provisions of a document so out-of-date, a document moreover which Juan I himself, as "muchas veces en su Consejo" they had heard him declare, had fully intended to alter. On the arrival at Madrid of Don Pedro Tenorio, Archbishop of Toledo that formidable prelate had immediately made enquiries about the existence of a will; and when in the course of the examination of documents in the late king's room by a party of notables, consisting of the Duke of Benavente, the Count Don Pedro, the archbishops of Toledo and Santiago, and the Masters of Santiago and Calatrava, accompanied by Pedro Lopez de Ayala and attended by the king's chancellor and chamberlain, the will itself was discovered, Tenorio took charge of the document, despite a suggestion that it should be thrown into the fire as useless. It is interesting to notice that when this proposal was made "el que leia el testamento no la quiso facer, e puso el testamento sobre una cama que ay estaba". Such hatred of drastic action was an essential characteristic of Ayala, who by his previous acquaintance with the document would naturally be indicated as the most qualified to read it aloud/

(1) Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Rey Don Henrique, Madrid, 1638.

aloud.

Despite his previous arguments addressed to Juan I in face of his proposed abdication, and despite the central place he occupied in the incident of the will, it appears practically certain that Pedro Lopez de Ayala took a very prominent if not decisive part in fostering the first movement to abandon the provisions of the will in favour of government by a mixed consejo of great lords, clerics, and "procuradores" serving in rotation. The arguments adduced in favour of such government⁽¹⁾ are derived in the first place from actual experience in France during the minority of Charles VI - when Ayala had ample opportunities of studying the system - and secondly from the history of Castile, in which the chronicler was so deeply versed. Davila, in his history of the reign of Enrique III, states that at the ceremony of taking the official oath it was in the hands of Pedro Lopez de Ayala that half the procuradores swore homage; a distinction probably conferred in recognition of his labours in behalf of the "via de consejo". Unfortunately for Ayala, however, the decision of the Cortes had completely failed to recommend itself to certain highly-placed and ambitious personages, and in particular to Pedro Tenorio

(1) En.III, Year 1390, ch.3.

Tenorio, Archbishop of Toledo. This dignitary had at first concealed his real intentions, expressing merely
 (1)
 a preference for the law of the Partidas which regulated the action to be taken in the event of a king dying intestate; but soon he declared boldly for the complete fulfilment of the terms of the will, now in his possession, sent letters to the Pope, to the cardinals, to France, to Aragon, to all the cities of Castile and Leon, and busied himself in securing means to enforce his purpose. In this he had the support of the Duke of Benavente, of the Master of Alcantara, and of a nephew of Ayala, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, known in literary history as father of the famous marquis of Santillana, and at the moment engrossed in a struggle with Juan Hurtado de Mendoza for the position of mayordomo of the little king. The other faction, headed by the rival archbishop of Santiago, included Pedro Lopez de Ayala, whose position in the "guarda del rey" was for the moment so strong that when a conference was brought about at Perales through the efforts of Leonor of Navarre, aunt of the child Enrique III, Ayala, as well as the Mayordomo Mayor, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, and the Alguacil Mayor, Diego Lopez de Stuniga, was called on to give one of his sons as hostage for the security of the Duke of Benavente and the Archbishop of Toledo. With the inter-
vention/

(1) Cronica de Enrique III, I, 3.

intervention of the Queen of Navarre and the re-appearance of the permanently troublesome Count Alfonso, unwisely released by the "consejo" to counter-balance the influence of his half-brother the Duke, the situation became still further complicated, and finally in face of the tenacious claims of the uncles, aunt, and cousin of the young king not only Ayala's cherished "via de consejo" but also the arrangements theoretically based on the much-disputed will degenerated into something like chaos. From the beginning, as Ayala complains (*Cronica de Enrique III*, 9) "cada uno queria ayudar al que bien queria, e por ende muchas veces se olvidaba el provecho e bien comunal;" and little improvement was made in a bad business by the young king's premature coming of age. It would appear that Ayala found it a difficult enough task to steer his way through the troubled political seas of these early years of Enrique's reign; and his appointment as envoy to discuss the terms of a truce with Portugal very probably came as a relief to his anxious mind. From his discreet account it is difficult to ascertain what his attitude actually was to the warring factions after the breakdown of the government by Consejo; and despite his important embassy to Portugal, and the recognition of his peculiar talent for compromise by his nomination as one of the arbitrators delegated to decide the conflicting claims of Alvar Perez de Guzman and Diego Hurtado de/

de Mendoza to the position of Admiral of Spain, it is conceivable that Pero Lopez de Ayala had some personal grievances at this time. His close connection with the "partida" of the Archbishop of Santiago may possibly have failed to result in any substantial advantage for himself, and the detention of the Archbishop of Toledo in Zamora by his political opponents must have struck Ayala, whatever his views, as a step all too drastic, involving as it did - "e segund derecho asi avia de ser - the practical inconveniences of an interdict. It is significant that he reports in sufficient detail the charges made by Tenorio against the "mal regimiento que se facia en la Casa del Rey"⁽²⁾, and he probably ended by inclining to "Manchagaz" rather than to his rival "Ferrezuelo". In his account of the official assumption of full powers by the young king, not yet fourteen, Ayala reports in full the speech delivered on that occasion in the royal presence in the name of his fellow-"tutores" and himself by the Archbishop of Santiago. It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that Ayala inserts it as the most ironical commentary possible on the rule of these gentlemen/3

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- (1) The other 4 arbitrators were: the Archbishop of Santiago, the Maestre de Calatrava, and the 2 great officers of the household, Juan Furtado de Mendoza, Mayordomo Mayor, and Diego Lopez de Stuniga, Alguacil Mayor. (En.III, III,9). Ayala was obviously then still part of their faction.
- (2) En.III, III,9. Ayala does not appear again "en la guarda del rey".

gentlemen. Don Juan Garcia Manrique in this speech congratulates himself and his colleagues on their excellent record because, in the first place "non ovo muertes nin cruezas, como ovo en algunas tutorias de los reyes vuestros antecesores", and secondly because, although their management of the finances has been, to say the least, lavish, "Las rentas, loado sea Dios, cada año vienen, e lo que se daba, en los vuestros se dispendia". (Cronica de Enrique III, III, 17) .

Floranes, in his detailed account of the life of Ayala, supposes that a period of retirement now began for him with the assumption of power by the young king. "Desahogado de las fatigas de la corte" he says, "por haber tomado el Rey sobre si el gobierno el año antecedente, se retiro por algun tiempo a su estado de Ayala"⁽¹⁾; and as for the following year he has no information whatever, and for the remaining years of the chronicler's life cites merely his religious activities and official signatures as Canciller Mayor, we must conclude that in the opinion of Floranes the most active period of Ayala's life came to an end in 1394. This is however by no means the case.

One of the problems facing the advisers of the youthful Enrique III when at last, free from the "tutores" they found themselves sufficiently powerful to deal with the king's troublesome/

(1) Documentos Ineditos, No.19.

troublesome uncles, was that of the treatment to be meted out to Count Alfonso. In the previous reign, in a speech on this very question, Pedro Lopez de Ayala had urged a form of trial devised in France for an accused no less illustrious than the king of Navarre himself. Now, in the latter part of 1394, when siege was being laid to the Count in Gijon, a proposal was put forward that the whole question between the king and his powerful vassal should be referred to the arbitration of Charles VI of France.⁽¹⁾ The suggestion did not meet with universal approval. "A algunos del Consejo non les plogo" says Ayala (Cronica de Enrique III, V, 6) "diciendo que non era servicio del Rey nin a su honra que los pleytos que avia con sus vasallos se posiesen en mano de otro Rey"; but it is not inconceivable that Ayala, who in all matters of law and ecclesiastical policy turned by preference to France as his guide, either was himself responsible for the suggestion or at least favoured it when it was put forward. The proposal, in any case, was approved, and ambassadors were sent to France in connection with the affair. Ayala himself mentions no names, but as chapters six to twenty-two of Book V are exclusively devoted to the proceedings of this embassy, and to the negotiations passing between/

(1) The proposal had already been made to Count Alfonso himself at the siege of Gijon by some knights, "privados del rey", who deputed them to discuss terms with his vassall. Cronica de Enrique III, IV, 31. Year 1394.

between France and Avignon in connection with the proposed renunciation of the papacy by Benedict XIII, and as the six chapter-headings of the unfinished sixth book are also exclusively concerned with the conferences at Avignon, it is easy to infer that Ayala is giving an account of events actually witnessed by him as the Spanish envoy; and in a document found by Daumet in the Archives Nationales (j 994, no.6) we are given the proof of this inference. Ayala, accompanied by Domingo Ferrandez, treasurer of the church of Oviedo, and Vicente Arias, Archidiacon^{deacon} of Toledo, arrived in Paris towards the end of April 1395, to discover that Count Alfonso had not yet appeared; but on receiving news of his approach from Brittany, he decided to await his coming. There were "muchos razones" between the council of the king of France on the one side, and the envoys of Castile on the other; and no doubt the secretary, Thibaut Hocie, ⁽¹⁾ Ayala's old acquaintance of fifteen years standing, was very busy in the matter. The firm stand taken by Ayala and his colleagues brought about the complete discomfiture of the troublesome Count, and the frustration of his plans for raising money and men in Paris itself; and with/

(1) Thibaut Hocie had visited Castile on a mission of condolence on death of Juan I. He was later (1396) selected by Charles VI as one of the envoys to Castile to discuss methods for ending schism. For information concerning embassies between France and Castile, Daumet, "Etude sur l'Alliance de la France et de la Castile au 14^e et 15^e siecle" is most important.

With all the satisfaction of one more mission successfully accomplished Pedro Lopez de Ayala turned his face again towards Castile.

It seems probable that he returned by way of Avignon. It was in May 1395 that Charles VI of France, desiring, after councils held at Paris, to end the great schism by the "via de la renunciacion", sent to Benedict XIII as "embajadores muy solemnes" his two uncles John, Duke of Berry, and Philip, Duke of Bourgogne, as well as his brother Louis of Orleans; and their journey is told with details of time and place so minute as to suggest that Ayala himself was one of the "muchos e grandes senores e caballeros" who accompanied the French dukes down the Rhone in their "grandes barcas muy bien apostadas." There is no difficulty as regards dates. It was on Saturday, the 22nd of May, that the gorgeous company reached Avignon (Cron.de Enrique III, V, 15), and at the beginning of May Enrique III, then at Leon, had received news that his envoys, having satisfactorily concluded their business in Paris, were starting on their way home to Castile (V, 7, 8). Pedro Lopez de Ayala, "camarero" of Charles VI of France since the day, thirteen years before, when he had formed part of the bodyguard surrounding the young king in his first experience of war, would no doubt welcome the opportunity of travelling in the agreeable company of many old friends. Philip, Duke of Bourgogne/

Bourgogne, had possibly some fresh exploits of his falcons to impart to a fellow devotee. With the older knights who had seen much service Ayala may have compared notes on theories of warfare by land and sea; but it is doubtful if, when conversation turned on the burning question of the best method to end the schism, Pedro Lopez de Ayala was as wholeheartedly in agreement with the French standpoint as usual. (1) In the section of the Rimado dedicated to Enrique III, and expressing the ideas held by Ayala in 1398 and 1403, twenty and twenty-five years respectively after the beginning of the schism, Ayala speaks strongly in favour of the solution by conference of powers; and the burning down of the bridge over the Rhone in June 1395 no doubt seemed to him weak as an argument in favour of the "via de renunciacion".

In 1396, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, now sixty-three years old, the father of two sons already prominent in public life, was inclining to more sedentary pleasures than had yet been his portion, and beginning to carry out his plans for the decoration/

(1) Zurita, Anales, Bk.X, ch.45, indicates that Aragon and Castile were angry at action of France. "Esta novedad recibieron los Reyes de Aragon y Castilla gran pesar, y descontentamento, por averse procedido tan adelante por el Rey de Francia, y sus tios, sin orden y consulta suya, contra lo que estava entre ellos acordado." The king of France found it necessary to send envoys to excuse himself.

decoration of the church of S. Juan de Quejana on his own estates. This pleasant occupation was, however, interrupted by what was probably the chronicler's last diplomatic mission. At the end of September, in company with ⁽¹⁾ the bishop of Mondonedo, a friar, and a doctor of law, he turned once more northwards to receive with due formality the oath of Charles VI of France to respect the renewal of the old alliance. The French king was making arrangements for the marriage of his daughter; and the fragment which ends Ayala's chronicles tells with wealth of detail of the elaborate pageantry, marred by pitiless rain, which celebrated the arrival in October of Richard of England to receive as his bride Isabel of France. Prominent amongst the notables on the English side was John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who had led the English vanguard at Najera against that part of the Trastamaran forces where Pedro Lopez de Ayala held the banner. Almost thirty years had passed since then. John of Gaunt's daughter was now queen of Spain, and there was peace between England and Castile. France too was apparently at the end of her troubles. The "yantar muy grande" which followed the handing over of the princess to her husband being ended, the kings of France and England "se despidieron como amigos, e se tornaron para sus tierras. Dios sea loado amen."

With/

With his return from France the active life of Pedro Lopez de Ayala may be said to be at an end. His elder son followed him as Merino of Guipuzcoa, and apparently to a certain extent as diplomatic envoy to France,⁽¹⁾ whilst his second son, and namesake, was Alcalde Mayor of Toledo; and although long service at home and abroad earned for Ayala at last in 1398, the illustrious position of Canciller Mayor of Spain, this was possibly an honour rather than a⁽²⁾ burden. Ayala had leisure now to continue his father's history of his lineage, to begin, in response to pressing invitations by the Constable Ruy Lopez Davalos and others, his version of Livy's decades and other translations, to expound to the young king, in his Rimado de Palacio, his views about the most efficient way to end the schism, and even to indulge in the writing of verse for mere amusement. Although his name still occurs in official documents, and is included amongst the guarantors of the settlement effected with Portugal in 1402, it seems clear that more and more Ayala turned to a life of retirement in his old age, busying himself with religion, with literature, and especially/

(1) In 1401, in matter of conflict between Dukes of Orleans and Bourgogne Fernan Perez de Ayala, with the king's confessor, the friar Alonso, is sent with request for mediation to Duke of Bourbon. (Daumet).

(2) Davila quotes epitaph of Don Pedro Tenorio, Archbishop of Toledo, who died in 1399, in which he is described as "Chanciller Mayor de Castilla".

especially no doubt with the attempt to complete his series of chronicles. Details of his last years are altogether lacking, but when at the end of 1406 the Cortes assembled in Madrid to make arrangements for war with Granada the name of the Canciller Mayor does not appear in the list of notables present on that occasion;⁽¹⁾ and although the will of Enrique III, signed in December of that year, mentions Ayala as still holding that position, and stipulates that he is to retain it under the new king, his successor is named in anticipation of a vacancy. Don Pablo de Santa Maria, the learned bishop of Burgos, had not long to wait. About three months later Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Senor de Salvatierra and High Chancellor of Spain died at Calahorra.⁽²⁾ Long before he had made provision for a seemly resting-place for his body. By generous donations, especially to the convent of San Miguel del Monte, he had aimed at securing peace for his soul. About his literary reputation he probably had little disquiet. The generation had not yet arisen whose whole anxiety was to whitewash Don Pedro the Cruel to the discredit of his chronicler.

(1) Gil Gonzalez Davila, Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Rey Don Henrique el Tercero de Castilla.

(2) Esteban de Garibay, in his Compendio Historial de Espana, printed at Antwerp in 1571, considered Ayala's death of such importance as to give it a special paragraph. (Bk.XVI, ch.3).

CHAPTER IV.

Ayala - the Chronicler.

I. Purpose and Scope.

It is possible that much of Ayala's European fame is due more to the fascination of his subject, Pedro the Cruel, than to his actual merits as a writer. The very fact, however, that his work became so widely known, led to criticisms of his methods and results which, being based on an entire misconception of his purpose, are quite unjust. In their "Histoire d'Espagne", for instance, Paquis and Dochez complain that Ayala's "principal défaut est de négliger l'importance relative des événements aux yeux de la postérité ... Sur ceux que la postérité aurait été intéressée à connaître, qui donnaient un caractère au siècle, il a été bref, tandis que sur d'autres dont l'effet s'éteignit avec les principaux auteurs il s'étend jusqu'à satiété." This indictment would be no doubt justified if Ayala were indeed a social historian, engaged on the task of presenting a general picture of the Spain of his day, with all its varieties of rank and all its complex social problems. Ayala is of course nothing of the kind. He is the chronicler of the monarchs who in his day ruled in Castile; and examination of his purpose shows that so far is he from tampering with the strictly traditional view of the chronicler's functions, that he interprets his duty/

duty with a rigidity even surpassing that of his predecessors.

We have already seen that the accepted view of the function of all history was that it should be "a los que eran de venir ejemplo"⁽¹⁾. In his prologue Ayala, echoing the general voice, also makes clear the exclusiveness of history. Men wrote "los libros que son llamados Cronicas e Estorias, do se escribiesen las caballerias e otras qualesquier cosas que los Principes antiquos ficieron, porque los que despues dellos viniesen, leyéndolos, tomasen mejor e mayor esfuerzo de facer bien, e de se guardar de facer mal." It is exactly the language of the Cronica General, of the authors of the Tres Coronicas and the chronicle of Alfonso XI, and long after Ayala's day the same moral purpose was professed in the pages of every writer of history.⁽²⁾

If the aim of the chronicler was then essentially a moral one, his scope was thereby strictly limited to a record/

(1) Cronica de Alfonso X. Prologue.

(2) Cronica General. "Escrivieron otrossi las gestas de los príncipes...porque los que despues viniessen por los fechos de los buenos punnassen en fazer bien, et por los de los malos se castigassen de facer mal." (Prologue). Cronica de Alfonso XI, ch.262. Las coronicas fueron fechos por contar los fechos de los Reyes. Guerra de Granada, Prologue. "por tomar escarmiento". Compare also opinions of Hernando del Pulgar, Mosen Diego de Valera, etc.

record of the deeds of those men whose influence on their fellows was great, namely the kings and princes of the earth. The lives of humbler mortals are of importance only in so far as they affect the actions of their rulers; and their introduction on the stage of history requires on the part of the chronicler an explanation, if not actual apology. Concessions might be made to popular heroes, even of non-royal blood, in a work of vulgarization such as the *Cronica General*, which might indeed be regarded as a storehouse of history rather than as a chronicle of the more rigid type. Individual chroniclers, digressing for a moment from their main theme, might even show a homely concern with such matters of ordinary life as the evils of fixed prices, the state of the crops, the weather, or the incidence of plague on different classes of the population, thus giving in spite of themselves some glimpses of the world lived in by the common folk of their day.⁽¹⁾ Pedro López de Ayala is more consistent. When, in the *Cronica de Don Pedro*, he devotes a whole chapter to the famous Du Guesclin and his ransom after Najera, he makes apology for this departure from his main theme by pointing out the honour gained in the contest of magnanimity, not only by "Mosen Beltran" himself, but especially by his captor, the Prince of Wales, and his lord the King

of/

(1) See *Cronica de Alfonso XI*, ch.37. Also the *Tres Coronicas*, and especially the *Cura de los Palacios*, *Cronica de Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*.

of France.

"E por todas esta razones", he concludes, "se puso aqui este cuento; ca las franquezas e noblezas e dadivas de los Reyes grand razon es que siempre finquen en memoria, e non sean olvidados; otrosi las buenas razones de caballeria."

From a chronicler holding so rigid a view of his functions that he will barely admit the appearance on his stage even of so renowned a knight as the great Breton warrior, it would be obviously absurd to expect any description of the conditions of life of the anonymous crowd. Occasionally a perfunctory reference appears to casualties, by battle or pestilence, occurring amongst "omes de poca valia"; but even in his digressions Pedro Lopez de Ayala has nothing to say about the lives of humble men. He has no information to give about the state of the crops. The ever-recurring "mortandad" which depopulated Europe in his day appears merely as an explanation of the withdrawal from some invested town (Juan I, 5.7.) or of a king's change of residence. (Enrique III, 4, 1). Even in his references to the debasement of the coinage which in the reign of Enrique II entailed so much misery and privation

Pedro/

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- (1) In his final version Ayala even weeded out from a speech addressed to Juan I a reference to the Counts of Castile which appeared in the Abreviada after the reference to the "Reyes muy nobles...domde vos venides". See notes, Juan I, 12, 11.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala holds himself aloof from the lot of ordinary men. It is not the increased cost of food which he records, but the excessive prices paid for horses and mules.

It is essential then in appraising Ayala's merits or demerits to bear clearly in mind the narrowness of the field marked out by him as suitable for the chronicler. His duty was above all to the protagonist of his biography, even to the exclusion of matters which to a modern historian appear of much greater intrinsic interest. Within this narrow field, however, the chronicler of Ayala's day enjoyed a freedom unknown to writers of more scientific ages; and here also Ayala shows his general acceptance of traditional ways. Encrusted in his narrative we find certain dramatic incidents, such as the warning given to Don Pedro at Santo Domingo de la Calzada by a mysterious "clérigo", the equally mysterious incident of the "pastorcico", and the pathetic scene of the young captive queen at prayer, incidents which, when repeated in the form of "romances", kept green the memory of the cruel king, his victims, and his tragic end. Most critics have assumed that the romances were, after Ayala's day, carved out of the pages of his chronicles; but Professor Entwistle of Glasgow/

Glasgow, has put forward strong arguments for precisely
 (1)
 the opposite theory, namely that Ayala, writing his
 chronicles in his later years, worked into the framework
 of his narrative romances already current in his own day.
 The very nature of the episodes in question indicates at
 least that, whether they had in Ayala's life-time already
 assumed verse form or not, the chronicler himself had
 gleaned them from the realm of oral tradition rather than
 from documentary evidence. In so doing he merely followed
 the general practice; and nothing in his studies of the
 classics or of foreign literature was calculated to suggest
 to him that the proceeding was unwarranted. The incidents
 revealed, in the most dramatic fashion possible, the
 aspects of Don Pedro's character which had most impressed
 popular imagination. It was for the reader, rather than
 for the chronicler, to judge of the truth of the tale; and
 if Ayala, in place of admitting impartially all the stories
 current in his time, weeded out those which conflicted
 with the truth as known to him personally, he was already
 exercising a spirit of criticism not always found in his
 predecessors. To cite the words of Dr. M. Goncalves

Cerejeira

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- (1) See article on the "Romancero del Rey D. Pedro" in Ayala
 and the "Cuarta Cronica General", published in the
 Modern Language Review, July 1930.

Cerejeira about the great Portuguese chronicler who paid Ayala the signal honour of incorporating part of his narrative in his own - "Exigir, sobretudo do historiador antigo, que verse aspectos da realidade histórica que ⁽¹⁾ele não quis, ou não soube, ou não pensou versar, é substituírmo-nos, com as nossas ideias e exigências, a ele com as suas e da sua época." The task of Ayala, like that of Fernam Lopes a generation later, was above all to "select from the facts of history preferably those of dramatic character, that is the most striking or at least the most characteristic individual acts, those which made the deepest impression on the imagination, and the political events of negotiations and wars - the drama of history"⁽²⁾.

One result of this view of the chronicler's task is the remarkable inequality of interest of the four chronicles written by Ayala. Where the central figure presents the dreadful fascination of Pedro the Cruel, the interest never flags. His biography, bare of ornament, stripped of all obvious emotionalism, exasperatingly reticent at times, keeps the reader's attention painfully focussed on its subject from the day when the boy king gave "muy baxo" his/

(1) See pamphlet criticizing the work "Do Valer Histórico de Fernao Lopes, of General Moraes Sarmento". (Pamphlet published at Coimbra, 1925).

(2) Same pamphlet, p.42.

his first order to kill, to the last horrible struggle at Montiel. In comparison the chronicle of Enrique II appears a bald, spiritless summary, the only chapter with any fire in it being that in which the chronicler himself, as envoy of his king, in spirited fashion demands fair play for a friend of Enrique challenged by a knight⁽¹⁾ of Aragon. For the writer, an important member of the "consejo" of Enrique's successor, a king who "se pagaba mucho de estar en consejo", the chronicle of Juan I was obviously full of interest; but to a reader little interested in genealogies, in ecclesiastical squabbles, or in political intrigues, the long debates therein recorded, the formal correspondence, and the elaborate speeches, may easily appear wearisome. The central figure is not sufficiently vivid; and in the fragmentary chronicle of Enrique III the convention which ascribes the acts of the formidable Don Pedro Tenorio to the "commands" of his fourteen year old king blurs to some extent the presentment of the very human if exceedingly sordid intrigues which are all Ayala gives us as the history of that time.

So far, then, as the professed aim and scope of his work are concerned Pedro Lopez de Ayala accepts without question the notions current in his own day, and it is by his own standards that in fairness he should be judged.

Let/

(1) Cronica de Enrique II, XI, 2.

Let us make a brief examination of his method and style, to decide whether in them is to be found the secret of his preeminent position amongst the chroniclers of his race.

II. Methods and Style.

(a) Historical Method.

In the actual structure of his historical works Pedro Lopez de Ayala can certainly lay no claim to great originality. His method is the simple annalistic form used by his predecessors, and his systematic allocation of one book to each year of the reign which he is narrating a natural result of the abundance of material at his disposal. When treating of remote periods, or shadowy kings with no individuality, the *Cronica General* had found it possible to dispose of whole reigns in a single paragraph. In his biographies of Alfonso X, Sancho el Bravo, and Fernando IV, the author of the *Tres Coronicas* usually attempted to compress the events of each year into a special chapter, headed by such a formula as "En el segundo año del regnado" or "Andados veinte años del regnado"; but in years of great excitement the attempt has to be abandoned altogether. The seventeenth year of the reign of Alfonso el Sabio, for instance, occupies no fewer than seventeen chapters; and an advance to a larger method of division was a step urgently required/

required for a clear appreciation of the chronology of the events. It was a step not taken, however, by the author of the chronicle of Alfonso XI, although in his (1) detailed study of his hero he completely abandons the idea of confining within the bounds of one chapter all the events of each year. The reader, despite the appearance at long intervals of such a chapter heading as "En el ventesimo año del regnado deste Rey Don Alfonso" finds it in consequence exceedingly difficult to remember the sequence of events; and for a lover of clarity like Ayala it was a simple and obvious improvement to divide his material in such a way as to preclude errors in dates. It is scarcely necessary to suppose on his part any acquaintance with the similar methods employed by the contemporary French chronicler known as the "Religieux de Saint Denis", (2) although it is by no means inconceivable that on one of his frequent visits to France Ayala may have met the official historiographer of the French court. The one definite innovation on Ayala's part was, it would appear, a more conscious striving after orderliness and system in his/

(1) For an interesting discussion about the authorship, see article by Angel de los Rios y Rios (Nota presentada a la Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid 1866).

(2) According to Molinier the "religieux de Saint Denis" was with the French court in the years 1386 and 1392 and before the latter year - the year of the king's madness - had begun his history of Charles VI, divided into books corresponding to each year of the reign.

his narrative. Preceding chroniclers, and in particular the author of the *Cronica de Alfonso XI*, had paid indeed some attention to notable happenings abroad, but had inserted such references in any convenient section of their history. Ayala, having regard to the "buena ordenanza" of his chronicle, definitely promises in his prologue to allot a special section at the end of each year to such events; and in the chronicle of Pedro I, despite the absorbing interest of the internal history of the time, he succeeds in maintaining this arrangement in ten out of the twenty books of the reign. In that of Enrique II, however, he adheres to it in only one case out of eleven, passing over in complete silence even so important an event as the death of the Black Prince. The chronicle of Juan I gives more systematic attention to foreign affairs - mainly those of France - but there are nevertheless four blank years (Books I, III, IX, and XI); and of the five books extant of the reign of Enrique III two have no separate statement of events abroad. As regards the general structure of his work Ayala differs then but little from his predecessors. His special qualities are to be found only by detailed study of the story which he has to tell and the manner in which he tells it.

(b) Prose style of Ayala.

(b) Prose Style of Ayala.

Vocabulary and Sentence-structure.

The most obvious characteristic of Ayala's style, in choice of words, ornamentation of phrase, and sentence-structure, is an entire absence of pretentiousness or rhetoric. Adjectives, extremely rare, are of the simplest, and employed only when essential to the meaning. Of the adjective as mere epithet, or as conveying an opinion or judgment Ayala makes no use whatever. Equally rare with him are similes or comparisons. The one exception already referred to, his reference to the government of the bees, occurs in an elaborate speech (Juan I, XII, 2),⁽¹⁾ is anything but original, and even in the artificial setting jars with the general simplicity of Ayala's style. This simplicity, for which the reader may often feel grateful, should not however be accepted as indicating on Ayala's part consummate art. The chronicler's "elegancia" has been too highly extolled by over-zealous champions like Floranes. As a matter of fact it may be doubted whether the busy chronicler of four kings had either the time or the delicacy of/

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- (1) It is, as already indicated, a reminiscence of a phrase in the book known as the "Castigos e Documentos del Rey Don Sancho". According to Hurtado and Palencia this book should be considered merely as a version of the "De Regimine Principum" of Egidio Colonna, made about 1345 specially for the education of the prince Don Pedro - and incidentally no doubt also of his donceles.

of ear required to attain himself, or perhaps even to comprehend fully in others, the more subtle qualities of style. The repeated occurrence of such unpleasant repetitions of sound as "E el Rey ... para le matar con los otros quatro que estaban con el, non mató a los otros que ~~tenia~~ acordado de matar", or "dixo que decia como de primero avia dicho" suggests rather on Ayala's part a lack of "elegancia"; and a study of his sentence-structure merely confirms this impression.

It might be supposed that Ayala's keen interest in Livy, an interest which has certainly had some influence on the composition and arrangement of his material inside the traditional framework adopted for his chronicle, was bound to affect to some extent also the structure of his sentences. We might, indeed, cull from the chronicles themselves sufficient examples of the true periodic type of sentence to enable us to argue that the fourteenth century chronicler was making a deliberate attempt to re-model Castilian prose on a definitely Livian pattern. It would be, however, a rash conclusion.

In the first place, even if it were true that Ayala uses habitually a periodic style of sentence, it by no means follows that this was directly due to his study of Livy. We should not forget that it was in a French version/

version that the great Latin historian first became familiar to his future translator. In the second place, the use of the periodic sentence was in itself no new thing in Spanish literature. A study of the chronicles probably most familiar to Ayala himself in youth proves that. In the *Cronica General* itself, in addition to other styles - anecdotic, eloquent, prosaic or poetic - Ayala could find not a few examples of the periodic style also. A passage taken at random towards the end, and consequently not due to the great archbishop Don Rodrigo, whose style with its priestly eloquence so often shows through the superficial layer of editing, shows that even an undistinguished continuer of the work had sufficient mastery over the long periodic form -

"Quando ovo el rey Don Fernando asessesgado et poblado bien su villa, et cobrado todos esos castiellos et estos logares sobredichos et los otros que aqui non son nombrados, et ovo dellos dado et partido por las ordenes et por los arcobispados, con quien el partió todas sus conquistas muy bien, et los enriquecio de muchas et grandes tierras et de muchas et grandes riquezas, et ovo sus fortalezas et sus villas et sus logares todos de su frontera bien parados et bastecido et fortalecido et puesto en recabdo, complidos los treze meses, salió de Cordova et tornóse para Toledo, a las reynas su madre et su mujer onde estaban."⁽¹⁾

(1) Cron. Gen. par.1057.

In the Tres Coronicas, which come next in time to the Cronica General, there is to be sure little use of the periodic style, the writer contenting himself as a rule with a monotonous succession of principal clauses strung together by co-ordinates. In fact, this chronicler, conscientious enough to all appearance in his collection of facts and documents,⁽¹⁾ is regrettably weak in style, finding it difficult even to control the tenses of his verbs when he has to employ reported speech. Even he, however, does make an occasional attempt to combine his sentences into something like the periodic form, although the reader, perusing the slovenly result, may have occasion to regret that he was not, like his predecessors of the Cronica General, subject in matters of style to supervision from high quarters. This slovenliness is not present in the chronicle of Alfonso XI, written probably during the childhood of Ayala. The usual instrument of the author is a type of sentence, fairly uniform in length, which is moderately short, well-balanced, and compact; but he also, especially in beginning a new chapter, makes occasional⁽²⁾ effective use of the periodic form. Ayala had therefore, quite/

(1) He quotes in full letters passing between Alfonso el Sabio, the revolting lords, and Granada.

(2) e.g. ch.171, beginning "Veyendo el Rey que los de la hueste recebian muy grand dano en los omes que venion de Tarifa, , ca salian los Moros de la cibdat, et tomabanles los captivos, e eso mismo los que iban de ha hueste a Tarifa, segun que la estoria lo ha contado: por esto, et porque él et su hueste posaban tan redredos de la villa, fablo con los que allí eran con él."

quite apart from such models as were to be found in the Latin versions of Livy, sufficient examples to his hand of the periodic style in the Castilian literature of his own time, should that style make to him any particular appeal.

As a matter of fact, however, a close scrutiny of Ayala's methods of sentence-structure shows that while there are abundant examples of very long sentences, the proportion of these cast in the true period model is very small. For pure narrative, uncomplicated by explanation of motives or personalities, Ayala inclines to the use of sentences of moderate length and simplicity of structure. He does not disdain the simplest method of all, the mere string of co-ordinate sentences, which on occasion can have a certain stark effectiveness of its own, as for instance, in the account of the death of Garci Laso.

"E estonce entró el Ballestero, e dióle con una porra en la cabeza, e Juan Ferrandez Chamorro dióle con una broncha, e le firieron de muchas feridas fasta que morió." (Cron.de Pedro, II, 6), or this other brief description of the murder of an unpopular bishop:

"Non era bien quisto en la cibdad; e desque oyó que el Conde de O^eran era muerto ovo grand temor e púsose en una torre de la Iglesia mayor de la cibdad do estaban companas,

e todo el pueblo fue para alla e alli le mataron e le derribaron de la torre ayuso." (Juan I, V, 14).

Pure narrative is however in Ayala comparatively rare. The chronicler's passion for explanation of the attendant circumstances, the motives, or the personalities, leads him constantly to interweave with the main event the various strands of action leading up to or in some way affecting it. The result is as a rule not a compact, closely organized, Livian period, but a long loose type of sentence, in which the main fact is clogged by relative clause piled upon relative clause, or explanatory clauses, prefaced by "por quanto" or the monotonously recurring "ca", crowded together, perhaps three in a single sentence; whilst still more additional matter is tacked on by means of "otrosi ... otrosi" repeated to weariness, and the whole straggling sentence is rendered more straggling still by the afterthought of another "ca" clause in parenthesis. A typical example is Ayala's description of events at Burgos after the flight of Pedro. (Pedro XVII 6).

"E por tanto los de Burgos ovieron su consejo como farian, ca vieron que en ninguna manera del mundo non se podrian defender, e que si tardasen en otros luengas pleytesias que podrian aver grand peligro; ca la cibdad de Burgos non era estonce bien cercada, que avia el muro muy baxo, e todas los Companas de armas, asi de estrangeros como de/

de Castellanos que venian con el Conde Don Enrique contra el Rey Don Pedro, estaban ya muy cerca dende, ca estaban con el Conde Don Enrique en Briviesca a ocho legnas de Burgos, la qual avian tomado por fuerza, segund dicho avemos."

Another, showing equal disorderliness, tells of events at the beginning of Pedro's reign.

"Estando el Rey Don Pedro en Burgos, despues que Garci Laso morio, segund dicho avemos, sopó como algunos Vizcaynos, e una duena de Vizcaya que criaba a Don Nuno de Lara, que decian Dona Mencia, que fuera muger de un Caballero Vizcayno que decian Martin Ruiz de Avendano, partieran de Paredes de Nava, que es en tierra de Campos, do se criaba dicho Don Nuno de Lara, Senor de Vizcaya, fijo de Don Juan Nunez de Lara, e se iban con el para la dicha tierra de Vizcaya escondidamente, desque sopieron que Garci Laso era muerto, rescelandose, que si el Rey tomase a Don Nuno en su poder, por quanto Don Juan Alfonso de Albuquerque, e Don Juan Nunez su padre de Don Nuno non se quisieran bien, que le faria Don Juan Alfonso tener preso: e por esta razon tomaron a Don Nuno, e fueronse con el a Vizcaya: e era estonce Don Nuno en edad de tres anos."

Even in the formal speeches of the chronicle of Juan I, in which Ayala displays with keenest satisfaction his historical or judicial lore, and where, if anywhere at all, the/

the influence of Livy might be expected to leave some impress on Ayala's style, it is still the loose, straggling type of sentence, pieced out with an over-abundance of explanatory matter in the form of "lo qual", "por quanto", or "ca" clauses, which is most prevalent. The lengthening of the sentence, so far from being an advance in technique, indicates rather on Ayala's part a certain neglect of compactness and form. It is not in the smaller details of his prose style that we shall find his most outstanding contribution to the advancement of Spanish literature. For that we must look to his handling of larger masses of material, his method of telling a story, his descriptions, dialogues, and speeches.

The "retratos".

Hurtado and Palencia, who rank the chronicles of Ayala high amongst the productions of Spanish literature, considering that of Don Pedro in particular as "la realizacion mas perfecta de la historia dramatica, rica en observacion moral, aguda y profunda", have a special word of praise for Ayala's word-portraits. "Son pocos y breves", they say, (*Literatura española*, p.142), "pero tienen tal agudeza psicológica, que resultan tan inconfundibles como penetrantes, y no fue superado al pintar los caracteres de sus personajes". As these brief character sketches have been considered by some as constituting, along with his use of speeches to diversify the narrative, Ayala's most characteristic contribution to Spanish historical literature, and as revealing in special measure the influence exerted on him by direct study of the classics and above all of Livy, it is worth while to enquire more closely into the actual value and originality of these much-lauded "retratos".

They are beyond all doubt "pocos y breves", being strictly confined to the kings, the subjects of the biographies, and in the special case of the *Cronica de Don Pedro*/

(1) "Rompio con la uniformidad antigua de la cronica, y, aportando a ella dos nuevos elementos, los discursos y los retratos, fue precursor del nuevo genero biografico". J.Dominguez Bordona, in his introduction to the "*Claros Varones*" of Fernando del Pulgar. (*Clasicos Castellanos*, 49).

Pedro, to the two ladies who laid claim to the title of his queen. The wife of Enrique II is dismissed, in the paragraph which tells of her death, with a mere reference to her lineage and a formal "E fue esta reyna Dona Juana muy devota e muy noble senora; e fino en edad de quarenta anos." When Dona Leonor, the much-loved queen of Juan I, died in childbirth, Ayala's sole comment is that "El Rey ovo muy grande enojo, ca era muy noble senora, e tenia el Rey della dos fijos." Of the physical appearance, habits, or peculiarities, of the great personages who played their various parts in Pedro's stormy reign - the Infantes of Aragon and their intriguing mother, the ill-fated Maestre, or the noble Gutier Fernandez de Toledo - we receive no hint whatever. As conspicuous, too, as the rarity of the "retratos" in their brevity, ranging from two lines in the case of Maria de Padilla to seven in the character-sketch of Don Pedro himself.

The most striking novelty of these very unpretentious descriptions is of course the interest shown by Ayala, not only in the moral qualities or defects of the character, but in such homely details as his height, complexion, or defects of speech, - details apparently thought unworthy of serious history by earlier writers. The warrior-archbishop who accompanied Alfonso VIII in the great victory/

victory of Ubeda certainly loved and admired his monarch. He tells with pride that in the thick of the fray "el noble rey" showed not the slightest alteration in his features or his majestic bearing; and when he comes to narrate his lamented death he speaks with eloquence and feeling of the floods of tears that moistened the soil of Spain and the grief which pierced men's hearts as by an arrow; not once, however, does he reveal to us the actual appearance of the conqueror of the Moors. The biographer of Alfonso the Wise and his two successors is equally reticent. The chronicler of Alfonso XI had ceased his task before his hero's life was ended; but he too in all probability would have contented himself with mere eulogy. To Ayala belongs the credit of recognizing, even in a tentative and cautious manner, the importance even of small physical details in causing the dry bones of history to live. The "agudeza psicológica" of his brief descriptions seems to me however to have been exaggerated; and in rounding off each biography with a brief sketch of the subject Ayala shows less originality than has been supposed. It had already been recognized as part of good historical procedure to give some kind of summary of the achievements⁽¹⁾

(1) Cronica General, p.82, on the death of Pompey. "Diremos aqui de los annos que el visco et de los fechos granados que fizo en ellos. E esto assi se suele dezir de los grandes omes en sus acabamientos."

achievements at least of the deceased monarch; and even the physical peculiarities of some of the early Gothic kings have been faithfully preserved. King Sigerico appears as an earlier version of Don Pedro himself. "Era comunal de altura e de grand coracon, e non muy sabidor nin amador de muchas mujeres; e era muy torvado en la saña e cobdicioso de aver, e muy sabio para levantar las gentes a contiendas e mezclar mal querencias. E coxqueaba de caída de un caballo, e avia muchos hijos⁽¹⁾." In the "retratos" of Ayala, whom some have regarded as a forerunner of the renaissance and a whole-hearted devotee of Livian methods, we need not, it is true, wholly discount the influence of the classics; but in this case we have to deal, not with the influence of Livy - it should not be forgotten that Ayala's translations of Livy were confined to the earlier books, where there is little description of physical peculiarities - nor with any influence directly received. Not once in all his writings does Ayala make mention of Suetonius; yet it is the method of Suetonius, modified by the brevity and sobriety of style so characteristic of Ayala's work, which he has adopted in his portraits of the kings of Castile. Once more we are indebted to Alfonso the Learned and his collaborators, who made accessible to readers of their day the detailed descriptions given by Suetonius of the emperors of Rome.

To/

To see how closely Ayala follows his model it is sufficient to set down side by side his much-lauded description of Don Pedro and that of Tiberius, as it appears in the Cronica General. The procedure in both cases will be seen at be identical.

(a) Physique.

Tiberius.

"E sabet que era Tiberio ancho de cuerpo, et muy valiente, et era luengo mas de quanto conuinie," etc. etc.

(In great detail)

Pedro.

"E fue el Rey Don Pedro asaz grande de cuerpo, e blanco e rubio,"

(b) Peculiarities of Speech and Gesture.

"Las mas veces siempre estava callando, porque avia la fabla muy vagarosa...et en fablando, fазie un gesto vagaroso con los dedos todo lleno de desden."

"e ceceaba un poco en la fabla."

(c) Constitution and Physical Habits.

"No adolescio mas de una vez en todo su imperio."

"Era muy cazador de aves. Fue muy sufridor de trabajos. Era muy temprado e bien acostumbrado en el comer e beber."

(d) Personal Failings.

Trabajavase mucho de agujeros.... avia del trueno grand miedo.

Dormia poco, e amo mucho mujeres.

(e) Favourite Pursuits.

Estudiaba mucho en las siete artes.

Fue muy trabajador en guerra.

(f) Final Criticism of Rule

e era muy cobdicioso daver.

Fue cobdicioso de allegar tesoros e joyas.

The originality, then, of Ayala's formal character studies would appear to have been greatly exaggerated; and little would perhaps ever have been said of their merits as psychological studies had not Fernan Perez de Guzman, Ayala's nephew, had the happy thought of developing out of these brief adaptations of the Suetonian descriptions of the *Cronica General* a specialized literary form of his own. In themselves the "retratos" of Ayala are unpretentious, almost insignificant; but they have distinguished descendants. Therein lies their real merit.

The Speeches.

Much more characteristic and original is Ayala's handling of the set speeches, delivered on matters of public moment, which form an important part of his historical work. Here the close study of Livy has indeed left a deep imprint on Ayala's own methods, which were to be followed, with greater or less success, by succeeding chroniclers, and were thus to give a definite impulse to the whole course of Spanish historiography.

The insertion of speeches in the course of the narrative was not in itself, of course, a novel departure from the methods of previous chroniclers. The diversifying of a plain account of events by reports of actual speeches/

speeches, conversations, or dialogues between the actors, an obvious means of sustaining interest, was certainly not neglected by the many authors, whose works were combined into that marvellous miscellany, the *Cronica General*. Even if we omit as irrelevant, or as belonging to poetic rather than to historical style, the majority of the dialogues and conversations preserved in its pages, we can still find examples of formal speeches of sufficient merit. Wamba urging his Goths to stamp out the rebellion of the traitor Paulo "ca non pertenesce a los godos nin les serie loor nin prez de tornar a sus casas ante que de de tal tuerto como este non prendiessen venganza", or Alfonso VIII calling on his allies before the great victory of Ubeda to take vengeance for the humiliation of Alarcos, express themselves in speeches which, if brief, are vigorous and effective. Such oratory, however, is reminiscent rather of the ideals of chivalry and the spirit of the Castilian epics than of the measured eloquence of the debates in the Roman senate; and it is noteworthy that it was almost completely discarded by the authors of the chronicles immediately preceding those of Ayala. In the *Tres Coronicas*, if we except the brief, characterless message of a Portuguese envoy (Alfonso X, ch.19) or a short address by/

by the king excusing himself to his lords (Fernando IV ch. 15), there is no example of any use of formal speeches. The author of the Chronicle of Alfonso XI, who describes in great detail the frequent deliberations of that monarch's councils of war, and minutely sets down all his arguments and reasons, as set out in presence of his lords and the representatives of the nation assembled in the Cortes, seems to evade of set purpose all use of direct speech, even when a formal oration would appear not only relevant but fitting. When Alfonso the Eleventh had resolved on the succour of Tarifa, he called together 'en la muy noble cibdat de Sevilla', a great assembly of his notables. There, with sword and crown set out before him as symbols of his power, he called on them withall solemnity to give their true and loyal advice regarding his future dealings with the Moors, whose conduct he reviews. Even this important speech, ushered in with so much formality, is summarized in the indirect form. The one exception to this rule of indirectness - the brief cry of Alfonso XI to his men before the battle at the Rio Salado - is a return to the methods of the epics, and is couched in true knightly words. 'Feridlos, que yo so el Rey Don Alfonso de Castiella et de Leon; ca el dia de hoy vere yo quales son mis vasallos, et veran ellos quien soy.'

The use of speeches, then, in Ayala's predecessors would/

would appear to be entirely spasmodic. They are introduced as an occasional ornament, not as an essential part of the narrative, and they are expressive above all of chivalric emotion. Nothing could be less like the system, and the spirit, of Ayala. For him the set speeches which fill so many pages of his chronicles are an integral part of the work itself, no mere extraneous decoration superimposed on it and easily detachable. Even his brief summary of the reign of Enrique II contains three carefully thought-out speeches, the disturbed reign of Pedro, excluding all private conversations and dialogues, accounts for six or seven, whilst the account of the reign of Juan I appears at times to be little more than an anthology of oratory. In this constant preoccupation with the spoken word we cannot fail to recognize a definite attempt on Ayala's part to transplant into Castilian history some of the methods of his favourite Livy.

It is interesting however to observe even here Ayala's consistent preoccupation with the real rather than the ideal, and with matter rather than with form. After Ayala's day, and especially for chronicles who themselves had little actual experience of warfare, the pages of Livy which appeared as most worthy of imitation were the vivid scenes of battle, where leaders urge upon their weary followers ~~the~~ desperate courage of men/

men for whom all retreat is barred.

Ayala, whose experiences of warfare had left him menely bitter memories of hard blows, loss of friends, and imprisonment, and for whom the art of war was in any case largely an affair of policy, supplies, and common sense, makes no attempt to cast over the unfortunate business any glamour of poetry or chivalric emotion. Before Najera he gives us, instead of eloquent exhortations to brave deeds by the leaders to their troops, an interchange of formal letters between the Black Prince and Enrique of Trastamara, disclaiming all responsibility for the 'derramiento de sangre' which was about to take place. The only speech delivered before Aljubarrota expresses the views of sober counsellors trying to dissuade their king from taking any action whatever. In fact for Ayala the speech is not a means for rousing men to emotion or exciting them to deeds of valour. It is solely a vehicle for conveying reasoning and argument. The pages of Livy which for him were most full of meaning and inspiration were beyond all doubt those which tell of the stately debates in the senate house, with their displays of logical thought, their appeals to past history, and their keen realistic appreciation of the importance of being technically in the right.

The topics dealt with in the numerous speeches recorded/

recorded in the pages of Ayala are then for the most part political. One or two deal with complaints passing between Castile and Aragon. Some justify or attack the methods adopted in dealing with important state prisoners, or in providing for the government in the event of a minority. Several are concerned with financial wrangles. In one of these Ayala - who was probably financially interested - takes advantage of the complaint arising over the local custom, which in Biscay and Guipuzcoa gave to certain privileged laymen the right to collect tithes, to indulge in some strong criticism of the clergy of his day. Some of these speeches were - possibly in a less finished form than that given to them in the chronicles - delivered in Council by Ayala in person; and in them the chronicler has an excellent opportunity for expressing his favourite theories of statesmanship or displaying the extent of his historical learning and his practical acquaintance with the methods of other nations. It is to his credit that he does not take undue advantage of his privileged position. It is easy, of course, to detect from the relative length of the speeches and, the superior finish of the argument, the Chronicler's own stand-point; but if the views of the opposite faction are stated more briefly, and generally in the summarized method/

method of indirect speech, they are at least given with sufficient clarity and detail.

The contents of the most elaborate of the speeches - those delivered in the reign of Juan I - I shall analyse elsewhere. The system of sentence-structure, as we have seen, displays even in the speeches no great advance in technique over the prose of Ayala's predecessors. The most striking merit of the general composition is the orderliness of the reasoning; and the adornment, which consists mainly of historical allusions, has the great virtue of being relevant to the argument. Here Ayala's characteristic restraint has saved him from the excesses of later historians, admirers like him of the great Latin historian, but so intent on imitating the brilliance of Livy's style that they have little concern with its suitability to the events they are narrating. ⁽¹⁾ Hernando del Pulgar makes the captain of the hard-pressed garrison of the Alhama encourage his Castilians to stouter resistance by citing to them the miraculous saving of the Roman Capitol by the cackling of a goose, belittle the desire for long life by comparing the misery of Priam the long-lived with that of Troilus "que vivio poco", and exhort them to /

(1) Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos, III, 9.

to remember that in any case all the days of man's life are naught but "ciertas e presurosas jornadas para llegar a la muerte". Mariana puts into the mouth of a French soldier of fortune an impassioned appeal to Enrique of Trastamara to have compassion on unhappy Spain, with its fields and towns "cubiertos de la miserable sangre de la nobleza y gente de Castilla"; and, by removing from the world "un terrible monstruo que en figura humana esta en la tierra para consumir y acabar las vidas de los hombres", to restore freedom once more to the noble realm of his father. For a corresponding speech we may search in vain the pages of Pedro Lopez de Ayala; but had he felt that any emotional appeal was indeed required, we may be certain that he would have placed it on Spanish lips. In the two centuries which separate the Jesuit Mariana from the chronicler who first introduced into Castilian history speeches after the Livian fashion, imitation of the classics had developed a prose style very different indeed from the unpretentious methods of Ayala. A direct comparison of a speech found in the chronicle of Don Pedro with the same discourse remodelled by Mariana to suit the literary demands of his day will perhaps aid us to form some opinion about the progress or otherwise of literary taste after Ayala's day.

The speech selected for comparison, of no great length or elaboration, is one which Ayala, for obvious reasons, would at least set down with sufficient care. It is the oration delivered by his father, Fernan Perez de Ayala, selected by the protesting nobles as a "muy cuerdo e bien razonado caballero" to be their spokesman at their momentous meeting with Don Pedro at Tejadillo, in 1354, when the partisans of Blanche of Bourbon were attempting to coerce her recalcitrant husband. The purport of this speech is rendered by Mariana in his own fashion. Let us see, by setting the two versions side by side, the essential differences.

Speech of F.P.de
Ayala, in Cronica de
D.Pedro, V, 32.

Speech of F.P.de
Ayala, Mariana, XVI,
20.

(a) Formal excuse for so appearing in arms, with expression of loyalty.

"Señor, los senores que aqui estan, que han deudo en vuestra merced, e los otros Ricos omes e Caballeros vuestros Vasallos que aqui estan, e por vuestro mandado vinieron aqui a vos, vos piden lo primero por merced, que vos los querades perdonar por ellos venir armados ante vos a estas vistas; e si asi vienen es por vuestra licencia e ordenamiento, segund ge lo enviastes mandar por una vuestra carta firmada de vuestro nombre, e sellada con vuestro sello de la poridad: ca/

(a) Formal excuses, and expression of loyalty.

"Suplicamos a vuestra alteza, poderoso Señor, que nos perdoneis el venir fuera de nuestra costumbre armados a vuestra presencia; no nos atrevieramos si no fuera con vuestra licencia, y no la pidieramos si no nos compeliere el justo miedo que tenemos de las asechanzas y zalagardas de muchos que nos quieren mal, de quienes no hay inocencia ni lealtad que esté segura. Por lo demás, todos somos vuestros; de nos como de criados y vasallos podeis, Senor, hacer lo que fuere el vuestro servicio y merced.

Speech of F.P.de Ayala
in Cronica de D.Pedro V,
32. cont.

ca todos los que aqui estan
vos conocen por su Rey e
por senor natural, e vos
desean servir.

(b) Unfortunate circumstances
making obedience difficult,
and causing a state of fear.

E entre las otras cosas
en que aman vuestro servi-
cio, querian que la vuestra
ordenanza fuese muy buena
en guisa que los vuestros
Vasallos non oviesen de
aver temor de vos. E como
quier, Senor, que dice
Gutier Ferrandez de Toledo
por vuestra parte, que estos
Senores que aqui estan, e
muchos Ricos omes e Cabal-
leros vuestros Vasallos que
andan ayuntados por el
fecho de la Reyna Doña
Blanca vuestra muger, que
non es asi, salvo que se non
tienen por contentos de
algunos vuestros privados;
con homil reverencia de la
vuestra Real Magestad, Senor,
a esto vos responden estos
Senores asi:

(c) Special considerations
regarding the position of
the queen, with indictment
of king's actions.

que verdaderamente su
intencion es pedirvos por
merced, que la Reyna Dona
Blanca vuestra muger sea
con vos honrada, como lo
fueron las otras Reynas de
Castilla, e la trayades con
vusco, asi como vuestra
muger/

Speech of F.P.de Ayala,
Mariana, XVII, 20
cont.

(b) Reference to the unfortunate
circumstances, with general
reflections on the position of
monarchs.

La suerte de los reyes es de
tal condicion, que no pueden
hacer cosa buena ni mala que
este secreta, y que el pueblo
no la juzgue y sepa. Dicese,
y nos pesa mucho dello, que la
reina doña Blanca, nuestra
senora, a quien en nuestra
presencia recibistes por legi-
tima mujer, y como a tal le
besamos la mano, se teme mucho
de dona Maria de Padilla, que
la quiere destruir. Sentimos
otrosi en el alma que haya quien
con lisonjas os traiga engañado.
Esto no puede dejar de dar mucha
pena a los que deseamos vuestro
servicio.

(c) Rhetorical appeal on behalf
of a beautiful and virtuous
queen.

Sin embargo, tenemos esperanza
que se pondrá presto remedio en
ello, mayormente cuando con mas
edad y mas libre de aficion
echeis de ver y conozcais la
verdad que decimos y el engano
de hasta aqui. Cuanto es mas
dificultoso hacer buenos a los
otros/

Speech of F.P.de Ayala
in Cronica de D.Pedro,V,
32. Cont.

muger legitima: e esto vos piden por merced, entendiendo que cumple así a vuestro servicio. Ca, Señor, vos sabedes que quando vos casastes con la Reyna Doña Blanca vuestra muger en Valladolid enviastes llamar por vuestras cartas a todos los que aqui son, e a otros Grandes de vuestro regno, que viniesen donde vos erades, que queriades casar con la dicha Reyna: e por vuestro mandamiento el dia de vuestras bodas besaron la mano a la Reyna Doña Blanca por su Reyna e su Señora, así como a vuestra muger: e tienen que si vos, Senor, la dexastes e la mandaste levar despues a Toledo, que todo esto fue fecho como plogo, a la vuestra merced, e que fue por consejo de algunos que non amaban vuestro servicio: pero con homil reverencia de la vuestra Real Magestad, tienen que fue esto fecho e ordenado por vos querer cumplir vuestra voluntad, e por consejo de Doña Maria de Padilla e de sus parientes. E algunos de vuestros Vasallos, a quienes non plogo, nin les parescio esto ser bien fecho, ovieron dende pesar por vos non facer lo que cumple a vuestro servicio, e mostrastesles grand sana, la qual parescio por obra luego; ca porque a algunos que en Valladolid/

Speech of F.P.de Ayala
Mariana, XVI,20,
cont.

otros que a si mismo, tanto es cosa mas digna de ser alabada el procurar con grandísimo cuidado de no admitir en el palacio ni dar lugar a que priven ni tengan mano sino los que fueren mas virtuosos y aprobados. Muchos principes famosos vieron deslustrado su nombre con la mala opinion de su casa. Que muger hay en el reino mas noble ni mas santa que la Reina? Cuan sin vanidades ni excesos en el trato de su persona! Que costumbres! Cuan suave y agradable condicion la suya! Pues en apostura y hermosura cual hay que se le pueda igualar? Cuando tal senora fuera extrana, cuando nosotros callaramos, era justo que vos la consolaredes y enjugaredes sus continuas y dolorosas lagrimas, y procurar, si fuese necesario, con vuestras gentes y armas restituilla en su antigua dignidad, honra y estado.

Speech of F.P.de Ayala
in Cronica de D.Pedro,V,
32. cont.

Valladolid eran desto peso,
pasastes contra ellos como
la vuestra merced fue; e man-
dastes prender a pocos dias
despues, e deponer de su
honra al Maestre de Calatrava
Don Juan Nunez de Prado, e
fue despues muerto en poder
de parientes de Dona Maria
de Padilla, e echastes del
Regno a Don Juan Alfonso de
Albuquerque, e le tomaste la
tierra, aviendo vos enviado
a su fijo Don Martin Gil, que
non tenia mas que aquel fijo,
en arrehenes que guardaria
vuestro servicio, e le aviades
asegurado. E porque tales
consejos vos dieron vuestros
privados, todos los Senores
e Caballeros que aqui son
delante vuestra merced, e los
que aqui non son venidos,
estan con muy grand miedo de
vos, e por esta razon andan
arredrados de la vuestra casa.

(d) Practical suggestions for
ending state of uneasiness.
E vos, Senor, catad. alguna
buena manera como primer-
amente la Reyna vuestra
muger, nuestra senora, sea
segura, e este con vos como
debe, segund cumple a vuestro
servicio, e a honra vuestra
e suya della; otrosi, como
estos Senores e Caballeros
sean seguros en vuestro Regno
e en vuestra casa, e vos
puedan servir, que ellos de
buenamente estan prestos para
servir a vos asi como deben,
e como es razon, ca sodes
nuestro/

Speech of F.P.de Ayala
Mariana, XVI, 20.
cont.

(d) Final appeal to emotion.

Mirad, Senor, no os dejeis
engañar de algunos desordenados
gustos, no cieguen de manera
el entendimiento que se caiga
en algun yerro por donde todos
seamos forzados a llorar y
quedemos perpetuamente afren-
tados."

Speech of F.P.de Ayala
in Cronica de D.Pedro,V,
32, cont.

Speech of F.P.de Ayala
Mariana, XVI,20.
cont.

nuestro Rey e nuestro Senor natural. E Senor, por quanto brevemente non se pueden facef estas cosas todas, piden vos por merced estos Senores e Caballeros vuestros Vasallos e vuestros naturales que aqui estan, por si, e por todos los otros que son en esta demanda con ellos, que sea la vuestra merced de dar quatro Caballeros; e estos Senores daran otros quatro, que fablen en ello, e faran relacion a la vuestra merced de lo que acordaren que cumple a vuestro servicio, e pro de vuestros Regnos, e seguramiento dellos. E sobre todo esto, Senor ordenad como vos ploguiere, e entendieredes que cumple a vuestro servicio."

From the primitive speech, with its somewhat clumsy framework, overburdened with repetitions of formal phrases of the type "que aqui estan" - occurring seven times in the text - Mariana has chosen to retain merely the facts that a protest is being lodged, and that this protest is on behalf of the queen. The events leading up to the crisis, the practical suggestions for a solution - all this is omitted from the speech altogether. The attention of the rhetorician glances off such details, to concentrate on abstractions about good government, and the pathos of a/

a young, lovely and virtuous queen, left in most piteous plight; and, as the original proved sadly lacking in the reflections appropriate to the matter, Mariana was compelled to invent the necessary rhetoric himself. Even in the speeches, where any latent tendency to fine writing or emotionalism might be expected to find scope, Ayala remains then true to himself. Facts, events, historical precedents, practical argument about definite courses of action - these for him are all-important. Abstract reflections and appeals to emotion have no place in his system. Pure oratory may suffer by such exclusive concern for the concrete; but it tended to realism in the narrative itself. Ayala, by his characteristic adaptation of certain types of speeches studied in Livy, certainly introduced his countrymen to models of eloquence which they proved all too ready to imitate, both in season and out. His special qualities are not however those of the orator. Too self-controlled, too unemotional, too much ruled by commonsense and reality for the highest expression of eloquence, he has on the other hand the grip of reality and the capacity for detail which are essential for the storyteller's art.

The Narrative Art.

As a storyteller, Pedro Lopez de Ayala seems to have been, like many another writer, unconscious of his own best qualities. His special interests inclined him to indulge in lengthy digressions about genealogy, local peculiarities of administration, pedantic methods of fixing chronology, and similar questions, all somewhat trying to the unlearned or impatient reader, but fortunately limited by the chronicler's strict notions of his duty to his subject. Such literary theories as he held did not apparently favour the free insertion of concrete detail. A comparison of the earlier version, the *Abreviada*, with the *Vulgar*, certainly reveals a tendency to suppress many already given. The disappearance of actual details of repulsive modes of execution is from every point of view an improvement; but when we find Ayala cutting out of his final version, in order to give space to the lengthy genealogy of the claimant to the lands of Lara and Biscay, the description of the gallant knight who came to state her claims - "un caballero de Bretaña, que decian Mosen Thomas de Penahedit, e era muy buen caballero, ca fuera uno de los treinta Bretones que pelearan con los treinta Ingleses, e los vencieran, e era ya viejo, e cojo de las piernas de feridas que ovo"⁽¹⁾ - we are forced to conclude that he had little/

(1) Cronica de Enrique II, VIII, 10 - *Abreviada* version given

little conscious appreciation of the value of concrete detail in making history live.

The literary merits of a writer are fortunately not always those in which he takes most pride. The erudite knowledge which the Chancillor Mayor of Enrique III displayed so complacently to readers of the 14th century means little to us today. The keen appreciation of the dramatic moment, which with him was innate, survives as perhaps his essential quality. Some have accused Ayala of lack of imagination; and if by imagination we mean the building up by the mere power of fantasy of scenes, actions, or emotions otherwise unknown, the statement is no doubt true. Ayala never indulges in fantastic flights, or even in ordinary speculation about thoughts, sensations, or motives. He can, on the other hand, by the insertion of one concrete detail, selected with unerring skill, stamp on the imagination of the reader in colours of the grimmest reality any scene which he chooses to depict. The chronicle of Don Pedro in particular appears in retrospect as a succession of dramatic moments. The best known of all is probably the death of the Master of Santiago. Fadrique, struggling vainly to extricate the sword which has become entangled in his tabard, and rushing "muy recio" from side to side of the courtyard in the desperate effort to elude his/

his assassins, is a figure never to be forgotten; and the scene a few minutes later in the room of Dona Maria, when Fadrique's hunted squire catches up the baby Infanta in a wild hope of being saved through her, and Pedro, tearing the child from his arms, stabs the man with his own dagger, is more lurid still. Even in scenes less familiar, however, Ayala has the art of selecting the one detail required to bring out the essential tragedy. Dona Leonor and her son weeping together in her prison, where for "una grande hora ... ninguna palabra non dixo el uno al otro"; the bulls brought in for the festivities of the young king's arrival in Burgos trampling down the dead body of Garci Laso; the granting of Juan de la Cerda's pardon to his weeping wife, whilst all the time "el Rey sabia bien que antes que aquellas cartas llegasen a Sevilla seria Don Juan muerto." (Cron.de Pedro VIII, 5); the departure of Gomez Carrillo for his new command at Algeciras, "muy alegre e muy pagado", and his beheading as soon as the galley was well out at sea - "cortaronle la cabeza, e echaron el cuerpo en la mar, e la cabeza troxeronle al Rey a Sevilla" (Cron.de Pedro XI, 18); the cry of the unhappy Moorish king who had thrown himself on the mercy of Don Pedro - "Oh qué pequeña caballeria feciste!"; details such as these, with the sinister contrasts they suggest, produce a dramatic effect which no rhetoric could/

could ever attain. Ayala, as we shall see, had no special motive for distorting the character of Don Pedro. It is unnecessary to assume on his part any deliberate purpose of handing down to posterity a picture of the king with all the enormities magnified and the good qualities hardly perceptible. Personally, he shows appreciation of Pedro's energy, bravery, and occasional acts of magnanimity; but if the figure of the king has been stamped for all time on popular imagination as "Pedro el Cruel", it is due in no small measure to the narrative powers of his biographer, and especially to his dramatic sense.

Appreciation of dramatic moments can however be displayed in other ways than the mere insertion of vivid concrete details. Conversations and dialogue, the reproduction of correspondence, the insertion of popular comments or even of popular romances based on the event, all such devices are of obvious utility in heightening the immediate interest or in preparing the minds of the readers for some crisis. All are employed by Ayala, but with his usual discretion, and not always with the same dramatic effect. In the use of conversation he is certainly not excessive. It is true that some of the brief scraps of dialogue he records so cling to the memory that they appear in retrospect to occupy more room than is actually the case. That brief but sinister conversation between the sixteen-year old king and the/

the still younger Tello, whose mother has just been murdered,

- "Don Tello, sabedes como vuestra madre Dona Leonor es muerto?"

- "Señor, yo non he otro padre, nin otra madre salvo a la vuestra merced";

the knightly reply of the doomed Coronel to the question of his old friend before Aguilar,

"Qué remedio, Don Alfonso Ferrandez?"

"Gutier Ferrandez amigo, el remedio de aqui adelante es este; morir la mas apuestamente que yo pudiere como caballero;"

Coronel's pregnant summary of the whole situation on his way to die, "Don Alfonso, esta es Castilla, que face los omes, e los gasta"; the shocked comment of Diego Perez Sarmiento on the Infante Juan's willingness to become in person the executioner of the Master of Santiago, "Non menguaran Ballesteros que maten al Maestre" - such scraps of conversation, by their vividness, make us forget the rarity of their appearance. In the whole chronicle of Don Pedro, with its 194 pages of double columns, there are in all - when we exclude formal declarations of policy or advice - only some (1) nine recorded conversations; yet in the 21 pages devoted by the author of the Tres Coronicas to the reign of Sancho el Bravo/

(1) See Don Pedro, II,4; II,6; IV,1; IV,10; VII,1; VII,2; VII,3; IX,2; XVII,4 (which scarcely counts, being official question and answer between representatives of Burgos and the king, about to take flight), XX,8.

Señor mayor que non vos. E, Senor, bien sabe la vuestra merced como mi madre, e mis hermanos, e yo, fuimos siempre desde el día en que vos nascistes en la vuestra crianza, e pasamos muchos males, e sufrimos muchos miedos por vuestro servicio en el tiempo que Doña Leonor de Guzman avia poder en el Regno. Señor, yo siempre vos servi; empero creo que por vos decir algunas cosas que complian a vuestro servicio me mandastes matar: en lo qual, Senor, yo tengo que lo fecistes por cumplir vuestra voluntad: lo qual Dios vos lo perdone; mas yo nunca vos lo meresci. E agora, Senor, digo vos tanto al punto de la mi muerte (porque este será el mi postrimero consejo), que si vos non alzades el cuchillo, e non escusades de facer tales muertes como esta, que vos avedes perdido vuestro Regno, e tenedes vuestra persona en peligro. E pido vos por merced que vos guardedes; ca lealmente fablo con vusco, ca en tal ora esto, que non debo decir si non verdad."⁽¹⁾

The importance of this letter in a discussion of Ayala's style is twofold. In the first place, it is almost certainly his own composition. Gutier Ferrandez de Toledo may indeed have written a letter of reproach to his master; but as Ayala states that when it was handed to/

(1) It is curiously significant that Mariana does not so much as mention such a letter.

to Pedro "pesole mucho por que ge la dexaron facer" it is in the highest degree improbable that the king's wrath would permit the original to escape destruction. The absolute lack of rhetoric is entirely characteristic of Ayala, as also is the direct simplicity of the solemn warning from the man about to leave the dominions of his earthly lord for "otro Señor mayor que non vos".

Even more important, however, is the use to which Ayala puts this prophetic letter in his presentment of the story. The death of Gutier Ferrandez de Toledo took place in 1360, a year of many deaths, and at a time when the raids of Enrique of Trastamara were assuming an aspect most ominous for the king. Montiel was still far distant, but even then some men may have had forebodings of the end of it all. When in his later years, at all events, Pedro Lopez de Ayala was putting into literary shape his narrative of that time a popular romance seems already to have expressed, ⁽¹⁾ in the strange tale of the monkish warning given to Pedro at Santo Domingo de la Calzada, the idea of this fore-knowledge. Ayala's blunt rendering of the romance and its warning that if Pedro did not take heed to himself "el Conde Don Enrique vuestro hermano vos avia de matar por sus manos" occurs in the same year as the message/

(1) I am expressing here the view of Professor Entwistle of Glasgow in his study on Ayala and the Romancero de Don Pedro.

message of the doomed Regostero Mayor; and both warnings, together with the Benahatin letters and perhaps the stern reproof of the Prince of Wales after Najera, provide that suggestion of the prophetic so acceptable to an age which, reprobating in theory as contrary to good religion all belief in agueros, revelled in the literature of Merlin.

It is possible that Ayala may in this conscious preparation for the crisis to come have had memories of the Livian use of omens; but Livy was for his first translator above all a source of ideas and a model to be followed in the public presentment of arguments. In details of style his influence is much less noticeable, and perhaps it is in the greatest of all Ayala's chronicles that it is least evident. In the narrative of Pedro's reign the overwhelming interest of the subject lessened the need of any literary artifice other than those suggested by Ayala's own dramatic sense; and when, as the climax approaches, the chronicler feels the need of some artistic device to throw into fullest relief the tragedy of Montiel, it is interesting to note that it is not to the classics that he turns, but to the Spanish literature of his boyhood's days. The Benahatin letters take us back to the old collections of animal fables which fed the moralizing fancy of the middle ages, and had been adapted to conscious literature/

literature by Don Juan Manuel. These animal fables, together with the fashion of prophecies fathered on Merlin, were drawn upon by the author of the Poema de Alfonso Onceno. This poem, remarkable not only for the interest of the narrative but also for its lavish use of dialogue, literary and historic comparisons, and descriptions of the deliberations of the opposing sides, is of special importance in judging the actual value of the two long epistles in which Ayala shows us the learned Moor Benahatin instructing Don Pedro, after his victory at Najera, in the secrets of repairing his weakened power, or, just before Montiel, revealing to him in language of Oriental prophecy his approaching doom. In the Poema de Alfonso Onceno we find in fact the germ of the second of these letters, not merely in the use of Merlinic prophecy, but in the actual figures employed. Benahatin explaining the "dicho de profecia" which tells how the "ave negra, comedora e robadora" is to be stripped of the feathers which enable it to fly, merely expands the remark of the "ayo" of the young king Alfonso XI concerning the need of conciliating the great vassals

"Ave que no tiene alas
Nunca bien puede volar"

whilst the representation of the monarch himself in the form of a bird finds a parallel in the descriptions of the monarchs/

monarchs in the Poema, where the kings of Castile and Portugal appear as lions, whilst the Moorish kings are represented in the figures of the porcupine and the dragon.

Ayala has been referred to as the "primer tipo del hombre moderno"⁽²⁾. So far as his general outlook is concerned this is possibly true. His cool commonsense, his distrust of enthusiasm and all manifestations of ill-regulated chivalry, his critical attitude towards the church, his business-like attitude to war, all this certainly suggests a man of modern days rather than a chronicler of medieval times. It is all the more interesting to discover that the translator of Livy who pointed the way for that wholehearted imitation of the methods and style of the Latin writer which was to affect so profoundly the work of succeeding historians remained himself faithful, for the adornment of his tale, to the methods of a previous generation. Innovator in his fashion of presenting ideas, Ayala remains in the details of his narrative style a true conservative. He is in this respect no modern, but a genuine product of the medieval world.

(1) See "The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula", by Professor Entwistle, p.54.

(2) Men.y Pelayo. Ant.de Liv.Cast. "Quien escriba la historia de nuestra edad moderna vera en el el primer tipo de hombre moderno."

CHAPTER V.

Credibility of Pedro Lopez de Ayala - with
special reference to the chronicle of Pedro.

(a) Statement of the Cuarta Cronica General.

Of all the chronicles of Ayala, his first, the famous account of Pedro I, awakened from the beginning the keenest interest, and in due course provoked the liveliest criticism. On this narrative the detractors of the chronicler have based their assertions of partiality and dishonesty, and as the Castilla family, proud of their descent from

"El gran rey D. Pedro que el vulgo reprueba
por selle enemigo quien hizo su historia" (1)

proved to be the precursors of a long line of earnest partisans of "el rey justiciero", ready and eager on every occasion to discredit his inconvenient chronicler, it is essential to enquire into their reasons for their accusations against Ayala.

The contemporaries of Pedro Lopez de Ayala apparently accepted him without question as the acknowledged authority on his chosen period. Juan Rodriguez de Cuenca, the Despensero Mayor of Queen Leonor, wife of Juan/

(1) Coplas de arte Mayor of D. Francisco de Castilla.
(British Museum, C 37 e 1.)

Juan I, writing in the reign of her son Enrique III, married to Pedro's grand-daughter, his 'Sumario' of the kings of Spain, considered it unnecessary to give for the reign of Pedro I anything but one brief anecdote not found in Ayala. Pedro Corral followed the example of the Despensero. The first hint that Ayala's version might not be altogether satisfactory appeared in the anonymous 15th century compendium of Spanish history classed by Menendez Pidal as the Cuarta Cronica General. (2) In the brief account there given of the reign of Don Pedro - an account which, as we shall see, presents many striking variations from Ayala's version - the author, to explain the discrepancy, makes the important statement that there were in existence two chronicles, 'la una fengida por se disculpar de los yerros que contra el fueron fechos en Castilla', and the other, from which presumably he draws his material, the 'cronica verdadera.' Whatever the foundation for this remark - whether the author genuinely believed in some mysterious manuscript written by that Juan de Castro, Bishop of Aix, who followed the fortunes of Pedro's daughter, or was merely confused by the existence of/

(2) Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de Espana, No 106.

of two versions of Ayala's own chronicle, the Abreviada and the Vulgar, - it is at least certain that it originated a real change of attitude towards Ayala, of which family pride and party feeling were quick to take advantage. The interest of the Castilla family in the rehabilitation of their ancestor Don Pedro we can understand. Less excusable, perhaps, was the acquiescence of the Enriquez family in the stories which, blackening the reputation of the unfortunate Blanche of Bourbon, gave them a double claim to royal descent through an intrigue between their ancestor, the ill-fated Fadrique, and the young French princess. It is true that even the lively author of the Cuarta Cronica General makes no mention of the scandal, and that all the earlier accounts of the birth of the Almirante Alfonso Enriquez, the supposed child of the intrigue, give details incompatible with the picturesque tale; but by the sixteenth century the story of the unfaithfulness of Blanche, propagated by the well known 'romance', although still rejected by serious chronicles, had crept into a few so-called historical narratives, and, in an ever-increasing number of publications justifying the actions of the king/

(1) Garibay in his Compendio historical de las Cronicas, book XIV, ch.1g, (1571) refers to the existence of "algunas canciones" giving the story, but without expressing any belief in it himself.

king no longer termed the Cruel, but the Just, was cited to excuse his fratricide. These publications, with their constant references to the lost manuscript of the 'Cronica verdadera', to the unfaithfulness of Blanche, and to the treachery of Pedro Lopez de Ayala to the king whose reign he falsified, form a body of criticism which must be dealt with if we are to assess his true value as an historian.

Before passing on to more direct indictments of Ayala's veracity, it may be of use, in the first place, to compare his account of the reign of Pedro with that of the anonymous author of the Cuarta Cronica General, who first raised the question. As an impartial commentary on both narratives we shall keep at hand the version of the 'Victorial' of Gutierre Diaz de Games, in which he set down information preserved by his master, grand-son of Pedro Fernandez Niño, a follower of Don Pedro to the end, and son of that Juan Niño who was doncel in attendance on the doomed king in the castle of Montiel.

The first observation to be made is that the anonymous chronicler, despite his reference to the falsification of the record of Pedro's reign, does not personally hold any brief either for or against Don Pedro. It is true that, speaking of the struggle at Najera between the legitimate king and the bastard, he remarks that the majority/

majority of Trastamara's troops "no peleavan de coracon contra el rey don Pedro, porque ya sabian que avia seido e era su senor natural dias avia, e que si algunos malos e yerros avia fecho, que Dios gelos avia de demandar, que no castigargelos ellos", a comment which suggests that theoretically at least he disapproved of armed revolt against one's king. He is also unduly kind to that royal lady of dubious character, the Queen-mother Maria, representing her as an innocent victim of the troubles of 1353 - 1354, enticed from Segovia by the false representations of Enrique of Trastamara, and moved solely by a laudable desire⁽¹⁾ to bring peace to a distracted country. The originator of all the trouble is Don Juan Alfonso of Albuquerque, angered by the influence of "la reyna dona Maria de Padilla" and her kinsfolk; and, despite the picturesqueness of the tale, no mention is made in the Cuarta Cronica General of the poison administered to the once great "privado", at the instigation of Don Pedro, by "un fisico Romano, que decian Maestre Pablo, e curaba del dicho Don Juan Alfonso."⁽²⁾ Details such as these might suggest/

(1) "Mucho deseaba ella paz entre su fijo el rey D. Pedro e sus hemanos."

(2) Ayala: Cronica de Don Pedro I, V, 27.

suggest that the anonymous writer was able to draw from some source more favourable to Pedro than the chronicle of Ayala; but if such testimony existed, either in the form of written history or ballads, or of oral tradition, the author of the Cuarta Cronica General certainly handled it with the utmost freedom and with no deliberate purpose of clearing Don Pedro from the stigma of "The Cruel". He delights in the sensational, and gives with gusto gory details of punishment altogether omitted by the more sober Ayala.

As for the facts themselves, the variations between Ayala's narrative and the Cuarta Cronica General are so amazing that belief in one implies flat contradiction of the other. In the rising of the nobles against Don Pedro in 1354, according to the Cuarta Cronica General, Pedro was on his way to besiege the bastards and his wife Blanche in Toro when he saw the cortege with the black banner escorting the "cuerpo finado" of Albuquerque; his mother Queen Maria was at Segovia, innocent of all intrigue. In Ayala it is the king who is residing in Toro with his mother, Queen Maria, who takes advantage of a brief absence of her son to give admittance to his enemies and render him helpless. Queen Blanche is all the while in Toledo. The anonymous writer, besides depicting the seizure of the king as attended by bloodshed, says that Don Pedro spent three/

three years "en esta opresion". The "Victorial", in accordance with Ayala, indicates that the detention of Pedro was carried out "por ferrosas maneras" and without violence; and the imprisonment cannot have been of long duration, if the king was at large before the end of 1354, as indicated in Ayala's account. According to the Cuarta Cronica General Queen Maria's efforts for peace were poorly rewarded. After the final capture of Toro by her son she was sent a prisoner to the alcazar of Segovia, where she died shortly afterwards. In Ayala's version she went back to Portugal and died there. The anonymous writer has little to say of the war with Aragon, but gives much picturesque detail about the death of the Rey Bermejo of Granada, enticed to his death at Seville by an invitation to become "compadre" to the newly-born son of Maria de Padilla. Don Pedro's brother Tello is present at the council which dooms the Moorish king, and after the scene of the execution Tello, fearing for the life of his brother the Maestre Don Fadrique implores his pardon from the king. The prayer is granted for the moment, but shortly afterwards "por afinco de Dona Maria" Pedro decrees Fadrique's death. According to the dates given by Ayala Maria de Padilla had died in July 1361, the year before the Rey Bermejo came to put his fate in the hands of the Castilian king; and long before, on a May day in 1358, the Maestre had been slain in the/

the court-yard of the palace of Seville whilst Maria, impotent to save him, "fizo tan triste cara, que todos lo podrian entender, ca elle era dueña muy buena, e de buen seso, e non se pagaba de las cosas que el Rey facia, e pesabale mucho de le muerte que era ordenada de dar al Maestre."

Equally startling are the discrepancies in the account of the final struggle for the kingship. The Cuarta Cronica General states that Enrique of Trastamara was proclaimed king in Logroño, and that Pedro, fleeing the country, spent three whole years in England before returning to his victory at Najera. Between Enrique's proclamation at Calahorra, in March 1366, and his defeat on April 3rd, 1367, according to Ayala, Don Pedro had visited Burgos, Toledo, and Seville, had passed through Portugal and Galicia, and by midsummer had not yet arrived at "Bayona de Inglaterra", where he spent the autumn, winter, and early spring months arranging for his return to Castile. As for the statement in the Cuarta Cronica General that the defeated Enrique did not stop till he reached Rome, possibly the author had in mind Avignon, where dwelt the Pope Urbane V who, Ayala tells us "queria bien al Rey Don Enrique" and who urged the Duke of Anjou to assist and comfort him.

It/

It is obviously impossible, when we reach the last scene of all, to reconcile the anonymous chronicler's description of Du Guesclin as "un su privado del Rey Don Pedro", and his companion in the castle of Montiel, with the role played by the great Breton in the army of Trastamara, as recorded in Ayala.

It is fortunate for the bewildered reader, confronted by such widely different versions, that in all essential points the narrative of Pedro Lopez de Ayala is amply confirmed by the account received from the Niño family by Gutierre Diaz de Games. The Victorial is perhaps a little more picturesque in detail than Ayala, whose statement that Don Fernando del Castro knew nothing of the schemes to allow the king to escape from Toro spoils the effect of the dramatic dialogue reported by Games as taking place between the imprisoned monarch and that pattern of loyalty; but the sequence of events is the same in both narratives. So far as historical truth is concerned, it would appear to be safer to take Ayala as our guide rather than his anonymous critic. In the absence of any written source of the fantastic divergencies of the Cuarta Cronica General, we may not be far wrong in ascribing them in the first place to the storyteller's love of all that is sensational, fed by the romances, by local traditions, by current scandals, and secondly to muddled recollections of piquant details found in Ayala's own chronicle. The

Ermita, que es cerca del rio de Duero" where, in the anonymous version, the captive king signed for Tello the papers which were the price of his freedom before leaping on his horse and swimming the flooded river, may be a reminiscence of the "hermita pequeña" with the "pequeño arroyo" mentioned by Ayala as the meeting-place of Don Pedro and his brothers before his marriage to Blanche of Bourbon. Like Ayala, the unknown chronicler tells the story of how Enrique lost Zamora owing to the ill-treatment by his door-keepers of Ferrand Alfonso of that city; but, true to his novelistic instinct, he rounds the story off with a description of the aggrieved knight coming to fight for Enrique's opponent at Najera with more than a thousand men. His gruesome assertion that after the victory the triumphant Pedro ordered bulls to be brought into the town square and threw to them the decapitated bodies of seven victims - "e los toros los lanzaban facia arriba, e davan en aquellos cuerpos grandes golpes, en tal manera que todos lo sentian por grande crueldat" - has probably its source in Ayala's account of the death of Garci Laso at the beginning of Pedro's reign, when the bulls brought in to Burgos for the festivities of the royal entry trampled on the corpse of the Adelantado as it lay in the street.

We find, then, in the picturesque and lively narrative of the Cuarta Cronica General, with its highly coloured portrait of a personality fascinating to the common people through its very ferocity, an interesting compound of fact, romance - derived probably largely from ballads and oral tradition - queerly-distorted recollections of former reading, and a fairly large dose of pure invention. We do not find any evidence to prove that in the 15th century, as a result of more accurate knowledge of the facts, the version of Ayala had already been superseded in the view of serious students of history. To shake their belief in his reliability some more definite charge had to be made against his character as man and as historian.

(b) Indictment of personal character of Pedro Lopez de Ayala - Was he a traitor?

Treachery in actual conduct and partiality in his writings - these are the two serious accusations which have been levelled against the chronicler. Let us consider the first charge separately; and we shall begin by making certain admissions. It is true that Pedro Lopez de Ayala took part in the rising of the protesting nobles in 1354; that he abandoned Pedro after the latter's flight to Seville in 1366/⁽¹⁾

(1) The further accusation of some of his detractors that he was one of the knights denounced as traitors by Don Pedro at Almazan in 1359 is disposed of by the fact that he appears immediately

1366; and that he fought against him at Najera in the following year. It is also true, however, that it is Ayala himself who provides us with the information so frequently used to blacken his name, and that it is exceedingly improbable that either he or his contemporaries saw in his behaviour during the last seven years of Don Pedro's reign anything to his discredit. Possibly the repeated changes of sides of Don Fernan Perez de Ayala, the father of the chronicler, have done some disservice to the reputation of his more distinguished son. The slippery Fernan, who, it will be remembered, had come into special prominence as spokesman of the protesting nobles at the "vistas" of Tejadillo in 1354, went over, like his son, to Trastamara in 1366, and in April 1367 fought against his former master at Najera. Finding himself on the losing side, he apparently made his peace with Don Pedro, who that same year sent him to Vizcaya to represent him on matters connected with the demands of the Black Prince. King Pedro's fortunes once more waning, Fernan again changed sides, and by 1369 was sufficiently in the confidence of Enrique of Trastamara to be chosen as one of the commanders left on guard before Toledo when the rest of the army was withdrawn for the fight at Montiel.

It/

afterwards as Pedro's Captain of the Fleet against Aragon. (Cronica de Pedro I, X,10).

It does not appear that such conduct on the part of this "caballero cuerdo e bien razonado" aroused any great execration in his own day; and if Pedro Lopez de Ayala, having once changed masters, remained without obvious wavering in the service of Enrique of Trastamara his behaviour, compared to that of his father at least, appears respectable.

It is, however, his change of masters which forms the main accusation against the chronicler; and for many critics Pedro Lopez de Ayala appears the type of the turncoat. A glance at the record of his most distinguished contemporaries is sufficient to dispel that idea. That Don Pedro Tenorio for instance who as Archbishop of Toledo was later to play so prominent a part in the government of Spain, was, with his brother, amongst the many distinguished Castilians who fought on the Trastamaran side at Najera; and no one, apparently, has thought of indicting him in consequence as a traitor. The celebrated Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, whose name was to be handed down in the romances for an act of heroic self-sacrifice at Aljubarrota, ⁽¹⁾ forestalled his brother-in-law Ayala in abandoning the cause of Don Pedro. That Don Gomez Manrique, Archbishop of Toledo, and/

(1) An act of which Ayala says nothing. The romance possibly took the self-sacrifice of a follower of Enrique of Trastamara after the rout at Najera, and associated it with a more celebrated name, changing the time and circumstances.

and an "ome de grand linaje e muy amado de todos", who at the Cortes held by Don Pedro at Seville in 1362 had delivered "un grand sermon" (Pedro I, XIII, 7) on the theme of Pedro's marriage to Maria de Padilla, went over so completely to the side of the usurper as to be left by Enrique in full charge of his interests at Toledo (Pedro I, XVII, 8). When such was the behaviour of the Archbishop himself, a mere worldly-wise caballero can scarcely have felt that any great moral obloquy was incurred by similar action on his own part. Perhaps the most striking proof, however, that even to many of his most loyal supporters Don Pedro's action in abandoning Burgos in March 1366 appeared to relieve them finally from any further allegiance to a deserter, is to be found in the case of Inigo Lopez de Orozco. Here we have a man grown old in the service, first of Don Pedro's father, then of Don Pedro himself. In the great siege of Algeciras, more than twenty years before, he had done notable service as officer in charge of the engineering operations against the city. Since the accession of Alfonso's son he had continued to serve him loyally in all his wars. He had stood by him in the rising of the nobles in 1353-1354. He had been captured by Enrique of Trastamara while fighting for Pedro in the affray at Araviana in 1359. After his release he had returned to Pedro's service, and had been employed/

employed by him in important negotiations with Navarre. Even after Pedro's retreat from Burgos he had followed his king; but when Don Pedro, instead of standing fast himself, ordered him to stem the invasion at Guadalajara whilst he himself fled southwards to secure his treasures, the long allegiance even of Iñigo Lopez de Orozco was broken. He too went over to Trastamara, only to meet a violent death on the field of Najera at the hands of his former master, encountered by an unlucky chance, when Orozco's English captor could not save his prisoner, and the rich ransom he represented, from the angry Pedro. The case of Iñigo Lopez de Orozco was no isolated one. The exception at that period was more probably the unshaken loyalty of Men ⁽¹⁾Rodriguez de Senabria, or of that other brother-in-law of Ayala, Fernan Alvarez de Toledo, the heroic defender of Toledo against forces directed by his own brother, and in face of awful starvation. The record of Pedro Lopez de Ayala, when we consider that in act at least he remained loyal to his king till that king, by his desertion, gave him a satisfactory excuse for abandoning his fortunes, compares favourably enough with that of many of his most distinguished contemporaries; and, in any case, it is obviously/

(1) Who, strangely enough, began in the service of Enrique de Trastamara, and fled with him after his marriage to Doña Juana. He shortly after entered Pedro's service and remained with him to the end.

obviously unjust to condemn him, as has so often been done, as an absolute traitor to Don Pedro.

(c) Reliability as a Chronicler.

Of much greater importance, however, than the question of Ayala's personal worth is that of his reliability as a narrator of the events he witnessed - a reliability which is not necessarily vitiated by any blemishes which may be detected in his moral character. We know that just as an historian of the greatest integrity of conduct may unwittingly falsify his narrative as a result of prejudices and even rancour of which he is quite unconscious, so there may exist in men of very little worth morally a literary integrity and conscience which produce results altogether admirable. Even those who most decry Pedro Lopez de Ayala as a man should not dismiss without a fair investigation his claim to tell the truth "lo mas verdaderamente que pudiere de lo que vi, en lo qual non entiendo decir sinon verdad: otrosi de lo que acaesce en mi tiempo en algunas partidas donde yo no he estado, e lo supiere por verdadera relacion de Señores e Caballeros, e otros dignos de fe e de creer, de quienes lo oi, e me dieron dende testimonio, tomandolo con la mayor diligencia que yo pude". (Proemio).

Before turning to the chronicles themselves to ascertain how/

how far this promise has been kept, or how far the facts have been distorted either to please authority or to excuse personal unworthiness - an unworthiness of which, as we have seen, Ayala in one respect at least had no greater call to be conscious than the Primate of Spain himself - it is advisable to have a clear view of the particular points on which the detractors of Ayala and defenders of Don Pedro assail the reliability of the chronicler.

(d) Special Indictments of his Reliability as Chronicler.

I. Based on Theory of early Composition of the Chronicle of Don Pedro.

The point of view of many, especially of the earlier assailants, of Ayala's veracity is summed up in the remark of a certain Luis Cabrera de Cordoba, quoted by Joaquin Guichot y Parodi as lately as 1878 in his Ensayo on the rehabilitation of Don Pedro. According to their belief, Enrique of Trastamara "mato a su hermano el Rey Don Pedro; por abonar su tirania y mal caso infamo su memoria con una historia que mando hacer con los excesos y crueldades de su hermano. Mas Dios, que no aprueba tales actos, movio el animo del Obispo de Jaen para que hiciese una verdadera y dispasionada historia del Rey D.Pedro, que leyo el Sr. Rey D.Felipe II, y por lo que en ella vio le sobrescribio el/

el Justiciero, borrandole el titulo de Cruel." The whole argument of this class of critics depends then on the assumption that Ayala's chronicle of Don Pedro was written in the reign of Enrique II and at his direct instigation.

This theory is however untenable. It is quite possible that during the reign of Enrique, or even earlier, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, belonging as he did to a milieu keenly interested in history and in political affairs, had begun to take notes of events of public importance. He may quite well have been already in possession of a large store of miscellaneous information. Unless however that information was arranged under the personal supervision of the victorious Enrique in such fashion as to set his actions in the most favourable light, and made public either during his lifetime or shortly after his death, it is quite unwarrantable to refer to Ayala as the official chronicler of Trastamara. Such a theory completely ignores in the first place the undoubted fact that in the Cronica de Don Pedro Ayala repeatedly gives details exceedingly damaging to the reputation of Enrique himself, and secondly the equally unmistakeable fact that at the time of publication Enrique had long been dead. This is made clear by the chronicles themselves; and it may be well to emphasize at this point that it is quite erroneous to think of the chronicle of Pedro, important as it is, as forming in Ayala's/

Ayala's view a work complete in itself, and undertaken in a different spirit or at any great interval from the succeeding chronicles. It was merely the first of a series, and even as he writes Ayala has his gaze turned on those which are to follow, referring repeatedly to people and events "de los quales diremos en su lugar", that is in their proper section in the reign of Enrique II or his son. Like the other chronicles, that of D. Pedro was the work of his later years. Even if we rejected references such as that in Pedro V, 13, to Pedro's granddaughter "la reyna Dona Catalina, que es agora muger del Rey Don Enrique", or the repeated mention of Enrique III as the reigning monarch, on the somewhat arbitrary ground that such references might be the insertion of a later copyist bringing his manuscript up to date, other evidence for the late composition even of the Cronica de Don Pedro is not lacking. It is impossible to explain away the whole chapter which Ayala devotes, when beginning his account of the second year of Pedro's reign, to pedantic discussion of the various methods of calculating dates, including the "era", used by Spanish custom until the year 1383. In that year it was replaced, in accordance with a law of Juan I, by "el año del Nascimento de Nuestro Senor Jesu-Christo". "E nos en este libro", says Ayala in his chronicle/

chronicle of Don Pedro, "ternemos el cuento del ano del Nacimiento, por quanto asi es costumbre de la tierra de Castiella desde el dia que fue ordenado por el Rey Don Juan en este regno, segund adelante diremos en los fechos del Rey Don Juan." More than a year or two is required for acceptance of a legal change to become a custom; and the reference to Juan I seems to imply that his reign also is a thing of the past. We may assume, then, that the earliest of the chronicles must have been written considerably later than 1383; and in that case it is perfectly reasonable to assume the various references to royal marriages as Ayala's own work, and to avail ourselves of them in finding an approximate date for the publication of the chronicles. Don Pedro's grand-daughter became "la reyna Dona Catalina" in 1390 on the accession of her boy-husband, and the publication of the Cronica de Don Pedro in its completed form would take place some time later. At such a time any deliberate blackening of King Pedro's name would be distinctly out of place. The brief record of Enrique II may be relegated to some date later than 1393, when Leonor of Albuquerque could first be referred to as "muger del Infante Don Ferrando" (Cronica de Enrique II, IX,2).

At this point, however, it is necessary to consider how far the existence of two versions, an earlier and a later/

later, of Ayala's chronicles, may affect this statement of their late composition. The version referred to by Zurita as the Abreviada, extant only in manuscript form, presents so many differences of detail and arrangement from the Vulgar that on occasion it has actually been quoted against Ayala by critics holding the belief that⁽¹⁾ it was the work of another author. Zurita, however, after careful comparison, had no doubt that the Abreviada was actually written by Ayala, whose name and actions are in it recorded with much greater frequency than in the "Vulgar", and he came to the conclusion that the Abreviada was the primitive draft, lacking the final polish and expansion of the completed history. It is true that a⁽²⁾ modern critic, Sr. Sitges, who claims to have made a study of the different manuscripts, has arrived at an entirely different conclusion. His theory is that Ayala was personally responsible for one version only, the Vulgar, of which the Abreviada is merely an extract or summary. His arguments, which appear somewhat inconclusive, are however irrelevant here, as according to his theory the Abreviada would be of even later date than the Vulgar, and compiled from Ayala's works possibly after the death of the chronicler/

(1) This was done, for instance, by D. Jose Maria Amado Salazar, in the notes to his so-called "Historia Critica del Reinado de D. Pedro de Castilla" published at Madrid in 1852.

(2) In "Las Mujeres del Rey D. Pedro", Madrid 1910.

chronicler. Schirrmacher, who by some peculiar process of reasoning is able to reconcile Guichot's theory of the official and untrustworthy nature of the *Cronica de Don Pedro*, a theory dependent on the belief that it was written for Enrique of Trastamara, with Zurita's view of the date of its composition, accepting the *Abreviada* as the earlier account, believes the essential difference between it and the *Vulgar* to consist in its comparative honesty. A careful examination of the differences, so far as Zurita's notes - our only source of information in the absence of a detailed modern study of the manuscripts - make examination possible, leads rather to the conclusion that, whilst certain additions found in the *Vulgar* may be the result of later knowledge (e.g. the trickery of Charles of Navarre, *Cronica de D. Pedro XVIII*, 1) or of general acceptance of rumours previously rejected as doubtful, such as the story of the poisoning of Albuquerque (*Pedro V*, 27) the difference is in the main one of literary taste. The occasional omission in the *Vulgar* of some point prejudicial to Enrique of Trastamara is more than balanced by the frequent excisions of horrible details of the "justicia" of Don Pedro, given in full in the *Abreviada*. The *Abreviada*, in fact, by the care with which it gives the names and particulars of personages occurring in the narrative, describes their arms and escutcheons, or catalogues the presents/

presents exchanged by royal personages, suggests the minuteness and formlessness of the diary or book of jottings, on which it may have been based. The Vulgar, on the other hand, with its excision of irrelevant or repugnant details, its care for system, and its elaborate expansion of speeches and abstract reasoning, seems undoubtedly to have been the version deliberately planned for publication. We may assume, then, that of the two versions the Abreviada was most probably the earlier; but even its composition fell outwith the period of possible party strife between the reigning Trastamaran house and the section supporting the pretensions of Pedro's daughter, wife of John of Gaunt, who invaded Galicia on her behalf in 1386. This is made clear by a reference in the Abreviada itself, where, in his account of the events of the tenth year of Don Pedro's reign, Ayala finds occasion to speak of a certain Dona Urraca de Alvarez, who took as her second husband Alvar Rodriguez Daza, "que fue muerto en Aljubarrota: e despues del caso con Garcia Tellez de Meneses Caballero". Aljubarrota was fought in 1385, and the lady's third marriage, old history at the time of writing, could scarcely have taken place before 1386, at the end of which year Juan I had already set in motion the secret negotiations which were to result in the settlement of the old quarrel by the marriage of his son to the daughter/

daughter of John of Gaunt. Ayala, whose release from Portuguese captivity cannot have taken place before the close of 1386, was himself concerned in the negotiations, and even if he had had leisure to do so he would certainly not have imperilled their success by ill-timed publication of what might be regarded as a partisan history. If then the chronicle of Don Pedro, in both the Abreviada and the Vulgar forms, so far from being written for propaganda work in the reign of Enrique of Trastamara, was not actually produced till after the union of his grandson with Catalina granddaughter of Pedro, the whole accusation of official falsification, so often brought up against Ayala, falls to the ground.

II. Indictments based on the Romances.

It would be scarcely necessary to take into serious consideration the attacks made on Ayala by opponents of the type of Fernando de Ayora y Sotomayor, if the pretentious "Ensayo de Vindicacion de Don Pedro", published by Joaquin Guichot in 1878 and repeating in determined fashion all their arguments, had not received the enthusiastic approbation of a German critic, F.W.Schirrmacher, in his study "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Chronik Ayalas", published at Berlin in 1902 (in the "Geschichte von Spanien" - F.W. Lembke). Ayora y Sotomayor merely continues the series initiated/

initiated by the Castilla family and the Conde de la Roca (1647), and continued into the 19th century by writers such as Amado de Salazar, in his so-called "Historia Critica" of the reign of Pedro; but as he is a fair specimen of the early type of critic of Ayala's veracity, it may be worth while to see what he has to say. His vindication of Don Pedro, and his indictment of Ayala, regarded of course as a traitor, will be found to rest on the "Coplas" of Francisco de Castilla already cited, on the additions to the chronicle of Pedro made, with the annotations of Diego de Castilla, by Gratia Dei, chronicler of the Reyes Catolicos, and above all on the story of the misconduct of Queen Blanche with Fadrique, the king's brother. "Cosa averiguada es", says the stout champion of the Rey Justiciero, "que a ninguno dio la muerte, que no fuesse por delito que la meresciesse"; and if Ayala or any other chronicler failed to record the special reason for the queen's death - it had not yet occurred even to critics of Ayala to suggest that it might have been natural - then their very silence was an indictment. "El callar la causa es indicio que fue grande la que (el rey) tuvo". The guilt of Blanche, says Ayora y Sotomayor, is now a matter of common knowledge. His proof is a curious one. Garibay, his/

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- (1) Mérimée considers that in all probability she died of plague.
 (2) "Vemos oy puesta sin contradiccion entre las Reynas de Castilla a Dona Maria de Padilla, y a todos los Enriques

he admits, finds no proof that Fadrique was actually amongst the knights who were sent to France to form her escort. The misconduct, according to the current stories, took place on the journey from France to Castile. That however does not matter. The journey of the queen was delayed - actually, it appears, owing to questions of settlements - and for Sotomayor this is a sufficient proof of her guilt. "Coligese de la dilacion referida, y de que en todos estos dos años (an exaggeration) no se nombre Don Fadrique en la Historia de Don Pedro, como quien estaba fuera del Reyno."

Ayora y Sotomayor, like others of his kind, fatally compromised his cause not only by obvious bias, but by hopeless inaccuracy. A critic of history who assails Ayala's account of the slaying of the Rey Bermejo by arguments which prove that in his own mind he had blended into one person the two rival Moorish kings - he talks of "Mahomad, que llamaron el Bermejo", and who, although favoured by Don Pedro, had proved disloyal to him - is scarcely worthy of serious consideration. Another melancholy example of what can be produced by a lively imagination, combined with an entire lack of critical sense, is the "Historia Critica del Reinado de D. Pedro de Castilla", of Don Jose Maria Amado Salazar, published at Madrid in 1852. Here once more we find the distrust for Ayala's chronicle as being "la historia/

historia redactada por el cronista de Enrique II". In addition, to refute Ayala, Salazar has the unhappy thought of quoting against him, as the work of a rival and more reliable author, Ayala's own Abreviada version; and as a climax of absurdity refers to King Pedro as being sorely hampered by the existence of eight bastard brothers older than himself. It is true that the eighteen months difference in age between himself and the eldest of his half-brothers, the twins Enrique of Trastamara and Fadrique, Maestre de Santiago, was on occasion over-emphasized for special reasons by Don Pedro himself⁽¹⁾; but the novelistic imagination of Amado de Salazar has here certainly proved too much for his commonsense.

I have already referred to the Ensayo of Joaquin Guichot y Parodi, and to its acceptance as a satisfactory source of information by Schirrmacher, in his study on the reliability of Ayala as chronicler. To me it appears extraordinary that a work of such obviously partisan character, written by the official chronicler of Seville as his contribution to the celebrations of 1878, when the favourite city of Don Pedro was preparing to welcome home with pomp and ceremony the bones of its "novelésco y bizarro rey"⁽²⁾

(1) As for instance when appealing for help to England, through his messenger Martín López.

(2) Previously they had rested in the Museo Arqueológico of Madrid. The celebrations were unfortunately spoiled by pouring rain.

rey" should have received from the German critic such respectful consideration. To all the ancient arguments of the Castilla family, of the Conde de la Roca, of Sotomayor, etc. - that Ayala was the official chronicler of Enrique of Trastamara, and a traitor to his true king; that the queen whom he represents as guiltless was unfaithful to her husband; that Ayala's account was refuted by Juan de Castro in the "cronica veridica" - Guichot merely adds a peculiar perversity of reasoning that is all his own. He cites, for example, to discredit Ayala's account of the rising of the "grandes", what he calls the "narracion fidedigna" of the Compendio or Cuarta Cronica General. He discovers, however, that its statement that Don Pedro was for three years a prisoner in Toro is too obviously untenable. Guichot quietly discards this particular part of the Compendio narrative; but, to give himself an opportunity of taunting Ayala with the sin of concealment - "Se comprende que el porta estandarte de los traidores castellanos sustrajese el nombre de la Reina Dona Blanca de Borbon de la suma de los nombres mancillados por los atentados de Toro, por ser necesario conservarlo puro de toda mancha a fin de que causase mas honda impresion la supuesta tragedia de Medina-Sidonia"- he retains the equally questionable statement of the presence in/

in Toro of the queen. Again, in his ingenious summary (p.59) of all the crimes committed by Pedro Lopez de Ayala against the truth of history, he selects as the crowning proof of his partiality his account of the death of the Rey Bermejo. Ayala says simply that after the king was seized he was taken out with 36 of his Moors to the Tablada, and there killed, Don Pedro himself casting the first spear, with the words "Toma esto, por quanto me fecistes facer mala pleytesia con el Rey de Aragon, e perder el castillo de Ariza". Guichot complains that Ayala's account makes the king appear "verdugo que immola a sangre fria el reo condenado a muerte por sentencia de tribunal"; but he accepts complacently the narrative of Gratia Dei, in which after due deliberation it is decided that the Rey Bermejo be tied at a stake, and the king orders "que lo jugase a las cañas. E fue acordado que porque era rey, el rey D. Pedro le tirase la primera caña; pero el no lo quiso tirar caña sino una lanza que le pasó de parte a parte: e luego le fueron dadas tantas de cañadas que a penas le quedó cosa sana en el cuerpo al dicho rey Bermejo, en que luego murió." From this latter account Guichot derives proof of Pedro's kindness of heart - in desiring by using a spear to shorten his victim's agony - and devotion to the knightly/

(1) Account of Gratia Dei, given in the "Seminario Erudito" of Valladares, vol.28, p.237.

knightly practices of his day, "acaso mas exageradas o sublimadas en Castilla que en otro pais alguno, que quisieran dispensar tal honor al reo que habia ceñido una diadema a su frente."! The ingenuity of such reasoning is only equalled by the unconcerned manner in which he contradicts himself, as when, for instance, he sees in Blanche (p.115) "el jefe, el alma, el toque de asamblea" of the insurgents, a potential criminal with "instintos de condottieri", and a few pages further on contemptuously dismisses her as "un carácter tímido e irresoluto, adecuada para vivir dichosa al calor del regazo materno, pero escaso de dotes de inteligencia". Schirrmacher, who, as I have said, takes Guichot as his main authority, gives some space to discussion of differences between the two versions of Ayala's work, the Vulgar and the Abreviada, accepting Zurita's view of the date of composition without apparently noticing how that view invalidates the indictment of Ayala as the official chronicler of Trastamara. He also, however, has something to say about the mysterious rival chronicle of Juan de Castro, constantly referred to by Guichot. Schirrmacher recapitulates the whole story of the disappearance of the manuscript, actually seen, it was said, by Philip II, from the monastery of Guadalupe, and affirms that/

that it can scarcely be doubted that the chronicle did exist. Modern Spanish writers, as we shall see, seem rather inclined to drop the matter altogether; and ⁽¹⁾ if the fragment, quoted by Guichot as taken from the lost manuscript and preserved in certain 'Memorias del Rey Pedro el Cruel' is a fair sample of its contents, it would appear that the history of the Bishop of Jaen could in any case be no serious rival to that of Ayala. If Juan de Castro did write a serious account of the reign of Pedro, derived from his own personal knowledge, there seems however no reason why he should not have published it if he so desired. . . . He was no timid nonentity. On his return to Castile after the long quarrel of his mistress with the Trastamaran family had been settled by the marriage of Doña Catalina to the heir of Juan I, he became, first Bishop of Jaen, then of Palencia, and proved himself a man of energy and determination. 'Fue gran defensor de la libertad Eclesiástica' says Gil Davila', y por su diligencia y la de Pedro Tenorio, arzobispo de Toledo, fue libertado la Clerencia de Castilla de pagar el tributo de las monedas."⁽²⁾ If the persistent tradition/

(1) It is the well-known anecdote of Don Pedro, after slaying his adversary in the streets of Seville, being recognized by the peculiar cracking of his knee-joints.

(2) Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Rey Don Henrique el Tercero.

tradition of his composition of some sort of record of Pedro's reign has any foundation in fact it is probable that the bishop himself, although willing to amuse himself and his friends by committing to writing some anecdotes of Don Pedro not recorded by Ayala, scarcely thought them worthy the trouble of preservation. Even for his worst assailants Ayala remains the one sure source of evidence.

II. Indictments based on modern Study of Documents.

In 1851 there appeared at Madrid an "Examen Historico-Critico del Reinado de Don Pedro de Castilla," by Don Antonio Ferrer del Rio, which, although defaced by an intolerably turgid style, did at least point the way to a more scientific method of controlling the narrative of Ayala. Ferrer del Rio studied, for comparison with the chronicles, the contemporary records of Pedro IV of Aragon and Froissart, as also the "Victorial" of Diaz de Games. He also consulted contemporary documents, and as a result has certain useful observations to make on the vexed question of the chronicle of Juan de Castro - purely imaginary, he believes - and the episode of Blanche and Don Fadrique. Sentimental tenderness in all his references to the unhappy girl - "limpia azucena arrancada por iniqua/

inícuá mano del verjel nativo" - somewhat detracts however from the intellectual force of Ferrer's arguments in her favour; and in any case he is not to be counted amongst the detractors of Ayala, whom indeed he finds "excesivamente templado". The study of contemporary documents which Ferrer del Río had thus initiated was however continued by later writers; and in the author of an interesting study on "Las Mujeres del Rey Don Pedro", published in 1910, we find a modern critic, Sr. Sitges, who, definitely hostile to Ayala "que no pierde ocasión de ennegrecer la figura de Don Pedro", bases his statements on documents actually consulted in the archives of Castile and Aragon, and assails the reliability of the chronicler from an altogether different quarter.

In the first place, Sr. Sitges discards entirely the old arguments drawn from the supposed "true chronicle" and from the infidelity of Blanche of Bourbon. Of the manuscript of Juan de Castro he has nothing to say; and he is not much concerned with the question of the queen's guilt. A comparison of dates makes it just possible, in his opinion, for Blanche and the Master of Santiago to have met before the wedding of the French princess to King Pedro. It is, however, doubtful, and the whole difficulty/

difficulty between the newly-married pair he prosaically ascribes to non-payment of the promised dowry. His accusation of Ayala is based first of all on a general charge that he habitually concealed the motives which forced the king to his frequent acts of "justicia" - a complaint already made by previous critics of the chronicler -⁽¹⁾ and secondly on two special cases of what he considers deliberate falsification of the truth by Ayala.

Ayora y Sotomayor had already roundly declared that in every case the deaths inflicted by Don Pedro were fully justified. The investigation of Sr. Sitges into letters and documents of the period has led him to the same conclusion. The case of Gutier Ferrandez de Toledo was, he admits, probably an exception, his death being due to the natural suspicions of a king hemmed in by disloyalty on every side and startled by some indiscretion to doubt even his faithful servitor. All the others deserved to die - Leonor of Aragon, who had by her stepson Pedro IV of Aragon himself been accused of a plot to make her son the Infante Fernando king of Castile; Doña Urraca de Guzman, the old lady slain "muy cruelmente" (by burning) in/

(1) cf. what Guichot says of Ayala's behaviour towards Pedro, "quitando las causas y razones que tuvo para hacer justicia; mezclando algunas verdades con muchas mentiras; y pasando en disimulacion y callando lo que era tan notorio que no se podia negar. (Ensayo).

in Seville, because for years she had been in correspondence with Aragon; even the good Archbishop of Toledo, for he "No fue leal a Don Pedro. Lo patentizan las cartas que le dirigia al Papa excitandole a continuar defendiendo a Doña Blanca, cuya parcialidad habia tomado en 1354" - although mere defence of the rights of the queen need hardly be assumed to imply treachery to the king. We might however, in reply to the suggestion that Ayala depicts the executions as mere arbitrary acts of cruelty, point out that even in his narrative the motive is fairly obvious. It is true that he permits himself a quite understandable expression of regret that the king should put to death a "muy noble señora" who was his own aunt; but throughout Leonor of Aragon appears as an intriguing woman, her son was in open warfare against Don Pedro, and if from her prison she could manage to correspond with him it was quite in character that she should do so. Doña Urraca died as a substitute for her son, who was out of Pedro's grasp; but if Ayala represents the son as an open rebel the mother may easily be supposed to have been in sympathy with him. If in certain cases he mentions the punishment without giving exact details of the offence, the general description given by Ayala of the atmosphere of constant suspicion, occasioned by too-frequent acts of glaring disloyalty, which prevailed for the last six or seven years of Pedro's rule, is as a matter/

matter of fact remarkably frank.

Sr. Sitges has, however, concentrated on two special cases, and with them we shall require to deal in detail. The first of these is the account of the Toledan rising of 1354, which afforded a much-needed colour for the movement in which the former "privado", Juan Alfonso de Albuquerque, was joined by the half-brothers of Don Pedro and later by his cousins, the Infantes of Aragon. Now if Ayala has indeed in this part of his narrative made omissions of real importance, as Sr. Sitges declares, he can certainly not be acquitted on the plea of ignorance. Toledo itself was filled with his kinsfolk; and for the story of the whole rising there was scarcely any man of his time with access to more varied sources of information than Pedro Lopez de Ayala. The knight who, in the early part of 1354, brought to the king the earliest news of the pact between Albuquerque and the bastards, was Ayala's (1) uncle, Gutierre de Zavallos. Ferrand Sanchez de Tovar, later to become his co-worker in devising harm to the coasts of England, was amongst the vassals of Albuquerque who held (2) Montalegre against the forces of Don Pedro. The knight chosen as spokesman of the revolting "grandes" in their interview with the king at Tejadillo was the Chronicler's (3) father/

(1) Cronica de Don Pedro V, 11.

(2) " " " " V, 15.

(3) " " " " V, 23.

father, Don Fernan. Young Ayala himself was present at the "vistas" in attendance on his new master the (1) Infante Fernando of Aragon; whilst amongst the fifty men who, facing the rebels, were gathered in attendance on Don Pedro, he could distinguish four who either were (2) already or later were to become his brothers-in-law. Fernan Perez de Ayala had eight daughters. Sr. Sitges is perhaps unduly imaginative in supposing that all of them, at a time when Pedro, their eldest brother, was not more than twenty-two, were old enough to pay their respects to Queen Blanche, in her refuge in the Church of Santa Maria at Toledo; but Inés at least was already married, to Dia Gomez of Toledo, (3) and in a position to know all the gossip of the city. If Ayala then has, to save his family honour or for any other reason, held back any essential facts, he cannot, obviously be acquitted of the "estudiada reserva" imputed to him in this connection by his critic.

In what respect, however, is this "studied reserve" employed to deface the facts? So far as the chief opponents/

(1) Note given by Zurita.

(2) Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza, Pero Suarez de Toledo, Diego Gomez de Toledo, Ferrand Alvarez de Toledo.

(3) Floranes gives the date of the birth of her daughter Teresa as not later than 1353.

opponents of Don Pedro are concerned, and in the general description of the rising as a whole, it is certainly not the case that Ayala attempts to palliate their action by holding back the truth. Enrique of Trastamara, in this section at least, might well complain of lack of reserve on the part of the man thought by some to be his official panegyrist. The treacherous bargain whereby, for a money payment of 200,000 maravedis, he and his twin-brother Fadrique undertook to aid Albuquerque in placing the Portuguese Infante on their brother's throne; the sanguinary revenge taken by him on the inhabitants of Colmenar; the awful massacre of Jews in Toledo when the forces of the bastards "mataron los Judios que fallaron fasta mil e docientos personas, omes e mugeres, grandes e pequenos"; The accusation of cowardice made by some when he shrank from being besieged in Gijon, "ca se rescelaba mucho del Rey" (Pedro I, VI,14); details such as these were surely, for the credit of Enrique, "sucesos que convenia callar". The abandonment of Toro, at the end of the rising, was not greatly to the credit of Don Fadrique. The ruse of Queen Maria, who took advantage of a brief absence of her son to admit into Toro the forces of the rebels, is another point which a truly unscrupulous historian, desirous of placing the king's opponents in the most favourable/

favourable light, might well have glossed over; but here again Ayala holds nothing back. As for public events in Toledo itself, it is not evident that he sins on the side of reticence. His attitude to the young queen, to be sure, differs from that of Sr. Sitges, who is inclined to impute to the girl of eighteen a political astuteness verging on treachery. For Ayala Blanche is a young and pathetic figure, a "criatura sin pecado", whose fortunes lie in the hands of Leonor de Saldaña and other energetic adherents, and whose gifts lie rather in the direction of suffering and prayer. Yet it was perhaps Ayala's very lack of reserve in telling of the arrival, to assist the queen's cause, of Fadrique, Master of Santiago, which gave some sort of basis to the scandal which linked their two names together. Ayala has no thought of concealment, again, when he informs us that in the house of Don Simuel Levi, the great treasurer of King Pedro, Fadrique "found" large sums of money, and that the queen, to her supporters outside the city, sent "la mas moneda que avia podido aver". The point which in this part of his narrative Ayala does fail to stress is, strangely enough, one he might well have made to justify his own position as a supporter of the queen, namely the constant support given to Blanche and her followers by the Pope; and/

and, although in other chronicles he makes lengthy citations from ecclesiastical documents, he has not one word to say about the excommunication of Don Pedro.

The complaint of Sr. Sitges seems however to refer to Ayala's narrative of the behaviour of the Toledans themselves, and of his own family and kinsfolk in particular. Here, he says, there has been tampering with the facts, all the more wilful in that during the period concerned the Alcalde Mayor of the city was Ayala's brother-in-law. He does not give any proof of the latter statement, however. In 1354, at least, neither the old Don Martin Ferrandez, who had been "ayo" to Alfonso XI, nor the Repostero Mayor, Gutier Ferrandez of Toledo, most faithful servant of Don Pedro, who appears as Alcalde Mayor after the old man's death, could be brother-in-law to the chronicler, although Gutier Ferrandez was connected with the Ayala family through his nephew's marriage with one of the many daughters of Don Fernan. Ayala does not mention the Alcalde Mayor for 1355, but there seems little reason to suppose that Gutier Ferrandez, again enjoying high favour with D. Pedro, had ceased to hold the position. A matter of more concern is to find out what are the sinister events which Ayala, with all his sources of information, is concealing from our view. Certainly, he does not conceal the prominent position taken by his father amongst/

amongst the rebels before the interview of Tejadillo; and it is with a certain complacency of tone that he inserts in full the speech in which as spokesman of the revolting nobles that "caballero cuerdo e bien razonado" lectures his sovereign on the evil of his ways. The movements of Fernan, a mere caballero, after the king's imprisonment and escape from Toro, and the final breaking-up, owing to jarring interests, of that ill-assorted company which for a brief moment had represented the interests of the queen residing in the Alcazar of Toledo, are naturally not detailed in a chronicle revolving round the figure of the king. If however he returned to his native Toledo there can be little doubt that with his faculty for recognizing the winning side Fernan was one of those caballeros of Toledo who, going out to speak with Enrique of Trastamara and the Maestre at the bridge of San Martin, urged them with nervous politeness to refrain from further championship of their city and the queen (Cronica de D. Pedro VI, 6). Now that the Infantes of Aragon and other great lords had abandoned the cause and joined the king, they argued, for Toledo too "les cumplia traer con el Rey algunas buenas maneras de sosiego, para dar lugar al bien, e non poner los fechos en otra porfia." The arguments are given in such detail as to suggest that Ayala is/

is here putting up a defence; but it is not from a charge of disloyalty to the king that he is defending the faction of compromise. He is providing rather a salve for consciences uneasy at their purpose of abandoning the queen. As for possible misconduct on the part of Ayala himself, his brothers, cousins, uncles, or enormous marriage connection, the most relevant consideration is that from the moment of Blanche's arrival at Toledo in August 1354 to its capture by her husband in May 1355 Ayala makes no attempt to conceal the fact that the city was split into two warring factions, in which households were divided against themselves and even brothers were at variance with brothers. Even in the family of Pedro Lopez de Ayala such may well have been the case, if the Juan Sanchez de Ayala who appears with several of Ayala's brothers-in-law in attendance on the king at Tejadillo was the younger brother, and not merely the cousin of the chronicler. In his account of the final struggle for possession of the city, if Ayala refrains from naming the "algunos caballeros" who, tricking the faction favourable to the king, admitted Enrique of Trastamara and the Maestre into the city over the Alcantara bridge, and thus gave occasion for hideous plunder and massacre in the Jewish quarter (VI,6), he is on the other hand equally vague in his reference to the "algunos caballeros/

caballeros que tenian ya la partida del Rey" and who retaliated by sending word to the king of the passage over the dry sluice-gates (VI,7). The one occasion when Ayala departs from his system of anonymity is when he has occasion to commend for outstanding bravery four knights who defended a bridge-tower against the artillery of the king (VI,8). It would seem, then, that any "studied reserve" in Ayala's depiction of the events in Toledo during the period mentioned springs from no desire to distort the facts of history, but rather from a natural disinclination to awaken old bitterness best forgotten.

Sr. Sitges blames Ayala for making no mention of the "Indulto general" granted by Pedro to the inhabitants of Toledo the day after his entry. Such an omission, however, is not necessarily a proof of ill faith on the part of the chronicler. On several occasions Ayala refers to individuals to whom the king had granted pardon, but he probably took for granted the general amnesty, a measure of obvious necessity in the circumstances. Toro still remained as a centre of revolt, and it was a mere matter of policy to leave the way open for the general mass of Blanche's former supporters in Toledo to return as soon as possible to their normal acquiescence in Pedro's rule. The real interest for a contemporary, especially for one who had himself taken part in the rising, lay not in any vague general formula/

formula of pardon, but in the very real and specific exceptions to such an amnesty. Ayala and his father had been present, on the wrong side, at Tejadillo. From his narrative it is possible to trace the after-career of some thirty-five of the fifty men who accompanied the Infante Fernando on that occasion. Many of them are mentioned amongst the knights of Don Pedro in his struggles with the Moors or with Aragon, and some, like Ayala himself and his father, reached positions of trust. It would appear then that the policy of a general amnesty had been followed out by Pedro not only at Toledo, but in his treatment of former opponents in other parts of his realm. Yet of those whose later fortunes can be traced ten at least were, sooner or later, put to death by Pedro for their share in the rising. It was to no general formula of pardon that a man in a position like theirs would look for protection, but to such definite terms as he could make for himself with the king; and Ayala, in writing of the Toledan rising, is concerned with individuals. The exceptions to the general pardon were perhaps not more numerous than had been expected - twenty-two burgesses and a few knights were put to death - but the knights, and probably some of the "hombres buenos", were known to Ayala, and one of the knights, Ferrand Sanchez de Rojos, had just won his special commendation for outstanding bravery.

Even worse than Ayala's treatment of the events at Toledo, according to Sr. Sitges, is his account of the revolt, in 1357, while Don Pedro was engaged in preparations for the war with Aragon, of Juan de la Cerda and Alvar Perez de Guzman. In this matter, says Sitges, "el rey Don Pedro ha sido villanamente calumniado, y lo que de ella dice Ayala es tal vez el mayor lunar de su Cronica". He roundly declares that "las cosas no se pasaron como dice Ayala", quotes documents from the Archives of Aragon to show how Juan de la Cerda and his brother-in-law, not content with deserting their post against Aragon, pledged themselves not only to become vassals of Aragon but also to conquer, burn, and damage to the best of their power Seville, Cordoba, Algeciras, Cadiz, Jaen, Tarifa, and resolutely dismisses Ayala's explanation of their conduct. "No hay fundamento ninguno" he declares, "para decir que cuando sucedió la traicion de la Cerda y de Alvar Perez, Don Pedro hubiese requerido de amores a Doña Aldonza". The whole episode is for him one more proof that Ayala never loses an opportunity for blackening the character of Don Pedro, and has no scruples, when it is a question of concealing the dishonour of family or friends, in falsifying the whole aspect of history.

It is a serious accusation, which becomes more serious still when we consider that the chronicler was probably on very/

very friendly terms with Alvar Perez de Guzman. In his book on the Aves de Caca Ayala refers to a highly prized falcon once in his possession; "et dile a don Alvar perez de gusman". Such a gift, from a lover of falconry like Pedro Lopez de Ayala, could not be lightly conferred; and the friendship was apparently continued to the son and grandson of Alvar Perez de Guzman, any of their exploits being certain to receive place and commendation in the chronicles. (Pedro I, XIX,4 and Juan I, VII,9). It is all the more necessary to examine carefully in what way private friendship affects, if it affects at all, Ayala's presentment of the facts.

Sitges, to prove the treachery of the leaders of the abortive revolt, cites a letter from Pedro IV of Aragon to Enrique of Trastamara which shows that Alvar Perez de Guzman and Juan de la Cerda were actually in command on the Aragonese frontier against the forces of Juan Martinez de Luna; but Ayala also states this quite clearly. The two men had been left by the king he says, "por fronteros en una villa que dicen Seron en la frontera de Aragon". Sitges quotes the articles of the treaty whereby "considerando que por quanto que el Rey de Castilla, llevado de demasiada severidad y ferocidad y sin causa alguna racional, se empeñaba y empaña e dar muerte a los nobles varones Juan, hijo/

hijo del noble varon Luis, segun los mismos nobles aseveran⁽¹⁾, the king of Aragon obtained the promise of the two nobles to abandon their Castilian nationality, to become vassals of Aragon, and to make relentless war on their former king. Ayala says nothing of any previous attempt on the past of Don Pedro on the lives of his two great vassals, nor on the other hand does he make any reference to the formal declaration of La Cerda that he renounced his allegiance to Castile. He tells how the two "fronteros" abandoned their post and went south to Andalucia; how the "concejos" of Seville and the other towns of the south were warned by the king to take measures for defence; how in Gibrleon Juan de la Cerda gathered together forces to harry the district round Seville, whilst Alvar Perez de Gusman, more prudent or less brave, retired to Aragon; and how in set battle with the forces of Castile Juan de la Cerda was taken prisoner, soon to be put to death by Pedro's orders despite the efforts of his beautiful wife, who arrived too late with the letters of reprieve.

In the outline of actual events then set down by Ayala, there is little if anything which even in this disputed point is not fully corroborated by the documents consulted by Sr. Sitges. The difference is to be found in the interpretation/

(1) Sitges: "Las Mujeres del Rey Don Pedro", p.227 onwards.

interpretation of the events. In this case the fault of Ayala seems to lie not so much in the concealment of motive on the part of the king as in the provision of some sort of explanation of the conduct of the two rebels. It must be admitted that Ayala does appear in this case desirous of palliating their action. He does not indeed commit himself to any personal expression of belief in the excuse they urged. "La razon decian que era esta: ca les dixieron por cierto que el Rey queria tomar la muger de Don Alvar Perez, que era Doña Aldonza Coronel⁽¹⁾"; and he was probably quite conscious of the incongruity of a husband in the supposed plight of Alvar Perez de Guzman sending his wife in person to secure his pardon from the king. The fact however that the explanation is given at all, even in the non-committal fashion of Ayala, and set down moreover in a conspicuous place immediately after the statement of the revolt, does suggest on the part of the chronicler an unwillingness to allow a friend to appear in the role of traitor without provocation. In this provision of an excuse for the disloyalty of Alvar Perez de Guzman, and in the acridity of tone with which he refers to the uselessness of the reprieve granted on the petition of the/

(1) It will be observed that even in the explanation of the culprits Pedro is not accused of any offence actually committed - merely of a contemplated act of dishonour.

the wife of Juan de la Cerda - "el rey sabia bien que antes que la dicha Dona Aldonza, muger de Don Juah de la Cerda, llegase a Sevilla, seria Don Juan ^mMuerto" - we have an indication that Pedro Lopez de Ayala, as a contemporary of the events he describes, was in his interpretation of them affected by the usual human motives of friendship or dislike. We have no proof that even in this conflict of the claims of friendship and of truth he deliberately set down as fact anything which he definitely knew to be untrue. Wrongful interpretation of motive on the part of any chronicler reflects however so seriously on the credibility of his whole narrative that it is necessary at this point to examine more closely the attitude adopted throughout by Ayala in his comments on and representation of the conduct of Pedro I.

CHAPTER VI.

Personal Attitude of Ayala towards Pedro I.

Evidence of the Chronicle.

It must be borne in mind, when we read the attacks made on Ayala by assailants of the 16th and 17th centuries in particular, that his attitude towards the whole idea of monarchy was entirely different from theirs. By the time of the Catholic monarchs the doctrine of the divine right of kings had already become so rigid that Hernando del Pulgar merely expressed a general opinion when he declared that subjects must not be judges of their king, because "si los Reyes son ungidos por Dios en las tierras, no se debe creer que sean sujetos al juicio humano los que son puestos por la voluntad divina". (Cron.de D. Fernando e Dona Isabel, Ia 1). For Ayala, however, although obedience is due to kings as a result of their position, that position may be forfeited by acts of tyranny. In the substitution of Enrique of Trastamara for his brother he sees a renewal of the ancient Gothic custom of electing a king chosen by the people; and many of his day no doubt echoed with approval his blunt comment/

(1) Compare the view of Diego de Valera in the following century. "No era cosa nueva en los Reynos de Castilla e de Leon, los nobles e pueblos dellos elegir rey e deponello, lo cual por canonicas autoridades se podria bien probar." Memorial de Diversas Hazanas, cap.XXVIII.

comment in the "Gobierno de la Republica" (Rimado, 235).

"El que bien a su pueblo gobierna e defiende,
Este rey verdadero; tírese el otro dende."

This being the view of Ayala, it might be expected that his comments on the behaviour of Don Pedro would be both free and plentiful. As a matter of fact, until the time of the war with Aragon at least, comments of any kind are rare. It should once more be emphasized that, their share in the abortive rising on behalf of Blanche once over and condoned, the interests of the Ayalas, father and son, were bound up with the cause of Don Pedro, and that their accession to the side of Enrique of Trastamara was too tardy to bring them any very glittering rewards. If Ayala fails to display in any part of his narrative actual enthusiasm for his first master he did not at any rate deliberately blacken him to enhance the virtues of his successor; and examination of the chronicle of Pedro reveals on Ayala's part not only an appreciation of the obvious qualities of the king - his physical bravery and amazing energy - but a very real understanding of the difficulties which from the first surrounded him.

Unlike some critics, who have ascribed to the lad of not quite sixteen a boundless capacity for either good or evil, according to their sympathies, Ayala represents/

represents the young Pedro, up to the time of his disastrous marriage, as in the main a spectator of the deeds carried out in his name. His chief interest was the chase - "Non se entremetia de ningunos libramientos, si non de andar a caza con falcones garceros e altaneros" - and although Ayala does not fail to record the young king's brutal question to his half-brother Tello⁽¹⁾ after the murder of the latter's mother, he cites in addition, in the course of his narrative, occasional⁽²⁾ examples of decent feeling and even of magnanimity on the part of Don Pedro. In the troubles which followed the king's violent ending of his period of tutelage, by his desertion, two days after the wedding, of the French bride forced on him by Albuquerque and the Queen-mother, Ayala's attitude still reveals comprehension if not sympathy. The chronicler himself was a partisan of Blanche. If he ever in later years heard the stories which blackened her name, he obviously dismissed them as unworthy even of refutation. For him the queen was "sin/

(1) Cronica de D. Pedro I, II,4. Sabeis como vuestra madre es muerto?

(2) As, for instance, when he ordered the corpse of Garci Laso to be lifted up out of the way of further mangling by the bulls, (Pedro I), or his setting free of Martin Abarca (Pedro I, VII,2), which "plogo mucho a los caballeros que estaban con el Rey."

"sin pecado", too young and innocent to play an active part in intrigues even in her own defence. "Todo este fecho de la Reyna Dona Blanca", he says, "por quanto aun era ella muy moza, ca non avia mas de diez e ocho años estonce, tratábala una duena que era su aya." No misconduct on the part of the queen, then, condoned in Ayala's eyes her humiliating desertion by Don Pedro; but on the other hand the chronicler, who as we know from his nephew, "amó mucho mugeres, mas que a tan sabio caballero como el convenia", had an almost equal tenderness for the supplanter of the unhappy Blanche. In his references to Maria de Padilla we find nowhere any hint of the virago of the romances who gloats over the downfall of her foes - a depiction of Maria which won the cordial approval of Diaz de Games, who in the Victorial represents Albuquerque as refusing to entrust himself to the presence of Don Pedro because, as he says, "Sé que la puta de Dona Maria jugando está agora con mi cabeza ante el Rey". For Ayala Maria de Padilla was always a "dueña muy buena"; and this appreciation of her good qualities must have aided him to a thorough understanding of the king's plight. It is indeed a remarkable fact that although Pedro Lopez de Ayala and his father were both, during the troubles which culminated,

culminated at Toro, in the opposite camp from their king, it is in his depiction of Don Pedro's enemies at that period that he shows himself most severe. Enrique of Trastámara and his brother, entrusted by the king with the command against Albuquerque, betraying their too-confiding brother for money; Queen Maria opening the gates of Toro to the enemies of her son; the king's captors squabbling over the spoils of office; Leonor of Aragon and her sons conniving, for handsome bribes of towns and fortresses, at Pedro's escape from Toro - all this makes up a picture sufficiently sordid. In Ayala's account, moreover, the king's position as a prisoner at Toro appears as not only intolerably humiliating, but actually dangerous. Don Pedro, cut off from all intercourse with friends, and guarded by a chamberlain of so unprecedentedly exalted rank as his own brother Fadrique, Master of Santiago, feared that this close confinement was merely a prelude to something worse. "Avia el Rey miedo" says Ayala, "que tales cosas como estas non se facian salvo por venir a peor que esto". It is small wonder that when Ayala later comes to tell of the slaying by Pedro of the brother who/

(1) Pedro I, V,36. "Tales oficios siempre los ovieron Caballeros llanos, e nunca tan grand senor como el Maestre de Santiago fuera Camarero Mayor."

who had thus acted as his gaoler he finds it unnecessary to state any definite new motive for the act other than a vague reference on the King's part to 'algunas cosas en que se' que anda contra mi servicio.' His whole narrative implies that the death of Fadrique (1) was merely a tardy revenge; and for Ayala at least any additional motive, such as plotting on the part of the Maestre with his twin brother in Aragon, must have appeared quite unnecessary.

A change in Ayala's attitude to the king may however be traced during the course of the war with Aragon which, complicated as it was by the presence in Aragonese service of Enrique de Trastamara, was to fill, with brief intervals of truce, the last ten years, of Don Pedro's reign. This change however consists not so much in a deeper underlining of his cruelty - even in his reference to one of the worst of the king's acts, the execution in their prison of his hapless youngest brothers, Juan, aged (2) nineteen, and Pedro, a boy of only fourteen years, Ayala retains his typical brevity of comment - as in/

(1) According to Rades de Andrade, Don Pedro himself, in his embassy to England, declares that Fadrique deserved to die for his share in the events of Toro and says nothing of any conspiracy with Aragon.

(2) "Peso mucho a los que amaban servicio del Rey porque asi morieron, ca eran inocentes, e nunca erraran al Rey."

in a more insistent dwelling on Don Pedro's wrong headedness and folly in refusing good advice. During these years Ayala himself must have had frequent personal contact with the king, in whose ship he sailed as Captain of the Fleet in the great naval demonstration of 1359, and who rewarded him by making him his Alguacil Mayor at Toledo. Ayala's brother-in-law, Fernan Alvarez de Toledo, acted throughout the war as commander of the king's personal guard. The holder of the great position of Master of Santiago, left vacant by the murder of the unfortunate Fadrique in 1358, was, from the close of 1359 till after the proclamation of Enrique of Trastamara as king in 1366, Garci Alvarez de Toledo, brother of Fernan. Ayala's consequent intimate acquaintance with the gossip of the court is reflected by the increasing frequency with which he quotes in this section of his narrative actual remarks made to his intimates by Don Pedro himself, remarks introduced by such a formula as 'Segund decia despues el rey D. Pedro,' and referring in every case to schemes for the wholesale destruction of Enrique of Trastamara, his brothers Fadrique and Tello, and the two Aragonese Infantes, which for some reason or other had miscarried. Even more important, however, than his receptivity with regard to court gossip. in any attempt to comprehend Ayala's attitude/

attitude to the king, is the evidence which we find in his chronicle of a closer participation in the party divisions which were obviously to be found amongst the advisers of Don Pedro. There existed apparently a party of moderation, to which we may well imagine that Pedro Lopez de Ayala would attach himself. 'Los que amaban servicio del Rey' - the usual phrase employed to describe this section - are represented as disapproving entirely of such violent acts of retaliation as the execution of Leonor of Aragon, and as striving to dissuade the king from drastic measures against Castilian refugees in Aragon. Their mild counsels, which in any case, as Ayala himself indicates, must have been timidly enough proffered after the terrorism of 1360, went unheeded by Don Pedro; and Ayala finds balm for wounded pride by exclaiming in his own fashion 'I told you so!' 'El no los quiso creer' exclaims the chronicler, annoyed at the folly of his lord, 'e despues fallo que non la ficiera bien, e le tovo grand daño.'

The rather carping criticism of Don Pedro's conduct of the war itself, in its later stages, which reveals in Ayala's part rather a desire to display his own knowledge of military theory than a real attempt/

attempt to make clear to the reader the difficulties of the situation, also contains one striking example of this somewhat complacent reviewing of the melancholy consequences of ignoring good advice. In the year 1360 the raid made into Castilian territory by Enrique of Trastamara had met with spirited resistance on the part of the king and his troops. The invader had been driven into the town of Najera. The obvious step was to press the advantage thus gained, storm the town, and by capturing the count rid Castile for ever of the menace to her borders; but unfortunately Don Pedro was superstitious. "Como quier que todos los mas de los suyos de decian e consejaban" - the forcible repetition reveals intense annoyance - "que cercase al Conde e avrie esta guerra", the ill-omened encounter of a weeping ~~smn~~ on the road leading to Najera was sufficient to deter the king from following the advice. "E esto" concludes Ayala righteously, "era como decimos voluntad de Dios que el Conde non fuese tomado segund lo que parescio, e quiso Dios ordenar del." The pious pastime of tracing in each mistake of King Pedro the mysterious workings/

- (1) Cronica de D. Pedro, XI, 10. It is interesting to note the suggestion of the Victorial that Enrique's escape was connived at by some members of the entourage of the king. "Dixieron algunos que fuera preso, si algunos delos que venian con el rey quisieran: mas que le dejaron ir."

workings of Providence was to be indulged in a generation later not only by those who, like Ayala, finally abandoned a sinking ship, but even by numbers of families which, like the Niño house, stuck by their lawful king to the end. As early as 1363, however, anxiety about the succession came to complicate the forebodings of ambitious men. Hopes centred on the little Alfonso, Pedro's only son by Maria de Padilla and declared by him his legitimate successor, were dashed by the child's death in October 1362. For his Mayordomo, Garci Alvarez de Toledo, a connection of Ayala by marriage, the blow must have been severe. With the disappearance the following year of the nearest legitimate male relative of the king, the Infante Fernando of Aragon, slain in his own brother's court 'con consejo' Ayala says 'del conde Don Enrique', the position of Enrique of Trastamara must have appeared in a very different light even to the sticklers for legality. King Pedro did, it is true, cause his subjects to swear in Cortes fealty to his three daughters by Maria de Padilla; but it must have occurred to many, especially to those who by their old championship of Blanche of Bourbon had expressed their disbelief in Maria's claim to/

to be Pedro's lawful wife, that an adult brother, even if a bastard, might be no worse a successor than a nine-year old girl of doubtful legitimacy.

It is significant that from this time Ayala betrays a growing readiness not only to accept but to give in detail stories prejudicial to the king. In his narrative of the events of 1365, for instance, he reports, in addition to Pedro's whole-sale massacre of the crews of five Catalan galleys - probably accepted as a mere incident of naval warfare, of the type usual in Ayala's day and practised by his own nephew, Diego de Mendoza, who as admiral of Spain in 1397⁽¹⁾ threw into the sea four hundred captured Portuguese - the heinous story of the king's treacherous conduct towards Don Juan Martinez, parleying under a safe-conduct, and the further rumours which told how poison was rubbed into the unhappy man's wounds by the surgeons at the command of Don Pedro, and how poison also was responsible for the death in the same year of Don Martin Gil de Albugurque, son of the great 'privado' of/

(1) An exploit condemned by Gil Gonzalez Davila, in his *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Rey Don Henrique el Tercero*.

of the first years of the reign. The references increasingly frequent, to that 'codicia, raiz de todos los males del mundo', which Ayala represents as now the ruling force in all Don Pedro's acts, and the repeated assertions that the whole realm of Castile was weary of war, suggest on the part of Ayala an impatience for the end of it all. No doubt he was but one of many moderate men, still, through old habit and a lingering preference for being technically in the right, loyal in deed to their king, who were now beginning to contemplate without abhorrence an ultimate pact with the Trastamaran function, whenever Don Pedro himself should furnish them with a justification for their deed.

The southward flight of Don Pedro before the invaders in March 1366 provided the moderates, as we know, with the pretext they had been awaiting. At Burgos, in solemn assembly, what might fairly be described as a representative body of the nation, recalling - consciously or unconsciously - the elective customs of their Gothic fore-fathers, crowned as king of Castile, in place of the man who 'de su propia voluntad los desamparo e se fue', Enrique, once count of Trastamara. Never/

Never before that day does Ayala, a true stickler for correctness and legality, refer to Enrique in any other fashion than 'el conde'. The day of the coronation at Burgos marked for him the beginning of a new epoch. 'De aqui adelante', explains the chronicler, 'en esta cronica (Don Enrique) se llama rey.'

For Ayala the attempt to cling to any lingering shreds of loyalty to Don Pedro was in 1366 definitely over. Things had sadly changed since the days when the youthful captain of the fleet marked with appreciation the warlike enthusiasm and vigour of a king who, young like himself, was moreover 'ome de grand corazon e de grand bollicio, e amaba siempre guerras.' Even in 1366, however, if the choice had lain between the Trastamaran and a Pedro miraculously reformed by attention to counsels such as those laid down in the first Benahatin letter, there is little doubt what Ayala's action would have been. After his long years in the service of Don Pedro he could not at once mingle in whole-hearted comradeship with those followers of Enrique of Trastamara who, by their scandalous/

(1)

scandalous tales about Don Pedro's birth, branded all in that service either as the dupes of a Jewish inter-loper or as accomplices in a felony. The elevation of Enrique II he must have viewed with resignation rather than enthusiasm; and despite the unusual picturesqueness of his description of the siege of Cordoba in 1361[?] by Don Pedro and his infidel ally of Granada, where Ayala seems to accept the Trastamaran idea of Pedro as a heretic, enemy of the true faith, we find in his rendering of the final scene definite proof of his lack of sympathy with Pedro's slayer.

Even the Englishman Geoffrey Chaucer is not more severe on the treacherous ruse of Du Guesclin, which brought the 'worthy Petro, glorie of Spayne' to his piteous death, than is Pedro Lopez de Ayala; and no attempt/

(1) The one hint that Ayala even recognised the existence of such tales may be found in the form of a discreet contradiction in the first Benahatin letter. Referring to the rebellion just punished at Najera, the Moorish sage remarks 'Non la ovieron de facer por mengua de vuestra hidalguia, nin por vos non ser pertenesciente a Senorio Real.'

(2) In the Monk's Tale 'O noble, o worthy Petro, glorie of Spayne,
Whom fortune heeld so hye in magestie
Wel oghten men thy piteous deeth complayne!
Out of thy land thy brother made thee flee,
And after, at a seege, by subtiltee
Thou wert bitrayesed and lad into 'his
tente/

attempt is made in Ayala's chronicle to conceal the murderous part played by Enrique himself, when, fully armed and warned, he awaited his unarmed foe, and, when his brother overpowered, lay at his mercy on the ground, stabbed him with repeated blows.

From the evidence of his own attitude to Don Pedro unconsciously supplied by Ayala himself it is possible to draw one or two important conclusions with regard to his reliability as a chronicler of fact. In the first place, it must be admitted that he cannot be correctly described as unbiassed in his view of the events. He cannot even be regarded as filled with a truly scientific ardour for pure fact as distinguished from mere probability. His acceptance, in the final version of his chronicle, of rumours popularly accepted, concerning the poisoning by Don Pedro of certain of his foes, show a somewhat easy standard of the duties of the chronicler. If Ayala's claim to tell the whole truth as he knew it was to be substantiated it/

(2) tente,
 Whereas he with his owene hand slew thee
 Succeeding in thy regne and in thy rente.'
 Then follows a description of the arms of Du Guesclin, who
 'brew this cursednesse and all this synne.'

it was his business to sift out the false from the true; and despite his occasional explanation that he is merely repeating rumours he leaves the reader on occasion under the impression that it was an easy matter for Ayala himself to believe what was to the discredit of his master. Deliberate falsification, however, cannot in fairness be imputed to him; and it is no difficult matter for a reader, free from the natural prejudices of a contemporary, to make out from Ayala's own representation of the facts some sort of defence for the Rey Justiciero himself. In such critical points as the deaths of Gutier Ferrandez de Toledo and of the Rey Bermejo Ayala, with a true sense of fairness, does not fail to give in sufficient detail Pedro's own explanation of his conduct. It is obvious that the explanation does not meet with acceptance on the part of Ayala himself, but at least the reader is given liberty to form his own opinion. When we turn to the rhetoric of a historian like Mariana, with his fulminations against the/

- (1) It is interesting to note that in his history of the Military Orders dedicated to Philip II, the king who is by some supposed to have rehabilitated the memory of Don Pedro, Rades y Andrada is much more severe on Pedro than Ayala, definitely ascribing to his orders the death of Leonor de Guzman, credited by Ayala to the queen-mother Maria.

the 'carnicera, cruel y fiera bestia,' Don Pedro, the moderation of the contemporary Ayala seems surprising; and perhaps the final proof of his true reliability as a chronicler of his own times is the fact that even for their indictment of his character as man and as historian, it is in the pages of his own *Cronica de Don Pedro* that his assailants have found the weapons which they have turned against him. If the instinct of the white-washers of the *Rey Justiciero* was nevertheless true, and if in Ayala the cruel king has found indeed his most deadly foe, it is not because of any special bias on the chronicle's part against Don Pedro or in favour of his supplanter. The real enemy of King Pedro's reputation was that narrative gift which to this day, on the book stalls of modern Spain, causes distorted versions of Ayala's chronicle of Pedro the First to be sold in gaudy covers as the enthralling story of 'Don Pedro el Cruel.'

CHAPTER VII.

The remaining Chronicles.

The dramatic nature of the story of Don Pedro's reign, and especially its tragic end, ensured the speedy propagation of his chronicle even beyond the borders of Castile. It was otherwise with those of the three succeeding kings. Ayala himself, in his account of Pedro's successor, seems to have suffered from a sense of flatness and even dullness, in acute contrast with the poignant interest of the previous reign. His equivocal position may have had something to do with his failure to make of the *Cronica de Enrique II* anything but an incomplete and singularly bleak outline. It is concerned mainly with events occurring in the north of Spain, in Navarre, and in France. The affairs of the southern part of Spain are passed over in complete silence, and the troubles with Portugal, Aragon, and Navarre, are given in the barest fashion. Only in recounting matters of special interest to genealogists and lawyers - such as the claim of the Countess of Alencon to Lara and Vizcaya, and the negotiations about the postponement of the marriage of the Infante Juan to Leonor of Aragon - or events in which Ayala was personally interested, such as his own embassy to Aragon, the conference with the messengers of Urban VI held in Toledo when he was *Alcalde Mayor*/

Mayor, and the campaign of the Infante Juan against Navarre, in which he apparently took part, does the narrative expand beyond the proportions of a bare summary. In general the chapters are merely brief paragraphs, there is no attempt whatsoever at adornment, and the whole *Cronica de Enrique II* appears in fact merely a series of jottings, which may be practically left out of account in estimating the importance of Ayala as an historian.

The *Cronica de Juan I* is in a different category. The reign of that well-meaning but unlucky king is told in great detail, each year being allotted on an average about two thirds of the space devoted to a year of the reign of Don Pedro, and it is obvious that for Ayala himself the record was full of interest. His attitude to the sickly but obstinate Juan is naturally different from that adopted towards Juan's father, and especially from that of the chronicler with regard to Don Pedro. In presence of their terrible master, when he condescended to explain his motives for putting one of his great officers to death, Pedro's councillors had nothing to say except to agree humbly that "todo lo que facia era bien fecho". In the council of Juan I Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala, a statesman of long experience in affairs, whose natural caution and hatred of drastic action had been intensified by mingling with men of different races, and especially by his/

his years in France, does not scruple to indicate very plainly disapproval of many of the acts of his sovereign. In his speech on the matter of the troublesome Count Alfonso, in the very important expostulation addressed to Juan I on the occasion of his proposed abdication, and in other discourses, Ayala speaks in accents of authority, and before the disaster of Aljubarrota, when he is advising the king about the ordering of the battle the cool commonsense of his remarks strikes an ironical contrast with the chivalric nonsense of the "omes maneebos". The chronicler who could spare a whole chapter in his account of Pedro's victory at Najera to hold up to admiration the attitude of the great "Mosen Beltran de Claquin" towards his ransom, and another to the question as to whether the Marechal d'Andreghem was a false knight or not, is here so engaged on prosaic but important matters of fact that he has no time to devote to such fine theorizing. In the eighteen years which divided Aljubarrota from Najera Ayala had interested himself in the art of war, and now possessed very definite theories which, however, approved by wary old soldiers of fortune, have little resemblance to the ideals of the novels of chivalry. Later, when in the last year of his life Juan I invented the "devisas" of the Espiritu Sancto for knights and the "Rosa" for squires Ayala dismisses the proposed institution in a brief paragraph/

paragraph with a somewhat condescending "Todo esto lo fizo con muy buena entencion." (Cron.de Juan I, XII,18). The interest of the Lanzarote and Amadis, never for him more than a literary distraction, has faded before the absorbing nature of his diplomatic and political activities.

Throughout the whole chronicle the influence of France is very evident. Ayala's stay in that country, between 1381 and 1384, besides being of material advantage to his worldly position, had provided him with standards of comparison to which he is constantly referring. In the matter of the schism, for example, he considers the definite declaration of Juan I in favour of Clement VII too precipitate. He prefers the cautious attitude of France and the saving clause "si no fuereamos en otra manera debida informados." (Cronica de Juan I, III,1). In the discussion which arose over the course to be adopted with regard to the troublesome Count Alfonso, he refers with approval to a precedent established by King John of France for the trial of the king of Navarre (Juan I, VII,5). Even the military advice given by Ayala and the older counsellors to the king before Aljubarrota is reinforced by reference to the approval of their views by the old French knight, "Mosen Juan de Ruz"; and in his annual survey of European events the item he selects as of special interest is generally one affecting France. It would be strange indeed if such an absorbing interest in the affairs of/

of the northern power left no traces on Ayala's literary work; and there can be no doubt that the more intimate knowledge of French acquired during his service as the ⁽¹⁾ Spanish envoy heightened his enjoyment of the work of Livy which, known to him perhaps in a fragmentary fashion in the original, became one of his favourite studies in the French translation of Bersuire. If in fact the influence of Livy makes itself felt anywhere in the work of Ayala, it is in the chronicle of Juan I. Again and again, in the constant debates and reasoned discussions of the consejo, we find in the setting forth of opposing policies theories of statesmanship in which it is possible to distinguish the bias of the seemingly impartial writer -- the approved view, generally that inclining to less drastic action, being given in great detail while the contrary one is briefly summarized. Throughout the narrative, again, we find occurring with greater frequency psychological explanation of motives, as for instance in the reason adduced for the unfavourable impression made on the ⁽²⁾ Portuguese by Juan I; and the effect of closer study of the/

- (1) His knowledge of French included technical terms in falconry, as is shown in the "Libro de las Aves de Caza", and also homely proverbial expressions. cf. Rimado, 289 "Ca, segunt dizen en Francia, mucho es de rrebtar Aquel que se entremete de anseres ferrar."
- (2) "Otrosi non se contentaban del Rey, por quanto era ome de pocas palabras." (Cronica de Juan I, IV, 11).

the classics is seen even more obviously in some carefully constructed speeches.

Before examining these speeches in detail we may note one somewhat regrettable omission. In the year 1389 Ayala and two companions were engaged in settling the negotiations between Juan I and John of Gaunt for the renunciation of the latter's claim to Castile and the marriage of his daughter to Juan's heir. The wedding had taken place, but a hitch had occurred in the settlements agreed upon.⁽¹⁾ We might have expected, in a matter of such importance, and from an orator of Ayala's gifts, a well-rounded oration. The account of the interviews is as a matter of fact brief, the mere substance of the negotiations being given. Possibly the bad temper of the duke on this occasion, and the frequent negatives the Castilian envoys were compelled to give to his suggestions, created an atmosphere unfavourable for Ayala's calm and reasoned style of argument.

The first long speech in the chronicle of Juan I is that in which Ayala himself answers the appeal made to his consejo by that monarch, then on the eve of his unlucky Portuguese expedition, for advice about the best disposal of his brother Count Alfonso (Cron.de Juan I, VII,5).

One/

(1) For a letter referring to payments, see Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de Espana, No.51, pp.39-46.

One party had advised drastic action. Ayala, in a highly moralizing strain, begins by advising the king to face any danger rather than do anything prejudicial to his reputation, and quotes approvingly the maxim that "debe sufrir ome qualquier peligro, aunque sea de muerte, que es el mas duro que ser pueda, que facer cosa mala nin fea." He then goes on to quote at length the examples of some of the king's own predecessors who found by bitter experience that such acts not only damaged their reputation, but brought upon themselves "grandes deservicios". Beginning with Alfonso the Learned himself he then, in a series of paragraphs each introduced by "Otro sí, Señor" cites instance after instance in each succeeding reign of violent action followed by inevitable troubles. Finally, with great emphasis, he warns the king of the bad impression which would be caused outside Castile by any similar act of violence, and proposes as a practical solution a form of trial, devised in France, which would ensure for the accused complete justice, and if necessary suitable punishment, and for the king the credit in the eyes of the world of having kept "todo lo que debes de derecho e justicia."

The other important speeches belong to the last year of Juan's reign, and were delivered at the Cortes of Guadalajara, where the king caused a sensation by his proposal to abdicate, in order to press more freely his claim/

claim to the throne of Portugal. The country was to be left to a child king, with a committee of bishops, knights, and representatives of the cities, to carry on the work of government. The occasion was critical, and the long speech which embodies the unanimous opinion of the consejo, and which was probably delivered by the chronicler himself, is constructed with special care. A highly worked up piece of literature, it presents once more the characteristic appeal to reason, history, and public opinion, and the equally characteristic absence of any emotionalism. The arrangement is methodical. The speech opens with a detailed review of the king's proposed arrangements, and a plain declaration that in the view of the consejo they are impossible, "por las razones que aqui diremos". These are -- firstly, historical proofs of the evils and loss caused by just such divisions of territory as Juan had been contemplating between himself and his son, proofs set down in Ayala's usual systematic fashion in separate paragraphs with the usual opening "Otrosi, Señor". Next comes an appeal to commonsense. If Juan, in full possession of his realm, failed in his previous Portuguese venture, he is little likely to succeed after divesting himself voluntarily of the greater part of his power. He cannot look for assistance to the son whom he is putting in his own place "Ca entre los Reyes e Principes, por la grand/

grand cobdicia de grandes Regnos e Senorios que han, se olvidan los deudos, e muchos exemplos e estorias leemos desto". Those parts of the Castilian realm which he proposes to retain in his own possession will certainly object to being transferred to Portugal, and even in his choice of these possessions there is a lack of foresight, since between Vizcaya on the one hand and Seville and the Frontera on the other lies the whole of Castile, and the Vizcaynos, "omes a sus voluntades", will without a doubt refuse to carry their appeals so far south as Seville. The collection of his revenues in such circumstances will be practically impossible. Again, in the absence of an adult ruler difficulties of government will be overwhelming "porque muchos omes en un regimiento nunca se acuerdan como cumple" - a truth to be only too evident a little later in the minority of Juan's son Enrique III, which the chronicler was no doubt remembering as he wrote his narrative - and even the majority of the new monarch will bring dangers of its own when the latter realizes how his inheritance has been maimed. Thirdly comes the usual appeal to public opinion, which in the literary version at least of that speech to which Juan I listened with such gloomy countenance "que non avia y ninguno de los del Consejo que se non espantase" is certainly forcible enough. It is actually suggested that Juan's action will be/

be attributed by foreign kings and princes, to cowardice; "dirian que era mengua de corazon". In conclusion the speaker, falling back once more on the argument based on the difficulties which Juan's action is bound to create in the task of governing the land, asks emphatically how a council without any controlling head can be expected to keep order at all, when Juan I himself, of full age and good understanding, respected by his subjects and advisers, is unable to suppress completely certain "yerros" caused by conflicting interests in his own council. The new king, the speech goes on to point out, will not according to Roman law be fully responsible even for his own actions till he attains the age of twenty-five, and in the interval who is to control the "grandes caballeros"? "Si guerra viniere al Regno" says Ayala, "los grandes Senores, ¿cómo querran ir por ordenamiento e mandamiento de los otros? Creemos, Senor, que non lo faran."

The allusion in the last paragraph to the politics of the Italian republics, and the comparison taken from the life of the hive - "aun naturalmente vemos que de las abejas uno solo es principe e regidor" - were possibly embellishments added later to heighten the literary effect of the chronicle published in Ayala's old age, and sit rather awkwardly on the otherwise unadorned frame-work of the/

the speech. Even in his choice of embellishment Ayala's bent is obvious. It is to political philosophy, not to sentiment, that he turns for the adornment of his work.

In his attack on the king's proposed abdication, we have already found some indication of Ayala's views on good government, views elaborated in that section of his "Rimado" dedicated to "El gobierno de la Republica". The hard-hitting speech delivered at the same Cortes of Guadalajara in defence of the practice existent in some districts of Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa, and Alava, whereby certain tithes were collected by laymen, gives Ayala an opportunity of attacking in no measured terms some aspects of the church of his day. The representative chosen by the caballeros to express their point of view is in the Cronica de Juan I anonymous, but whether the speech was pronounced by the noted orator Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Merino Mayor de Guipuzcoa, in person, or by another, is of no great importance. There can be no doubt that it represents, and in a much more personal manner than anywhere else in Ayala's work, his views on a matter so nearly affecting his personal interests. The tone is less stately and controlled than in the other speeches, and - a rare thing in Ayala - there is a direct appeal to feeling. The tithes in question, says the speaker, in reply to the complaint of the bishops, were/

were originally contributions paid to the ancestors of the privileged caballeros for expenses arising from their services against the Moors. In the districts concerned the priests were to begin with merely chaplains supported by the leaders for the benefit of their followers. This argument is enriched with the usual historical allusions and special references to ancestors of Juan I himself, "reyes muy nobles, e de buena e limpia vida", who had themselves without qualms of conscience received such tithes. Next comes a remarkably vigorous direct attack on the temporal power of the church, not allowed in the Old Testament scheme, doubtfully, permissible in the New Testament order - "todos tienen que si así lo han, es porque los decretales e los tales mandamientos fechos, los hicieron clérigos en favor de ellos" - and prejudicial always to good religion. The behaviour of some of the clergy themselves, makes this fact only too visible. Italy has actually refused in consequence to allow the clergy tithes at all, saying "si quieren aver los diezmos, que dejen los temporalidades". After this hard hitting come arguments based on the legal opinions of "letrados", on the ruling of the Lateran council in the case of customs consecrated by use and wont, in the dangers of "escandalo" in Castile and beyond Castile which would result from any interference/

interference with privileges long held, and finally an argument of special force about the danger of losing Guipuzcoa to Navarre if the Bishop of Pamplona is allowed to seize tithes in the Guipuzcoan part of his diocese while leaving the Caballeros of Navarre in undisturbed possession of their privileges. The speech concludes with a fervent appeal to the king to maintain the fueros and liberties of the caballeros, "como pasamos los tiempos pasados de los vuestros antecesores e non querades que ahora nuevamente estos perlados nos tomen nin nos embarguen aquellas rentas con que vivimos; ca con bueno e justo titulo, defendiendo la tierra de los Moros enemigos de la Fe, cobraron aquellos donde nos vinimos estos diezmos." (XII, 11).

The chronicle of Juan I ends in October of this year of many speeches, with the unlucky stumbling of the king's horse in a ploughed field as he rode out one Sunday morning to welcome back to the land of their ancestors the fifty "Caballeros Farfanes" descended from the companions of Count Julian. The death of the young king "de buenas maneras e buenas costumbres e sin saña ninguna" was lamented with good reason by a country faced with the dismal prospect of a minority. His reign of twelve years, although spent in great part in wars or preparation for war, lacks the vividness of interest given to that of Pedro/

Pedro I by the central figure; but the record of those years presents nevertheless a report by no means dull or devoid of personal appeal of the political history of Castile seen through the eyes of a statesman of the day.

The fragmentary *Cronica de Enrique III* has proved its utility in tracing the position of Ayala during the agitated years of the king's minority. It breaks off abruptly however in the sixth year of the reign, too soon to permit us a single glimpse of the stern figure of the sickly young king, "muy grave de ver e de muy aspera conversacion, asi que la mayor parte del tiempo estava solo e malenconioso"⁽¹⁾, and of the attitude adopted towards him by his elderly adviser. Probably even for a trusted subject like Pedro Lopez de Ayala, to whom Enrique III, known for his discretion in knowing, and choosing "buenas presonas para el su consejo" continued the confidence placed in him by his father in matters of diplomacy abroad, and for whose retention of the position of Canciller Mayor he made special provision in his will, there can have been little personal intimacy with his sovereign. It is the more interesting to note that it is to Enrique III that, four years before his own death, and in the twenty-fifth year of the great schism, Ayala dedicates the suggestions given in his *Rimado* for bringing at last to a conclusion the/

(1) Fernan Perez de Guzman, "Generaciones y Semblanzas."

(1)
the "debate muy vano".

Ayala as Historian - Conclusions.

Having now passed in review the chronicles of Pedro Lopez de Ayala, their purpose and scope, general characteristics, and reliability with regard to matters of actual fact, we may perhaps venture at last to fix definitely their special contribution to the history of Castilian literature, and to state how far Ayala remains a chronicler of the purely medieval type, and how far he merits to be hailed as a forerunner of the Renaissance, and the "primer ⁽²⁾ tipo de hombre moderno".

In discussing the various indictments of Pedro Lopez de Ayala as man and as writer, I have given reasons for my belief that his record even of the reign of Don Pedro may be accepted as reliable in matters of fact, and with no more bias to misinterpretation of motive and of conduct than might be expected in a contemporary of the events described. There is one aspect however in which, judged by modern standards, his work becomes at once suspect. I refer to the inclusion, especially in the later or Vulgar version of his Cronica de Don Pedro, of sensational stories, such as the poisoning of Albuquerque by a "fisico Romano", which seems/

(1) Rimado, 829.

(2) Menendez y Pelayo. Antologia de Poetas Liricos, t.IV.

seem to rest on no more solid foundation than popular rumour. It has been further suggested by Professor Entwistle of Glasgow that despite the general acceptance of the wellknown romances of "El Pastorcico", "El Clerigo Profeta", and "La Muerte de Dona Blanca" as later compositions carved out of episodes in Ayala's chronicle, sound reasons exist for supposing that the opposite process may have taken place, and that Ayala may have fitted in to his narrative songs already current in his own day. This would in no way invalidate his reliability by the standards of his own, and even of a much later day.⁽¹⁾ It was no part of the function of the chronicler to assume the role of judge between conflicting accounts. The consciousness of some loftier mission on the part of the "estoriador", betrayed by the biographer of Alfonso XI, was fitful, and premature. In accepting the traditional view of the scope of the chronicler's work - and we have seen that Ayala held that view with even greater rigour than his immediate predecessors - Ayala also falls in with the conception of the chronicler as the anonymous and impersonal expression of the voice of popular belief. Even so great an individualist as the Archbishop Rodrigo had left the onus of choice between conflicting/

(1) The inclusion of romances was habitual in chronicles of the 15th century. See "Poesia Juglaresca y Juglares" (M. Pidal). p.428.

conflicting accounts to his readers; and Pedro Lopez de Ayala, by medieval standards, was merely doing his duty in setting before his public any generally-accepted rumour which was not directly contradicted by personal knowledge of the facts.⁽¹⁾ The fact that he accepts those standards is, however, like his detestation of Jews, an indication that, far from being born too soon, Ayala was completely at home in the world of his own day.

Yet the verdict of Menendez y Pelayo, despite his over-enthusiastic catalogue of the qualities of Ayala as the type of the modern man, cannot be lightly set aside. His eulogy of Ayala's "profunda observacion moral" is, it appears to me, exaggerated, even as the subtlety of the "retratos" has been exaggerated by other critics. The services done in his later years by Ayala's translations of Livy do not, moreover, entitle him to the honour conferred on him by Floranes, as "restaurador de las letras en Castilla". He did, it is true, like the Rey Sabio, Alfonso the Tenth, but on a vastly smaller scale, carry out a useful work of vulgarization in making more accessible to the/

(1) It is worth while to observe that it is not only in the Cronica de Don Pedro that hearsay is accepted. Under Enrique II, when telling of the death of Don Tello, Ayala says, "algunos decian que le fueran dadas hiervas... e que se las diera por mandado de dicho Rey." Cronica de Enrique II, V,6).

the unlearned works already familiar to their more lettered brethren. Even by his studies of Livy he cannot be said to have effected a noticeable improvement in the standards of Castilian prose, as already exemplified in any of the works of Don Juan Manuel. The niceties of Livy's art, and his coloured style, were in fact not the concern of Pedro Lopez de Ayala. The qualities by which he stands forth as a man of the modern world are in the first place that realistic view of things which enabled him to dismiss the reading of romances of chivalry as a sheer waste of time, the rashness of the "omes mancebos" at Aljubarrota as ruinous folly, and the enthusiastic challenge hurled at the Moors by the Master of Alcantara as a piece of suicidal madness; and secondly his concern with the interplay of motives in all human actions. Later chroniclers, steeped in the studies of Livy fostered by Ayala's versions of his works, were to piece out their narrative with purple patches imitated from the Latin historian. In Ayala the ruthless effectiveness of the episodes which stand out in such vivid relief from the body of the narrative is due in no small measure to the naked realistic manner of their telling/

(1) See Cronica de Enrique III, IV, 8-10 for account of this interesting episode. Of the Maestre Ayala says "Empero lo uno el Maestre era ome que avia sus imaginaciones quales el queria; otrosi cataba en estrelleria e en adevinos".

telling. For conscious adornment to his narrative he still had resort, not to classical models, but to medieval allegory. Unconsciously, perhaps, he may indeed have received from the Latin historian a stronger impulse to that orderliness of narration which appears to have been his pride; but his real concern with Livy was not artistic but intellectual. The most obvious result on the chroniclers who succeeded him of Ayala's studies of Livy was their acceptance of set speeches as an essential feature of the chronicle. Much sterile and irrelevant rhetoric, then, owes its birth to Ayala. Yet no man could be more free than he from any charge of padding out his narrative with unnecessary ornament. The speech in Ayala is not indeed designed to arouse either emotion or esthetic pleasure. It is severely practical. In the *Cronica de Juan I*, that collection of essays in speech form on the question of the moment - the temporal power of the church, the possible results of violence in dealing with powerful vassals, or matters of finance - the directness with which Ayala goes to the point is comparable to the directness with which, in describing the terrorism of Don Pedro, he seizes on the essential detail required to stamp a picture for ever on the memory. Clearness of vision, a firm grasp of the realities of life, an avoidance of all that is irrelevant, these are the main qualities of/

of Ayala as politician and as chronicler. For them, despite his own acceptance of the historical standards of his age, we moderns may be pleased to accept him as in some respects a modern; but these qualities, purely personal, could not by him be transmitted to chroniclers of a later generation, and it was by no means his simplicity that they were inspired to imitate.



CHAPTER VIII.

The Rimado del Palacio, and other literary activities.

Before taking a final leave of the chronicler Pedro Lopez de Ayala, let us glance at him as, during the last ten years of his eventful life, more frequent hours of leisure permit him to occupy his time, not only with his series of chronicles but also with other, perhaps lighter, literary tasks. His outward appearance we know from his nephew Fernan Perez de Guzman, who, born about 1390, saw his uncle only in his later years. Even then, it appears, he was "alto de cuerpo, e delgado, e de buena presona"; and the frontispiece given by Catalina Garcia in his study of "Castilla y Leon durante los reinados de Pedro I, Enrique II, Juan I, y Enrique III" and said to be a facsimile of one in a codex of the Biblioteca Nacional, is in harmony with the description of the Señor de Batres. Ayala is there shown presenting to Saint Gregory his Castilian version of the "Morales", that treatise on Job which was our chronicler's favourite source of meditation. The saintly author, pleased with the tribute, gives his translator his blessing with the words -

"Dios te guarde, amen, por la su santa gracia,
Pues que por su servicio feciste obra tanta."

The kneeling figure of Ayala, with long robe and sword girt at his side, reveals his advancing years only in the whiteness of his hair. Spare, wiry, cleanshaven, he still, despite the very practical concern for his soul's salvation which naturally fills more of his thoughts at this period of his life, appears in every respect fit for the open air joys of a day's hunting with his beloved falcons, or long evenings of talk on themes of living concern.

Talk must indeed have been one of the great pleasures of Ayala's old age; and no doubt after his elevation in 1398 to the position of Canciller Mayor his conversation was marked by an authority less obvious before. It had always been agreeable. "Fue de muy dulce condicion" says his nephew, "e de buena conversacion"; and he had talked with all sorts and conditions of men, and on many themes. His favourite topics we can guess. War, of course, in that age and with his experience, was certainly one; but it was of warfare as a business that he spoke. The authors of his youth, Don Juan Manuel and the writer of the "Castigos e Documentos del Rey D.Sancho" had enforced their remarks on correct military operations by invoking the authority of "Vegecio en el libro de la Caballeria"; and Ayala had proved an apt and willing pupil. The proper/

proper ordering of troops, the importance of careful selection of the field of battle, the advantages of well-trained foot soldiers over undisciplined cavalry - topics such as these must have been repeatedly discussed as Pedro Lopez de Ayala reviewed with other elders the disastrous blunders of Najera and Aljubarrota. Tracing out the genealogies of distinguished families was another pleasure. It was in 1398, according to a manuscript in the possession of Floranes, that Ayala composed his own history of his lineage; and although, as we have seen, his own theory of the chronicler's function discouraged the introduction of any matter not directly concerning the subject of his biography, he is willing enough to digress for questions of genealogy or of precedent. Voices would be graver as the Chancellor and his friends discussed the schism and explored suggested ways to end the long and ruinous division. The fondness which Ayala shared with many of his day for gibes against the conduct of the clergy was in his case combined with a keen practical concern for the improvement of the church organization; but discussions about theology he abhorred, as mere "malas porfias que tienen letrados". For rhetoric leading to no definite result he had nothing but contempt, and he and his friends saw no way out of the impasse of the schism save by compulsion exercised by the strong hand of the impatient kings/

kings of Christendom.

" Callen dialeticos e las donatistas,
Maestros formados en la theologia,
De juro cevil e las canonistas,
Platon, Aristoteles e filosofia,
Tolomeo e tablas de estrologia;
e cada uno destros non fagan question

- - - - -
A esto los reyes rremedio porrnan.' (1)

Despite this impatience with 'letrados', however, and despite the assertion of his nephew that Ayala's legal studies were but slight - 'grant parte del tiempo ocupaba en el leer e estudiar, non en ubras de derecho sinon filosofia e estorias' - there were yet many interests which the chancellor shared with the legal experts of his day; and when chance brought back into his company one of the 'doctores' with whom he had had long association in the course of his diplomatic career, it was no doubt with keen relish that Pedro Lopez de Ayala set himself to trace back to its distant source the curious local administration of Toledo, or recalled to his friend, to settle some question of conduct, the precedent set in the trial of the Marechal d'Andreghem.

Literature was of course an unfailing interest; and before going on to speak of the other activities of Ayala/

(1) Rimado 810 and 812.

Ayala's pen, it may be well to discuss apart, as a definite contribution to literature and not merely to technical knowledge, the book which so many years before, in the darkness of his Portuguese captivity, he had composed for his own solace and as a tribute to his relative, the hunting bishop of Burgos. The "Libro de las Aves de Caca", completed in June 1386, was taken very seriously indeed, by Ayala and his friends. Fernan Perez de Guzman, who makes no comment on his uncle's chronicles, specially mentions his "buen libro de la caça"; and Ayala, in his formal introduction to the work, quotes Aristotle, Saint Isidore, and the psalms, to bear witness to the moral ill done by idleness, "ca es causa et achaque de pecar", and - a poignant reflection in the circumstances - to the bodily harm which results from lack of exercise. The book, begun with so serious a purpose, and written with such loving care, well deserves more than a cursory glance. The references are for the most part to birds in the possession of Ayala's first master, Pedro the First. There is no mention of Enrique II or even of Juan I. The chief falconer of Pedro, Juan Ferrandez Burriello, was a personage of importance in the eyes of Ayala, for whom the task of the trainer is invested with high moral/

moral dignity and worth. "Fermosa maravilla es", he exclaims, (p.124) et otrosi grand bondat que un ave tan pequeño como es un falcon trabe de una crua, que es ave tan grande et tan brava et pues el falcon es loado por tomar una tal ave, mucho mayor loor deve aver el caçador que por su sutil arte pone al falcon en se atrever a ello, et aver tan esforcado el corazon". No detail could be unimportant in his sight, in the task of bringing his falcon to the desired perfection of strength and cleverness. "Grand bien es al caçador", he says (p.101), "et grand bondat, ser sufrido a su ave"; and the trainer must observe the condition of his falcons "como la mujer en el espejo, por ver si paresce bien o non." Wherever he travelled, in Aragon, Paris, or the straits of Morocco, and with whomsoever he spoke, Genoese trader or French royal duke, Pedro Lopez de Ayala inquired carefully into the best methods of dieting, training, and even of cleaning birds afflicted with "piojo". His interest is not however confined to one class of birds; and it is pleasant to find him observing, from ship-board in the Strait of Morocco or between Biscay and La Rochelle, the migrations of storks and other smaller birds, and pausing even amid the clash of war to note the falling of

a quail into the sea, fully six leagues out from land. ⁽¹⁾

Much of the literary work of Ayala's later years took the form of translations. The surviving versions which are attributed to him do not, however, show any mark of the distinctive personality revealed by him in his Book of the Birds. If the version of the Decades of Livy, for instance, preserved in the British Museum, ⁽²⁾ is indeed due to his pen, it is evident that he was concerned mainly with passing on to his countrymen the substance of the narrative, without any excessive care for the form. It must of course be remembered that he probably used the short cut of Bersuire's French translation, made in 1362; and the entire omission of some speeches, the compression into a mere phrase of others, and the tendency to leave out the balance, epigram, and ⁽³⁾ even the psychological touches which help to make up the charm of the original, may be due in part to the earlier translator/

(1) "Otrosi, yendo el rey don pedro por la mar, aviendo guerra con el rey de aragon, travesando del cabo de martin a ibica, que es traviesa de doce leguas, vi que en la galea de un caballero que llamavan orejon, bien a seys leguas de tierra, cayo una codorniz." Libro de las Aves de Caca, p.154.

(2) Number in catalogue I B. 52828.

(3) The reference to the economical character of Camillus is a case in point. The original "Praedam militi dedit que minus speratam - minime largitore duce - eo militi gratiorem" is diluted into "E todo lo en ellas (las tiendas) fallado partio a los cavalleros."

translator. Ayala's countrymen showed themselves however not ungrateful for the work thus done for them at the behest of Enrique III himself; and their appreciation of his efforts to pass on to them the substance at least of his more advanced studies is revealed in the prologue to the continuation of his translation of Boccaccio's *Caída de Principes*, made at the instance of Juan Alfonso de Zamora by the Bishop of Cartagena. There Juan Alfonso de Zamora, explaining that the unfinished condition of any work begun by the "muy notable cavallero y muy sabio y muy discreto señor Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala", could only be due to the interruption of his labours by death, describes the difficulties encountered in searching for the two books left untranslated, and ends with a pious prayer for the repose of Ayala's soul, and his contentment in the happy termination of his labours. "Plega al nuestro señor Dios", says Zamora devoutly, "que al dicho Pero Lopez de Ayala en la otra vida duradera donde el es, en remuneracion deste trabajo y de todas las otras cosas y obras virtuosas que el hizo, dé parayso perpetuo."

The eight books of the *Cayda de Principes* attributed by Zamora to Ayala bear no more trace of his personality than does the version of Livy already mentioned. Beyond the statement of Palau y Dulcett, in the *Manual del Librero*/

Librero Español, that an edition of Ayala's version of the Cronica Troyana of Guido de Columna was printed at Burgos as early as 1490 - a fact which would indicate extensive popularity - and the conjecture of Amador de los Rios that an unnamed manuscript, the Consolacion de Boecio Romano, in the library of the Marquis de Santillana, may be the version attributed by Fernan Perez de Guzman to his uncle, information about other translations made by Ayala is lacking. Such labours, while indicating a praise-worthy desire to make accessible in Castile the European learning of the day, do not in any case add much to our intimate knowledge of the man Pedro Lopez de Ayala in his private capacity. Let us turn instead to his poetical compositions.

For Ayala - especially in his later years - poetry appears to have been a genuine pleasure. The trovadores of the court found in him an interested arbitrator in their poetical contests, and from his retirement at the end of his life he sent copies of his "cantares" in praise of the Virgin to Enrique III, pleading for indulgence to the rudeness of the metre, natural in one removed from the graces of civilization,

"Que vivo en montanas, segunt que sabras". (1)

Time/

(1) Rimado, 838.

Time spent in poetical composition was not, like the hours he had passed in youth with the Amadis and the romances of chivalry, entirely wasted.

"Por me consolar, este es fundamento,
Non espendar tiempo en ocio e vagar." (1)

The songs devoted to the Virgin composed at this period occur in the middle of the miscellany generally known as the Rimado del Palacio, and composed at different periods in the life of Ayala. The first long section, comprising 703 stanzas, and containing no lyrical matter whatever, was composed at some time previous to his capture by the Portuguese in 1385. Entirely prosaic in tone, it deals first with the conventional religious themes of the commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven works of pity, etc., and then goes on to handle, in much more interesting fashion, mundane reflections on methods of good government, the besetting sins of each class of society, counsels for prudent behaviour, and praises of the advantages of peace. The second section, composed in prison, is naturally more emotional in tone, and contains prayers for liberation and vows of pilgrimages when the days of tribulation are over. The remainder of the miscellany, from stanza 781 onwards, composed at intervals after Ayala's return/

(1) Rimado, 836.

return from Portugal, contains, in addition to the "cantares" in praise of the Virgin already mentioned, a poem on the lamentable plight of the papacy, compared to a ship battered by tempests and ready to perish, suggestions about the best method of ending the schism, and finally a very long homily based on the sufferings of Job and the reflections of Saint Gregory concerning sin and human life.

The poetical value of the whole miscellany is but slight. Amador de los Rios defends Ayala from the charge of clumsiness in his handling of the old-fashioned "mester de clerecia", declaring that in his opinion he was deliberately aiming at a return to the old tradition of verses of sixteen syllables alternating with verses of fourteen or even fifteen. Ayala however probably was lacking in delicacy of ear. When he aims at poetic ornament his similes are invariably conventional; and, as already indicated, the tone of by far the larger part of the Rimado is definitely prosaic. The interest of the poem does not however lie for us in its artistic value, but in the glimpses it gives us of Ayala and the world in which he lived.

The attempt to construct an intimate portrait of Ayala as a man from the general confessions of guilt contained/

contained in the Rimado would be distinctly hazardous, unless controlled by reference to other sources of knowledge. The besetting sins of any writer are much less easily discovered when, like Ayala, he accuses himself of every crime set down in the lists of the churchmen; and Pedro Lopez de Ayala was much too discreet a gentleman to give away any secret worth the keeping. Reference has already been made to one prominent defect (1) in his character, recorded by his nephew, which might well cause Leonor de Guzman to consider him less satisfactory as a husband than as a diplomat; but he hurries away from the topic with a vague

"Sennor, vuelve ~~ta~~ cara, non cates mis pecados
Ca son feos y muchos,"

and, although it may amuse us to read into his tone, as he charges himself with frequent acts of gluttony, or prays to be protected from the "mal tan grande espantoso" which is laziness, a certain lack of conviction, our certainty that these were not his most characteristic failings is not derived from the Rimado. The entire lack of emotionalism which marks the other works of Ayala is evident even in this, which we might well expect to be the most subjective of all his writings; and the
very/

(1) "Amos mucho mugeres, mas que a tan sabio cavallero como el convenia."

very lamentations uttered in his "carcel e tristura" at Oviedes are concerned less with his own mental anguish than with the practical business of winning the grace of the Virgin, in order to obtain release.

Much more vivid than the picture of the personal emotions of the writer is that of the society familiar to him in his own day. We do not know at what precise period of his life Ayala fulfilled the vows made by him in his Portuguese prison to go on "romeria" to the famous shrines of Guadalupe and of Monserrat. He has not, like his younger contemporary Chaucer, set down in writing his impressions of a motley cavalcade setting out on a pilgrim holiday; yet from his Rimado we can to some extent construct the picture. Part of the cortege is hidden from our view. The women of the company we must imagine for ourselves; and the representatives of the humbler ranks of life do not show the merry individual faces of the miller, the shipman, or the grieve, who rode with Chaucer to Canterbury. Below the class of the "buenos omes de villas" we can in Ayala see only an undistinguishable mass of "pobres cuytados", oppressed by all above them and drained of their very life-blood by the Jews.⁽¹⁾ With the trading classes too the Senor de/

(1) Rimado, 244.

"Alli vienen judios, que estan aparejados
Para beber la sangre de los pobres cuytados."

de Salvatierra, unlike the gentle knight of Chaucer, would exchange little conversation. For him their very office is base -

"Pues ¿qué de los mercadores aqui podria dezir?
Si tienen tal oficio para poder fallir,
Jurar e perjurar, e todo sienpre mentir" -

and if there is some humour there is no kindness in his shrewd appreciation of their tricks, in keeping their shops dark, using false measures, and passing off on the "cuytador comprador" an article inferior to that shown to him. Ayala's "mercador" would in any case, like some of the other types most clearly depicted by him, have little time or inclination for going on pilgrimage. The "bachiller en leyes e decretales", so caustically delineated in his pages, would certainly not dream of leaving his client before relieving him of his money, his mule, and his very cloak; and his unfortunate victim, dazed by the consequences of one brief absence from court, after which he finds "mundo rrebuelto, trastornado mi vando, e mas frio que nieve en su palacio ando" (Rim. 425) would in all probability avoid absenting himself for some time to come. Amidst the more leisured company of a pilgrim party to Montserrat we may however be justified in placing the figure of some prelate like Ayala's hinsman, Don Gonzalez de Mena, as fond of hunting as the jolly abbot of Chaucer; and/

and the conversation while it turned on hunting, would assuredly be agreeable to Pedro Lopez de Ayala, even if on pilgrimage bent. Should politics be the topic, even then

"Prelados, cavalleros, doctores e letrados,
Buenos omes de villa, que ay muchos onrrados"

might still jog on in harmony; but if church matters were spoken of, then, for all his discreetness and pleasantness of speech, Ayala might find it more agreeable to withdraw from the conversation. The Rimado is severe on the prelates of the day, from the pope - or popes - downwards. "Nunca vieron papa que muriese en
(1)
pobreza", comments Ayala grimly. The prelates, who ought to concern themselves above all things with the scandal of the schism, are so engrossed with oppressing their subjects, abandoning church buildings and ornaments to gross neglect, that they "olvidan conciencia e la
(2)
santa escritura"; and it is because of their slack ways, in admitting to the priesthood candidates with no other qualification than money, that such a shameful state of affairs prevails in the lower orders of the clergy. The "manceba" of the village priest is better dressed than any other woman in the parish. Round his hearth gathers
always/

(1) Rimado, 196.

(2) " 216.

always "Grant cabaña de fijos". Not one priest out of a hundred know~~a~~ the words of the baptismal service; nor de they wish to know. Their whole interest lies in their own amusement.

"Si pueden aver tres perros, un galgo e un furon, Clerigo del aldea tiene que es infancon." (1)

Such priests serve no master but the devil. "Si estos son menist~~r~~os, son lo de Satanas"; and in the chaos resulting from the long quarrel over the Papacy Christianity appears to be foundering. By the year 1403, when already "son veynte e cinco años conplidos

Que, mal pecado, comenco la cisma",

Ayala was advocating, with greater impatience than ever, the great general council which, with united Europe behind it, was to put an end at last to the long confusion. The council came in the end, too late for Ayala; but long before it came his last emphatic utterance on public affairs must have fallen on sympathetic ears. What matter if Benedict XIII, that old man who for so long stood in the way of union, was of Spanish blood?

"Si quier sea frances, si quier de Ungria, Ayala had said as early as 1398, when Benedict was besieged by his own cardinals in Avignon,

"Sy/

(1) Rimado, 223.

"Sy quiera de Espana, sy quier aleman,
Si quiera yngles o de Lonbardia,
Si quiera escote, si quier catalan,
Sea cristiano el que nos daran."

-----oOo-----

CHAPTER IX.

Some 15th. Century Successors of Ayala.

When Pedro Lopez de Ayala died in 1407 an infant king, Juan II, had just succeeded to the throne of Castile. The marriage of that king's daughter to Ferdinand of Aragon, in 1469, by bringing about the union of the two great Spanish kingdoms, enlarged the scope of later historians beyond the narrow limits of the medieval chronicler, whilst the taking of Granada and the discoveries of Columbus in the last decade of the century marked the passing of the world which Ayala knew. The fifteenth century saw nevertheless before it ended much activity in the making of chronicles of the traditional type; and it may be of interest to observe how far the methods followed by the great chronicler of the preceding age have in them been retained.

Before proceeding to discuss the long "crónica de Don Juan II", which, in the opinion of Hurtado and Palencia, "es quiza la que marca mejor la transicion de la Cronica medieval a la Historia moderna"⁽¹⁾, something must be said of the man to whom has been attributed by some critics a share in the authorship of the chronicle/

(1) Historia de la Literatura Espanola, p.218.

chronicle, and whose collection of portraits of the men of his day serves to illustrate its pages. The attribution to Fernan Perez de Guzman of any part even in the editing of the chronicle appears indeed somewhat rash in face of his plain assertion that the "Generaciones y Semblanzas" were published specially to correct deficiencies in a chronicle where he fears that "aya algunt defeuto, especialmente por non osar o por complazer a los reyes." This fear is moreover inspired by the later section, after the chronicle had been taken out of the hands of Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria, "tan notable e discreto ombre que non le falleceria saber para ordenar e concencia para guardar la verdad", and exposed to the influence of warring interests. Fernan Perez de Guzman disclaims all thought of writing a regular history - "que, aunque quisiese, non sabria, e si supiese no esto ansi instrituido nin enformado de los fechos como era necesario a tal acto" - but his informal "registro o memorial" expands, in his depiction of Juan II and his great Constable Alvaro de Luna, to the proportions of a sketch of the events of the whole reign, as seen by a man who had for his misfortune been implicated therein/

(1) Generaciones y Semblanzas, Prologue.

therein. According to Fernan Perez de Guzman, the most general defect of historians is their tendency on all occasions to flatter the king and conceal his errors. It is a fault of which he at least is not guilty. His depiction even of Alvaro de Luna, despite his haughty contempt for his humble beginnings, is less savage than that of Juan II, "cobdicioso e luxurioso e aun vindicativo, pero no le bastara el animo a la execucion dello; and for kings in general he has no excessive respect. "Los reyes" he remarks in bitterness, "non dan galardón a quien mejor sirve nin a quien mas virtuosamente obra, sinon a quien mas les sigue las voluntades e los complace; and his natural inclination is towards "los grandes perlados e cavalleros, cuyos antecesores e manificos y notables reyes pusieron freno, enpachando sus desordenadas voluntades con buena e justa osadia por utilidad e provecho del reyno e por guardar sus libertades." Despite his early association, however, with the Infante Enrique of Aragon - an association to be paid for later with a brief period of captivity and a complete withdrawal from public life - the severity of the Señor de Batres is extended also to the faction opposed to the constable. Their excuse for rebellion against the king - the overwhelming authority granted by him

to a subject - was good; "pero la final entencion suya era aver e posser su lugar, non con zelo nin amor de la republica", and a feeble king was entirely to their liking if they themselves held the reins. "Non dubdo que les plazia tener tal rey" says Fernan Perez de Guzman of the nobility in general, "por que en el rio buelto fuesen ellos ricos pescadores." Contemplating, from his retirement at Batres, the welter of conflicting interests and the fates of the many who fell in the struggle for power, he becomes ever more convinced of the bitter truth of a phrase recorded by his uncle Ayala; and speaking of the fate first of Diego Comez de Sandoval and later of the upstart Fernan Alfonso de Robles he quotes the very words of the doomed Alfonso Fernandez Coronel in Pedro's day - "Esta es Castilla, que faze a los omes e los gasta."

Fernan Perez de Guzman, although declaring himself personally unfit for the task of writing formal history, nevertheless held very definite views on the qualifications essential in any historian. The First of these is that he should have "buena retorica para poner la estoria en feroso e alto estilo." The chroniclers of the 15th century show their entire agreement with this assertion. In his prologue to the Cronica de Juan II, Alvar/

Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria, brother to the learned "judio converso", bishop of Cartagena, who had succeeded Ayala in the office of Canciller Mayor, proves his literary background by a quotation from Seneca and lavish references to Suetonius, Lucan, Homer, and Virgil, as well as to Livy, Boccaccio and other favourites of the time. The exact length of the section written by Alvar Garcia is still a matter for discussion. Galindez assigned to him authorship of the first twenty years of the reign. Floranes extended it to include the next eight; and the latter supposition has been deemed reasonable by Hurtado and Palencia, and has been accepted by Ballester. From Book XXIX onwards there certainly appears a marked difference in outlook, as well as in style. The successor of Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria is not known. It was natural to conjecture, from the close resemblance between the final chapters of the Cronica de Juan II which treat of the imprisonment and death of the Constable, and the section of the general chronicle of that "perfecto y acabado modelo de los caballeros andantes de su tiempo", Mosen Diego de Valera, devoted to the period of Juan II, as well as from the reproduction in the Cronica of letters by Valera, that the author of the "Valeriana" might very well be likewise the part-author of the particular Cronica de Juan II. Ballester however rejects this theory as improbable; and Hurtado and Palencia consider the most likely/

likely continuation of the work of Olvar Garcia de Santa Maria to have been the Pero Carrillo de Albornoz "halconero mayor de D. Juan II," whose name is given also by Galindez in his suggested list of authors of the chronicle. Whoever the actual writer may have been, however, throughout the whole of the second part (books 29-47) as well as in the special chapters devoted to the fall of Alvaro de Luna, the inspiration of Mosen Diego de Valera, a bitter foe of the constable, is very evident. Descriptions of jousts and "empresas" are frequent; and in one of these the hero is Mosen Diego de Valera, Doncel of the king, who, humbly seeking leave to reply to the challenge of a certain Pierre de Brefemonte in Bourgogne, delivered publicly in the presence of the whole Castilian court, and to carry out certain empresas of his own, receives from his master a gracious response. The king not only granted leave, but "le mando dar muy largo mantenimiento para espacio de un año en que podia estar en el dicho viaje, e le dio una ropa de velludo vellutado azul, de su persona, forrada de cevellinas, e un muy buen caballo; e así Mosen Diego se partio, e continuo su camino, e hizo las armas como de su requesta asaz honorablemente, las del paso con Tibant de Rogemont, Senor de Ruffi

y de Molinat, e las de su. empresa con Jaques de Xalan, Senor de Amavila." (Año XXXIV, 17). Even before this piece of knight-errantry Diego de Valera had made himself known abroad, upholding at Prague, at the dinner table of Albert, King of the Romans, the dignity of the banners of Castile, and winning for his services in the Bohemian Council and on the field orders of chivalry gifts of money, and on his return home the title of Mosen which was thenceforth to distinguish him (Año XXXI, 2). When the heir of Juan II threw in his lot with the opponents of Alvaro de Luna, it was Mosen Diego de Valera who "estando en Segovia en servicio del Principe Don Enrique" sent to the king and his council a letter, couched in elaborate literary form, with quotations from Valerius Maximus and "vuestra Seneca" deprecating violent measures. He personally had nothing to lose or gain. "No piense Vuestra Merced ninguna aficion o interese me mueva esto decir, ni menos temor de perder lo que tengo, lo qual ya todo es reducido en un arnes e un pobre caballo, lo qual en uno con la vida yo gastare por vuestro servicio, asi como todo lo etro he gastado satisfaciendo a mi lealtad." The effort of the knight-errant was snubbed by the Archbishop of Toledo with the rough comment - "Digan a Mosen Diego que nos envie gente o dineros, que consejo no/

no nas fallece." (Ano XXXV,4). A later piece of eloquence, when Valera, as one of the procuradores at the assembly held by the king near Valladolid in 1448, first protested orally against a projected partition of the possessions of the insurgents and then in a long letter, adorned with Biblical examples and quotations from Saint Isidore, Sallust, and the chronicles of Ayala, urged a general amnesty, so roused the wrath of Alvaro de Luna that Mosen Diego was glad to find a refuge in the household of the Count of Plasencia. When in 1452 the latter, a "caballero muy esforzado" decided to make open war on Alvaro de Luna, it was in the hands of "Mosen Diego de Valera, el qual hizo todo el trato ya dicho por mandado del Conde de Plasencia cuyo é l entonce era" that the confederates swore to accomplish their end; and in the daring entry of Burgos by the Count's son Alvaro Destuniga and his dealing with the wavering king when the great favourite was at length seized by his enemies, Mosen Diego de Valera acted as his counsellor and envoy. Only the substance of Valera's discourse to the king is set down on this occasion, although the Cronica is careful not to omit his reference to previous counsels given to Juan II. "Entre las otras cosas le dixo, que bien sabia su Alteza que ante de entonce le/

le habia dicho algunas cosas a su servicio mucho complideras, asi por palabra como por escrito, y debia creer que quien en tiempo del Maestre le habia osado decir verdad, mejor la osaria decir entonce." (Año XLVI, 2). Such constant reference to the exploits, speeches, and writings of Mosen Diego de Valera, as well as the chivalrous tone and literary finish of the brief address of the old Count of Plasencia, Valera's patron, to his departing son, and the eloquence of the invocation to "Juan Bocacio" in the reflections on the "variedad e movimientos de la engañosa e incierta fortuna" which serve as a conclusion to the tragedy of Don Alvaro de Luna, suggest that, whoever the compiler of the second part of the Cronica de Juan II may have been, no small part of the material must have been furnished by the accomplished Mosen Diego himself.

The most obvious characteristic of the Cronica de D. Juan II, is the amplitude of treatment throughout. In the work both of Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria and of his unknown successor - or successors - there is abundance of detail, lavished naturally on what was most important in the view of each chronicler. Alvar Garcia, a devoted admirer of the Infante Fernando, gives ample space to his campaigns against the Moors, whilst the later writer, when not absorbed by the long struggle between Don Alvaro de Luna and/

and his foes, shows a preference for detailed descriptions of tourneys and other brilliant entertainments dear to his age. Although the main theme is still the king and the complicated intrigues which surround the throne, the scope of the chronicler is now less narrow, and the admission of popular catch-words to the pages of the chronicle shows a more modern concern for the attitude of the populace. The writers strive to secure the reader's interest in a variety of ways, Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria being specially conscious of the dangers of including matter which would be "enojoso de leer." The text is therefore enlivened by literary references, reports on foreign events of contemporary interest, a limited number of portrait sketches - the "retratos" being however confined in Ayala's fashion to the two kings, Fernando of Aragon, and Juan II himself, with the interesting addition of one uncrowned king, Don Alvaro de Luna, and exactly resembling in type, those of Ayala, - fairly frequent dialogue, and a lavish use of letters, royal ordinances, and other documents. The arrangement of the chronicle, which assigns a separate book to each year of the reign, is exactly that of Ayala, but without his orderly presentment of foreign affairs in a separate chapter added at the end. In the *Cronica de/*

As Juan II reports of events abroad are inserted at random at any point in the narrative. In another respect also the chronicle has departed from the method of Pedro Lopez de Ayala. Formal remarks by the regents and the Bishop, of Palencia at the Cortes held in the first year of the reign, a fair number of conversations, a few straight-forward discourses by the Infante Fernando regarding the business of the Moorish war, and the more literary but exceedingly brief speeches by Mosen Diego de Valera and by his patron the Count of Plasencia, already referred to, make up the whole contribution to oratory of the *Cronica de Juan II*.

Very different in this respect is the account of the succeeding reign written by the official chronicler of Enrique IV. Diego Enriquez del Castillo, affected perhaps by ecclesiastical ideas of eloquence, — he was chaplain as well as chronicler — is unfortunately possessed by a mania for the making of speeches. No thought of relevance checks his flow of rhetoric. The eloquence of the king in particular is unquenchable, and displayed as freely in prayers uttered supposedly in the privacy of his own chamber as in orations delivered in public. Not is this the worst. The exclamatory style, with much use of the second/

(1) See *Cronica del Rey D. Enrique IV.* ch. 73.

second person in vituperation, pervades and spoils the entire narrative. Exceedingly complacent about his own share in public events - he depicts himself as hastening after Olmedo to bring the king the glad news of victory, and receiving special praise in a little speech of gratitude in which his "leal deseo" is contrasted with the "dañada voluntad"⁽¹⁾ of the Constable of Navarre - Diego Enrique del Castillo is no less complacent about his literary powers, and mercilessly inflicts on his readers official letters of appalling length written by him on his master's behalf to cities or confederacies. Nothing indeed could be more unlike the sobriety and reserve of Ayala than the pompous bad taste of the chronicle in which, says the prologue, "del muy esclarecido quarto Rey Don Enrique de Castilla e de Leon, sus hechos e vida tratando, su pux^eza e grand^eza diciendo, sus infortunios e trabajos recontando, con testimonio de verdad prosiguiendo, yo el Licenciado Diego Enriquez del Castillo, Capellan e de su Consejo, como fiel coronista suyo protesto relatando scribir su Cronica". When moreover we hear that, in addition to being a professed partisan, the "fiel coronista" is writing merely from memory, having been robbed by the opposite/

(1) See Cronica del Rey D. Enrique IV, ch.97.

(1)

opposite faction of all his papers, it is impossible to place any reliance on his accuracy. He wisely makes no attempt to divide his material into books corresponding to the different years of the reign, but despite this evasion of fixed dates his chronology has been discovered to be deplorable. Yet, for all his mistakes in chronology, his abominable style, and his pronounced bias in favour of the king, the chronicle of Diego Enriquez del Castillo is not utterly to be ignored. His partisanship does not prevent him from expressing strong criticism of the remissness and flabbiness in action of his master; and, while believing in theory that "El resistir al poderio terrenal de los reyes es resistir a Dios", his ingenious qualification allows decided freedom of action to the king's subjects. To the king, as king, full obedience must be paid; but the king is also a man. When his desires and commands are marked by the frailty and unwisdom of man they may rightly be ignored for his own good. Their inaction at Simancas, for instance, even though the king neglected to give the necessary orders, was no credit to his knights. "Razonable cosa fuera que ellos, sin esperar su mandado, grado ni consentimiento, procuraran de dar la batalla" (chapter 80).

The/

(1) "Me robaron, no solamente lo mio, mas los Registros con lo procesado que tenia scripto de ella" (la Cronica). Prologue.

The "Memorial de Diversas Hazañas" of the celebrated Mosen Diego de Valera, which is based on the Latin "Decades" of Alfonso de Palencia, into whose hands fell the papers (1) stolen from the unlucky Diego Enrique del Castillo, presents the opposite view of the reign of Enrique IV. With the eulogy of its literary merits pronounced in the "Advertencia" (2) to his edition of the Memorial, by Don Cayetano Rosell, I am unfortunately unable to agree. Rosell considers it as a piece of literature "no inferior en verdad a ninguno de su epoca", conferring high praise on its author not merely for his simplicity of tone, but for his freedom from "la afectacion que iba ya cundiendo entre los escritores de aquel siglo, y de los discursos, arengas y aderezos convencionales con que se procuraba remedar a los historiadores de la antigüedad. "Simplicity was however no merit in the eyes of Mosen Diego de Valera, as is evident not only in his other writings but even in the prologue of the Memorial itself, where, although aiming at brevity - "en tal obra no conviene largo prefacio o exordio" - he still finds time to quote Seneca, Solomon, and "el filosofo en el cuento de/

(1) Modern translation by Paz y Melia, Coleccion de Escritores Castellanos, Nos. 126, 127, 130, 134, and 138.

(2) Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles, No. 70.

de las Eticas." In the original Latin of Palencia style and diction were, according to Señor Ballester, distinctly below the level attained by that author in Spanish; and Valera was probably working too hastily to bestow on a mere translation the care he gives to the composition of his own epistles. The letter of warning sent by him in 1462 to Enrique IV, devoutly "suplicando a nuestro Senor que asi alumbre vuestro entendimiento porque a su servicio en paz y concordia governeis estos Reynos que por el vos fueron encomendados", and inserted in the memorial, (ch.XX) presents an interesting contrast to the rest of the work. It is adorned not only with instances drawn from Spanish History - the fate of Don Pedro "el qual por su dura y mala gobernacion perdio la vida y el Reyno con ella", being recalled with particular solemnity - but with references to "la coronica de los Reyes de Francia" and the "Historia Teutonica", and with quotations not merely from the inevitable Seneca but also, a novelty, from Terence. We may fairly assume this elaborate composition to represent Valera's conception of "buena retorica", rather than the very meagre narrative into which he inserts it. The style of the "Memorial de Diversas Hazanas", loose, at times obscure, with no selective power, shows carelessness and haste rather/

rather than any deliberate rejection of rhetorical trappings. Its true merit is not literary, but historical. "Es un reflejo fiel, descarnado y sincero de la triste situacion de España", to use the words of Hurtado and Palencia, although the writer is as obviously biassed - on the other side - as Diego Enriquez del Castillo himself. He hints at secret treaties between Enrique IV and the infidels. (ch. X). He complains of the king's manner of spending money and suggests that he warred "tibiamente". He is a firm upholder of the nation's right to reject an unworthy king, and the deposition of Enrique IV in effigy at Avila was for him fully justified. Enrique was no king, but a "tirano", al qual fallecia vigor de corazon e prudencia, e esfuerzo e todas las otras habilidades que a buen Principe convienen; ninguna otra cosa le quedaba, salvo nombre de Rey, el qual quitado, él era todo perdido, lo qual no era cosa nueva en los Reynos de Castilla e de Leon, los nobles e pueblos elegir rey e deponello, lo cual por canónicas autoridades se podría bien probar." (ch. XXVIII). Restive under appression exercised by the king, the author of the Memorial objects with equal force to the papacy of his day, which supported Enrique IV. in his stand against the young/

young Alfonso, nominee of the nobles. To the "Santos Padres de nuestro tiempo" belongs, he says, the real responsibility for the "discordias e daños" of Christendom. (ch. XXXVII). The papal court is altogether swayed by the "dadivas de quienquiera que darlas pudiese, (XXVIII), and notoriously is in the habit of watching the issue in order to excommunicate the conquered side (XXXIV); whilst the Popes themselves regard their elevation to the chair of Saint Peter merely as a means to enrich their kinsfolk. (LXIII). The Memorial expresses in fact much the same ideas regarding royal power and the condition of the church as had been held by Pedro Lopez de Ayala almost a century before; but it has one characteristic which would have met with his censure. Belief in omens was for Ayala contrary to good religion; and it is a proof of weakness or folly when a man allows himself, as Don Pedro did near Najera in 1360, to be diverted from his purpose by such "señales". The Memorial however painstakingly records lists of omens - flames in the sky, a child of three summoning men to repentance, lions fighting together, etc. - from which "todos pronosticaron ser cercana la muerte del Rey o gran caída" (XVII); and the author would no doubt justify himself by pointing to the illustrious example of the Latin historian whom Ayala had/

had made accessible to his countrymen.

Direct imitation of Livy is the most striking characteristic of the very long but incomplete "Cronica de D.Fernando e Doña Isabel", of Hernando del Pulgar. Somewhat obscured by the fame of the collection of biographical sketches of "Claros Varones de Castilla" by the same writer, and even by his "letras" to eminent persona of the day, the chronicle nevertheless has a real interest of its own. Quite apart from novelties in style and method which call for attentive study, we find in its pages, set down by a careful hand, phrases and incidents which cast light on the remarkable character of the lady, who, for her devoted chronicler at least, was the stronger member of a very efficient partnership. "Los Reyes que quieren reynar" said Dona Isabel (II, 66) "han de trabajar", and her life proved the truth of the remark. When a thing had to be done, Dona Isabel did it at once. "Luego a la hora cavalgo", is a phrase repeatedly occurring. On one occasion she galloped off alone, in pouring rain - "facia a la hora gran fortuna de aguas" - to secure the instant punishment of a hot-headed youth who had dared to defy her "seguro". (I, 100); and when next day she lay abed, exhausted and ill, "dueleme este cuerpo" said Queen Isabel "de los palos que dio ayer Don Fadrique contra mi seguro." Did the chronicle of Hernando del Pulgar give us nothing more than such side-lights on/

on the personality of a virtuous but decidedly formidable queen, it would still be worth reading.

It gives us however much more - too much perhaps. Hernando del Pulgar, brought up at the literary court of Juan II, was a Latinist. Writing to Queen Isabel in 1481 about the chronicle on which he was embarking at her behest, although the task, he modestly says "ha menester mejor cabeza que la mia", he questions his mistress on the progress of her Latin studies, and quotes Livy⁽¹⁾ in the original. The quotation is significant. The thought of Livy, and in lesser measure of Caesar and of Sallust, was to be with him throughout the whole chronicle. For the first time events appear to a Castilian chronicler mainly as so much "copy" to be artistically worked up in the classical manner. Herein lies for us the special interest of Hernando del Pulgar - and herein too, of course his special weakness. The author of the "claros Varones" had, it is true, too much psychological sense to commit the absurdities of Diego Enriquez del Castillo in his blind passion for speechification. There is in Pulgar some attempt to adapt the eloquence to the special character of/

(1) Letras. No. XI.

of the speaker. The involved ecclesiastical phraseology of Fray Fernando de Talavera, haranguing the unfortunate Juana la Beltraneja, as she prepares, at the age of seventeen, for perpetual retirement to a convent, on "pobreza muy rica ... castidad muy fecunda ... subjeccion llena de libertad", and other wearisome antitheses, is a striking contrast to the soldierly plainness of the Cardinal of Spain, who speaks "no como fijo de la religion e habito que recibí, mas como fijo del Marques de Santillana;" and he deliberately abbreviates a speech by a man who was notoriously "de pocas palabras."⁽²⁾ Too often, however, he is carried away by a passion for eloquence in the grand manner, and philosophical reflections on the innate equality of man - "todos somos nacidos de un padre e de una masa, e ovimos un principio noble" - or the brevity of life - ¿qué otra cosa son a toda edad los dias de la vida, sino ciertas e presurosas jornadas para llegar a la muerte? - and erudite reminiscences of Greek legend and Roman history, are placed incongruously on the lips of well-born Castilian knights attempting to quell a disorderly mob, or of hardy captains endeavouring to keep up the courage/

(1) Cronica de D. Fernando e Dona Isabel. II.92.

(2) Cronica II. 87.

(1)
 courage of their men in face of a Moorish assault. His manner of depicting scenes of warfare reveals too the artificial enthusiasm of a non-combatant steeped in Livian rhetoric. Nothing could be more unlike the plain, blunt record of Pedro Lopez de Ayala of the great battles in which he fought and suffered, than those highly adorned scenes of conflict. The noise of shouting, the clamour of trumpets, the confused emotions of the combatants, all the decorations of the scene, take up more space than the events themselves; and the patriotic sentiments proper to the occasion, and generalizations about the motives of human conduct, are worked in exact imitation of Livy into the story of each action. If all direct paraphrases of Livy, such as that passage where Pulgar describes the behaviour of the Castilian troops after a Portuguese victory - "Juntanse con alegria, cuentan sus casos, muestran sus heridas, ensalzan los fechos de armas fuertes e osadas que habian pasado" etc. (II 87) - could be excised from the Cronica de D. Fernando e Dona Isobel we should lose nothing of any historical importance, and the work of Hernando del Pulgar would be of more living interest today.

Pulgar/

(1) Cronica, II.79, III.9.

Pulgar had completely abandoned the special annalistic method of Ayala, indicating the chronology merely by an occasional chapter-heading. His material he divided into three parts, the first concerned with the career of Isabel before her accession, the second with the warfare of Ferdinand and Isabel with Portugal and their measures for securing order at home, the third with their campaigns against the Moors. Into this framework he inserted at intervals information about events abroad, including a vague account of the discovery "en les partes de Poniente, muy lexanas de la tierra de España, podría ser un numero de mil leguas por mar", of "La mina del oro". The new discoveries so vaguely reported by Hernando del Pulgar - "no sabemos", he says "si esta tierra donde este oro se traia fuese la tierra de Tarsis, o la tierra de Ofir, de que face mencion la Sacra Escripura" - were to become a passion with another chronicler of the Catholic Monarchs, of a very different type.

Concerning the "Historia de los Reyes Catolicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel" of the "bachiller Andres Bernaldez, Cura que fue de la villa de los Palacios y Capellan de Don Diego Deza, Arzobispo de Sevilla", Hurtado and Palencia make the very obvious remark that it/

it is not written "al modo humanista de Pulgar."

Bernaldez has indeed no style of any kind; but when by exception he feels impelled to elaborate any important event, it is an ecclesiastical type of eloquence which he adopts by preference. Classical allusions are inserted only when he remembers that it is the correct thing so to do. Generally he is too busy to attend to such details. Hurtado and Palencia remark also, in the very brief paragraph they bestow on his work, that "está redactado siguiendo los modelos antiguos de las crónicas castellanas". If by this they mean no more than that the work of Bernaldez is formless, with no artistic unity of conception and plan, the statement may of course be accepted. The subject-matter, however, so far from bearing any resemblance to the themes of the medieval chronicler, with his interest focussed on the monarch, his wars and politics, and such external happenings as may affect his life and fortunes, resembles nothing so much as the news pages of a great modern daily paper. In their statement that the Cura de los Palacios "hace resaltar, quiza mejor que este (Pulgar) la idea directiva de la politica de los Reyes Catolicos", I must confess that I can find no meaning. Statesmanship, for Bernaldez was certainly the concern of chroniclers attached to the service/

service of the crown. By virtue of their office "deben procurar de evitar escandalos, e guerras entre los Reyes y los señores y procurar la paz e la concordia por epistolas de dulce y autorizado escribir"; and as Hernando del Pulgar understood about such things the unofficial chronicler simply inserted a few letters by the recognised authority into the body of his narrative, for the benefit of any who might care for such matters.⁽¹⁾ He personally had no concern with them. The great queen herself scarcely appears in his pages, save as a figure in some great procession, when he is careful to describe her attire, till by dying she provides him with an item of news for his miscellany. The Cura de los Palacios lived for news, gathered in from every quarter - English traders, travellers home from abroad, Jewish rabbis, and from "un hombre de tierra de Genova, mercader de libros de estampa, que trataba en esta tierra de Andalucia, que llamaban Christobal Colon" - and set down for the benefit of the man in the street by one who shared his eager curiosities, his bitter prejudices/

(1) Chapters XII, XIII, and XIV of the narrative of Bernaldez reproduce the letters of Pulgar to the Archbishop of Toledo; to a knight in the service of the Archbishop, and the very long official letter to the King of Portugal.

prejudices, and something of his kindness. Many of his pages are filled with matters of which he was an eye-witness. The expulsion of the Jews in 1492 was a joy to the Cura de los Palacios, ardent supporter of the Inquisition that he was; but when pitiful refugees began to drift back from Africa, seeking baptism in order to live, the sight of them moved him to compassion. "Aqui en este lugar de los Palacios " he says, "aportaron cien animas, que yo baptize venian desnudos, descalzos y llenos de piojos, muertos de hambre e muy mal aventurados, que era dolor de los ver."⁽¹⁾ The horrors of the pestilence of 1507 could not prevent Bernaldez from making curious inquiry into its incidence in different classes of the population, although he himself was sorely overworked. "En este lugar donde yo estube escapamos yo y el sacristan heridos y sangrados cada dos veces, y finaronse quatro mozos que andavan en la Iglesia, que no escapo ninguno, e de quinientas personas que habia en mi parroquia de este lugar y Villafranca de la Marisma, se finaron ciento y sesenta, entre chicos y grandes, que yo enterre."

Nothing/

(1) Historia de los Reyes Catolicos, 113.

(2) Historia de los Reyes Catolicos, 209.

Nothing is too trivial, and nothing too remote, for his unbounded curiosity. The weather, children's games and rhymes about the union of Castile and Aragon, royal marriages, the lineage of Manfred King of Sicily, French history - no item is rejected; and the final chapter of the queer miscellany has nothing to do with the monarchs whose names it bears. It tells the story of the death on Flodden field of the "cuitado rey", James IV of Scotland.

The great passion, however, of the Cura de los Palacios was for discovery in far-off lands. His favourite reading was the book of "Mosen Juan de Mandavilla el noble caballero ingles", whom he cites many times and in at least five different chapters of his work. (chapters 103, 118, 123, 126, and 127); and the individual to whom most space is granted in the so-called "Historia de los Reyes Catolicos" is neither Ferdinand of Aragon nor his wife Queen Isabel. It is "el Almirante, Don Christobal Colon, de maravillosa y honrada memoria", who, the Cura is proud to recall, "fue mi huesped y me dejo algunas escripturas"⁽¹⁾. When the/

(1) Historia de los Reyes Catolicos, ch. 123.

the great admiral, "inventor de las Indias", died at Valladolid "de edad de 70 anos poco mas o menos", the fifteenth century was past, and there were many to write of fresh discoveries. "Por ahora" says the Cura de los Palacios, concluding his own version of the voyages of Columbus, "no quiero escribir mas del descubrir de las Indias, pues a todos es notorio, y hay otros muchos que lo descubren, y sabenlo escribir, y recuentan lo que ven por toda Espana."⁽¹⁾ The medieval world was at an end.

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(1) Historia de los Reyes Catolicos, ch.131.

Main conclusions arrived at in the course of
this study.

Introductory Section.

Question of the authorship of the Tres Coronicas and of the Cronica de Alfonso XI.

- 1 The Fernan Sanchez de Tovar whose data are to be found in Ayala's Cronica de Pedro I and the two succeeding chronicles, had, despite the opinion of Amador de los Rios, nothing to do with either the Tres Coronicas or the cronica de Alfonso XI.
2. The Tres Coronicas and the Cronica de Alfonso XI are not by the same hand.
3. The author of the Cronica de Alfonso XI was very probably Fernan Sanchez de Valladolid. The "Tres Coronicas", possibly edited by Valladolid, appears the work of a somewhat earlier author, specially devoted to the person of Maria de Molina.

Life and works of Pedro Lopez
de Ayala.

(a) Life.

1. He was not a traitor. His adhesion to Don Pedro's enemies took place only after Pedro by his own act appeared to many men of the most distinguished character to have forfeited all title to further allegiance.
2. He did not rise to the dignity of Canciller Mayor under Enrique/

Enrique of Trastámara, and his chronicles show no trace of any special affection or partiality for Don Pedro's supplanter

3. His political importance belongs to the reigns of Juan I and Enrique III, and is manifested not by executive power at home but by diplomatic activities abroad. The honour of the Chancellorship was conferred only in his old age.

(b) The chronicles.

1. He did not aim at altering the traditional framework or scope of the mediaeval chronicler.
2. The details of his prose style show no advance in artistry as compared with that of D. Juan Manuel or even that of the *Cronica de Alfonso XI*.
3. The originality of the "retratos" has been exaggerated. Ayala owes a great debt to the *Primera Cronica general*.
4. The most important result of his studies of Livy is the inclusion of set speeches as an essential part of the narrative. The appeal of the classical author is to Ayala, however merely intellectual, not artistic. In esthetic appreciation his standards are entirely mediaeval.
5. His outstanding literary quality is a native gift of forcible narrative, combined with an intellectual interest in the motives of conduct. His narrative gift is hampered rather than helped by his own theories of correct historical procedure, and by a personal preference for somewhat prosy disquisitions./

disquisitions.

6. In questions of fact his reliability has successfully withstood the continuous and violent criticism to which it has been subjected. In the interpretation of motive he is inevitably affected by the fact that he is a contemporary of the events narrated; but he is capable of presenting both sides of the question. In the much-discussed Cronica de Don Pedro his attitude is not that of a supporter of Don Pedro's Supplanter. It is rather that of a disapproving and disgruntled adherent of the king, and displays not so much any overwhelming moral detestation of his cruelties as annoyance at his refusal to accept good advice, and a certain complacency in underlining the disastrous results of the king's wrong-headedness.

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