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Round Table 2: To what extent does a history from below constitute a crucial aspect of the relation between center and periphery? What was the relationship between minority communities and the notion of a homogenous, universal, and Christian empire?

"I have only done as you have commanded."

Early modern Spanish history is simultaneously imperial and majestic but also culturally transgressive because of the mixed heritage of Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula. Was Spain European or Mediterranean? Relating its late fourteenth-through sixteenth-century history is complicated and disjointed because of competing narratives that struggle to explain whether Spain was actually a unified Spanish Christian state with one people by 1500 or a social organism that was much more culturally and religiously hybridized. Castilians had created institutional rules—such as blood purity laws—that few families could measure up to. Many nobles simply could not claim pure Old Christian blood lineages and thus were cognizant of the need to destroy records documenting New Christian ties and to fabricate new ones that showed ancient Christian roots.

Exploring the actions of one family from the Castilian periphery, the Carvajal–Santa María family confederation of the Extremadura, allows us to view why and how conversos eliminated problematic royal and noble lineages in order to manifest an idealized Christian Spain. Just as this family confederation had created a formidable fraternal history in the personages of Cardinal Juan de Carvajal and Cardinal Bernardino López de Carvajal, it also had to suppress other less desirable aspects of its lineage. There was no other early sixteenth-century family member more involved in this endeavor to manage the history and memory of the entire Spanish nobility than Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal. His role in the editing of royal chronicles and other documents that might reveal the Jewish, Muslim, and lowly origins of the royalty and nobility is virtually certain. Further, Lorenzo was highly aware of his actions and his role on behalf of the Catholic monarchs and, later, Emperor Carlos V. In many of his personal letters, Lorenzo characteristically concluded with a personal hallmark that communicated some sense of his personal and professional character and approach to his duty to others: "I have done only what you commanded."¹

¹ AGS, Cámara de Castilla 137, doc. 322; AGS, Cámara de Castilla 164, doc. 103; AGS, Cámara de Castilla 143, doc. 69; AGS, Cámara de Castilla 157, docs. 128–30.

What was the doctor commanded to do by Spain's royal leadership? To clarify that Spain's ancestry was Christian and did not suffer from any Jewish or Muslim defects. Due to their elevated position in the Castilian world, many noble clans came to benefit from Lorenzo's reworking of official chronicles and genealogical treatises that celebrated their ancestral lineages and accomplishments. Among his most significant works from the first decades of the 1500s were *Crónica de los reyes católicos desde 1468 hasta 1518*; *Anales breves de los reyes católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*; *Genealogía de los Reyes de Castilla, desde don Pelayo hasta don Juan II*; *Crónica de Juan II*; *Crónica de Enrique IV*; and *Adiciones genealógicas a los Claros varones de Castilla, de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, señor de Batres*.²

In terms of their relevance to the particular question of the Jewish origins, and for that matter, Muslim origins, of some of the Castilian nobility, these official state creations are known to present falsified genealogies. In his unpublished manuscript, "*Vida y obras maestras del Dr. D. Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal*", the distinguished historian and member of the Royal Academy of History, Rafael Floranes (1743–1801), argues, "We know of the defects he [Lorenzo] created and introduced into the chronicles, which were not present during earlier reign's [versions]. . . . [D]uring the time of the Catholic Monarchs, he was censor and judge of the works of prior chroniclers . . . as well a master editor [of those works]."³

The sterilizing efforts of Lorenzo are most apparent in the collected annals of Castilian history (the previously mentioned chronicles). These annals conspicuously excluded the four most illustrious men of the preceding two hundred years: King Ferdinand of Aragón, Constable Ruy López Dávalos, Admiral Alonso Enríquez, and Royal Chancellor Pedro López de Ayala.⁴ These genealogies were not properly documented until the 1517 publication of *Adiciones genealógicas a los Claros varones de Castilla, de Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, señor de Batres*.

By tampering with earlier chronicles, especially those pertaining to the period when New Noble and converso families were actively shaping Castile's political and cultural agenda (the reigns of Juan II, 1406–54, and Enrique III, 1454–74), Lorenzo began a process of religious cleansing of Spain's past.⁵ In doing so, he was actually altering the work of his own kinsmen, such as Alvar García de Santa María, a royal administrator for

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² BNE, MSS 18.346; BNE, MSS 11.174; BNE, MSS 7.860; BNE, MSS 945; BNE, MSS 13.261; BNE, MSS 677.

³ RAH, Colección Floranes, tomo B-16, fol. 13v (281v).

⁴ RAH, Colección Floranes, tomo B-16, fol. 18 (288).

⁵ RAH, Colección Floranes, tomo B-16, fols. 13v–14 (281v–282).

King Juan II. A principal endeavor involved creating “confusion” around the royal Trastámaran dynasty’s bloodlines and other noble ancestries, as well as redacting the prologue from Fernán Pérez de Guzmán’s *Crónica de Juan II*. These redactions eliminated “the genealogy of Bishop Don Alonso de Burgos [a converso] and his consanguinity with this king [Juan II].”⁶ With the stroke of the pen, Lorenzo the chronicler excised the Jewish and converso bloodlines that connected the ha-Levi/Santa María, Álvaro de Luna, and Pérez de Guzmán clans to Castilian King Juan II. Those same ancestries would come to link the Carvajal family to the Trastámaran dynasty as well via their intermarriage with the Santa María in Plasencia. One of the few well-documented examples where historians know that Lorenzo Galíndez was actively manipulating the identities of Spain’s illustrious families is the case of the converso Antonio de Nebrija, author of the first Castilian grammar, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*.⁷ Published in 1492, this critical work was the first grammar published for any European language, excluding Latin. Included in *Adiciones genealógicas*, prepared and presented by Lorenzo on behalf of the deceased Catholic monarchs in 1517 (during the minority rule of Carlos V), were the king’s ancestry and many notable families’ lineages, as well as the ancestral blood lineage of Nebrija, himself a New Christian.⁸ On final preparation of the manuscript, which was printed in the northern Castilian city of Logroño, Nebrija noted that his family history was incorrect. Rafael Floranes shares an account that was relayed to the king regarding the final publication of *Adiciones genealógicas*.

The chronicle came out of the press in Logroño at the same time that the treatise [*Adiciones genealógicas?*] and its first three collections of additions and notes was printed. Then this one [Nebrija] took a sample volume [from the press] and returned to his study to examine it. He then compared it with the [original] manuscript he had given to the printer or another of the same version. He noted in the margin the many errors that the printer had committed, among the more substantial ones were certain genealogical notes that spoke of him [Nebrija] and of his blood lineage. He recorded all this with the intent of fixing them [the errors] in a second edition because he did not personally concur with this one. This supervisor [of the press] said he had printed as he was told[,] . . . cautioning these were the notes and corrections of Galíndez and the volume would be used.⁹

⁶ RAH, Colección Floranes, tomo B-16, fol. 14 (282), 17 (287). Alonso de Cartagena was also known as Alfonso de Cartagena or the son of Pablo de Santa María.

⁷ Castro, *Spaniards*, 485–86; Meyuhas, *Between Sepharad and Jerusalem*, 22–23; Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit*, 435.

⁸ BNE, MSS 10.677

⁹ RAH, Colección Floranes, tomo B-16, fol. 17 (289).

Floranes's account of Nebrija's experience seems plausible, given the need to "fix" lineages. After all, how could the Catholic monarchs justify and continue to enforce blood purity laws across every institution if their own lineages, and that of the nobility, were so corrupted?

Floranes concludes his analysis of *Adiciones genealógicas* with supplementary notations that suggest Lorenzo "corrected" many other noble genealogies. In addition to referencing Francisco Mendoza y Bobadilla's contemporary text, *El tizón de la nobleza*, Floranes laments how "through this invention of Dr. Galíndez, our history has been taken from our hands."¹⁰

Through loyal servants like Carvajal–Santa María family confederation, who simultaneously hid their own Jewish origins and ensured a secret family memory, imperial Spain was framed as whole, Catholic, and Castilian.

¹⁰ RAH, Colección Floranes, tomo B-16, fol. 20 (293).