

VIOLENCE BETWEEN FACTIONS IN MEDIEVAL SALAMANCA. SOME PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to explain the famous fights between factions in Salamanca in the 14th and 15th centuries, moving away from the most common interpretations. Historians, especially early ones, emphasized certain bloody events such as the revenge of María de Monroy. The fights between factions have also frequently been treated as something unitary. Our position, on the contrary, is that the phenomenon was the result of an empirical combination of different situations: personal rivalries, power struggles, and destabilizing interference on the part of the high nobility of the city, among other factors. There were thus different conflicts that nonetheless were presented as one same situation by the discourse and the languages of the time.

KEY WORDS

Faction, Lineage, Revenge, Conflicts, Cities, Urban nobility.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Factio, Genus, Ultio, Discordiae, Ciuitates, Urbes, Urbana nobilitas.

1. From the erudite and legendary tradition to current Social History

All children in Salamanca has heard of the famous medieval “*bandos*” or factions of the city on the Tormes. A central square is named after them and it contains a house from the second half of the 15th century that belonged to the leading character of this story, María “*la Brava*”, María “*the Wild*”. On the other hand, among his two or three most famous miracles by the patron saint of the city, Saint John of Sahagún, who lived in Salamanca during the reign of the Catholic Kings, he is attributed with having appeased the famous factions. In the city’s collective imagination, to these well established and popular traditions is added another that brings a specific place into the legend, the so-called “*Corrillo*”, a little square just next to the *Plaza Mayor*, that used to be part of *Plaza de San Martín* and that was given, it is not known exactly when, the name of “*Corrillo de la Yerba*”. The reason behind this name is linked to the tradition of the factions. The place served to mark the boundary between the two halves the city was divided into —San Benito to the south, San Martín or Santo Tomé to the north. It was said that tension was so high at that time that nobody dared cross this little square and so, despite being the geographic centre of the city, it was overgrown with grass.

It is odd that such a deeply-rooted tradition as the Salamancon factions and one which has been reproduced and studied, still presents significant problems of interpretation. It is certain that historians nowadays disregard prejudices that have been passed on down the generations and try to apply well-reasoned conceptualisations, according to their own logic, that do not necessarily coincide with traditional explanations. However, these explanations still carry a lot of weight; they are supported by quite a few fundamentals and are, in all likelihood, largely based in historical truth, which is difficult to prove academically.

We will analyse accounts and documents that correspond to the period 1390-1493, a time that can be researched with the most professional rigour, and we will also try to explain the situation just prior to, and following this period. Apart from that, historians say that the contemporary sources, which tell us about the conflict, indicate no specific origins for the factions. It is significant that the most popular and convincing explanation for the roots of the tensions between the factions, at least at their peak or seminal moment, was conceived later, in the same way as the official tradition of the History of the Factions, from an account written at the beginning of the 16th century.

This account was written by one Alonso Maldonado in a family chronicle relating to the Monroys, in which he explains an episode referring to the ancestors of the chronicle’s main character, even though the episode was not the central theme of the work. Barely one or two generations would have passed between the events that we are interested in and the work being written. The chronicle in question is known as “*Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy, Clavero y Maestre de la Orden de Alcántara*”.

Briefly, almost in the opening passages of the work,¹ it refers to certain events, and to María de Monroy. She was member of one of the leading families in the city, the Monroys, recently widowed from the knight Enrique Enríquez, another of the city's patrician lineages, and responsible for the following events. After finding out that her two sons had died at the hands of two other young men, the Manzano brothers, following an initially trivial dispute, she avenged their death, pursuing those responsible as far as Portugal where they had fled, and bringing their severed heads back to Salamanca where she placed them on the tombs of her sons.

It is now worth emphasizing that this event, told by Alonso Maldonado, the details and significance of which we will return to later,² was not linked by the chronicler to the origins of the factions. In the early years of the 16th century, the memory of the revenge against the Manzanos was talked about in the city. This is confirmed by the brief work called *Triunfo Raimundino* that Villar y Macías dates to the first decade of that century and that is attributed to Juan Ramón de Trasmiera. It is an enigmatic poem focused on praising the city, resettled by Raimundo de Borgoña, and an exploration of the Salamancan lineages. It is very much in the Renaissance style, recalling the glories of the city's leading families, the exploits of their illustrious members on the battlefield or elsewhere. The work describes in simple rhymes certain genealogical and pseudo-historical fantasies of the great men as well as the coat of arms of each house, making a sort of jumble of surnames, from some of the high nobility (not even Salamancan but Castilian) to others from very modest backgrounds. And thus, grouping the aristocratic families of Salamanca into two factions, as we will show below, has been used as a "documentary" value to back the theory of a clear-cut division of the city into the two famous aristocratic groups. The poem,³ whose original manuscript is also a jewel of heraldic illustrations, is complex and difficult to interpret and should be read as a work of literature. What is certain is that, on its tour of illustrious surnames, and by referring particularly to the Manzanos, it is a lyrical evocation of the tragic fate of this family.⁴ However, it does not bestow greater importance on the event than the shadow the Manzano brothers' crime cast on their family, which, on the other hand, is one more among

1. Maldonado, Alonso. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy, Clavero y Maestre de la Orden de Alcántara". *Memorial Histórico Español*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853: VI, 1-110. The events we are interested in are described specifically on pages 17-19.

2. Maldonado, Alonso. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy ...: 1-110.

3. From the Colegio Mayor San Bartolomé or Anaya. It was published as an appendix by Villar y Macías, Manuel, *Historia de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Graficesa, 1973-1975 (1st ed.: 1887): V, ap. doc. XIX, 165-180. The manuscript ended up in the National Library; quoted by Álvarez Villar, Julián. *De Heráldica Salmantina. Historia de la ciudad en el arte de sus blasones*. Salamanca: Ayuntamiento de Salamanca-Colegio de España, 1997: 301 (1st ed., Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1966).

4. It says about the lineage that it had connections with France and was integrated into the Santo Tomé faction. It adds: "*La sangre de los Manzano/ purpúreo al bando volvió/ cuando la muerte se/ con guadaña los hermanos./ por las maternales manos/ Fueron sus muertes vengadas./ De las sangrientas espadas/ negras de en sangre cercanos.*" ("The blood of the Manzanos/purple-red returned to the faction /when death reached /the brothers with a scythe/by maternal hands/their deaths by bloody sword avenged/black with loved-ones' blood").



the numerous houses mentioned, one by one, in the poem.⁵ It does not suggest that the bloody act sparked or gave rise to the enmity between the city's two factions. There is nothing about this. In fact, the poem suggests that the Manzanos and Monroys were part of the same Santo Tomé faction.

It is likely that the *Triunfo Raimundino* produced but a faint echo at the time. The fact of falling into obscurity has meant that it has not been part of the city's literary and cultural tradition. Conversely, this work was finally given recognition when the first historian to study the city methodically, Gil González Dávila, author of the famous *Theatro Eclesiástico*, wrote his *Historia de las Antigüedades de la ciudad de Salamanca*.⁶ The factions only fill a few pages in his 500-page exploration of the city. González Dávila reproduces Maldonado's passage almost literally. However, after telling the story, he writes about the subsequent death of María de Monroy, "a quien dieron los de aquel siglo renombre de Brava, por el hecho notable que auía emprendido". And he adds, "Tal fue el origen de los bandos de Salamanca, que como fueron creciendo en años, fueron también creciendo en daños, y dissensiones, heredando los odios y rencores". This would be his particular *inventio* on the theme. Later the author writes that "no tomaron estos bandos nombre de sus auctores y dueños, sino de dos parroquias principales de Salamanca, Santo Tomé y San Benito".⁷ This means that, for González Dávila, the bloody act of vengeance by María de Monroy and the existence of the Santo Tomé and San Benito factions were already one and the same phenomenon and moreover the origin of the factions.

This identification would carry weight for centuries in Salamancan historiography. In another passage, González Dávila gave the distinguished role of peacemaker between the factions, at the time of the Catholic Kings, to Juan de Sahagún, an Augustinian preacher in the city, who died in 1479,⁸ and whose feast day is celebrated

5. Surnames included in the San Benito faction: Fonseca, Acevedo, Maldonado, Enríquez, Anaya —several branches—, Cerda, Arias, Guzmán, Nieto, Figueroa, Pereira, Bonal, Dávila, Arias Maldonado, Zúñiga, Vacas, Palomeque, Godínez, Maldonado de Monleón, Paz, Sotomayor, Porras, Fontiveros, Tejada —some branchy—, Yáñez de Ovalle, Suárez, Mejias, Osorio, González and "Casa de Alba". And in the Santo Tomé faction: Guzmán —another branch—, Manrique, Lara, Villafuerte, Rodríguez, Miranda, Fonseca —one branch—, Ferrera, Araúzo, Solís —several branches—, Ordóñez, Tejada —another branch—, Villafuerte, Monroy, Aldana, Díaz, Viedma, Ovalle, Urrea, Rodríguez, Manzano, Maldonado —a minor branch—, Paz —some branches—, Brochero, Corvelle, Luna and Cornejo.

6. It was published in 1606. There is a recent facsimile edition by Baltasar Cuart Moner (with a detailed and thorough critical introduction): González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades de la Ciudad de Salamanca*, ed. Baltasar Cuart. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca-Ediciones Diputación de Salamanca, 1994.

7. "who those of that century gave the nickname Brava (Wild), for the notable deed that she had done" (...) "Thus was the origin of the bands in Salamanca, which, as they grew in years, also grew in damage, and dissensions, inheriting the hatreds and rancours" (...) "these bands did not take their names from their authors and owners, but rather from the main parishes of Salamanca, Santo Tomé and San Benito". (González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades...*: book III, chapter XII, 316-317).

8. It seems that even the first biographer of San Juan de Sahagún, father John of Seville, around 1488 —transcribed by Tomás de Herrera— already mentioned this role of peacemaker "Estando él en Salamanca en tiempos de los bandos estorbó muchas muertes de hombres y muchos males, que se causarían si él no lo estorbaba". ("By being in Salamanca at the time of the factions he prevented the killing of many men and much wrong-doing, which would have happened if he had not got in the way.") References in Juan de Sevilla

every June. Later historians refer to his work as an authority on the subject. This is the case of Bernardo Dorado's work, *Compendio Histórico*, written at the end of the 18th century,⁹ and José María Quadrado's, in 1884, which summarises the events very succinctly,¹⁰ along very similar lines to the brief contemporary description that F. Araújo gives in *La Reina del Tormes*.¹¹

At that time, a book by Manuel Villar y Macías, called *Bandos de Salamanca* had appeared in 1883, the data from which was revised and incorporated into his monu-

(c. 1488), *Vida de San Juan de Sahagún, prior del convento de San Agustín de Salamanca*, by father Tomás Herrera, Madrid, 1652; likewise, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 80. But it was González Dávila who popularised the figure. His *Historia* seems to have coincided with a time when there was a lot of enthusiasm surrounding the figure of San Juan de Sahagún, and what is certain is that since then this Grecian figure has been associated with the history of the Salamanca factions. González Dávila describes a miracle carried out by the Saint, namely that of pacifying the bellicose Duke of Alba, making the runaway horses of some of the Duke's men that were about to attack him, suddenly stop, González Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades...* book III, chapter XVII, 379, 385-387. Apart from this, other miracles are attributed to San Juan de Sahagún, like saving the life of a child who had fallen down a well, or holding off the brutal charge of a crazed bull running uncontrollably through the streets of the city, which is another of the zoological miracles attributed to the saint. But it was the supposed pacification of the factions that was the most valued tradition in relation to this figure, beatified in 1601 and canonized in 1691. A biography of the Saint that sheds no light on the topic we are looking at, can be found in García Abad, Albano. *San Juan de Sahagún. Fenómeno social del siglo XV*. León: Lancia, 1994.

9. Dorado, Bernardo. *Compendio histórico de la ciudad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Juan Antonio de Lasanta, 1776 (facsimile ed., Salamanca: Europa, 1985). It summarises the episode of the young sons of Enríquez and Monroy and their confrontation with the Manzanos, which started, it says, with a quarrel while playing ball, and later succinctly describes the revenge of María. "*Tal fue el origen de estos enardecidos y sangrientos vandos, de los que, aunque sus principales cabezas eran Monroyes y Manzanos, por odios particulares todos tenían sus sequaces*" ("*Such was the origin of these angry and bloody factions, who, although their main leaders were the Monroys and Manzanos, because of personal hatreds, all had their sequaces*") (Dorado, Bernardo. *Compendio histórico de la ciudad de Salamanca...*: chapter XLVI, IV, 310-311).

10. Quadrado, José María. *Salamanca, Ávila y Segovia*. Barcelona: El Albir, 1979: 29-30 (1st ed., Barcelona: Daniel Cortezo, 1884). It mentions the episode of María la Brava, the names of Santo Tomé and San Benito, the intervention of San Juan de Sahagún —without specifics— and the division of the Salamanca knights in half "*ligados con una o con otra familia, a los cuales se dice servía de línea divisoria rara vez hollada el Corrillo de la Yerba*" ("*linked to one family or other, to whom, it is said, the rarely set foot on Corillo de la Yerba served as a dividing line*"). The name of de Yerba (literally translated as "of grass"), which has been associated with this factional motive, is certainly ancient since it appears in documents from the 15th century, next to the San Martín church and square, or rather, exactly in the place where it was assumed the dividing line between factions was.

11. Araujo, Fernando. *La reina del Tormes. Guía histórico-descriptiva de la ciudad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Caja Salamanca, 1984: chapter I, XI, 75-76. (1st ed., Salamanca: Jacinto Hidalgo, 1884). He places importance on the famous event and legend of the Yerba del Corrillo, creating an image of the city as being in a state of war "*temerosa línea divisoria por ninguno franqueada sin exposición de muerte, convirtiendo las casas en atrincheramientos y en campos de batalla las calles, no ya un día y otro día, sino un año y otro año, hasta dejar que la yerba en el Corrillo, el Rubicón de aquellos Césares, se levantara como padrón de ignominia...*" ("*frightening dividing line, that no one crossed without putting their life in danger, converting houses into trenches and the streets into battle fields, day after day, year after year, until the grass in the Corillo was left, Rubicon to those Caesars, to grow like the master of ignominy...*"), but considered that, this episode did not occur after the fight during the ball game and the "*venganza de la terrible madre*" ("*revenge of the terrible mother*"), the spark of discord set it alight. "*seguros estamos de que no hubiera faltado otra ocasión, más pronto o más tarde, para encender la rivalidad*" ("*we are certain that sooner or later another occasion would have arisen to spark the rivalry*"), even suggesting that at the end of the 15th century division and discord in the city were already insinuated, (Araujo, Fernando. *La reina del Tormes...*: chapter I, XI, 75-76).



mental *Historia de Salamanca*, published in 1887. For its very magnitude, this work¹² constitutes a milestone in Salamancan historiography. The factions play a prominent role in the treatment of Salamanca in medieval times, a period that receives special attention. Villar y Macías does not conform with the famous revenge as an explanation for the factions. The author dedicated more than 20 years to writing the aforementioned *Historia de Salamanca*, he consulted books and archives, all the sources that he had at his disposal, many nowadays impossible to find. He wrote more than 1,500 pages filled with dates, names and comments. This empirical obsession (which the romantic legend would have us believe led him to commit suicide in 1891 when a trivial fact was refuted) allowed the author to fix the date of María de Monroy's revenge at around 1464 or, at the latest, the beginning of 1465, since there are testimonies regarding the confiscation of the Manzanos' goods, carried out by Henry IV in the latter year, precisely as a consequence of the murder of the Enríquez boys. Villar y Macías places a lot of importance on the episode, but refutes its status as a seminal event in the factional conflict. Villar y Macías had many other references that led him to think that he had to look for other origins.

The author, in fact, suggests other additional causes. Villar y Macías thought that the references made in the *Fuero* (Charter) of Salamanca to the peoples, "*sesmos*" or "*linajes*", which he calls "*repopulating nations*", would be one of the causes of the factions.¹³ However, Villar y Macías goes even further, seeing the factions almost as a constant in the city's history.

Since Villar y Macías, no discoveries of any note were made until the late twentieth century. Perhaps an article of particular interest about the explanation for the Salamancan factions is the one by N. Cabrillana, which referred to the seizure of lands in Salamanca in the middle of the 15th century. Too close to a unilateral explanation based on the economic self-interest of the Salamancan nobility, he suggested that the greed of the Salamancan aristocracy to possess and occupy (legally and, above all, illegally) lands and privileges triggered the enmity between them.¹⁴

M. González García, in his book published in 1982, does not deal with the factions in particular, but, in a very linear exploration of the history of Salamanca, he brings to the fore an idea that I consider quite suggestive, even though it does not get to the bottom of the complexity of the faction phenomenon, as I will demonstrate below. He refers to the struggles between those Salamancans who supported Peter I and those backing Henry II during the civil war as the

12. Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*

13. As each one, coming from different geographic origins, (see note 24) had their own mayors and judges, their own area, it was a source of constant tension, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: II, 14-19; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 43-44.

14. Cabrillana, Nicolás. "Salamanca en el siglo XV: nobles y campesinos". *Cuadernos de Historia, Anexos de Hispania*, 3 (1969): 255-295. It specifically emphasizes "*la influencia que la lucha por la posesión de la tierra tuvo en el recrudecimiento del odio entre linajes*" ("*the influence that the struggle for possession of the land had in intensifying hatred between lineages*") (Cabrillana, Nicolás. "Salamanca en el siglo XV: nobles y campesinos"....: 256).

motive and origin of the factions.¹⁵ Perhaps the explanation is questionable, on the premise that it connects phenomena that were perhaps not linked. However, what is clear is that the question of "*parcialidades*" or factional allegiances, a type of alignment usually connected to the dynastic struggles in which the nobility found themselves involved in the 13th – 15th centuries, was undoubtedly one of the most inflammatory expressions in the political struggles in early medieval Salamanca, and one which made the greatest contribution to making the city's factions famous throughout the kingdom.

The book by Clara Isabel López Benito, published in 1983 and based on her degree thesis completed the previous year, constitutes the basic reference text for the question of factions in Salamanca, specifically during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.¹⁶ The author respectfully considered the opinions of Villar y Macías and those of Cabrilla, but focused, as had not been done previously, on identifying the protagonists, the names and surnames of those who intervened in the struggles during those years, above all between the ceasefires of 1476 (which were famous) and the new tensions that arose around 1493, or even up until 1507, a time of renewed violence analysed in López Benito's book. For this late stage, there is a good deal of information in archives from the cathedral, town council, and Simancas, allowing the profile of the conflict to be discovered, as the author found. The book was also, and this was the reason for its conception, a demographic, economic and social study of the city in the decades leading up to and following the year 1500. As regards the explanation, she eclectically accepts various motives, among them the distant birth of repopulation (although, logically, she does not analyse this context), she tiptoes around the vengeful act of 1464 against the Manzanos, to which she barely allocates any importance, and instead places the main emphasis on the power struggle for the town council and the struggle for control of the land, both factors in the disputes and fights between the Salamancan knights.¹⁷ Indeed, she considers the seizures of lands by the town council and the struggles between

15. It specifically states, "*este enfrentamiento entre Tejedas y Maldonados está en el origen de la división del patriciado salmantino en dos bandos*" ("*this confrontation between the Tejedas and Maldonados is the origin of the division of the Salamancan patricians into two factions*") (González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1982: 103).

16. López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios en Salamanca al iniciarse la Edad Moderna*. Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1983.

17. To be precise, the author refers to the motives of the conflict. She states that events such as María de Monroy's revenge "*pueden surgir, a corto plazo, por un deseo de venganza, por un ajuste de cuentas. Pero bajo móviles de tales características subyacen razones de carácter perdurable y, por ello, mucho más importantes para el historiador*". ("*can occur, in the short term, through a desire for revenge, by the settling of accounts. But underneath the motives of this character are underlying reasons of a more lasting nature, which, for this reason, are much more important to the historian*"). He later adds that "*dos son, a nuestro entender, los motivos de tipo estructural que enfrentaron a la oligarquía salmantina: la posesión de la tierra y la consecución del poder municipal, con la capacidad de actuación y la influencia que ambos llevan inherente*" ("*as we see it, there are two structural motives that confronted the Salamancan oligarchy: possession of the land and the securing of power in the town council, with the capacity to act and the influence that both inherently held*") (López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios ...*: 127).



the factions to be a simultaneous conflict. The “structural”¹⁸ focus and that of the “struggle to protect their own interests”, or class struggle between the members of the Salamancon oligarchy, dominate the author’s viewpoint, which corresponds to certain historiographical schools that were in vogue when it was written in 1982; but the author goes further, with great care and precision she analyses the problems of the city in the late medieval period, and contributes the best documentary information known to date.

After this book, it is worth highlighting the publication of various sources in the following years, with or without introductions or previous studies,¹⁹ including the historiographical revision of the subject in the *Nueva Historia de Salamanca*, a joint work published in 1997, in the *Historia Medieval* volume. It fell to me personally to research the question of Salamancon lineages and factions. My contribution to this *Historia de Salamanca* was to interpret the issue²⁰ according to certain premises and points of view that we had been able to establish in previous studies.²¹ We supposed that, beneath the apparently unitary conflict between the factions, there lay several completely different lines of conflict. We even ended up suggesting that some of the most emblematic topics or events from the story of the Salamancon factions had been either alien to the struggles between the

18. With this kind of approach, aspects like that of the crisis of the 14th century or the antagonistic social struggles between members of the nobility —whether rural or urban— were given great importance. Clara Isabel López Benito, mentioned above for other motives (see previous note), also highlights the crisis of the 14th century as a cause of unease among the nobility, which translated into violence and put the behaviour of the Salamancon nobles on a par with the “feudal wrong-doers”, López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios...*: 162. The issue can also be confirmed in a brief article by A. Vaca. This is a collection of documents, but the explanation that opens the collection emphasises these questions of antagonistic confrontations between the city’s aristocratic classes, Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. “Los bandos salmantinos. Aportación documental para su estudio”, *Salamanca y su proyección en el mundo. Estudios históricos en honor de D. Florencio Marcos*, José Antonio Bonilla Hernández, coord. Salamanca: Centros de Estudios Salmantinos, 1992: 433-458.

19. Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. “Los bandos salmantinos. Aportación documental para su estudio”...: 433-458; Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. “La oligarquía urbana salmantina en la Baja Edad Media. Caballeros y escuderos en pugna por los cargos del Concejo (1390-1408)”. *Anales de Historia Antigua, Medieval y Moderna*, 31(1998): 63-93; Vaca, Ángel; Bonilla, José Antonio, eds. *Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*. Salamanca: Caja de Ahorros y Monte Piedad de Salamanca, 1989; Martín Rodríguez, José Luis. “Noticias sobre «Bandos» y «Comunidades» reunidas por José Iglesias de la Casa”, *Salamanca y su proyección en el mundo. Estudios históricos en honor de D. Florencio Marcos...*: 459-475.

20. Monsalvo Antón, José María. “La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros (en Salamanca y en Ciudad Rodrigo)”, *Historia de Salamanca. Tomo II. Edad Media*, José María Mínguez, coord. Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1997: 389-478; the question of factions and lineages is tackled specifically on pages 427-468 of this chapter.

21. The references come from previous approaches, with a generally Castilian viewpoint, to the monograph treating the far from convincing case of Alba de Tormes, Monsalvo Antón, José María. *El sistema político concejil. El ejemplo del señorío medieval de Alba de Tormes y su concejo de villa y tierra*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988; Monsalvo Antón, José María. “La sociedad política en los concejos castellanos de la Meseta durante la época del Regimiento medieval. La distribución social del poder”, *Concejos y ciudades en la Edad Media Hispánica: II Congreso de Estudios Medievales. León, del 25 al 29 de Setiembre de 1989*. Madrid: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1990: 359-413; Monsalvo Antón, José María. “Parentesco y sistema concejil. Observaciones sobre la funcionalidad política de los linajes urbanos en Castilla y León (ss. XIII-XV)”. *Hispania*, 53/185 (1993): 937-970.

lineages of the knights in the city, or completely random within the characteristic alignments. Among these are, as we will see, the topographic spatial division of the city into two halves, the first ordinances relating to the sharing out of positions in public office between the two parties- the ordinances of 1390- and even of María La Brava's revenge, no less. However, along with this decoding, as it were, of the factional problem, we were trying to investigate the motives behind each type of known confrontation. It is always difficult to decipher the motives or causes of conflicts. But we observed that, practically in unison, historiography had always explained the struggles between the factions as an "effect" of something, be it economic interests, the consequences of a particular period of repopulation of the city, the struggle for public office, etc., forgetting perhaps that the actual representation and awareness, pseudo-relationships and alliances acted as their own cause and not as an effect of other factors. On the other hand, we saw no significant connection between the phenomenon of the factions and the crisis of the 14th century or the conduct of the "feudal wrongdoers", neither because of its morphology, nor its scope, nor the historical moment, nor in any case as an effect or result of the nobility's problems of social reproduction.²² Thus we strip the conflict between the factions of Salamanca of its supplementary role which it had acquired, especially in the most recent historiography, in comparison with the greater importance given to the economic crises, class interests, the regime of the town council, and other factors that have been considered something like "authentic" causes.

2. Uniform discourses, different conflicts

However strong the desire to find the motives and the basis for the conflict in the repopulating "*naturas*" or "peoples" of the 11th and 12th centuries, or some references from the 13th century, which we will now examine, what is clear is that there is no single piece of evidence of alliances that we can interpret as struggles between factions from those centuries. However, historians have interpreted some places in the *Fuero de Salamanca* (Salamanca charter) where *bandos* are mentioned in this

22. This does not mean that the urban aristocracy did not use force and coercion against the peasants in the sphere of Salamancon crown land. On the contrary, we have suggested that the violent and aggressive behaviour that this social sector exerted on the humble peasants in the villages was a characteristic norm of behaviour, though on the scale of the "*pequeñas violencias sistemáticas*" ("minor systematic acts of violence") in the rural environment. Note our work, Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Aspectos de las culturas políticas de los caballeros y los pecheros en Salamanca y Ciudad Rodrigo a mediados del siglo XV. Violencias rurales y debates sobre el poder en los concejos", *Lucha política. Condena y legitimación en la España Medieval*, Isabel Alfonso, Julio Escalona, Georges Martin, coords. Lyon: ENS Editions, 2004 (*Annexes des Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales*, 16, [2004]): 237-296. But we describe these kinds of attitudes from a different perspective and they cannot be identified with the rivalry and violence between the factions, with which, in most cases, they could have slight circumstantial connections.



way.²³ These include the references to the repopulating “*naturas*”,²⁴ called “*linajes*”²⁵ in some versions of the text, which has made it easy to believe in the existence of noble or knightly lineages from the initial age of the council organisation. We can equally believe that the mention of the word factions, called *bandos*, facilitated the creation of an equivalence, in the sense that the early medieval factions could be understood as a continuation of those mentioned in the *Fuero*. Indeed, *bandos*, with the meaning of alliances and disorder, are mentioned in one of its epigraphs, which could be related to the so-called repopulating peoples, as well as to any other motive of discord, something understandable, nevertheless, in a pioneering and incipient society like the Salamancan in the 12th century.²⁶

It seems logical to think that, in the context of groups that had recently arrived to repopulate the city, or that maintained a degree of idiosyncrasy for a certain period, assuming that the identity could last until the 13th century, disputes arose as a result of that type of solidarity, which we might consider “archaic” within the history of

23. We have already mentioned that Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...* But others did, too, among them, López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliario...*: 66, 161.

24. *Fuero de Salamanca*, titles 290, 311, 353, 355. We used the recent edition of this text by José Luis Martín Rodríguez and Javier Coca: *Fuero de Salamanca*, eds. José Luis Martín, Javier Coca. Salamanca: Diputación Provincial de Salamanca, 1987, from a copy of the manuscript in the city of Salamanca. Likewise in the classic edition by Américo Castro and Federico Onís, in this case taken from two manuscripts from El Escorial and Salamanca, in *Fueros leoneses de Zamora, Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes*, eds. Américo Castro, Federico de Onís. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1916. Also a Salamancan copy had previously been published by J. Sánchez Ruano: *Fuero de Salamanca publicado ahora por primera vez con notas, apéndice y un discurso preliminar*, ed. J. Sánchez Ruano. Salamanca: Salamanca: Imp. de D. Sebastián Cerezo, 1870. But we used José Luis Martín Rodríguez's edition. The *naturas* (peoples), to be precise, are those of the *serranos, castellanos toreses portugueses, bregancianos, francos* and *mozárabes*. Judges, juries and mayors rotated between these communities, according to rules explained in the *Fuero*, *F. Salamanca*, titles. 297, 311, 312, 355. (*Fuero de Salamanca...*: 297, 311, 312, 355). See our work: “La organización concejil en Salamanca, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes (siglo XII- mediados del siglo XIII)”, *I Congreso de Historia de Salamanca (Salamanca, 1989)*. Salamanca: Centro de Estudios Salmantinos, 1992: I, 365-395.

25. Specifically, one of the two versions kept in El Escorial, see previous note.

26. The *bandos* are mentioned in some of the epigraphs in the context of violence between groups of people, as collective ill will, incitement to commit a crime between neighbours: *Fuero de Salamanca*, ed. José Luis Martín Rodríguez...: titles 53, 153, 273. The most explicit references are to some conflicts during the reign of Ferdinand II, while they also mention other *iuras* (pacts) in Salamanca for as long as people had been living there. Another reason for the tensions had to do with the confrontation that arose between the Salamancans and Ferdinand II after the segregation of the Land of Salamanca into the two territories of Ledesma and Ciudad Rodrigo in 1161-1162, which the chroniclers mentioned (Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de Rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnhout: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1987: vol. 72, book. VII, chapter XX, 242; Tuy, Lucas de. *Chronicon Mundi*, ed. Emma Falque, Turnhout: Brepols 2003: vol. 74, Book IV, 79, 317). The *Fuero* says, “*la iura que fue fecha en Sancta Maria de la Vega e todas las otras sean desfechas e mayns non fagan otras iuras nin otras conpannas nin bandos nin corral mayns seamos unos con buena fe e sin engano a honor de nuestro sennor el Rey don Ferrnando e de todo el conceio de Salamanca*” (the pact that was made in Sancta Maria de la Vega and all the others are broken and let no more laws, or other companies, or factions or quarrels be made, but let us be men of good faith and without deception honour our master, King Fernando and the entire Salamancan council”) later adding that “*si alcalles o iusticias pesquirieren que algunas naturas se levantaren por fazer bandos o iuras viédenlo los alcalles e las justicias*” (“if the mayors or judges discover that certain peoples rise up to form factions or pacts the mayors and the judges will punish them”) (*Fuero de Salamanca*, ed. José Luis Martín Rodríguez...: title 273).

the Councils.²⁷ However, the formation of family and supra-family structures in the noble court and such like, and lineage-related structures, presumably happened much later than the period when these town councils were autonomous. The impression given is that the lineage structures were rebuilt in this way in the period 1250-1350, and with them, the subsequent solidarity between their members.²⁸

In any case, taking this interpretive framework as a starting point, the problem is that in practice we do not know the origin of the Salamancon noble lineages. The best-known Salamancon noble families do not appear in the cathedral documentation from the central medieval period. At the height of the 14th century, the names of Salamancon nobles began to emerge, for example in the chronicles during the time of Alfonso XI,²⁹ which constitute the earliest surviving heraldic expressions of the city's noble lineages. However, this is a late date, considering that the urban knightly classes had long been supported by the monarchy. Salamancon heraldists, faced with numerous examples of coats of arms scattered over palaces and corners all over the city in a manner unique in Castile, have tended to place the origin of the city's urban nobility in the first period of repopulation, in line with the present argument. However, such evidence, and other information, such as documents and chronicles,³⁰ enables us to think that the lineages of this later period dated back to the 11th or 12th centuries.³¹ While we cannot rule out awareness of family connections in the early medieval lineages fuelling the glorification of repopulating ancestors, going back *ex post facto* to nothing less than the origins of the urban nobility, those who

27. See our work; Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Frontera pionera, monarquía en expansión y formación de los concejos de villa y tierra. Relaciones de poder en el realengo concejil entre el Duero y el Tajo (c. 1072-c. 1222)". *Arqueología y territorio medieval*, 10 (2003): II, 45-126, specially 69-72, about this issue.

28. In a recent work, we attempted to explain the birth of the lineage structures, the nature of the supra-family alignments and the role of kinship in the council system. In that work we refer to, Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Parentesco y sistema concejil. Observaciones sobre la funcionalidad política de los linajes urbanos en Castilla y León (ss. XIII-XV)". *Hispania*, 53/185 (1993): 937-970.

29. Several of the Salamancon knights went to the solemn coronation of Alfonso XI in Burgos in 1331: Juan Alfonso de Benavides, Diego Alvarez de Sotomayor and Juan Arias Maldonado. They were probably already prominent and ennobled by that time. Some of them, like Juan Alfonso de Benavides, as well as Alfonso López de Tejada. Diego Alvarez Maldonado or Juan Rodríguez de las Varillas participated in the wars with Alfonso XI, in Algeciras and in other wars. They also appear in the middle of the 14th century among the main magistrates in the city, among them important figures like the aforementioned Juan Arias Maldonado, Domingo Benito, Diego Álvarez de Sotomayor and Domingo Juan de Santo Tomé who were probably some of the first members of the Regiment. References in "Crónica de Alfonso XI", *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde D. Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los reyes Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. Cayetano Rosell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: I, chapter C, 235; chapter CI, 235-236; chapter CII, 237; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: II, 57, IV, 11; González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media...*: 103.

30. See previous note.

31. In his monograph about the coats of arms on the Salamancon buildings, J. Álvarez Villar believes that the noble lineages come from the repopulation of the city, suggesting that the noble population came from *Castilla la Vieja and Galicia*, Álvarez Villar, Julián. *De Heráldica Salmantina...*: 13. However, when describing the shields of the main families decorating the walls of the city, I have observed that the references are always very late, no earlier than the 14th century, and very few even from that century, therefore moving the date back a few centuries is implausible having such an ancient providence.



arrived with Raimond of Burgundy or shortly afterwards (something that was not recorded in Salamanca in any case),³² it certainly seems implausible to discover patterns of continuity between the most socially distinguished sectors from the 11th and 12th centuries and those of the 14th and 15th centuries, i.e. those which were specifically involved in the factional struggles.

With this in mind, how should we interpret the first mention of “*la parte de San Benito*”, or the San Benito party, that appears in a town council document from 1290? It is a brief letter from the council of Salamanca, regulating certain aspects of the *hueste*, or militia, establishing that the council would answer the King’s call. The council’s commitment seems to be supported by both *partes*, one of which had no specific name.³³ So, are these *partes*, one being that of San Benito, the noble *bandos* as they were later known? One must be cautious in this matter. It is possible that for those dates there may have been names for two clearly divided areas of the city’s population, associated with their topographic boundaries, and that the area or special demarcation of the city around the parish or district of San Benito was one of these *partes*, obviously with a certain obligatory role in the council’s decision making, at least on issues such as the city’s service in the royal army. However, it is not certain that these possible zones or districts corresponded to the noble factions, meaning that these *partes* were genuinely already groups of urban knights with their supporters and that these areas already set the scene for the rivalry between them. This is not something that emerges from this concise document. It is very possible that the demarcation of the San Benito and San Martín areas came before and above all autonomously with regard to the struggles between the city’s families and lineages, although these ultimately ended up overlapping due to this topographic division of the city.

32. In fact, in this city we have no indication of the weight given to the idea that the aristocratic families, who were at their height during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, emphasized their noble origins specifically among people involved in the repopulation. This does not mean that there were no nobles to begin with, obviously, but we cannot find the roots of the later lineages in those possible pioneers. Even a genealogical memoir like the aforementioned *Triunfo Raimundino* (Villar y Macías, Manuel, ed. *Historia de Salamanca...* V, appendix XIX, 165-180), from the first decade of the 16th century, as argued above, takes the imaginary and alleged ancestry of families like the Monroy, Maldonado, Solís, Enríquez, Páez, Nieto, Anaya, Acevedo, etc., back to French origins, or to the bloodline of their own Castilian kings or their descendants, with connections to people from Santiago de Compostela, among others, or it simply links the families with the regiments in the city which had members related to these families or to military deeds or primogeniture, later on of course. The genealogical poem is interesting as a discourse, but does not even venture to make a connection between such lineages of its time and the people involved in the repopulation, as would be expected if there had been a strong and secular feeling of continuity among those pioneering noble settlers, even though it had been about a feeling based on a fictitious connection.

33. After establishing the obligation of responding to being called up by the army and second lieutenant, the document says, “*Et nos, la parte de Sant Beneyto, otorgamos que este ordenamiento otorgamos que la fagamos otorgar a don Pelay?, quando venier. Et Otrosí, nos, la otra parte, otorgamos este mismo ordenamiento que lo fagamos otorgar a Fernánt Pérez, quando venier.*” (“*And we, the part of San Benito, are we to grant this ordinance that we grant to be granted to Pelay? And likewise we, the other part grant this same ordinance that will be granted to Fernant Perez when he comes*”), (Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. “Los bandos salmantinos...”: 443).

Anyway, until the very late 14th century, we find no mention of the two parties referred to as *linajes*, those that would become the "*bando-linaje*", ("lineage-faction") or factions,³⁴ which took the names of San Benito and San Martín. Attempts have been made to link family factionalism with certain confrontations, like those that arose at the time of the civil war between Peter I and Henry of Trastámara, specifically between the supporters of one side or the other.³⁵

In reality, we find no explicit mention until the letter from John I dated 1390, with the *ordenamiento* or "*Ordenanzas*" (Ordinances) of Sotosalbos,³⁶ so-called because of where they were drawn up. The first thing that emerges from an analysis of these regulations is that there were already two *linajes*, to be exact, two "lineage-factions". It seems that the "*caballeros, escuderos é omes Buenos*" ("knights, squires

34. We believe that a "lineage-faction" was the convergence of various families and lineages in a sort of big faction or local party, although contemporary sources talk of *linajes* to refer to these large groupings of noble families or lineages, understanding these family lineages in their strictest sense. That is, the sources call *linajes*, as well as the grouping of family lineages that appear to be urban parties. On the other hand, in the vocabulary of the factional age "*bando*", "*bandería*" and other synonyms mean conflict, disorder, etc. In some previous works cited (Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Parentesco y sistema concejil"...: 947-948), we have made distinctions on this subject. When we refer to "*bandos*", in this work, we understand it to mean "lineage-faction", that is the maximum grouping of noble lineages, like the conflict itself, allegiance, faction in the lexis of the time.

35. Nevertheless, there is no proof that there were tensions attached to the San Benito/ San Martín polarity. Without doubt, this did exist in those days, but it does not seem to have channelled or defined violent alliances between the city's main families. There were, however, political alignments on a national level between the Tejada and Maldonado families. It all started in 1360 because Peter I had sent Diego Arias Maldonado to Burgos to kill the Archdeacon de Toro. This prominent figure was initially linked to Peter and his father. This story is true, and in fact it could be verified that in 1350 Peter I made him master of various members of the nobility that had belonged to the family of Alfonso XI, such as Ledesma, Granadilla, Salvatierra de Tormes, Galisteo, Miranda del Castañar and Montemayor, see *Documentación medieval del Archivo Municipal de Ledesma*, eds. Alberto Martín Expósito, José María Monsalvo. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Diputación de Salamanca, 1986: docs. n° 39, 40, 41. It is not known how, but he later abandoned Peter's cause, joining his enemies. So Peter I sought other support and particularly in the case of Salamanca leaned on the man he had placed in the city's palace, Juan Alfonso de Tejada. But neither he nor Alfonso López de Tejada, his brother, could stop Salamanca from being chosen for the *enriquista* cause around 1366-1367, relying on the bishop's support in the city —recruiting 500 crossbowmen for the Trastámara— and on families like the Maldonado. During the civil war of 1366-1369 the sons of Diego Arias Maldonado, namely Arias Díez Maldonado and Juan Arias Maldonado, supported Enrique, while the Tejada —Juan Alfonso de Tejada and his brother Alfonso López de Tejada— supported Peter I. Villar y Macías assumed that Salamanca remained divided between the Tejedas and Maldonados, "*que tan sangriento agravio tenía que vengar*" ("such a bloody event had to be avenged"), according to the author, referring to the affront of the political assassination of Diego Arias Maldonado, ordered by Peter I. On these events, see the López de Ayala, Pedro. "Crónica del rey don Pedro", ed. Cayetano Rosell, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla desde Don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos, Don Fernando y Doña Isabel*. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: I, chapter V, 202; chapter XXXVI, 579; "Crónica de Enrique II", ed. Cayetano Rosell *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla...* II, chapter I, 2; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...* IV, 13-14, 17-19. Villar y Macías shows that the alliances continued after the death of King Peter. Juan Alfonso de Tejada defended Ciudad Rodrigo and his brother Alfonso López was mayor of Zamora (Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: 20); González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media...*: 27. González Dávila refers to the punishment of the Tejada, who tried to stop Henry II coming to power, the latter ordering that their throats be cut, Gonzalez Dávila, Gil. *Historia de las Antigüedades...*: book III, chapter XI, 278- 279.

36. Published in Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...* IV, 113-115 (doc. n° XII).



and gentlemen") of the city, or at least some them, already owed allegiances to one of the two factions the city was divided into. Anyway, the letter did not unveil them, as has sometimes been said, but it did recognise the prior existence of these *partes*, presumably led, or mainly made up of, the leading knights. The royal letter recognised and regulated the two *linajes*, but it was not written with that intention.

The Ordinances of Sotosalbos came about through a completely peaceful and legal claim, for the union of the two noble factions, with the support of the *pecheros* (commoners) to correct a tendency of the *regidores* (aldermen) to keep the minor offices for themselves. The ordinances established that the stewardships and other minor council offices were not to be monopolised by the *regidores*, but instead given to the knights and squires, in equal measure to both parties or factions. Distributing or recruiting soldiers without taking into account the representatives of the commoners was to be prohibited. It is important that this aspect is understood because the letter did not try to resolve the conflict between the factions. Despite what has been said,³⁷ specifically that John I's letter constituted the institutionalisation of the factions and resolved the disagreements between them, we have interpreted the text in another way. It was the pretension of a powerless class, in this chaos that the *linajes* represented, allied in this with the commoners, who felt excluded from some matters which they considered to be of their concern and which, in their view, the *regidores* kept for themselves. It is clear that upon establishing the royal ordinances for appointing minor offices (stewardships, loyal men, etc.), the division between the San Benito and San Martín *linajes* was respected, and indeed manipulated, to keep a balance, but it was not this polarity that was at play. The *regidores* were also members of the *linajes*, as part of the noble class to which they belonged, but when they attempted to keep positions in public office for themselves and monopolise the power in the council, the very conduct that the Ordinances of 1390 was designed to eradicate, the ruling elite, which tended to withdraw itself, did so independently of their memberships as knights of the lineage-factions.³⁸

However, the fact that they were already allied leads us to believe the city's knights would find a channel for the internal struggles through this membership. Such alliances are known to have existed in cities throughout the medieval western world in the later Middle Ages. The same was true in other Castilian cities.³⁹ The

37. Starting with Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: IV, 25.

38. I refer to my work, Monsalvo Antón, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros en Salamanca y en Ciudad Rodrigo", *Historia de Salamanca...*: 442-443.

39. It is almost impossible to give a thorough account of all the works that have discussed the factions and lineages in the cities of medieval Europe. It has been the object of research not only with respect to the Spanish kingdoms but in many regions and areas. It has been discussed in many extensive monograph works about cities that have given a lot of importance to the subject area, such as José Ramón Díaz de Durana on Vitoria, Soledad Tena on San Sebastián, Adeline Rucquoi on Valladolid, Rafael Sánchez Saus for Sevilla, Jesús Ángel Solórzano on Santander, Martínez Carrillo or Menjot on Murcia, among others. Moreover, apart from these monographs, this can be seen in works by Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. "Linajes, bandos y parcialidades en la vida política de las ciudades castellanas (siglos XIV y XV)", *Bandos y querellas dinásticas en España al final de la Edad Media: actas del Coloquio celebrado en la Biblioteca Española de París los días 15 y 16 de mayo de 1987*. París: Biblioteca Española de París, 1991: 105-134; Quintanilla

organisational structure provided by factions allowed a certain amount of leverage and control in the struggles. However, in the case of Salamanca, the question is how these struggles were manifested and what fuelled them.

The chronological table below summarises some of the main events and violent situations for the factions that took place in the city. What were these violent acts and what caused them?

If the question of positions in the town councils was connected to the divisions between the factions, it does not seem to have acted as a catalyst for the violent events. The aforementioned Ordinances of 1390 were regulatory and fair between the parties. The agreement was ratified in 1394 and 1397, and again in the following century on more occasions. In these years and in 1401, a commission of the two factions was initiated, with the participation of aldermen and non-aldermen knights, to organise the distribution of minor offices between them in accordance with the Ordinances. Another document from 1408 shows that the agreement was working. To appoint a steward, they went to the registry of squires for that *parte*, meaning that the appointment of non-aldermen knights was

Raso, María Concepción. "Estructuras sociales y familiares y papel político de la nobleza cordobesa (siglos XIV y XV)". *En la España Medieval*, 3 (1982): 381-352; Quintanilla Raso, María Concepción. "Política ciudadana y jerarquización del poder. Bandos y parcialidades en Cuenca". *En la España Medieval*, 20 (1997): 219-250; Fernández-Daza Alvear, Carmen "Linajes trujillanos y cargos concejiles en el siglo XV". *La ciudad hispánica durante los siglos XIII al XVI, Coloquio sobre la ciudad hispánica, La Rábida y Sevilla, 14 al 19 de septiembre de 1981*, Emilio Sáez, Cristina Segura Graiño, Margarita Cantera Montenegro, coords. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1985 (*En la España medieval*, 6 [1985]); I, 419-431; Diago Hernando, Máximo. "Estructuras familiares de la nobleza urbana en la Castilla bajomedieval: los doce linajes de Soria". *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 10 (1992): 47-71; Diago Hernando, Máximo. "El papel de los linajes en las estructuras de gobierno urbano en Castilla y en el Imperio alemán durante los siglos bajomedievales". *En la España Medieval*, 20 (1997): 143-177; Solórzano Telechea, Jesús Ángel. "La organización interna de la oligarquía urbana y el ejercicio de poder en Santander durante la Baja Edad Media: familia, linaje y poder", *I Encuentro de Historia de Cantabria: actas del encuentro celebrado en Santander los días 16 a 19 de diciembre de 1996*. Santander: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cantabria-Gobierno de Cantabria-Consejería de Cultura y Deporte, 1999: 575-597; Díaz de Durana, José Ramón. "Linajes y bandos en el País Vasco durante los siglos XIV y XV", *La familia en la Edad Media. XI Semana de Estudios Medievales, Nájera, 31 de Julio al 4 de agosto de 2000*, José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte, coord. Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2001: 253-284; the Basque Country is one of the regions that has attracted most attention in relation to the "banderizos" or members of the factions (although they were not always urban "banderizos"), and this is shown in other works like those in *La Lucha de Bandos en el País Vasco: de los Parientes Mayores a la Hidalguía Universal. Guipúzcoa, de los bandos a la Provincia (siglos XIV a XVI)*, José Ramón Díaz de Durana, ed. Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco-Argitaipen Zerbitzua Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, 1998; Achon Insausti, José Ángel. *A voz de concejo. Linaje y corporación urbana en la constitución de la Provincia de Guipúzcoa: Los Báñez y Mondragón, siglos XIII a XVI*. Bilbao: Departamento de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto (microforma), 1995; Tena García, María Soledad. "Los Mans-Engómez: el linaje rector de la villa de San Sebastián en la Edad Media". *Hispania*, 53/185 (1993): 987-1008. Beyond the Crown of Castile, interest in the theme has also been significant. As an example, it can be seen in the Catalan situation. The well known classic by Batlle, Carme. *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*, 2 vols. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Institución Milà y Fontanals-Departamento de Estudios Medievales, 1973. It's a study of the political parties in 15th-century Barcelona. However, factionalism in Catalan cities can be considered as a deep-rooted constant in political life, as shown in the work of Sabaté, Flócel. "Les factions dans la vie urbaine de la Catalogne du XIV siècle". *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Age*, Philippe Sénac, ed. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 1995: 339-365.



respected when appointing someone to that minor office,⁴⁰ just as the Ordinances of 1390 prescribed. Undoubtedly there is a norm here that we should highlight: during the greater part of the 15th century, but not all of it, tensions between the *linajes* owing to the distribution of offices generated tensions and were a cause of distrust. However, we find no violent events directly arising from these circumstances, nor are there repeated acts of force specifically connected to these struggles for positions in public office. Throughout most of the 15th century, there are examples of solutions to the problem of distributing public offices through royal intervention or by agreements, so that the basic consensus worked smoothly and even peacefully.⁴¹

However, conflicts undoubtedly existed. A reference from Alba de Tormes in 1423 shows that there was infighting among the Salamancan knights and that they were responsible for the *ruidos* (fights).⁴² The motive is unknown, but the confrontation was real. In the following decades, the only evidence of a connection between the factions and violence is found by observing that the alignments came into play because of general factional allegiances, in other words, political commitments by the inhabitants of the city to political or dynastic parties or causes that went beyond local problems. This was going to be a constant feature which reveals that the allegiances (the *"bando-parcialidad"* or "allegiance faction", as it was also known) were essential for generating factional violence. Thus, the royal chronicles from the reign of John II show rivalries related to disputes between Salamancan families linked to a factional allegiance between the princes of Aragón and Álvaro de Luna. Do they mention violent events in the city? The *Crónica de Juan II* states that around 1439, the Archdeacon Juan Gómez de Anaya, an important figure from the San Benito faction, *"estaba apoderado y en la torre de la Iglesia, donde tenía asaz gente de armas, y no consintió que el rey allí se aposentase"*. The king ordered him to leave the tower, *"pero él*

40. See above all in Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 8; Monsalvo, José María. "La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros"...: 442, 447; the 1408 document in Vaca Lorenzo, Ángel. "La oligarquía urbana salmantina"...

41. This was the case also with the issue of stewards alluded to in the Ordinances of Sotosalbos. For example, agreements about the Cortes' notary's or lawyer's offices, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 14-15; about the agreement relating to the notaries, Ordinances of 1440 and confirmation by Juan II in July 1441, see Archivo Municipal de Salamanca (AMS), R/ 2985, n^o 12. See the next note on the significance of the agreement in 1493.

42. Members of the council of Alba de Tormes, a town just 20 km from Salamanca, were distrustful because some Salamancan knights who had had problems or been temporarily expelled from the city on royal command- it is not clear which- wanted to settle in Alba. The *regidores* of this town viewed this possibility as a threat, *"que se querían venir aquí a la dicha villa e que, así venidos, que se podrían rrecrescer en ella grand peligro e dapño, por quanto los unos son contrarios de los otros e podrían rrebolver roydo"* ("they tried to come to this town and once here, that great danger and damage could be caused, insofar as one lot is opposed to the other and might cause fights") in the town of Tormes, but also because they appeared *"feo e non onesto"* ("nasty and dishonest") and it coincided with a time when the town's knights were not there—they were in the service of the lord, to be precise—and men came to the town, *"estraños (a) estar en la dicha villa e la rrebolver."* ("strangers to be in the town and turn it upside down") (Monsalvo, José María *El sistema político concejil. El ejemplo del señorío medieval de Alba de Tormes y su concejo de villa y tierra*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1988: 178).

no lo quiso hacer".⁴³ The chronicle about the Constable Álvaro states that the struggles between the factions were very much talked about in Salamanca and, referring to around the fourth decade of the 15th century, it mentions "*muertes de hombres*" in the city for this reason, but without specifying or quantifying those killings.⁴⁴

The reference to the social atmosphere generated by the struggles between factions is an argument that was used for example in the middle of the century in relation to the violence or rural misconduct, which then consisted of violent attempts to seize customs.

Although, as we have highlighted on other occasions, this violence and rural misdemeanour had other causes,⁴⁵ this does not prevent us from detecting that the climate of factional violence was interfering with social relations and, above all, with the application of justice, in both cases in a destabilising manner. Significant testimony to this fact is offered by a witness in a customs dispute of 1453 against the knight Fernando de Tejada: he said that "*algunos labradores del dicho lugar*"⁴⁶ came "*a se quejar al conçejo de la dicha çibdad para que les provea de muchas synrrrazones e agravios que les faze el dicho Fernando de Texeda, [pero] quel dicho conçejo non les provee por rrazón de los muchos parientes que tiene en el dicho conçejo, que lo favorecen, e por las divysiones de los vandos de dicha çibdad*".⁴⁷

43. "had taken power and was in the church tower, where he had many armed men, and did not consent to the king accommodating himself there" (...) "but he refused to" (Crónica de Juan II", ed. Cayetano Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla...*: II, chapter XVI, 558).

44. "the killing of men". The chronicle says that the king, being in Madrigal, "*vinieron ende nuevas del grand trabajo e muertes de hombres, e otros assaz graves e grandes males, que por cabsa de los vandos nuevamente en Salamanca avían recresçido; de guisaa que la çibdad estava en vigilia de se destruir e perder sin reparo alguno, si el rey personalmente non yva a proveer en tanto daño como estava aparejado, allende del ya passado, e a lo remediar e apaçiguar*" ("in the end there came news of the great work and the killing of men and other quite serious and great wrong-doings, that due to the new factions in Salamanca had come about; in such a way that the city was frightened of being destroyed and losing without any reservations if the king did not come in person in such danger on his horse, after what had already happened, to remedy and make peace"). In another passage, this chronicle says that "*Dos vandos eran a la sazón en la çibdad de Salamanca, en que avía muy buenos caballeros, que tenían casas de assaz gente darmas: el un vando se dezía de San Benito, e el otro de Santo Tomé. Así los unos caballeros como los otros de estos dos vandos, e todos los otros caballeros de la çibdad, eran en su casa e vivían con él [el maestre don Enrique]*" ("There were two factions at the time in the city of Salamanca, in which there were very good knights who belonged to houses containing several military men: one faction was called San Benito and the other Santo Tomé. And so some knights like others from both factions, and all the other knights in the city, were part of the house and lived with him [the master Enrique]") (*Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna: condestable de Castilla, Maestre de Santiago*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940: 253, 44). See references in Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 44; Martín Rodríguez, José Luis "Noticias sobre «Bandos» y «Comunidades» reunidas por José Iglesias de la Casa"...: 467; González García, Manuel. *Salamanca en la Baja Edad Media...*: 34, 106-107.

45. Monsalvo Antón, José María. "Aspectos de las culturas políticas"... , "about the inquiries into the terms of 1453 and others; Cabrillana, Nicolás. "Salamanca en el siglo XV"...

46. "some peasants from the said place". He was referring specifically to a place called Navarredonda, usurped by Fernando de Tejada, one of the grandees implicated in the inquiry into usurpations in those years.

47. "to complain to the council of said town so that it tried Fernando de Texeda for the many injustices and assaults that he did, which the said council did not try because of the many relatives that he had in the council, who favoured him, and because of factional divisions in the said city". *Pesquisa sobre términos de la Tierra de Salamanca 1433-1453* (Biblioteca Nacional, Sección Manuscritos. Res 233), f. 55v. The tes-



Towards the middle of the century, the rivalries between the factions in Salamanca were undoubtedly known throughout the whole kingdom. This was so obvious that even the Cortes, specifically the Cortes in Toledo in 1462, ordered that such rivalries should not disturb something so sensitive to the crown as the internal order in its own *Studium Generale* of Salamanca. In these courts, it was said “*los estudiantes e personas que tienen cargo de lo administrar e rregir las cátedras salarriadas que son en el dicho Estudio, por se fazer parçiales con los vandos de la dicha çibdad e se entremeter en ellos e dar fauor e ayuda por sus personas e con los suyos e con armas e con dineros para en las cosas tocantes a los dichos vandos*”, because of which “*se rrecreçen muchos e diuersos rruydos e contyendas, esforçándose en los dichos fauores e parçialidades que asý tienen en los dichos vandos e con los caualleros dellos*” consequently, teachers and students were prohibited from having links with the city’s factions; the punishment was expulsion from the “*gremio del dicho estudio*” and being “*desterrado de la dicha çibdad e de çinco leguas aderedor*”. It ordered the members of the University to “*todos juren e ayan de jurar en el comienço de cada un año de no ser de vando e de guardar e conplir todo lo susodicho e cada cosa dello*”.⁴⁸

The impact of the factional struggles only increased throughout the reign of Henry IV, as we will see. But this period is also distinct on account of the century’s bloodiest event, and as mentioned at the beginning of these pages, this was considered by the older generation of historians to be the origin of these factions. I am referring to the deed of “*María la Brava*”, which took place around 1464: the bloody act of vengeance of a mother, María de Monroy, widow of the alderman Enrique Enríquez. Along with her husband, she belonged to the city’s two leading families. María de Monroy became famous for travelling in person to Portugal, accompanied by a handful of her own men —recruited in a small

timony only actually refers to two situations. One is the impunity of the usurper, because of his power and relations in the city. However, it also reveals that the quarrels and struggles between the factions were harmful to judicial effectiveness, and in a way presented it as “*la mengua de justicia*” (the decline of justice). In fact, the factional struggles were recognised, or rather perceived, as one of the reasons why nobody stopped the violence of the powerful men.

48. “*the students and people who are in charge of administrating and governing the paid professors that are in the said Studium, because they hold an allegiance with the factions of said city and get involved in them and favour them and give help to their members and with their relatives and with weapons and with money for things concerning the said factions*” (...) “*many and diverse fights and conflicts arose, enforcing the said favours and allegiances that they had in the said factions and with their knights*” (...) “*guild of the said Studium*” (...) “*guild of the said Studium*” (...) “*all swear and have sworn at the beginning of each year to not be part of a faction and to keep to and fulfil all of the aforementioned and every part of it*”. Courts of Toledo in 1462, pet. n° 8, *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1866: III, 707-708. The text is outstanding because not only does it show the impact that the Salamancon confrontations had in the Castilian Cortes, but also the very strength of some of the alliances that drew teachers and students of the University, disrupting such a moderate institution, as it was in those days, which was largely used to living with its back to the city and its problems. These questions are addressed in Monsalvo, José María. “*El Estudio y la ciudad en el período medieval*”, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca. I. Trayectoria y vinculaciones*, Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro Bezares, ed. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2002: 435-465. We need to bear in mind that the university in Salamanca was the main university for the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, among the scant few that there were in those days, and that, moreover, in the case of Castile, in practice it was the Crown’s official university.

country house that she owned—to take the lives of the Manzano brothers. The Manzano brothers had killed two of her sons in a juvenile fight. The “staging” was spectacular: the month-long search for the assassins in Portuguese inns, where the murderers, terrified, had sought refuge, the avenging slaughter of the assassins, the tough one and a half-day non-stop horse ride by Maria and her men from the neighbouring kingdom to Salamanca, the heart-wrenching act of placing the Manzano brothers’ severed heads on the tombs of her dead sons, to the horror of the whole city. As mentioned above, the story was told by Alonso Maldonado as a secondary episode within a family chronicle written a few decades later, around 1504,⁴⁹ perhaps by someone who, if not a witness, was clearly close to the events recorded. However, only the later historiographical tradition, subsequent to this princely tale, directly links this bloody act with the city’s factions, which today counts as one of the Salamancon legends, when in actual fact the killing of the Manzanos at the hand of “*La Brava*” could well be explained as a “private revenge”, with no direct connection to the tensions among the Salamancon factions.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the account by Alonso Maldonado included many literary stereotypes, those typical of a moralising and emphatic Renaissance chronicler, and one must presume that the author exaggerated the psychological and sentimental aspects.⁵¹

The everyday life, or real life, of the factions in Salamanca took a much less dramatic course. The royal chronicles and some documents mention the align-

49. See note 1. It seems that the graduate Alonso Maldonado wrote the chronicle around this year. The author was related to the Monroys. It is possible to find a succinct genealogy of this writer and knight in Cooper, Edward. *Castillos señoriales en la Corona de Castilla*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León-Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1991: I, 18.

50. As we have demonstrated above, the *Historia de las Antigüedades de la ciudad de Salamanca*, by Gil González Dávila, is where this opinion began, see notes 5 and 6. We have also mentioned its importance for Villar y Macías, despite the fact that it does not focus on the entire question of the factions involved in the episode, Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, chapter VII, 67-74. Some objections relating to the connection of the events with the disputes between the lineages and factions are addressed in Monsalvo, José María. “La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV. Caballeros y pecheros”....: 449-450, 461.

51. Even rhetorical literature notes “*Quiero contar un hecho romano que hizo una destas señoras que se llamaba Doña Maria de Monroy*”, to begin the story it says: (“I want to tell you of a Roman deed by one of these women called Maria de Monroy”); a widow who “*supo dar tan buena cuenta de sí que fué exemplo maravilloso su vida*” (“knew how to give such a good account of herself that her life was a shining example”); an authentic heroine of ancient drama, who on learning of the death of her sons, “*les ponía los ojos sin echar lagrima ni hazer ningun acto mugeril, mas estaua con el corazon tan fuerte que ningun varon romano se le yguála: asaz se paresçia en su gesto la ferocidad de su animo, y todos tomauan espanto de vella con tanto sosiego*” (“not a tear fell from her eyes nor did she make any female act; she was so strong of heart that no roman male equalled her: in her gestures the ferocity of her drive was very visible, and all were frightened to see her so calm”) resolved on revenging her sons’ deaths with such haste that she gave the Portuguese allies and the Manzanos no time to stop her: “*porque las cabeças de los Manzanos quando ellos llegaron estauan ya en la mano yzquierda de Doña Maria de Monroy*”; (“because the head of the Manzanos when they arrived were already in the left hand of Maria de Monroy”) and that she managed to take the heads to the tombs of her sons had an incomparable dramatic effect: “*Gran espanto puso este hecho en toda la tierra*”, (“This event put great fear into the whole land”) is how the account of this episode ends, Maldonado, Alonso de. “*Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy...*”: 17-19.



ment of the lineages with certain parties. When a dynastic split took place between the supporters of Henry IV and those of his half-brother Alfonso (who never became Alfonso XII), it seems that some Salamanca knights from the San Benito party formed an alliance with him. In 1464, the Count of Alba, García Álvarez de Toledo, appeared on the scene. At one point in the dynastic conflict, the Count of Alba switched allegiance to the party of Henry IV, with the promise to hand Salamanca over to him in 1465, and it is possible that he drew the Salamanca knights with him. The *Chronicle* of Alfonso de Palencia mentions that in May 1465, following Alba's newly found loyalty to the king, which immediately proved to be very useful to him, sides were taken in favour of two great houses, after the "Farce of Ávila", in the city of Salamanca: "*marchó el rey a Salamanca, dividida por largas discordias and sediciosas facciones en dos bandos, uno de los cuales seguía la voz del conde de Plasencia y otro la del de Alba*".⁵² From 1469, it is possible that García Álvarez de Toledo had many supporters in the city "*en la qual, como de grandes tiempos acá oviese bandos de la mayor parte de los cavalleros della, algunos por dineros, otros por ser dél ayudados en sus bandos, le servían y acataban*" as the "*Memorial de diversas hazañas*" states with regard to the situation in 1469. The Count of Alba's failed attempt to make Salamanca his own, albeit with his own men and by force of arms, would have provoked an uprising against him in the city, with the knights involved on one side or the other.⁵³

It is not clear which of the two factions in Salamanca supported who and at what point, both at that time and in the following years —by then already affected by the confrontation between the supporters of Isabel and those of Juana and Portugal. They probably changed sides. As will be shown below, certain letters are known to exist from the *linaje e bando* of Santo Tomé, written to the Count of Alba between 1470-1472, pledging their allegiance to him⁵⁴. However, in the last

52. "the king went to Salamanca, divided by great disagreement and seditious factions into two sections, one of which was in the service of the Count of Plasencia and the other in that of de Alba". Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. Antonio Paz Melia. Madrid: Atlas, 1973: LXX/ I Decade I, book VII, chapter VI, 164; "*Crónicas de los reyes. Crónica del rey don Enrique IV*". *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla...*: 133, 142, 145; Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas...*: 34; Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. Juan Torres Fontes. Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Instituto Jerónimo Zurita-Seminario de Historia de la Universidad de Murcia, 1946: chapter LXII, 232; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454-1474: Crónica castellana*, ed. María Pilar Sánchez-Parra. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1991: chapter LXIII, 156; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 16-18.

53. "*in which, like in times of old, most of the knights there were divided into factions, some for money, others being helped by the factions, they served and obeyed him*", (Valera, Diego de. *Memorial de diversas hazañas...*: 55; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, chapter XVII, 290; Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica de Enrique IV...*: chapter CXVII, 271-272; Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV...*: I, Decade II, book II, chapter VI, 298).

54. On 5th January 1470, the knights of Santo Tomé pledged their allegiance to the Count of Alba, *Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba*, eds. Ángel Vaca, José Antonio Bonilla. Salamanca: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Salamanca, 1989: doc. n° 53. On 28th September 1472 the members of this faction showed their ill will because the Count had not influenced the appointment of an regioles they wanted him to appoint, *Salamanca en la documentación...*: doc. n° 56; and on the same day, nine signatories from the Santo Tomé faction asked him to make it possible for them to revoke

letters, written in September of 1472, there was an explicit complaint directed at the Count of Alba, for which reason it is not surprising that from this time forth the privileged relationship ended. This faction of Santo Tomé, or some of its members, subsequently seems to have leaned towards the Portuguese cause against Isabel, around 1474 or 1475, and this would have damaged the relations with the Count of Alba even more, as he supported the cause of Isabel I at that time.⁵⁵ It is not known with certainty how this affected the relationship between the then Duke of Alba and the Santo Tomé faction. In documents from 1473 or 1474,⁵⁶ the Duke of Alba appears to have been more an arbitrator in the city, being trusted by knights from both sides, rather than clearly committed to one. Nevertheless, it is possible that he later leaned more towards the San Benito side, sharing Isabeline alliances with them. It was precisely the decline in supporters of the Portuguese cause in the city, well reflected in the triumphant entrance of Fernando the Catholic on the 27th or 28th of May 1475,⁵⁷ which seemed to reinforce the situation of the San Benito faction. For their part, the Santo Tomé faction, who had been distancing themselves from the Duke of Alba, would have been close to Antón Núñez, a distinguished figure at that time. This man, who had been Henry IV's bookkeeper, built himself a splendid palace in Salamanca and supported the cause of the Portuguese and Álvaro de Estúñiga in the spring of 1475. According to the tradition of the *Décadas* (Decades) by Alonso de Palencia, "*muchos de los principales caballeros eran sospechosos de parcialidad por el conde de Plasencia o de obediencia*", to Antón Núñez, who held "*el favor del bando de los tomasinos*", while the Duke of Alba—despite being fickle in his alliances—had the support of the city's other "*caballeros más principales*"⁵⁸ and, between them, they did further the cause of the San Benito faction.

the granting of an act in favour of Alfonso Maldonado de Talavera, which they found very disadvantageous: the faction did not want him wanted and moreover he was from the other faction, *Salamanca en la documentación...*: doc. n° 57.

55. *Documentos escogidos de la Casa de Alba*, ed. la duquesa de Berwick y Alba. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello, 1891: 9-10, 10-11; Pulgar, Fernando del. *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos: versión inédita*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1943: 253.

56. On 29th December "*año de setenta e quarto*" (*the year of seventy four*) (perhaps 1473) the Duke was elected as a judge and a type of arbitrator to resolve disputes between knights from San Benito and San Adrián (*Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...*: doc. n° 72); and in January 1474, both factions chose him as arbitrator: "*los cavalleros e escuderos de ambos linajes de la çibdad de Salamanca, que estamos en una amistad, besamos vuestras manos e nos encomendamos en vuestra merçed*" (*"we, the knights and squires of both of the lineages of the city of Salamanca, are friends, we kiss your hands and commend ourselves to your mercy"*) (*Salamanca en la documentación...*: doc. n° 73).

57. Received solemnly at the gates of his "*muy leal e muy noble*" (*"very loyal and very noble"*) city by the 18 *regidores*, AMS, 2985, n° 23.

58. "*in which, like in times of old, most of the knights there were divided into factions, some for money, others being helped by the factions, they served and obeyed him*" (...) "*favour with the Santo Tomé faction*" (...) "*most important knights*" (Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV...*: III, Decade III, Book II, chapter VIII, 195). When the goods of Antón Núñez were confiscated due to his support for the Portuguese, the beneficiary was no other than the Duke of Alba, to whom the Catholic Monarchs granted these goods, according to a letter of April 1476. (*Salamanca en la documentación de la Casa de Alba...*: doc. n° 79).



As well as these fluctuations mentioned above, it is important that during those years, the last of Henry IV's reign and the first of Isabel I's, the enormous influence of these external forces, that is the families of the highest nobility, became apparent in the alignment of the urban factions, as much, firstly, for the Estúñigas against the house of Álvarez of Toledo or the house of Alba, as for the Antón Núñez and the Portuguese against Isabel and the Duke of Alba later. We believe that this type of alliance was one of the reasons that more violence occurred in the city, which was more harmful and destabilising than the tension over the positions in public office, for example. It is symptomatic that some of the news of factional violence in Salamanca and some of the tensest times in terms of this kind of rivalry took place in 1469-1477, when the influence of García Álvarez de Toledo (count, and from 1472 duke, of Alba) in the city was at a peak.⁵⁹

What is certain is that for the period from 1469, date of the above-mentioned armed episode against the Count of Alba, to 1493, when the struggles between the factions in the city seem to have subsided, substantial evidence testifies to the existence of factional violence in Salamanca. The information survives in some twenty-five well-known documents from the Archives of the Casa de Alba,⁶⁰ the

59. The relationship between the *linajes* and the house of Alba is typical of the urban patricians with the high nobility to whom service is given in exchange for money —*acostamientos*— and support on behalf of these great nobles. The chronicles mention this relationship (see notes 52 and 53), but it can also be found in documents: “*A vuestro servicio, besando vuestras nobles manos, nos encomendamos a vuestra merced*” (“*At your service, kissing your noble hands, we commend ourselves to your mercy*”), according to the letter dated January 1470 (*Salamanca en la documentación...*: doc. n° 53). A couple of years later the members of Santo Tomé wrote to the Count: “*en este rreyno es mucho notorio cuánto este nuestro linage de Santo Tomé e todos nosotros syempre fuemos e somos servidores de vuestra casa e avemos servido e servimos al muy noble e virtuoso señor, que aya santa gloria, vuestro padre*”, (“*in this kingdom it is well known that this our lineage of Santo Tomé and all of us have always been and are the servants of your house and have served and serve the very noble and virtuous master, God bless him, your father*”). (*Salamanca en la documentación...*: doc. n° 57).

60. Documents mentioned from 5-1-1470, two from 28th December c. 1472, another from 29-12-1474” (or 1473, if the date of 29th of Dec. “*año de setenta e quarto*” [year of seventy-four] refers to his “*año del nacimiento*” [year of birth]); and another in January of the following year, previously mentioned. (*Salamanca en la documentación...*: docs. n° 53, 56, 57, 72 and 73). Also another on 20-5-1475: a promise by members of the Santo Tomé faction to help an agent of the King make peace; 13-1-1477: ceasefire lasting 12 days between the city's factions of San Benito and San Tomé. (*Salamanca en la documentación...*: docs. n° 75, 88).

City Council⁶¹ or Simancas,⁶² as well as other additional documentation.⁶³ Analysing these allows the dimensions and meaning of the factional violence to be assessed.

The first thing that stands out is the small number of deaths recorded, three, to be exact, in 1477, 1484, 1485, even though there must have been several more, and some injuries. Even so, it is known that there were deep-rooted enmities in these cases, the direct motives behind which are unknown, although it may be assumed that the backdrop of the factions was an important factor here. Although there may have been, and probably were, a considerable number of minor assaults which left no documentary trace, and one or two crimes in those twenty years or more, the inquiry of February 1475 says that “*se han seguido entre ellos muertes de onbres*”, and the case of a death of a university teacher’s servant is also known,⁶⁴ overall it

61. From documents relating to the factions in the town council’s archives, the one that stands out and is the most famous is the ceasefire signed on 30th September 1476, published in Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, ap. doc. XIV, 146-152, as well as (accompanied by the facsimile) in the booklet called *Ajustamiento de Paz entre los caualleros de los bandos de San Benito y Santo Thomé*, ed. Florencio Marcos Rodríguez. Salamanca: Ayuntamiento, 1969 (reed.: 1983).

62. From the *Registro General del Sello* (RGS) they are directly interested in the question of the factions—leaving aside issues concerning the University, patrimonial claims and about crimes that only very tangentially could have had a bearing on the tension between the factions—various documents in this period: inquiry into the situation of the confrontations in the city, RGS, 3-2-1475, f. 148; regal letter lifting the existing banishment orders on some women from the city’s lineages, RGS, 26-10-1475, f. 665; another inquiry, of less importance than the one in February, on the same issue, RGS, 13-XI-1475, f. 759; report stating that Alfonso Maldonado, from the San Benito lineage, was injured by two members of the Santo Tomé faction, despite the ceasefire at the time, RGS, 26-6-1478, f. 132; a claim in 1478 for the granting of a tax called the “*del marco de plata*” (“of the silver frame”), which was paid by the prostitutes of clerics, equivalent to almost 2,500 marvedis and was granted to Diego de Anaya by the monarchs, causing the beneficiary’s opposing faction (he belonged to the San Benito faction) and on behalf of singular people, to decline it *Archivo General de Simancas* (AGS), Cámara de Castilla, Pueblos, Salamanca, Leg. 16, note book; report in 1479 of the killing two years earlier, in 1477, of a one Alonso de Solís by one Gonzalo Maldonado, 9-7-1479, RGS, f. 60; insurance letter granted to some people fearful of being attacked, RGS, 10-2-1480, f. 169 and 6-6-1480, f. 207; order by the Queen to carry out an investigation on the leagues and factions in the city, RGS, 26-4-1484, f. 11; a challenge between Juan de Tejada and Gonzalo de Monroy in the outskirts of the city, penalising them and those who acted as their witnesses, RGS, 14-8-1484, f. 64; disturbances in the first months of 1485, with one death and one injury, RGS, 14-2-1485, f. 103; murder in 1484 of a Salamancan knight called Pedro de Miranda, premeditated murder by Diego de Villafuerte and Suero Alonso, who later took refuge in various fortresses, RGS, 15-3-1485, f. 114; two inquiries in 1485 into the previous events, RGS, 31-7-1485, f. 66 and 23-9-1485, f. 240; order for the seizure of Rodrigo de Acevedo, RGS, 13-4-1491; the sentencing of the servants of Doctor Maldonado de Talavera’s son, RGS, 16-5-1492, f. 493; letter of agreement between the San Benito and San Tomé factions, 30-11-1493, AGS, Several from Castile, Leg. 10, n° 36. This last document was published in López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios...*: ap. doc. 182-187. *Asimismo*, López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios...*: 66-78.

63. Of general interest are the documents from the AMS, those from the cathedral -indirectly- as well as the legal documents, even if it is not very decisive. For example, in the 1480s there were claims made about quarrels between members of the lineages of San Martín and San Benito, which had been expelled from the registry of the same lineages. The executor letters are found in *Archivo de Valladolid*, Reales Ejecutorias, Box 10, n° 28; C.11, n° 23; C. 16, n° 4 and n° 50; C. 17, n° 5, n° 6, n° 10, n° 33; C. 22, n° 21.

64. “*between them they have caused the deaths of many men*”. It is known that a servant of Martín Dávila was killed by Doctor Antonio de los Ríos. It is possible that it was faction related, due to the fact that, according to the books of the cloister, in 1474 Doctor Martín Dávila admitted that he did not dare read his lectures because of the factional enmities, because his relatives in the San Benito faction were not in



is remarkable that a big city, already famous in Castile for its factions, had such a low rate of murders or violent deaths. Indeed, the city of Salamanca was home to some 15,000-20,000 inhabitants during this period and, according to the register of knights and squires in 1484, both *linajes* counted 272 registered members.⁶⁵

What characterised the city was an atmosphere of constant confrontation, a very strained climate. None of the twenty-five documents examined show anything trivial or extraordinary, but rather the opposite: more than ten reports of violent attacks; a challenge between two knights; news of five royal inquiries (two in 1475, one in 1479, two in 1485) and another request along these lines for the Duke of Alba; mention of the banishment of several wives of knights from the city; at least three important ceasefires —one between 1474 and 1475, another in 1476 and another in 1477—, add to this the agreement of 1493, which was endorsed by many knights... This evidence gives the impression that the city was constantly under pressure during these years. Many of the documents use the classic language of confrontation: *ruidos*, *peleas*, *escándalos alborotos*, *bandos*, *questiones*, (quarrels, fights, scandalous disturbances, factions, questions), risk of *muertes y heridas*, *fuercas* (death and injury, forces), and other common expressions. The mention of *ligas e confederaciones* (leagues and confederations) is justified by the organised and deliberate acts of pressure groups and violent groups. The employment of armed men (*escuderos e omes allegados* - squires and related men) is another of the elements that links this factional violence and other forms of “vertical” violence, like violence against commoners. The 1476 agreement mentions the type of weapons and protection that the knights and their men used in these *ruidos* (fights): armour, paveses, spears, crossbows and gunpowder shot. The agreement of this year and the ceasefires of 1477 distinguish between the *principales*,⁶⁶ who were knights with an income of 30,000 marvedis, as well as their sons, who were squires, and *escuderos*, and finally *omes de pie*. Only the “principal” knights were the true protagonists in the action. And they were involved as much as instigators of assaults as they were as signatories of agreements and ceasefires, which they later either did or did not comply with. Nevertheless, it is clear that this solidarity worked on a largely individual basis, or rather, strictly implicating the knight and his closest circle.

the city at that time and he was in danger. Marcos Rodríguez, Florencio. *Extractos de los libros de Claustros de la Universidad de Salamanca. Siglo XV (1464-1481)*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1964: n° 799.

65. Of those 140 were from the San Martín lineage and 132 from the San Benito lineage. Data in Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...* V, 27. The large part of this high number of registered members of the lineages had little to do with the more conspicuous minority amongst them, a few families of principal knights, the “*principales*”. In the San Benito faction a few surnames stood out: Acevedo, Maldonado, Arias Maldonado, Enriquez, Paz, Anaya, Pereira or Suárez. In the Santo Tomé faction several surnames stood out: Solís, Tejada, Varilla, Villafuerte, Vázquez Coronado, Almaraz, Monroy and Ovalle. About the total population of the city, a Simancas document from 1504 (López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios...*: docs. n° 191-210), reveals that there were about 18.000 inhabitants in all of the city's parishes; likewise, Martín Martín, José Luis. “Estructura demográfica y profesional de Salamanca a finales de la Edad Media”. *Provincia de Salamanca Revista de Estudios*, 1 (1982): 15-33, who consulted and analysed the same document.

66. See previous note.



This aspect must be emphasised since not everything grouped under the lexical protocol of “bando de San Benito” or “bando de Santo Tomé” involved confrontations and violence between the divided noble parties. Only a minority (around a quarter) in the registry of lineages took a leading role in the *ruidos*.⁶⁷ In the case of ceasefires and agreements, for example, each knight would sign his agreement individually and answer for himself. It was the individual and their tight family group—close relatives and their retainers—who were committed and validated the agreement, which consisted of helping to avoid conflicts or fights, collaborating with the law to maintain order, or even defending the signatories who signed the pact, if necessary.⁶⁸ Even the famous agreement of September 1476, in which the factions of San Benito and Santo Tomé promised to “quitar escándalos, ruydos e peleas e otros males e dapnos de entre nosotros”,⁶⁹ was signed by 26 knights from both parties, 16 of whom belonged to San Benito, amongst whom seven were Maldonados. The objective was ambitious and for this reason solemn—“prometemos e fazemos pleito e omenaje como omes fijosdalgo”, since the agreement tried to superimpose itself on any other particular confederation or friendship that was already in existence, obliging all signatories to act as a single clan, disregarding any type of relation, even of a “fijo, si fiziere su vivienda apartadamente”. In the pact we get a sense of the smallest units that were formed, and the solidarities which emerged: alliances between knights who were relatives and friends—“confederaciones e amistades particulares y promesas que (...) entre sí unos con otros tienen fechas”, signifying that it was autonomous individuals who made up the lineage-factions. But the independence of the knights who did not sign the agreement was respected, safeguarding their neutrality despite being

67. López Benito counted 72 individuals among those who were responsible for the struggles and conflicts, more or less connected with the factions, between 1476 and 1505. Among them there were 19 Maldonado, 8 Enríquez, 9 Monroy, 6 Nieto, 8 Paz, 7 Solís, among others. They are the same principal families that were powerful in the city, López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios ...* 103-112.

68. And there were very differently graded pacts. In the letter of 5th January 1470 11 horses, all outstanding creatures, were granted to the Count of Alba by the Santo Tomé faction, which was agreed on that occasion. In some partial ceasefires towards the end of 1473, between some knight from San Benito and others “ansy de Sant Adrián conmo de Santo Tomé, con que están aliados o en parentela” (“From San Adrián as well as Santo Tomé, with whom they are allied or of the clan”), after experiencing some differences, submitted to the tutelage of the Duke of Alba, the document confirms that the 8 signatory knights vowed not to break the ceasefire against a surety of goods to a value of up to 500,000 marvedis, being obliged to pay a surety to their adversaries if they did. But it was an agreement between them that did not affect other members of their respective lineage-factions. While the ceasefire in question, put into effect because of the mutual differences between the signatories, which implies that they, and only they, offered their goods as security, “cada uno por lo que fiziere él e los suyos e non de mancomún” (“each man on his own, and not the group, answered for what he had done”), as the agreement states. And one of the signatories, Alfonso Mandonado, even seemed to want to make it clear that only he was responsible for the breakdown of the ceasefire if he or another family member was the offender, not the other signatories on his behalf: “que la obligación que fazia de sus bienes, que se entendiese quebrando él los dichos capítulos o persona de su casa” (“the obligation that he made with his goods included said chapters or person from their house, if broken”). There was general solidarity within the lineage-factions, but lower down there were also familiar solidarities with blood relations, individuals and alliances (*Salamanca en la documentación...*: doc. n^o 72). Similarly, the ceasefire for which some knights committed themselves to collaborate in the pacification with Rodrigo de Ulloa, from the Royal Council, was signed by 23 knights from Santo Tomé (*Salamanca en la documentación...*: doc. n^o 75).

69. “stop scandals, quarrels and fights and other wrong-doing and harm between us”. *Ajustamiento de Paz...*



subject to the superior solidarity of the agreement. The result was that the *concordia*, as a voluntary pact made by the signatories, was given greater importance than the solidarity of *bando e linaje*. Perhaps it failed because few people signed it and important figures from the Santo Tomé faction had been purposefully excluded. However, it may also have been because of the lack of realism of a maximalist ideal that tried not only to eradicate the disturbances and put a stop to the factional struggles, but also to replace the *linaje e bando* solidarities with this idyllic contractual alliance between the signatories of the two lineage factions, creating a solidarity without tradition between members of both factions, that was almost *contra natura*, “*ser todos en una parentela*”.

The same can be said of the truces signed on 13th January 1477.⁷⁰ The agreement of 1493, on the other hand, was more successful. However, this was not simply because it was ratified by a greater number of individuals (over 40, who expressly stated that they had more support), but because it was something different. The document of 1493 in my opinion was a pact between the knightly *estado* and the *regidores*, therefore in the tradition not of the ceasefires or truces between the factions, it seems, but of the agreements for the distribution of power, and therefore in line with Sotosalbos in 1390.⁷¹

To summarise the relationship between the Salamancan factions and violence, the impression given is that this violence, above all the serious incidents, occurred no more than intermittently. Nevertheless, during the entire 15th century, the city of Salamanca seems to have been a hotbed of struggles, quarrels, fights or minor assaults, threats, and attacks in narrow streets and small squares. It is the image of a city with a few tense and concentrated elites in an atmosphere of latent tension, or rather an underlying violence of almost anthropological potential, that formed part of the mentality of the urban knights, and that turned into deliberate crimes only at very specific times. I further suggest that a large part of this violence, including María de Monroy’s revenge, was due to private and individual concerns and cannot be categorised as a typical struggle between lineages and “lineage-factions”. In addition to this, other rivalries arose through the import of external problems into the city, specifically those of the noble *parcialidades*. In this context, the interference of the Duke of Alba in the city was emphasised above.

Thus, the confrontations could be linked to any of the different solidarities. The problem is that all of this —personal rivalry, relations, conflicts in the council, noble factions or *parcialidades*— created frankly complex empirical webs,⁷² but these

70. *Salamanca en la Documentación...*: doc. n^o 88.

71. Monsalvo, José María. “La sociedad concejil de los siglos XIV y XV...”: 454-456. We recently discussed the issue of factions as accords and political commitments: Monsalvo, José María. “En torno a la cultura contractual de las élites urbanas: pactos y compromisos políticos (linajes y bandas de Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo y Alba de Tormes)”, *El contrato político en la Corona de Castilla. Cultura y sociedad política entre los siglos X al XVI*. François Foronda, Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, dirs. Madrid: Dykinson, 2008: 159-209.

72. Even those responsible saw themselves surrounded by the mystification, that was affecting its very structure of solidarity and naturally the very struggles. For this reason, in the confrontation in 1478 —about the granting of the “*marco de plata*”— between Diego de Anaya and Alfonso de Almaraz, who belonged to different factions —San Benito and Santo Tomé respectively—, that insisted that the fac-

were different problems that cannot be explained by one single conflict labelled conventionally as “factional struggles”. The early fame of the local factions or bands of Salamanca in the city, and in the whole of Castile, arguably had the effect that many of the struggles were interpreted at the time as though they really were “factional struggles”, even more so on account of tradition and previous legends.

In the end it all comes down to a question of social conscience. The people of the time were informed about the constant disturbances that were going on in Salamanca, even small-scale ones, and many of their actions and motives ended up *a fortiori* finding cultural protection in the city’s extremely flexible factions or bands. On one hand, these were fuelled by the unknown sources of the tension and the reasons behind it, on the other, and this should be kept in mind, because the interlinked struggles stimulated a dangerously unstable scenario. Any violence would seem for this reason more feasible considering the sensation that anarchy could erupt in the city at any time, “*por las divisiones de los bandos*” (“due to divisions between the factions”), as mentioned in a document from the middle of the 15th century.⁷³ This was another notable effect of the factions on Salamancans and others, that by helping to generate an atmosphere of chronic insecurity, it at the same time provided an alibi for almost any problem. The unitary discourse of the factions obscured its true polyvalence and went back to a single vision of conduct that had very different origins and codes, and indeed responded to different sources of conflict.

3. Events and tensions that have been linked to the Salmancan *linajes* and *bandos*

1366-1369. Conflicts between supporters of Enrique (Maldonado family) and Peter I (Tejeda family) in Salamanca.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: IV, 18-20.

1390, August 17th. “Ordenanzas de Sotosalbos”, issued by John I, considered an instrument of pacification between bands.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: IV, part XII, 113-115. Confirmed in 1394, 1437, 1440, 1483, 1496.

1401, May 31st. Henry III entrusts two aldermen from each band (the aldermen Pedro Rodríguez de las Varillas and Fernán Rodríguez de Monroy from the *linaje*

tional rivalry joined with personal or family rivalry, that is, what was affecting the smallest unit. But he saw it necessary to say, “*como enemigo capitál mío e de mis parientes, no solamente de bando a bando como se acostunbrava hacer en la dicha çibdad, mas de su persona e casa a la persona e casa de mi padre han tenido e tienen grandes enemistades*” (“as an enemy my captain and of my relations, not only faction to faction as is the custom in this city, more the person and the house of the person and the house of my father, which have had and have great enmity”), AGS, CC-Pueblos (Salamanca), Leg. 16, fols. 11v-13v. See López Benito, Clara Isabel. *Bandos nobiliarios...*: 73.

73. See note 47 and reference text.



of San Martín, and Juan Alvarez Maldonado and Gómez González de Anaya from San Benito) with organising the distribution of positions, as a response to the disputes that were occurring for the sharing of municipal posts.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 8, 44.

1423, May 7th. Concern in Alba de Tormes about the possibility that the tensions between the Salamancan bands could spread there.

Archivo Municipal de Alba de Tormes, Libros de Acuerdos (LAC), f. 20v-21.

1439. Juan Gómez de Anaya, backer of the Princes de Aragon, seizes control of the place (some houses and towers belonging to the Church of Salamanca) where the king was going to stay in Salamanca, preventing the kings emissaries, among whom was the Falconer Mayor, Pedro Carrillo, from staying there.

“Crónica de Juan II”, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla: desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernádo y doña Isabel*, ed. Cayetano Rossell. Madrid: Atlas, 1953: II, 558; *Crónica del Halconero*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1946: 309.

1440. The royal power, through Queen Mary, reaches an agreement with Salamanca council for the latter to designate two commissioners from each band-lineage, so they could select the twenty scribes who should be in the city.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 14.

1449, February 20th. Letter from John II ordering the magistrate of Salamanca to stop Alfonso de Solís from making a strong house next to the church of Santo Tomé, because there could be skirmishes between the bands in the city.

M. Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 45.

c. 1445-1450. The *Crónica de don Alvaro de Luna* mentions serious problems in Salamanca provoked by dissension between the Santo Tomé and San Benito bands: “*grand trabajo e muertes de hombres, e otros assaz graves e grandes males, que por cabsa de los vandos nuevamente en Salamanca avían recrescido; de guissa que la çibdad estava en vigilia de se destruyr e perder sin reparo alguno*” (great work and death of men, and other serious and great badness, that because the bands once gain had grown in Salamanca, so that the city was in fear of being destroyed and losing without any protection). The *Crónica* specified the leaders of each band and how each of them served the cause of Henry of Aragon, Álvaro de Luna’s rival.

Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna...: 253, 447.

1452, April, 17th. Letter from Pedro de Estúñiga, high justice of Castile, to the knights of the band of Santo Tomé about the appeasement of the discords with those of San Benito.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 45.

1455. Discord between the bands about the designation of procurators for the courts of 1455.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 15.

1458. News that men have been recruited —the Count of Alba or his son García Álvarez de Toledo— in the estate of Valdecorneja to intervene in Salamanca: “*quando mandaron yr la gente a los vandos de Salamanca*” (when they ordered the people and bands from Salamanca to go).

Archivo Municipal de Piedrahíta, Libro de Cuentas 1453-1466, f. 71.

1462. The Courts of Toledo prohibit the teachers and students of the University from getting involved in the bands in the city: "*de cada día se rrecreçen muchos e diuersos rruydos e contyendas, esforçándose en los dichos fauores e parçialidades que asý tienen en los dichos vandos e con los caualleros dellos*" (on every day there grow many varied quarrels and scuffles, making an effort in the said favours and partialities that they thus have in said bands and with the knights in these).

Cortes de Toledo de 1462, (*Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1866: III, 708 (question n° 8).

1463-1464. Knights from the San Benito band help the nobles who have risen for Alfonso and against Henry IV, among them Pedro González de Hontiveros. There are deaths and fires in the city.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 16.

1464-beginning of 1465. Revenge by María de Monroy, wife of the alderman Enrique Enríquez: she takes vengeance for the death of her sons at the hands of the Manzano brothers. María de Monroy cuts their heads off in Portugal, where the murderers had fled to and places these on her sons' graves.

Maldonado, Alonso. "Hechos de don Alonso de Monroy, Claveroy Maestre de la Orden Alcántara", Memorial Histórico Español. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1853: VI, 1-110, especially 17-19; Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 47, 68, 75.

1465, March 28th. Royal warrant for the confiscation of the goods belonging to Gómez and Alfonso Manzano for having killed the Enríquez brothers.

Villar y Macías, Manuel. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 47, 75.

1465, spring. Alignment of the city's knights around the Count of Alba, a supporter of Henry IV, on one hand, and their enemies, personified in the city by the supporters of the Count of Plasencia, on the other. All the chronicles (Galíndez, *Anónima*, Palencia) mention this polarisation but without specifying the support of either count.

Palencia, Alonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV...*: I, Década I, book VII, chapter VI, 164; "*Crónica de Enrique IV atribuida a Galíndez de Carvajal*, ed. Juan Torres Fontes. Estudio sobre la "*Crónica de Enrique IV*" del Dr. Galíndez de Carvajal, la Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto Jerónimo Zurita-Seminario de Historia de la Universidad de Murcia, 1946: chapter 62, 232; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454-1474*, ed. María Pilar Sánchez-Parra. Madrid: Ediciones de la Torre, 1991: II, chapter LXIII, 156.

1465, June. After the Farce of Ávila, the Count of Alba, with several hundred armed men, takes control of Salamanca, supported by the knights from the city who sided with him.

Enríquez del Castillo, Diego. "Cronica del rey D. Enrique el Quarto de este nombre". *Crónica de los Reyes de Castilla...*: III, 145.

1469. Taking advantage of the adhesions to the bands in the city - "*algunos por dineros, otros por ser dél ayudados en sus bandos le servian y acataban*" (Some for money, others for being helped in their bands they served and obeyed him), García Ál-



varez de Toledo, Count of Alba, tries to take the city by force, alleging that Henry IV had conceded it to him. However, the knights reacted and supported by many people in arms, stopped him, *“los del un bando y del otro se juntaron en gran número de gente y tomaron las armas contra el conde. Pelearon con él de tal manera que hubo de salir de la ciudad, con gran pérdida y daño suyo y de sus gentes”* (Those of one band and the other came together with a large number of people and took up arms against the count. They fought against him in such a way that he had to flee the city with great damage and losses for him and his people).

Valera, Diego de. “Memorial de diversas hazañas”, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla...*: III, 55; Galíndez de Carvajal, Lorenzo. *Crónica de Enrique IV...*: chapter 117, 271-272; *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla...*: II, chapter XVII, 290; Palencia, Alonso de, *Crónica de Enrique IV...*: vol. I, Decade II, book II, chapter VI, p. 298.

1470, January 5th. Letter from the knights of the Santo Tomé band in Salamanca to the Count of Alba reaffirming their commitment to him.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...: 139-140 (doc. n° 53).

c. 1470-1472. The members of the Santo Tomé band reproach the Count of Alba for not having favoured —supposedly through exerting influence in the king's circle— the concession of a regiment to one who they proposed. In contrast, García Álvarez de Toledo had enabled doctor Alfonso Maldonado de Talavera to be appointed as the alderman of Salamanca, who was moreover from the San Benito band, meaning that those from Santo Tomé thought that the Count aim was to trying to *“fazer menos a nuestro linaje e bando para lo dar e acreçentar al bando contrario”* (favour our lineage and band less to give and increase the opposing band).

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...: 142-145 (docs. n° 56, 57).

1473, December 29th. Truce agreed between various knights from San Benito with their rivals, committing goods from both parties. Commissioners were chosen to resolve other possible disputes: *“todas las otras cosas de diferencias, de daños, e debates e otras cosas que son entre los dichos cavalleros e bandos, que los vean dos cavalleros, uno de cada linaje, e los determinen”* (all the other things of difference, of damage, and debates and other things that there are between said knights and bands, that be seen by two knights, one from each lineage, and they decide). In the case where they did not agree, it was agreed that the Duke of Alba should intervene.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...: 158-161 (doc. n° 72).

1474, January 14th. Letter from the Santo Tomé band to the Duke of Alba asking him to initiate an investigation regarding the disputes between lineages and bands.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...: 161-162 (doc. n° 73).

1474, November. Doctor Martín Dávila, teacher in the University, stated that he was very fearful of going to teach his classes as he had enmities with Pedro Suárez de Solís and, his relatives from the San Benito band being away from the city, so *“sus enemigos tienen libertad de andar por este barrio e por do quieren, dende se le sigue grand peligro de su persona”* (his enemies have freedom to walk around this neighbourhood or wherever they want, where they are a great danger for his person).

Marcos Rodríguez, Florencia. *Extractos de los libros de Claustros de la Universidad de Salamanca. Siglo XV (1464-1481)*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1964: doc. n° 799.

1475, February 3rd. Dispatch of an investigator to Salamanca to find out who was guilty of the commotions and rioting that there was in the city, that had included “*peleas e ruidos e otros debates e questiones de que se han seguido entre ellos muertes de hombres e otros inconvenientes*” (fights and rows and other debates and questions that have led to the death of men and other difficulties).

AGS, RGS, 1475, f. 148.

1475, spring. At the beginning of the war against Portugal it was suspected that the city’s bands would align themselves behind some leading members, specifically that the Santo Tomé band would follow the Count of Plasencia or Antón Núñez from Ciudad Rodrigo, in support for Portugal, although the Count of Alba enjoyed backing from the San Benito band.

Palencia, Alfonso de. *Crónica de Enrique IV...*: II, Década III, book II, chapter VIII, 195.

1475, May 20th. Scripture taken out between Rodrigo de Ulloa, the king’s head book-keeper, and the knights of the lineage and band of Santo Torné in Salamanca.

Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...: 163-164.

1475, October 26th. Lifting of the banishment of some women from Salamanca for their involvement in the disorder of the bands.

AGS, RGS, 1475, f. 665.

1475, November 13th. Letter sent to the magistrate Diego Osorio telling him to investigate the disorders in the city.

AGS, RGS, 1475, f. 759.

1476, September 30th. Truce or agreement between the knights of the bands of Santo Tomé and San Benito in Salamanca, made for “*el bien y pas y sosyego desta çibdad, e por quitar escandalos, ruydos e peleas e otros males y daptos de entre nosotros*” (for the good and peace of this city, and to stop scandals, quarrels and fights and other bad things and damage between us).

Ajustamiento de Paz entre los caualleros...; *Historia de Salamanca* (1887), ed. Manuel Villar y Macías. *Historia de Salamanca...*: V, 147-151 (doc. n° 14).

1477, January 13th. Truce agreed by the knights of the bands of Santo Tomé and San Benito in the city of Salamanca.

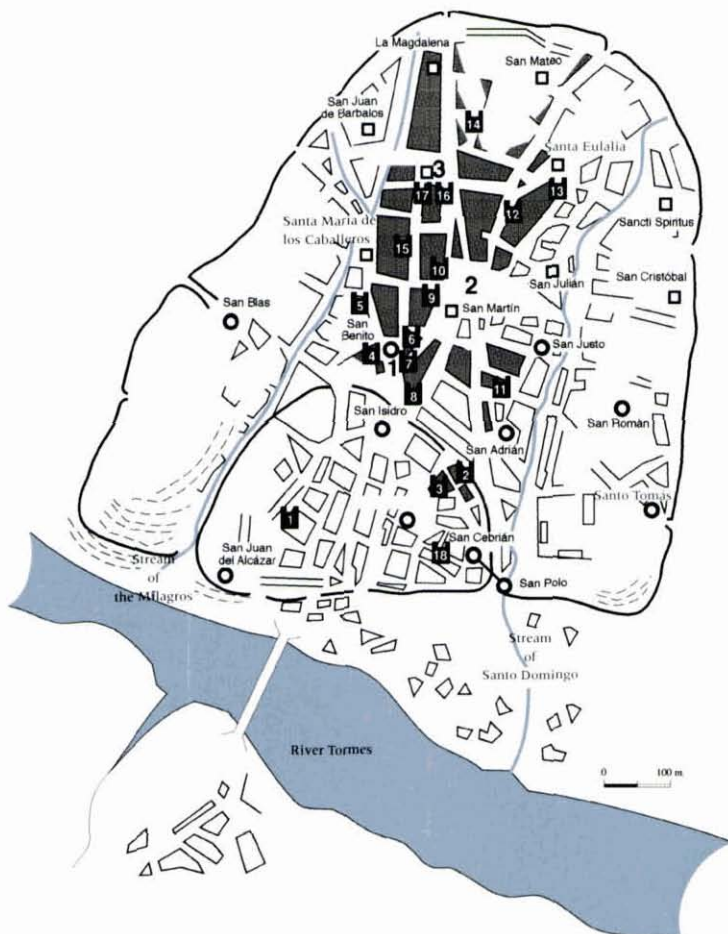
Ed. *Ref. Salamanca en la documentación medieval de la Casa de Alba...*: 192-196 (doc. 88).

1484, April 26th. Commission of the magistrate of Salamanca to report about the leagues of knights and squires in the city, that, despite being banned, have continued to exist.

AGS, RGS, 1484, f. 11.

1493, November 30th – December 2nd. Letter of agreement between the San Benito and Santo Tomé bands in Salamanca.

AGS, Diversos de Castilla, L. 10, 36. López Benito, Clara Isabel; *Bandos nobiliarios...*: 182-187.



- Main places of residence of the Salamanca urban aristocracy
- Parishes of the faction of Santo Tomé (of early 16th century)
- Parishes of the faction of San Benito (of early 16th century)

1. Square of San Benito 2. Square of San Martín 3. Square of Santo Tomé

- Some houses and palaces of the urban nobility at the end of the 15th
 1. Palace of the Álvarez Abarca (or Abarca-Alcaraz. 2. "Tower of Abrantes" (Anaya-Bazán-Pereira). 3. Houses at Anayas. 4. Houses/palace of Pedro Maldonado, in front of San Benito. 5. Houses at Acevedo-Fonseca. 6. Houses at Acevedo in San Benito. 7. Houses at Maldonado in San Benito. 8. Houses/palace of Dr. Maldonado de Talavera (House of the Conchas). 9. Houses/palace of the Tejada, in Prior. 10. House and tower of Rodríguez Villafuerte. 11. Tower of Clavero (Anaya-Sotomayor). 12. Palace and tower of Antón Núñez de Ciudad Rodrigo, in Herreros. 13. Tower of Aire (Castle) and attached palace. 14. Palace of the Arias Corvelle, in San Boal. 15. House of Rodríguez del Manzano. 16. Palace of the Solís, in the square of Santo Tomé. 17. House of María la Brava (Enrique-Monroy), in Santo Tomé. 18. Tour of Villona.

AREAS OF THE URBAN ARISTOCRACY IN SALAMANCA, END OF THE 15TH CENTURY

