

**Noble subjects: Interpellation in
Generaciones y semblanzas and *Claros varones de Castilla***

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1. Introduction

In his 1990 *‘Eine’ Geschichte der spanischen Literatur* (*‘A’ History of Spanish Literature*)¹ Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht traced the interplay between the experience of alterity, the emergence of (modern) subjectivity and *literature* in medieval and early modern Iberia. In his ambitious and provocative study, which has never received due attention from Ibero-medievalists, Gumbrecht labels Fernán Pérez de Guzmán as “one of the most important Castilian historiographers of the 15th century” [“einer der bedeutendsten kastilischen Geschichtsschreiber des 15. Jahrhunderts”] (109-10). Gumbrecht discerns in Pérez de Guzmán’s *Generaciones y semblanzas* a “fascination with phenomena of subjectivity which materialized in his particular interest in the discrepancy between roles and their respective bearers and made him, again and again, inquire into the reasons for those discrepancies” [“Faszination durch Phänomene der Subjektivität, welche sich in seinem besonderen Interesse für die Diskrepanz zwischen Rollen und ihren jeweiligen Trägern konkretisierte und ihn immer wieder nach den Gründen für solche Diskrepanzen fragen ließ”] (161). These few remarks were instrumental in the embryonic phase of my research into Iberian medieval historiography, which culminated in the recent publication of my *Generaciones y semblanzas: Memory and Genealogy in Medieval Iberian Historiography*. The course of my research, however, led me on different roads and I never explored the issue of subjectivity in *Generaciones*. The present study, then, is an attempt to pay a debt.

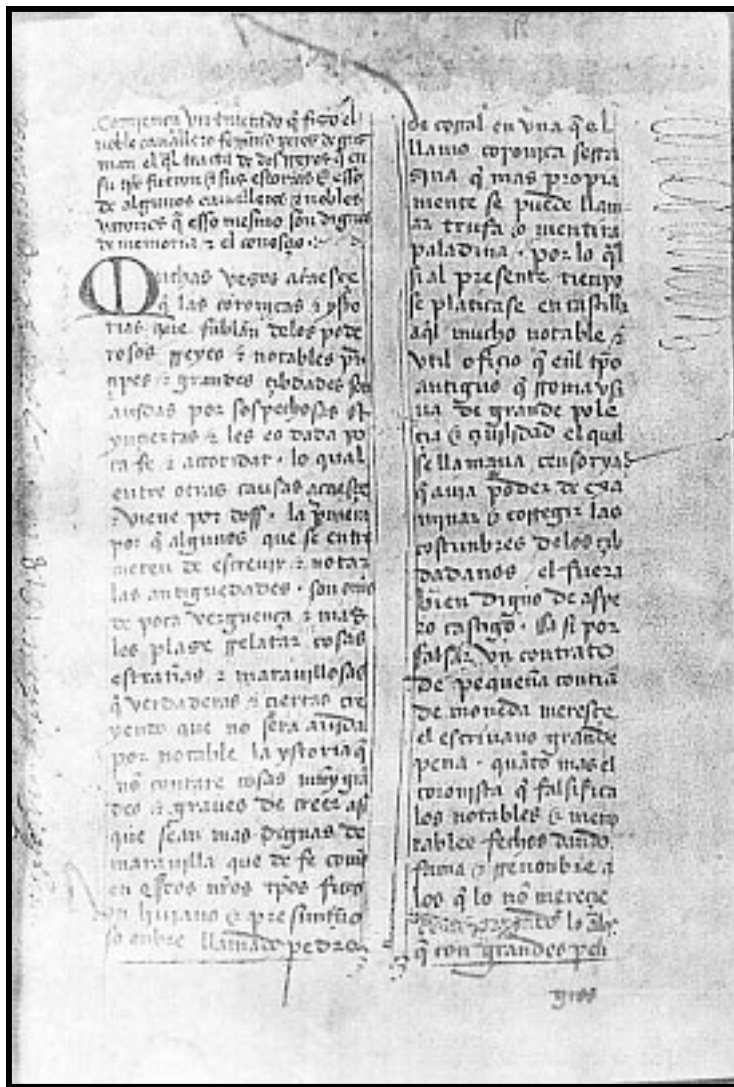
In my book, I describe Fernán Pérez de Guzmán’s best-known work as a genealogical register in which aristocratic memory and individual mnemotechniques converge. Embedding Pérez’s text into late-medieval horizons of expectations, I argue that his *semblanzas* are transcriptions of mnemonic images; *Generaciones y semblanzas* is a genealogical inventory with the purpose of assuring the power of the so-called *Nobleza Nueva*. In the monograph I focus on the writing and reading of *semblanzas*; in the present article I will further explore an issue implicit in the contention that *Generaciones* primarily supports the interests of a layer of Castilian nobility: the workings of ideology. Against the all too reductive view of *Generaciones* as a manifesto of class interest, as it were, I posit an Althusserian reading, analyzing how Pérez de Guzmán’s ensemble of *semblanzas* effects *interpellation*, producing subjects who imaginarily identify with the nobility’s values, *habitus* and codes of behavior.

This line of argumentation has to maneuver between the Scylla of determinism and the Charybdis of teleology. It is important to realize that the ideology that shaped *Generaciones* did not simply subject individuals, but offered compelling ideological images which had to be negotiated—even within *Generaciones*—with alternative or complementary images, some derived from traditional discourses and others foreshadowing realignments of power. For this reason, I consider it necessary to engage the analysis of *semblanzas* in a diachronic perspective too, reading Pérez de Guzmán’s *Generaciones* against Fernando del Pulgar’s *Claros varones de Castilla*. This alignment of texts will also show that there is no simple linear progress from “weak” medieval subjectivity through “pre-renascimental nascent” subjectivity to (early) modern

¹ The “*Eine*” is italicized in the original title. All translations from Gumbrecht’s book are mine.

“strong individualist” subjectivity: While the early 15th century was characterized by the promotion of idiosyncratic projects of the self (Pérez de Guzmán), we witness in Pulgar’s *Claros varones* an attempt to preempt “wild” aristocratic self-fashioning. The reason for this retrogression is, on one hand, the socio-political situation. On the other hand, we must take into account that interpellation is both *tactical* and *strategic*. Michel de Certeau’s notions of *tactic* and *strategy* will allow me to describe the dynamics of ideology in *Generaciones y semblanzas* and *Claros varones* and the odd evolution of subjectivity in 15th-century Castile. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán operated tactically and the nomadic images he provided were prone to tactical appropriation. Fernando del Pulgar, the state official, reterritorialized *semblanzas*, strategically positing an authoritative image of the nobleman suited to the interests of the emergent bureaucratic state.

2. Memory



Fernán Pérez de Guzmán was born between 1377 and 1379 into one of the most important noble Castilian families.² A staunch supporter of Fernando de Antequera, later king of Aragón, and his sons, the so-called Infantes de Aragón, and an enemy of Juan II’s powerful privado Álvaro de Luna, he participated in Castile’s interior struggles until 1432, when he was arrested and charged with treason. After this event he retired grudgingly to his possession of Batres. He dedicated the rest of his life to writing, authoring *Generaciones y semblanzas* in the 1450s.

[Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (image to the left): “Comjença vn tractado q<ue> fizo el noble cauallero ferrand perez de guzman el q<u><<a>>l tracta de dos rreyes q<ue> en su t<ien>po fueron & sus estorias E esso de algunos caualleros & nobles varones q<ue> esso mesmo son dignos de memoria & el conosciõ”; Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, MS. 435, fol. 1^r (second half of 15th century)]

² Regarding Pérez de Guzmán’s biography see the introductions to Robert Tate’s and José Antonio Barrio’s editions of *Generaciones* and Folger (*Generaciones* 27-29). Mercedes Vaquero’s research has recently revealed additional information about Pérez de Guzmán’s life and, in particular, his library at Batres.

His contemporaries considered Pérez de Guzmán one of the most important Castilian poets of the 15th century. His lasting fame, however, is not founded in his moralistic-doctrinal poetry, but in a text today known as *Generaciones y semblanzas*, a collection of “biographical” sketches of Castilian noblemen of the first half of the 15th century. In 1512, Cristóbal de Santisteban published *Generaciones y semblanzas* as the third part of *Mar de istorias* (Folger, “Cristóbal de Santisteban”). The “popularity” of *Generaciones*, however, is due to Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal, who added *Generaciones* to his 1517 edition of the official chronicle of Juan II. In basically unchanged form, *Generaciones* figured as an appendix to three more 16th-century editions of Galíndez’s authoritative *Crónica*. In conjunction with this chronicle *Generaciones* served, as Vicente Beltrán puts it, as a kind of “Who’s Who” of early 15th-century nobility (“Transmisión” 63). Modern scholarship emphasizes the originality and realism, if not “verism” of the author Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, situating the work in the context of the incipient humanistic movement on the Iberian Peninsula. The prevalent view of recent scholarship is that *Generaciones y semblanzas* is an expression of a traditional aristocratic mentality in conjunction with humanistic interests. *Generaciones* appears as a primitive form of “psychological biography” shaped by the influence of Greek and Roman historiographical models.³ A close reading of *Generaciones y semblanzas*, however, shows that inserting it into a genealogy of modern forms and notions of literature and historiography does not exhaust the complexity of this curious text.

Generaciones y semblanzas, which the author describes as a “registro o memorial” (fol. 3^r),⁴ consists of an extended prologue and thirty-four chapters.⁵ Each chapter focuses on the “biography” of a member of Castilian royalty, high nobility, or high clergy with whom the author was personally acquainted. The first three and the last two chapters deal with the Castilian monarchs of Pérez de Guzmán’s time, and with Álvaro de Luna, the powerful *privado* of Juan II. In each case, a literary portrait, or *semblanza*, serves as the focal point of the narration and as a reflection on the history of Castile in the first half of the 15th century.⁶

³ Elsewhere, I discuss *Generaciones* scholarship in detail (Folger, *Generaciones* 30-34).

⁴ All quotations are taken from my semi-paleographic transcription of MS. 435 of the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano. I eliminate the transcription’s codings. José Antonio Barrio’s 1998 edition is not an essential improvement on Tate’s edition or on the pioneering work of Jesús Domínguez Bordona. In light of the studies of Beltrán and Avenoza, a new critical edition is still a *desideratum*. None of the editions of *Generaciones* takes into account the MS. 435 of the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, which in many cases provides a correct reading in passages where the canonized MS. Z.III.2. of the Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial is defective. Furthermore, a reliable critical edition would require a detailed collation of the manuscripts of *Generaciones* with the printed versions of Cristóbal de Santisteban (*Mar de istorias*) and Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal (Folger, “Cristóbal de Santisteban”), Lope de Barrientos’s *Refundición del Halconero*, Alfonso Martínez de Toledo’s *Atalaya de las coronicas*, the anonymous *Abreviación del Halconero* and the fragment of *Generaciones* included in MS. X.I.12. of the Biblioteca de El Escorial.

⁵ MS. 435 / Galdiano lacks the *semblanza* of Sancho de Rojas.

⁶ The sections about Enrique III are reflected in Martínez de Toledo’s *Atalaya* (120-21). The *Abreviación* (fols. 2^v-6^r) parallels the first and third chapters of *Generaciones*. Pérez de Guzmán’s chapters on Enrique III, Fernando de Antequera and Catherine of Lancaster are nearly identical to large portions of the first part of Lope de Barrientos’s *Refundición* (15-23). The question of the filiations was addressed by George Cirot, Juan de Mata Carriazo (“Estudio preliminar”), Madeleine Pardo and James B. Larkin; obviously influenced by the commonplace of Pérez de Guzmán’s “reliability,” which was already forged in the fifteenth century, they recognize the “authenticity” of *Generaciones*. Yet a comparative analysis of these texts, which would take into account the pragmatic contexts and argumentative coherence, has not yet been accomplished. There are indications that the now-lost first part of the *Crónica del Halconero* (Carillo de Huete) provided the material which was used in several historiographical texts. Regarding the rationale behind the two long last chapters he added in the revision of *Generaciones*, see Folger (*Generaciones* 65-68).

These extended historiographical sections frame a register of twenty-nine short, schematic *semblanzas* of knights and prelates, generally representatives of the most powerful Castilian families, and all contemporaries of the author.⁷ All of these *semblanzas* follow a pattern: first is the name of the person, with an apposition which indicates his title or status (*almirante*, *adelantado*, *arzobispo*, etc.). Then the author addresses the person's lineage, which is evidently of paramount importance to him. The portraits themselves emulate the dual structure of the royal *semblanzas* at the end of the chronicles of Pero López de Ayala (Folger, *Generaciones* 44-52 and 176-83): the combination of a sketchy description of bodily features and unrelated personality traits. An *obiit* indicating the place and age of death without a date concludes the *semblanza*. *Seemblanzas* are structurally reminiscent of the wide-spread *duplex descriptio* which the important rhetorician Matthieu de Vendôme differentiates into *descriptio superficialis* and *descriptio intrinseca* (135). What sets them apart from conventional medieval portraiture is that Pérez de Guzmán's scant list of "superficial" features does not follow the typical top-to-toe movement, and that his *semblanzas* are not idealizing or hyperbolic, as advised by Matthieu de Vendôme,⁸ and practiced by medieval poets.⁹

It is widely accepted that Pérez de Guzmán was strongly influenced by Latin and Greek biographers such as Sallust, Suetonius, and Plutarch. Most students of *Generaciones* argue that the models of ancient authors were mediated principally through the chronicles of Pero López de Ayala and Giovanni Colonna's *Mare historiarum*.¹⁰ However, in the prologue of *Generaciones y semblanzas*, Pérez de Guzmán directs his reader to another model: Guido de Columnis's *Historia destructionis Troiae*, a text which was translated into numerous vernacular languages and enjoyed enormous popularity all over Europe (Folger, "Writing"). The passage of Guido's chronicle which Pérez de Guzmán had in mind can be easily identified: a catalogue of the "facçiones, gestos, cuerpos e condiçiones de los famosos omnes, asy griegos commo troyanos" (Guido de Columnis, ed. Norris 127). The parallels in descriptive technique between these brief portraits, which a Galician translator labeled as "semellanças" (Guido de Columnis, ed. Lorenzo 266), and Pérez de Guzmán's *semblanzas*, are apparent: both authors use a terse and internally seemingly disorganized *duplex descriptio*. The influence of Guido's chronicle makes it certainly necessary to rearrange the *Quellenforschung* puzzle which has been a major concern for generations of scholars. However, its real importance for *Generaciones* scholarship resides in the fact that Guido provides decisive clues about the poetics and pragmatics of *semblanzas*.

In the introduction to the register of famous Greeks and Trojans in the Castilian version of Guido's *Historia*, the author gives a detailed report of the conditions of creation of the register. Dares intends to insert a register of *semblanzas* of the most important combatants of both sides in his chronicle. In preparation for his task he uses the armistices to visit the camp of the Greek

⁷ In the following see Folger ("Writing").

⁸ Matthieu's *duplex descriptio* tends "ad laudem vel ad vituperium" (135).

⁹ The dependence of literary practice from medieval theoreticians proclaimed by Faral has been generally questioned by Colby (3-13); see also Koch (54-71).

¹⁰ For López de Ayala, see Madaline W. Nichols (341), Jesús Domínguez Bordona (22-23), Carlos Clavería (490), Lía Noemí Uriarte Rebaudi (89) and Mercé López Casas (162). Clavería suggests that the Alfonsine *Estoria de España* may have influenced Pérez de Guzmán's descriptive technique. Regarding Giovanni Colonna, see Domínguez Bordona (21-25), Uriarte Rebaudi (85-86), Clavería (489-90), Tate (14-15), López Casas (162) and Benito Sánchez Alonso (345). Elsewhere (Folger, "Cristóbal de Santisteban"), I show that *Mare Historiarum* cannot be considered a model for humanistic biography: Pérez de Guzmán was not the translator of Colonna's work and the misleading contamination of *Generaciones* and *Mar de istorias* in the 1512 *editio princeps* of *Generaciones* (as the third part of the *Mar*; Valladolid [Imp. Diego de Gumiel]) is the result of an intentional misreading by the first editor, Cristóbal de Santisteban.

army frequently. He contemplates (“mjrar...e contemplar”; ed. Norris 127) the protagonists of both sides with great care. Moreover, the narrator underscores that the chronicler at first does not take written notes, but only observes the noblemen: “solamente por mjrar” (127). From this we can infer that the historian consciously and methodically memorizes “facçiones, gestos, cuerpos e condiçiones”, in order to write them down later –in the form of *semblanzas*. The literary form called *semblanzas* which Guido de Columnis, López de Ayala, Pérez de Guzmán and other contemporary historians cultivated consists of a congeries of some salient physical features and personality traits which the author has personally observed and contemplated. *Semblanzas* are transcriptions of a process of memorization and they are prescriptions for the formation of mnemonic images, a form of “*energeia*: vivid, sensuous word-painting” (Carruthers, *Craft* 130).¹¹ If, as Mary Carruthers holds, “any reader, while hearing or seeing literary text, will be painting in his mind” (121), the medieval reader of *semblanzas* will readily reconstruct in his mind the image the authors has transcribed and commit it to memory.

If we accept that Pérez de Guzmán’s “biographies” are essentially shaped by medieval mnemonic culture and epistemology, most of the puzzling features of *semblanzas* fall into place. The tendency to reduce description to a minimum, in conjunction with the preference for odd details, is in agreement with the mnemotechnical preference for brevity. Memorability is equated with unusualness.¹² The apparent effort to individualize the portraits can be explained, in part, as an attempt to make them distinguishable and hence prone to be memorized. The elliptic and erratic nature of *semblanzas*, finally, marks them as a mnemonic shorthand of sorts, which an author savvy in the arts of memory would use, and which contemporary readers trained in “thinking in images” would mnemonically appropriate and transform into mental images.¹³

3. Genealogy

The phenomenology of *semblanzas* makes the question of the pragmatics of *Generaciones* all the more pressing. Why did Pérez assemble a collection of mnemonic images of his peers in written form? Again, Guido’s *Historia destructionis Troiae*, the declared model of *Generaciones*, provides an important hint. According to Guido, Dares wanted to write the *semblanzas* of “famous men,” “caso que non de todos quiso pero recontar los famosos” (ed. Norris 127). “Famous” equals here, of course, “noble.” In other words, Guido wrote a collection of portraits of the highest echelons of nobility. This is also the explicit intention Pérez de Guzmán pursues with *Generaciones*:

escreujr commo en manera de rregistro o memorial de dos rreyes que en mj tienpo fueron en castilla . la generaçion de ellos & los senblantes & costunbres dellos & por consiguente los ljnajes & façiones & condyçiones de algunos grandes señores perlados & caualleros que eneste tienpo fueron. (fol. 3^r)

¹¹ The study of the semantic range of the word *semblanza* in medieval Castilian (for instance, “appearance,” “resemblance,” “ruse,” “disguise”) shows that the term is closely related to the activity of imagination (Folger, *Generaciones* 104-09).

¹² Regarding an outline of premodern *ars memoriae* see Folger (*Generaciones* 17-24).

¹³ In accordance with the Aristotelian / Thomistic epistemological maxim, there are no thought processes without images. In *De memoria et reminiscencia*, Aristotle asserts that “memory, even the memory of objects of thought, is not without an image” (trans. Sorabij 48-49). This Aristotelian idea was adapted and elaborated by Thomas Aquinas in his commentary on *De memoria* (91-92; 311-15) and his gloss to *De anima* (391). Elsewhere, I explain the concept of “thinking in images” in detail (Folger, *Images in Mind* 63-81).

Yet the prologue of *Generaciones* does not really explain the purpose that the author associated with his work. In the preface he decries the corruption of the official, institutionalized chronicles of his time. He tersely declares that he is not able or willing to remedy this crisis, and proposes a register of noblemen (fol. 1^r-3^r). In the *semblanza* of Gonzalo Núñez de Guzmán we find a passage critical to the understanding of *Generaciones y semblanzas*. Here the narrator digresses, discussing the “origen & nascimjento delos lñajes de castilla” (fol. 14^v-15^r). He protests that in Castile knowledge of the origin of the noble families depends solely on the “memoria delos antiguos ca en castilla ouo sienpre & ay poca diligencia delas antiguedades delo qual es grande daño” (fol. 14^v). The Jews, however, when they still had Kings, had “anales” of the most important events of each year (fol. 15^r). They also cultivated “registros delos nobles linajes” (fol. 15^r). The Persian king Ahasuerus also honored aristocratic memory:

el rrey asuero de persia tenja vn libro delos serujçios que eran fechos & delos gualardones que por ellos diera . syn dubda notables attos & dignos de loor guardar la memoria delos nobles lñajes & delos serujçios fechos alos rreyes. (fol. 15^r)

In this passage Pérez de Guzmán highlights three critical aspects of aristocratic memory, contrasting it with the short and insecure “memory of the old.” He alludes to *fama*, which is the reward for past virtuosity and motivates noblemen to be righteous and checks their behavior.¹⁴ Furthermore, he emphasizes the importance of the memory of the “origins and birth of the Castilian lineages,” that is, the memory of the foundation of nobility and the privileges derived from this status. The “archive” of the *galardones*, which King Ahasuerus granted to the founders and representatives of noble families as a reward for their services, must also be seen in the context of aristocratic memory. Pérez de Guzmán implies that not only noble individuals profit from genealogical memory, but their *linajes* as well. Privileges, titles and possessions of the noble families must be remembered in a verifiable form over generations in order to substantiate the claims of the nobility.¹⁵ In short, *Generaciones y semblanzas* is essentially not a historiographical or biographical text but a vehicle of aristocratic memory.

Genealogical memory, then, is of paramount importance to the author. His *semblanzas* meticulously follow the scheme outlined above. The differences in length are mostly due to the varying genealogical data the author had at hand.¹⁶ He reports the genealogy in most cases over two generations, accepting the “memory of the old.” Furthermore, he scrutinizes chronicles and genealogical writings to critically review the claims that families make about their antiquity. The importance of genealogy is also manifest in the criteria with which Pérez de Guzmán selected the personalities of his *Generaciones*. He pays attention to the dignities and wealth, but most of all to the importance of the family. The standard formula he uses in *Generaciones* to qualify the pedigree is “de gran linaje.” Eleven of the twenty families on which Carlos V officially bestowed the title of Grande de España in 1520 are represented in *Generaciones* (Fernández de Béthencourt 43).

¹⁴ In the first part of his prologue, Pérez de Guzmán criticizes unreliable historiographers who deny *fama*, “fruto de sus merescimjentos,” to those who fight for the King, the “rrepublica,” and the honor of their family (fol. 1^v). Regarding Pérez de Guzmán’s concept of *fama* see María Rosa Lida de Malkiel (269-76).

¹⁵ See my analysis of Alfonso de Cartagena’s *Anacephaleosis* (Folger, *Anacephaleosis*). As Karl Schmid points out, it is the “impact of dynastic genealogical history on the general history” which grounds the nobility’s claim to power (cited by Melville 216, n. 51, my translation); see also Oexle (“Memoria” 38; “Aspekte”).

¹⁶ For an in-depth analysis, see Folger (*Generaciones* 70-140).

Of course, *Generaciones* is a hybrid text. We know for certain that the chapters on Álvaro de Luna and Juan II are the product of a second version of the text.¹⁷ In the first *semblanzas* of the Castilian monarchs, Pérez de Guzmán also pursues interests other than genealogical writing (Folger, *Generaciones* 65-68). Yet it is important to realize that the core of *Generaciones y semblanzas* is a genealogical register of the Castilian nobility of the times of Enrique III and Juan



II.

The historical context clarifies why Pérez de Guzmán considered such a register necessary. The first half of the fifteenth century witnessed a series of stellar careers and spectacular declines. Most of the families mentioned in *Generaciones* belonged to the so-called *nobleza nueva*, which had risen with the Trastámaras two generations earlier.¹⁸

[Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (image to the left): “Siguen se las generaçiones semblanças & obras delos eçelentes Reyes de españa don enriiq<ue> el terçero & don ioh<<a>>n el segundo & delos benerables perlados & notables caualleros que enlos tienpos destos Reyes fueron”, Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS. Z.III.2. (second half of 15th century)].

Their status as “old and venerable” nobility was still precarious in the collective memory of the people, and they were involved in a continuing fight with Álvaro de Luna, who was trying to establish a strong central power. Pérez de Guzmán, himself a victim of this struggle,¹⁹ perceived the need for a register and memorial in this climate of instability. In his *Who’s Who* of

¹⁷ In the section about Fernando de Antequera the author speaks of “este año ques de mjl & quatroçientos & çinquenta“ (fol. 8^v). Luna was executed in 1453; Juan II died the following year.

¹⁸ See the fundamental studies of Salvador de Moxó (“Nobleza vieja”; “Nobleza castellano-leonesa”; “Nobleza castellana”); see also Luis Suárez Fernández, Isabel Beceiro Pita and Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, and the survey of María Concepción Quintiliana Raso.

¹⁹ After his incarceration in 1432, Pérez de Guzmán forsook the struggle against Álvaro de Luna and spent the rest of his life, until 1460, in voluntary exile in his *señorío*, Batres (Tate 10-11, Marichalar 14-15).

Castilian high nobility (Beltrán, “Transmisión” 63), he attempted to commit to memory who the “real” *grandes* of his time were; on the basis of his work, the descendants of the “grandes señores” would verify and claim the noble status and the privileges of their forbears.²⁰

4. Interpellation

It is obvious, then, that *Generaciones* is product and vehicle of the interests of a social group known today as the *Nobleza Nueva*. In other words, *Generaciones* propagates the ideology of the nobility. This approach has been pursued by Felipe Maíllo Salgado, who, in a “trabajo semántico-histórico” (6), analyzed *Generaciones y semblanzas* as a “soporte” of the “ideología de las clases dominantes en la Castilla del siglo XV” (9). The major limitation of his work, which has had, unfortunately, barely any repercussions in scholarship,²¹ is the limited notion of ideology on which he grounds his analysis: “las ideologías hacen referencia a cosas tales como opiniones, preferencias, prejuicios, gustos, lealtades, convicciones o valores” (10).²² Ideology appears as tool which the ruling class uses to perpetuate its domination. Although Maíllo Salgado considers *Generaciones* a microcosmos of “representaciones colectivas, de actitudes, de normas de conducta con las que puede o no identificarse” (11), he does not elaborate on the idea that ideology is instrumental in shaping identities: in other words, that ideology is constitutive of subjectivity.²³ This is precisely the gist of Luis Althusser’s famous essay “Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d’état”. For Althusser, “l’idéologie est une «representation» du rapport imaginaire des individus à leurs conditions réelles d’existence” (296), a representation that is part of the process of reproducing these conditions. Interpellation is a “hailing” («hé, vous, là-bas!»; 305) which, in the words of John Mowitt “incites human beings to identify their self-experience with the image of that experience that comes for them in the discourses emanating from the ideological state apparatuses. [...] The identification with an image of one’s self is constitutive of that self” (xiv). Foucault cautions that human beings are not simply transformed into subjects by state apparatuses, calling attention to the role of truth procedures that aspire to the status of sciences, and the “objectivizing of the subject in ‘dividing practices.’ The subject”, Foucault

²⁰ The studies by Beltrán and Avenozza show that the descendants of the personalities portrayed in *Generaciones* commissioned copies of the text and manipulated them in order to display their ancestors in a positive light. In the introduction to his sixteenth-century *Historia genealogica de la casa de Lara*, Luis de Salazar y Castro clearly states the importance of genealogical writings: “Pero quien mayor beneficio consigue en esta coleccion de instrumentos, es la misma Casa de Lara à quien afiançan tantos matrimonios Reales, y esclarecidos, tantas dignidades, y honores excelentes, y tan larga serie de personas insignes de todas profesiones, sin que estas, y las otras ilustres calidades suyas, necesiten del inmortal eco, que de su esclarecido nombre esparciò la fama, dilatò la tradicion, y conserva la memoria de los Castellanos, porque nada se dice de sus excelencias, que no vaya asistido de invencibles pruebas” (s.p.).

²¹ José Antonio Barrio, for example, acknowledges Maíllo Salgado’s work without discussing it (50). In my own work (Folger, *Generaciones*), I drew on his semantic analysis in order to establish Pérez de Guzmán’s criteria of selection.

²² Maíllo Salgado includes Luis Althusser’s seminal “Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d’État” in his bibliography (97), yet quotes here G.H. Sabine’s 1965 *Marxism*.

²³ Friedrich Kittler has traced the emergence of modern subjectivity in early 19th-century Germany. He argues that new reading habits (silent reading) and mandatory discursive productivity in conjunction with state control over education shaped the “subject as a state official.” Kittler calls attention to the fact that the discussion about subjectivity is not merely a philosophical one; it is a historical matter which must account for different cultural contexts. However, basing his analysis on a particularly German definition of the subject, Kittler comes to the (tautological) conclusion that the modern subject is a German “invention.” The most comprehensive account of the medieval genealogy of modern subjectivity is Peter Haidu’s recent *The Subject Medieval / Modern*, lamentably limited to France and England. Regarding Spain see Gumbrecht (*Eine Geschichte*) and George Mariscal.

holds, “is either divided inside himself or divided from others” (“Subject” 777-78). Finally, the “way a human being turns himself into a subject” (778) is of crucial importance. Nonetheless Althusser’s model of positioning the individual by invitation to imaginary identification provides a valuable model for the “mechanics” of “pastoral power” in general (784).²⁴ Regarding *Generaciones*, which is literally a set of *images* of *caballeros y prelados*, the notion of interpellation is particularly appealing; conversely, Pérez de Guzmán’s *semblanzas* provide a fascinating example of the workings of images in ideology.²⁵

Althusser asserts that interpellation is accompanied by an “assujettissement au Sujet” (310), a specular relation to an absolute, unique Subject. What is the ideological Subject evoked by *Generaciones*? Maíllo Salgado approaches this question through the reconstruction of the “stereotype” of the caballero. A stereotype is, according to him, a “simple idea” without differentiations, which has been acquired from others and does not reflect the “reality it represents” (5).²⁶ Following a similar path, I have analyzed Pérez de Guzmán’s criteria of selection (Folger, *Generaciones* 69-81). *Generaciones* is a register of the “grandes señores perlados & caualleros” (fol. 3^r).²⁷ The great effort to trace the genealogies of his peers is indicative of the fact that a *Grande de España* is primarily defined by his pedigree. As Maíllo Salgado has demonstrated, next to “gran linaje,” “esfuerço” is the most important parameter in the categorization of the *caballeros* (26-42; see also López Casas 153-54). The status of the *caballero* depends, moreover, on his *dignidad*, that is, offices at court and in the church and—in spite of the author’s repeated condemnation of greed—wealth (*tesoro, estado*). On one hand, these parameters of “hereditary” qualities define the *Grandes de Castilla* as a social class by excluding other social groups. On the other, they shape the individual claiming the rank of *gran caballero*: he will forge an excellent genealogy by marriages or genealogical writings; he will aspire to prestigious dignities; he will strive to accumulate riches.

Nobility, however, is not only a matter of genealogy and acquisition of power. “Aristocratic rank,” Horst Wenzel points out, “must be visible and therefore worked into the noble bodies: although they are born noble, only in the process of education are they formed in order to conform with courtly codes of speech and its iconography. Courtly education involves the noble’s entire habitus” [“Aristokratischer Rang muß sichtbar sein und deshalb in den adeligen Körper eingearbeitet werden, die zwar adelig geboren, aber erst im Vorgang der Erziehung so geformt werden können, wie das der höfischen Sprachregelung und ihrer Ikonographie entspricht. Höfische Erziehung erstreckt sich auf den ganzen Habitus des Adeligen” (35; my

²⁴ Foucault relates pastoral power to “globalizing and quantitative [knowledge], concerning the population; the other, analytical, concerning the individual” (“Subject” 784).

²⁵ Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht correlates the emergence of subjectivity with forms of modern literature on the Iberian Peninsula (Eine *Geschichte* 175-287). The age of Isabel marks a watershed: while literature articulated the “ideology of singularity” (Mariscal 110), bureaucracy shaped the conflicting subjectivity of the state official (Folger, “Cien años”). The perfect example of this negotiation of subject positions is Miguel de Cervantes (Folger, “Alfonso Borregán”).

²⁶ Maíllo Salgado analyzes the “stereotypes” of the *caballero*, *prelado* and *rey*. Following Pérez de Guzmán’s suggestion, the first two categories can be subsumed under the heading “grandes señores.” The framing chapters on Enrique III, Fernando de Antequera, Álvaro de Luna and Juan II do not follow the logic of the register of images of noblemen (Folger, *Generaciones* 60-68) and are not pertinent to the argument I develop in this article.

²⁷ For a detailed discussion of the possible reasons why Pérez de Guzmán included persons which do not fit the general pattern see Folger (*Generaciones* 69-81).

translation)]. Medieval and Early Modern Castile had its own concept of *habitus*: *Maneras e costumbres*, key terms in premodern “biography” and “portraiture.”²⁸

A few generations before Pérez de Guzmán, Don Juan Manuel clarified the idiom in his *Libro de los estados*. King Morabán appoints the knight Turín as secular educator of Johas, the heir to the throne. In the very first lesson, the king wants his son to learn about the difference between *maneras* and *costumbres*.

Et devedes saber que la diferençia que a entre maneras et costunbres es ésta: las maneras son toda cosa que ayuda al omne por que pueda fazer por manera lo que non podría fazer tan ligeramente por fuerça. Non las puede aver omne si de otrie non las aprende. (20)

Turín explicates that *maneras* include horseback riding, swimming, fencing, courtly games, pacing gracefully, sometimes including song, fighting, and jousting. He distinguishes these arts, which can be learned through teaching, from *costumbres*.

Las costumbres buenas o contrarias son cosas que gana omne por luengo uso, ca usando omne la cosa luengo tienpo tórnase en costunbre [...]. A muy mester omne que sea muy bien acostunbrado en comer et en vever et en fablar et en fazer todas sus cosas segund conviene para guardar lo que deve a Dios et al mundo. (21)

While the teacher does not hesitate to relate these “habits” to the welfare of the soul, he emphasizes that they are instrumental regarding the “buena fama del mundo” (21). Turín was explicitly assigned to the prince as his instructor in worldly matters.²⁹ *Maneras* and *costumbres*, then, do not essentially reflect the moral disposition of the person *sub specie aeternitatis*, but document a successful or failed socialization of a noble pupil. Conversely, *maneras y costumbres* shape the noble individual, and texts offering images which invite the emulation of these *habitus* effect subjectivity through interpellation.

Generaciones y semblanzas is such a text. The combination of bodily features and *maneras y costumbres* is a defining feature of *semblanzas*. They are distinguished from conventional medieval portraiture by their fragmentary and unsystematic character. Moreover, there is a striking lack of accordance between *descripio intrinseca* and *descriptio exterior*. If *Generaciones* does not convey full, idealized and exemplary images of knighthood and nobility, how is interpellation effected? Maíllo Salgado circumvents this difficulty by distilling stereotypes of the *caballero* and the *prelado* through semantic analysis. There is, however, also a more convincing approach to this question in premodern epistemology. Pioneering in this respect is James F. Burke, who construes the premodern “self,” bringing together Lacanian gaze theory and faculty psychology: “In the medieval period the identity of the individual was thought to be constructed largely visually through a play of reflections between this person and a set of exterior models” (Burke, *Vision* 88). According to faculty psychology, perception and cognition is an active process. The mind judges *species* evoked by the *semblanza* and the information attached to it

²⁸ The tradition can be traced back to ancient biography (Suetonius) and was adapted, for example, by Juan Fernández de Heredia, Pero López de Ayala, Gonzalo Chacón and Diego Enriquez del Castillo (Folger, *Generaciones*; particularly 45).

²⁹ The actual protagonist of *Libro de los estados* is the Christian “filósofo” and preacher Julio, who is responsible for addressing the Infante’s spiritual questions. Julio convinces the Prince, Turín, and the King of the superiority of his wisdom, eventually leading to the Christianization of the entire kingdom.

(here, *maneras y costumbres*) by associating it with images or “readings” previously stored in memory (Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 156-88; Pietropaolo 206; Burke, “Insouciant Reader” 36-37). In other words, thinking is always an ethical process in which the images provoke praise, *laus*, or blame, *vituperium*,³⁰ which, in *Generaciones*, is frequently modeled by the author but ultimately depends on the honed judgment of the reader and “common sense”. About Gómez Manrique, for instance, Pérez de Guzmán tells us that he was a

buen cauallero cuerdo & bien rrazonado de grande esfuerço muy soberujo & porfioso buen amjgo & çierto con sus amjgos mal ataujado de su persona pero su casa tenja bien guarnjda . como qujer que çierto fuese & verdadero en sus fechos [...]. (*Generaciones* fol. 18^r)

Reading *Generaciones*, then, meant to mentally create a series of images, judging them and associating each *semblanza* with other *semblanzas* previously processed. This mental superimposition of *semblanzas* of all but exemplary *caballeros* creates something similar to Althusser’s *Sujet*, which, probably, also resembles Maíllo Salgado’s “stereotype” of the *caballero*, who combines the following positive values: “buen linaje,” “esforzado,” “discreto,” “cuerdo,” “amar a una mujer,” “franco, gracioso,” “acogedor de hombres,” “limpio en el vestir,” “mesurado en el comer,” “ayudar a sus amigos (y familiares),” “alcanzar gran estado” (26).

Even a cursory look at this list shows that *Generaciones*’s *Subject* is a gendered one. The ideology inscribed in *Generaciones* obviously aims at interpellating male subjects. The particularity of Pérez de Guzmán’s register is that the female Other is not mere absence and abjection. Although the declared purpose of *Generaciones* is to write about the two kings of Pérez de Guzmán’s time and “algunos grandes señores,” the author inserts a *semblanza* of a woman: Catherine of Lancaster, the widow of Enrique III, who ruled Castile, together with Fernando de Antequera, for her underage son, Juan. Catherine’s *semblanza* is interstitial in relation to the program of *Generaciones*; it is sandwiched between the chapters of the two kings and thus precedes the register of the noblemen.³¹ Although the presence of Catherine in *Generaciones* may be explained as an acknowledgement of her role as regent,³² the actual text of the *semblanzas* betrays other motivations.

fue esta rreyna alta de cuerpo & mucho gruesa blanca & colorada & Ruuja enel talle & meneo del cuerpo tanto paresçia onbre commo muger fue muy honesta & guardada en su persona & fama liberal & magnjfica . pero muy sometida a priuados & muy rregida dellos . lo qual por la mayor parte es viçio comun delos rreyes non era bien rregida en su persona. (Pérez de Guzmán, fol. 6^v)

She is a figure who is sexually under- and overdetermined: as much man as woman. She is not properly gendered: a woman (“rregida”) in power (“rreyna”) who fulfills gender expectations (“honesta & guardada en su persona”) and violates them (“non era bien rregida en su persona”).

³⁰ I draw here on John Dagenais’s concept of “ethical reading” (16); see also Folger (*Images* 84-95).

³¹ *Generaciones* was written in two phases. The prologue is programmatic only of the first version, without referring to the two concluding chapters about Luna and Juan II, which were added after their deaths (Folger, *Generaciones* 65-68).

³² Her *semblanza* also appears in Lope de Barrientos’s *Refundición* (Folger, *Generaciones* 64). Scholarship assumes that *Refundición*, among other 15th-century historiographical texts, copies *Generaciones*, but the question of filiations has not been resolved.

As such she is a “precursor” of her granddaughter, Queen Isabel, whose impact on late medieval gender economy has recently been studied by Barbara Weissberger. Like Isabel’s “image,” Catherine’s *semblanza* is a manifestation of gender anxiety. Cross-gendering and the attempt to ascribe the attributes of power to the male sphere is a way of coping with this anxiety and an appeal to exclude the feminine from this sphere.

Complementary to the hybrid image of Catherine is the last *semblanza* of the register, the chapter on Pedro de Frías, cardinal of Spain. Frías’s status is also undecidable; he belongs and does not belong to the *Grandes de España*: “fue onbre de baxo lñnaje pero alcanço grandes dignidades & por poder & estado & grande tesoro” (fol. 28^r). He is a foreign body among the noble knights and prelates.

fue onbre de mediana altura de buen gesto no muy letrado muy astuto & cabteloso tanto que por maliçioso era aujdo non fue muy deuoto njn honesto njtan lñnpio de su persona commo asu dignidad se convenja vestiase muy bien comja muy solepne mente dava se mucho a deleytes & buenos manjares & finos olores enla priuança que conel rrey ouo fueron muchos quexosos del especial mente grandes onbres & esto o por que el los trataua mal o por que por conplazer al rrey en su fazjenda & rrentas les era contrario ca ansy los fechos dela justiçia commo las rrentas del rrey todo era a su ordenança en su fabla & meneo de su cuerpo & gesto & enla mansedunbre & dulçura de sus palabras tanto paresçia onbre commo muger. (fol. 28^r-28^v)

The *semblanzas* of Catalina and Frías certainly do not invite specular identification, and yet they are part and parcel of the interpellative process. These images figure as a threat to the power of male noblemen, and thus appeal to proper *maneras y costumbres* and gender positions. Bracketing the register of *caballeros* and excluding queer bodies and subjects, they define a gendered group of men in power.

5. Tactics and Strategies

In order to define this group and suppress alterity, this very alterity appears at the margins and interstices of *Generaciones*. It is ultimately the reader’s task to eliminate the alterity in the interpretive process so that proper interpellation takes place. In the superimposition of images I described above, the *semblanzas* of Catherine and Frías must be discarded. It is important to realize that this agency of the “subject” of interpellation is not limited to the negative examples but is inherent in the phenomenology of interpellation through *semblanzas*. According to faculty psychology, the reader does not simply receive the images evoked by Pérez de Guzmán’s *semblanzas*, but judges, associates and combines them with images stored in his memory. This is all the more necessary since the *semblanzas* of *Generaciones* do not allow for a simple identification. This appropriation of images in *Generaciones* indicates that interpellation does not equal determination, which has been one major charge leveled against Althusser’s notion (Smith 3-23; Mariscal). The ideology of nobility provides a *Sujet* that figures in *Generaciones* in scattered and dismembered form; it is the reader’s task to piece it together and “make it work”: *bricolage* in the sense of Michel de Certeau. Certeau postulates that “les usagers «bricolent» avec et dans l’économie culturelle dominante les innombrables et infinitésimales métamorphoses de sa loi en celle de leurs intérêts et de leurs règles propres” (xxxix). If we substitute *readers* for “users” and *ideology* for “dominant cultural economy” it becomes possible to describe the

interpellation through *semblanzas* as an interplay between strategies and tactics. For Certeau, a strategy is

le calcul (ou la manipulation) des rapports de forces que devient possible à partir du moment où un sujet de vouloir et de pouvoir [...] est isolable. Elle postule *un lieu* susceptible d'être circonscrit comme *un propre* et d'être la base d'où gérer les relations avec *une extériorité* de cibles ou de menaces [...]. (59)

A tactic on the, other hand, is an

action calculée que détermine l'absence d'un propre. [...]. La tactique n'a pour lieu que celui de l'autre. Aussi doit-elle jouer avec le terrain qui lui est imposé tel que l'organise la loi d'une force étrangère. [...] Elle n'a donc pas la possibilité de se donner un projet global ni de totaliser l'adversaire dans un espace distinct, visible et objectivable. [...] Elle profite des «occasions» et en dépend, sans base où stocker des bénéfiques, augmenter un propre et prévoir des sorties. (60-61)

In a seeming paradox, interpellation, a strategic operation, requires the tactical collaboration of the individual.³³

The user's tactic, even in the service of ideology, however, always implies the agency of the interpellated individual. The user has the ethical and moral duty to reject the "tachas" of each of the *caballeros*,³⁴ to eliminate alterity. But there is also always the possibility to imaginatively identify with the alterity, or to piece together an unconventional subjectivity. In *Generaciones*, there is even the possibility that the text stages an "interplay of differing subject-positions" (Smith xxxiv-xxxv). According to Paul Smith, interpellation should not be conceived of as a determination because competing ideologies create a tension that "compels a person to legislate among them. [...] A person is not simply the actor who follows ideological scripts, but is also an agent who reads them in order to insert him / herself into them –or not" (xxxiv-xxxv).³⁵ The ideology of *Generaciones* propagates, for example, a male gender which is constructed through an abject female Other, but the possibility cannot be excluded that Catherine or Frías, *tanto onbre como muger*, provided identificatory images. *Generaciones*, in short, purport the interpellation of "normal" noble subjects, but they could be appropriated for "wild self-fashioning."

Whence the precarious nature of interpellation in *Generaciones*? Pérez de Guzmán, the stern moralist, certainly did not intentionally write a "subversive" text, but hoped to secure the privileges and foster the aspirations of his class. According to Gumbrecht, the emergence of subjectivity on the Iberian Peninsula is related to the crisis of royal authority and the break-down of "collective horizons of meaning" (*kollektive Sinnhorizonte*), which lead to the emergence of "subject-centered roles of meaning-producing" (*subjektzentrierte Rollen der Sinnbildung*) (*Eine Geschichte*, 80-167). *Generaciones* is a case in point. In his long and winding prologue, the author voices his suspicion that the official chronicle of his time is lacking "pureza & synpliçidad" (fol. 3^r). He himself, however, does not want to write the chronicle of his time,

³³ Analyzing 17th-century *relaciones de méritos y servicios*, I argue elsewhere that the tactical facet of interpellation is not unique to *Generaciones* but generally necessitated by the *assujétissement* (Folger, "Alonso Borregán")

³⁴ In the *semblanza* of Ruy López Dávalos, the author programmatically states: "enel mundo no ay onbre syn tacha" (fol. 10^r).

³⁵ Mariscal's study of Quevedo and Cervantes departs from this premise.

because he is not “asi ynstruydo nj ynformado delos fechos como era nesçesario atal atto” (fol. 3^r). He refers here to his personal circumstances when he wrote *Generaciones*. Pérez de Guzmán was forced to retire to his estate at Batres after he was eliminated from the political scene by Luna in 1432. In terms of authority, however, Batres was no *proper place* for the writing of history; *Generaciones* itself is the product of tactical writing. Starting with Alvar García de Santa María, the official chronicles of the Castilian kings were composed by state officials, secretaries, and learned bureaucrats (*letrados*), who used their own connections at court, and their access to royal archives, for their chronicles (Folger, *Generaciones* 167-83). Their authority was based on the institutional power that backed them.³⁶ Pérez de Guzmán, on the other hand, had only two resources: his memory and the authority of personal reputation. In nearly obsessive terms he voices in *Generacions* the fear that official written chronicles were corrupted (Folger, *Generaciones* 116). Confronted with this threat to the written word, he conceived of *semblanzas*, texts written down on paper, but fully to be realized in the mind of the reader. His method of transcribing mental images with the authority of the eyewitness and the necessity to make them memorable through the emphasis of the unusual had the effect of inscribing into *Generaciones* an alterity respective to hegemonic ideology –to a degree unprecedented in Castilian historiography. The price, then, that he had to pay for writing this “truthful” text that preserved genealogical memory was that the interpellative function of his text was tainted by the possibility of wild self-fashioning.

6. Reterritorialization

Generaciones was the product of particular historical circumstances. The early reception of the work –its dissemination in manuscript form– is difficult to pinpoint.³⁷ Yet the fact that it was a powerful and dangerous text is corroborated by the process by which this nomadic text was reterritorialized. This process was initiated by Hernando del Pulgar. On December 24th of 1486, in Toledo, Juan Vasques printed a text identified in the incipit as *Libro delos claros varones de Castilla* and a collection of thirteen letters (ed. Dangerfield), both written by Hernando del Pulgar, secretary and official chronicler to the Catholic Kings. A prologue, two “razonamientos” and twenty-four chapters on Castilian noblemen, which the reader familiar with *Generaciones* will identify as *semblanzas*, comprise *Claros varones*.

Addressing Queen Isabel, Pulgar expounds in the prologue that Greek and Roman “istoriadores” wrote extensively about the heroic deeds of the “claros varones de su tierra.”

Otros escritores ovo que las sacaron [sc. las hazañas] de las istorias & fizieron dellas tratados a parte a fin que fuesen más comunicadas, segund fizo Valerio Máximo & Plutarco & otros algunos que, con amor de su tierra o con afeción de personas o por mostrar su eloquencia, quisieron adornar sus fechos, exaltándolos con palabras algo por ventura más de lo que fueron en obras. (3)³⁸

³⁶ Elsewhere I discuss the connex between royal power, institutions and authority in historiographical writing in the so-called *historiografía indiana* (Folger, “Institutionalisierung”).

³⁷ See Beltrán (“Transmisión”; “Transmisión manuscrita”), Avenoza and Folger (*Generaciones* 29). Among his own and the following generations Pérez was recognized as one of the most important Castilian authors; this reputation, however, was built upon his fame as a moralist poet (Folger *Generaciones* 29; Weiss).

³⁸ All quotations are taken from Tate’s edition.

Castilian “corónicas,” on the contrary, deny the *claros varones* and their descendants this honor. Neither is there, Pulgar laments, a Castilian work in the vein of Valerius Maximus, who wrote separately about the “notables fechos” (3). He then lists authors who “escrivieron loando los ilustres varones dignos de memoria para loable enxemplo de nuestro bevir” (4). Among them the reader finds Fernán Pérez de Guzmán.

Escrivió en metro algunos claros varones naturales dellos que fueron en España; asimismo escribió brevemente en prosa las condiciones del muy alto & excelente Rey don Juan de esclarecida memoria vuestro padre, & de algunos cavalleros & perlados sus súbditos que fueron en su tiempo. (3-4)

Besides the domestic author Pérez de Guzmán and his *Loores de los claros varones de España* (Menaca) and *Generaciones y semblanzas*, Pulgar adduces George de Vernade, secretary to Charles VII of France and author of a lost compilation (Tate, “Editor’s introduction” 30) of the “fechos notables de algunos cavalleros & perlados de aquel reino” (4), Jesus Sirach, and Jerome as *auctores* for his own project.³⁹

Me dispuse a escribir de algunos claros varones, perlados & cavalleros naturales de los vuestros reinos que yo conocí y comunicué, cuyas fazañas & notables fechos si particularmente se oviesen de contar, requiría fazerse de cada uno una grand istoria E por ende con el ayuda de Dios escreviré los linajes & condiciones de cada uno & algunos notables fechos que fizieron. (4)

He wants to prove the superiority of the Castilian *claros varones*.

De los cuales se puede bien creer que en autoridad de personas & en ornamento de virtudes & en las habilidades que tovieron, así en ciencia como en armas, no fueron menos excelentes que aquellos griegos & romanos & franceses que tanto son loados en sus escripturas. (4)

The reader coming from *Generaciones* appreciates this lucid prologue, which needs no further explanation.

The introductory *semblanza* of Enrique IV, labeled by the author with “vida & condiciones” (4), establishes a chronological frame and the general tone underlying Pulgar’s work. Tate holds that the fifteen *semblanzas* of *caballeros* that follow are centered in an abstract virtue. Following the example of Valerius, these virtues, in turn, are illustrated with the deeds of the noblemen portrayed (“Editor’s introduction” 31-32). In the first three *semblanzas*, Pulgar contrasts the virtues of Castilian *moderni* with those of some of Antiquity’s exemplary figures. In a “razonamiento a la reina” intercalated after the thirteenth *semblanza*, he celebrates the moral superiority and vigor of Castilian *claros varones* (52-54). In the second part of his work, Pulgar

³⁹ In spite of the allusion to Jerome’s *De viris illustribus*, *Claros varones* is by no means a bio-bibliography (Blum); in the chapters on Alfonso de Cartagena and on Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal (El Tostado), he only mentions in passing their numerous writings.

describes eight prelates. Seven of them excel through exemplary moral integrity and erudition.⁴⁰ In the concluding “razonamiento breve” he once more spells out the intention of his work.⁴¹

Por cierto se deve creer que tan bien se loará un fecho castellano como se loa un fecho romano si oviera escritores en Castilla que sopieran ensalçar en escritura los fechos de los castellanos, como ovo romanos que supieron sublimar los de su nación romana. (75)

Emphasizing the role of Castilian “escritores” in “sublimating” the historical facts –and implicitly his own contribution– Pulgar wants to prove the preeminence of Castilian nobility over the heroes of Antiquity.⁴²

The noblemen of *Claros varones* are exclusively representatives of the most important Castilian-Leonese families.⁴³ The tone of the work is noticeably laudatory; even the notorious troublemaker Pacheco appears as an exemplary figure (Tate, “Editor’s introduction” 39-42). Tate holds that *Claros varones*, which was composed during the hot phase of the war against the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, is an appeal to the loyalty and virtue of the descendants of the illustrious men included in Pulgar’s work (41). On the other hand, he considers the text a “handbook for the guidance of those who exercise temporal authority” (49).⁴⁴

Claros varones is a text that does not confront the modern reader with great difficulties regarding its comprehension and interpretation; in this respect it is an oddly “modern” text. More interesting, however, is the question of the relation of this “modern” text to *Generaciones y semblanzas*, this similar yet puzzling piece written only a few decades earlier.⁴⁵

In the prologue and the concluding *razonamiento*, Pulgar refers to Pérez de Guzmán’s *Loores de los claros varones de España* as an example of Castilian panegyric writing.⁴⁶ Although *Generaciones* is certainly not a eulogy of Castilian nobility, this work is nonetheless *Claros varones*’s most important intertext. Like *Generaciones*, *Claros varones* is a register of important civil and ecclesiastic dignitaries. Like Pérez de Guzmán, Pulgar describes his contemporaries on the basis of personal experience.

In his *semblanzas*, Pulgar states the name of the person portrayed, followed by an apposition with their most important dignities. Afterwards, the reader finds a brief genealogical portion that

⁴⁰ The deceptive and bellicose archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Carrillo, is, according to Tate (“Editor’s introduction” 35), a “natural foil” to the virtuosity of the other clergymen.

⁴¹ Because of the coherence of the first three *semblanzas* of *caballeros* and the two *razonamientos*, Tate thinks that they are the nucleus of the work, to which the author later added *semblanzas* and the entire section on the prelates (“Editor’s introduction” 35).

⁴² Ernst Robert Curtius (174-75) includes in his examples of the medieval *cedat topos* the Castilian verse chronicle *Gesta Roderici Campidocti* (ca. 1200); see also Sánchez Alonso (155-57).

⁴³ See Tate (“Editor’s introduction” 21-28). Pulgar does not pay much attention to the South-East, Galicia and Asturias; this geographical limitation is probably due to the fact that the supporters of the Isabeline faction in the Civil Wars were mostly Castilian. In the second part of the work, he portrays some prelates who died in the first years of Enrique IV’s reign.

⁴⁴ Moreover, Tate contends that Pulgar was influenced by St. Augustine’s thinking (“Editor’s preface” 45-50).

⁴⁵ I think this is part of the reason why *Claros varones* has attracted only a few critics’ interest. Tate’s preliminary study to his edition is still fundamental. See also José Luis Romero (153-69) and Nicolás del Castillo Mathieu (421-26). The interest has focused on the *converso* identity of the author and the humanistic influences in his work; see Cantera Burgos and Maria Camilla Bianchini. Also Weissberger focuses on Pulgar’s chronicles.

⁴⁶ See Pérez de Guzmán: “Loemos los muy famosos / principes de nuestra España, / segun que Sirac se baña / en loar los gloriosos / varones e virtuosos / principes del pueblo ebreo / pues de nuestros, muchos leo / muy nobles e virtuosos” (*Loores* 707).

traces the lineage back over two generations. In most cases, the author qualifies the *linaje* as “antiguo” and “noble.”⁴⁷ The usual scant and fragmentary *descriptio superficialis* addresses *topoi* well known from *Generaciones*: height, face, limbs, etc.

The most striking difference between Pérez de Guzmán’s *semlanzas* and Pulgar’s is the treatment of the *condiciones*. I have pointed out that Pulgar organizes *maneras* and *costumbres* around a virtue embodied by the person he depicts. His *descriptio intrinseca* is much more detailed, in the words of Tate (“Editor’s introduction” 34), more “substantial” than the average *semblanza* in *Generaciones*: the author illustrates the characteristics and “habits” with episodes and anecdotes from the illustrious man’s life and spices them with speeches, *sententiae* and proverbs (32). An *obiit* formula with an indication of the age, yet without date, concludes Pulgar’s *semlanzas*.

It is striking that, in spite of formal continuity, *Claros varones* marks a considerable transformation regarding pragmatics. While *Generaciones* conveys essentially genealogical memory, *Claros varones* has a laudatory intention. Although in the prologue Pulgar mentions genealogy (“linajes”), along with “condición” and “notables fechos,” as one of the points he wants to address with his work (4), he provides only token genealogical data.

In the second part, which Pulgar dedicates to Castilian clergy, noble descent is apparently not among the criteria of selection. Among the eight clerical *claros varones* he includes only three noblemen. Three of them are members of *converso* families and two prelates belong to a “linaje de labradores.”⁴⁸ It is not the illustrious lineage which makes the prelates *claros varones*; instead, Pulgar presents them as exemplary figures of spiritual virtue and Christian erudition. Moreover, a comparison of the treatment of the *caballeros*’ lineage in *Claros varones* with Pérez de Guzmán’s method shows that Pulgar neither discusses the genealogical dignity of the lineages nor does he make any attempt to localize their origins.

One of the reasons for the little importance given to genealogical memory in *Claros varones* is that this data was not essential for the presentation of *exempla* and the exaltation of virtuous actions. What is more, Pulgar wrote his work in a decisively changed social and political climate. Pérez de Guzmán assembled his register in the wake of the ruin of mighty men like Ruy López Dávalos, Diego Gómez de Sandoval and, most notably, Álvaro de Luna. Pulgar, on the other hand, pays no attention to failed parvenus like Lucas de Iranzo or Beltrán de la Cueva. His *claros varones* are mostly men who were able to secure a hereditary title in their lifetime. Pulgar addresses the generation of heirs. Hence he writes at a point in Castilian history when the most important families had succeeded in securing their privileges, titles, and possessions. There was, then, no pressing need for a *registro* or *memorial* like *Generaciones* which should protect genealogical memory from the lack of trustworthy, authenticating texts and the usurpation of power by men of “low birth.”

It was, on the other hand, crucial to convert the unruly warrior class into subjects of her Majesty. The interpellation of the descendant of the odd subjects of *Generaciones* into *Claros varones de Castilla* is the rationale behind Pulgar’s work. If Pérez de Guzmán’s fascination for subjectivity is related to a break-down of collective horizons of meaning in the first half of the second century, the concerted attempt to impose new collective horizons under the rule of Isabel was concomitant with the attempt to produce uniform noble subjects. The evolution of “state

⁴⁷ See, for instance, the *semblanza* of the Marqués de Santillana (19).

⁴⁸ The noblemen belong to the Carvajals, Carrillos and Fonsecas (59, 62, 64). Torquemada, Alfonso García de Santa María, and Francisco de Toledo are *cristianos nuevos* (57, 66, 68). Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal (El Tostado) and the Bishop Tello descend from a “linaje de labradores” (71, 73). Regarding the impact of Pulgar’s *converso* descent on his historiographical work see E. Michael Gerli (“Social Crisis”).

apparatuses” did not necessarily imply an evolution of subjectivity but, on the contrary, a state-controlled effort to curb it. In order to achieve this, it was necessary for Pulgar to write *semblanzas* that allowed for a specular identification and which minimized the tactical intervention of the interpellated individual. In other words, while in *Generaciones* the individual could, or could not, piece together a Subject through mental processing and ethical abjection of undesirable features, in *Claros varones* he was presented with unified, unambiguous images of the noble subject. Pulgar, as he clearly spells out in the prologue, conceived of “ilustres varones dignos de memoria para loable enxemplo de nuestro bevir” (4).

In the preface to *Claros varones*, Pulgar states that he writes on the basis of personal experience. He does not conceal that he wants to exalt the noblemen he portrays, “adornar sus fechos, exaltándolos” (3). In a letter to king Fernando’s uncle Enrique Enríquez, regarding an injury he had suffered (Carriazo, “Estudio [...] *Crónica*” 64-65), he is even more explicit.

Yo señor no quiero otra cosa syno que vuestra merçed me mande escriuir la dysposiçion de vuestra persona e de vuestro pie y sy en esto os aveis conmigo liberamente prometo a vuestra merçed de fazer mejor el pie vuestro que la mano de otro. (Pulgar, *Letras*, ed. Elia 61)⁴⁹

Within this frame, the description of *maneras* and *costumbres* has the function of providing *exempla* of virtues. Juan Pacheco, for instance, embodies *prudencia*, which is illustrated by “abilidad para la gobernación destas cosas temporales” and “agudeza, prudencia, diligencia & sufrimiento” (30). In the reading process images of the noble virtues embodied in noble bodies successively shape the noble subject.

Narrativity is instrumental in the elimination of alterity and indeterminacy in *Claros varones*. In contrast with Pérez de Guzmán, Pulgar does not accumulate character traits indiscriminately, but presents them as facets of a dominant feature, which is further illustrated by the narration of actions, anecdotes and the insertion of speeches. Hence *maneras* and *costumbres* constitute a structure for the description of a personality and his life, in a word, a biography.⁵⁰ The biographical aspect of *Claros varones* is obvious in the *semblanzas* of Juan Pacheco, Rodrigo Villandandro and Juan de Silva, which narrate successful careers propelled by a lack of moral scruples, culminating in a “conversion” at the end of life (Tate, “Editor’s introduction” 34). The narrative character is particularly pronounced in the prelates’ *semblanzas*. About Francisco de Toledo, for instance, Pulgar tells us that he was of a “linaje de judíos convertidos.” “Desde su menor edad,” he insists, “fue onesto & tovo inclinación a la ciencia. Era cuerdo & de muy sutil ingenio” (68). This *condición* is the leitmotif of his biography. After his parents’ death, he joins the *studium* of Lérida. His talent attracts the attention of queen María de Aragón. She provides him with a prebend, which enables him to study in Paris and obtain his Master’s degree at an unusually early age. “Estando para ser criado Cardinal en edad de cinque[n]ta & cinco años” the narrator concludes, “fenesció sus días & torno a la tierra tan virgen como salió della” (70-71). Pulgar makes clear to which purpose he writes this *semblanza*: “Ciertamente quien considerare la

⁴⁹ This passage is taken from the 1485 edition [Escorial 32.V.19]. Paola Elia bases her text on Toledo 1486 [Hispanic Society of America 18626]. Regarding the revisions and editions of the text see Elia’s introduction.

⁵⁰ In Francisco de Toledo’s *semblanza*, for example, a *manera* triggers the description of a virtue which, in turn, characterizes a period of his life: “Fue muy grande pedricador & çeçeva un poco, & como quier que pequeño de cuerpo, su órgano resonava muy claro, & tenia singular gracia en sermonear [...]. Sostuvo muchas vezes conclusiones de filosofia & theología en el estudio [...] alcanzó honrra & fama de grand theólogo” (69).

vida deste claro varón fallará ser enxemplo & dotrina para todo om[br]e que quisiere bien bevir” (71).

Particularly in the second part of *Claros varones*, the *semblanzas* become *vitae* of clerical dignitaries who are exemplary because of their moral and intellectual characteristics, as exemplary subjects of the Castilian Crown. The narrativization of *semblanzas* and the harmonizing of the descriptive techniques differ profoundly from the cumulative and fragmentary description in *Generaciones*. This difference can also be cast in terms of the transition of mnemonic *energeia* to biographical writing. *Semblanzas* in *Generaciones* are an expression of a process of individual anamnesis and blueprints for mental images; *semblanzas* in *Claros varones*, on the other hand, conform to reading habits associated with modern forms of biography.⁵¹ A rather “modern” authorial presence characterizes these biographies.⁵² For instance, he recounts how Pacheco reaps the title of Marqués de Villena through his machinations. At the same time, he provides an interpretive pattern that redefines Pacheco’s behavior as astuteness (“sagacidad”) and presents it in the light of the theme underlying the chapter, i.e., *prudentia* (*Claros varones* 30). Surprising to everybody familiar with the historical facts, Pulgar tries to convince his readers that Pacheco was “naturally” (“natural condición”) an honest man. A man versed in “great things,” however, knows that it is sometimes necessary to conceal the truth, “fengir, dilatar, simular, & disimular”, in order to prevent greater damage (“mayores daños”; 31). With these authorial interventions, Pulgar recasts Pacheco’s intrigues in terms of political prudence, imposing his view on the reader against the interpretation suggested by the historical data he presents. Translated in *Generaciones*’s terms, Pacheco is, like Frías, “muy astuto & cabteloso tanto que por maliçioso era aujdo” (fol. 28^r), but unlike in Pérez de Guzmán’s *semblanzas* in which the reader, recurring to traditional values in the interpretive process, would lay *vituperium* on these *maneras*, Pulgar fashions Pacheco as an exemplary figure, a new proto-Machiavellian subject.

More important, however, than the formal and pragmatic evolution of *semblanzas* is the tightening of the grip of ideology over the individual. In the mental process triggered by Pérez de Guzmán’s *semblanzas*, interpellation is secondary, or parasitic, to self-fashioning; although it incites the individual to identify with the ideology of nobility (habits, values and attitudes), the fragmentary character precludes narrativity and opens up spaces for “individual biographies”. His non or even anti-exemplary description transports alterity and thus alternative subjectivities. Pulgar’s *semblanza* / biographies tell unambiguous stories of exemplary lives of properly gendered men, which are not mentally produced by the “users” but meant to be “consumed” by the readers. There is no room for a Pedro de Frías or a Catherine of Lancaster in *Claros varones*.⁵³

As I have indicated, the reasons for this shift are related to the rather different conditions in which the two authors composed their texts. One of the motives of Pérez de Guzmán to assemble a *memorial* was the distrust he had toward the official chronicles of his time and the dependability of written sources. The Señor de Batres, member of one of the most noble

⁵¹ Pulgar’s diction is obviously influenced by humanistic models. The complex, periodic syntax is not prone to memorative “deconstruction” (Carruthers, *Book* 160).

⁵² Agnew analyzes Pulgar’s self-authorization by means of effacement in his *Crónica*, pointing out the striking difference to the strategies he uses in *Claros varones* (5-117). Analyzing the preface to *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, Gumbrecht shows how Pulgar unfolds a “hermeneutical space” in order to establish an interpretive congruence among the readers (“Eccentricities”).

⁵³ Although Pulgar excludes women and “effeminate” behavior and bodies from his register of *claros varones*, the “gender anxiety” analyzed by Barbara Weissberger is indexed by the dedication / subjection of author and work (and ultimately of the noble subjects) to the authority of the queen.

Castilian families, wrote *Generaciones* in isolation at the end of a long and agitated life. In his situation the loss of a text could involve the loss of *memoria*.⁵⁴ Devoid of a proper discursive space without the backing of institutional authority, he resorted to the ruse of conceiving of a text to be fully realized in the mind of his readers, and thus unaffected by the manipulations of those who were in power and bestowed authorial power on the official chroniclers. Pulgar dedicates his text to Isabel, “[m]uy excelente & muy poderosa reina nuestra señora” (3). His authority derives from the power of the monarch. He writes in the service of power: “criado desde mi menor edad en la corte del rey vuestro padre & del / rey don Enrique vuestro hermano, movido con aquel amor de mi tierra” (4). Pulgar, the properly subjected state official, situates himself at court, the “proper place” whence the “sujet de vouloir et de pouvoir” calculates and controls its relations to an exteriority (Certeau 59). The official chronicler of the Queen works with official documents, scrutinizes archives and converses with the protagonists. His position at court, the protection by the powerful and their financial support, grants him access to the new technology of printing which guarantees the dissemination of the text produced and “owned” (Foucault, “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur”), not by the recipients, but by the author and the power he stands for.

However, I think that it would be too reductive to see *Claros varones* just as part and parcel of a propaganda campaign or as an instrument of ideology.⁵⁵ There is an intricate relation between Pulgar’s work and Pérez de Guzmán’s *Generaciones y semblanzas*. In the prologue Pulgar evokes Pérez de Guzmán as one of the *auctores* for his *Claros varones* (3-4). There can be no doubt that Pérez de Guzmán’s *Loores* is a model for Pulgar’s own panegyric, while the formal and structural blueprint is *Generaciones*. Pulgar writes a register of noblemen, knights and prelates, and he emulates the *duplex descriptio*. I have already discussed the homogenization of the *maneras y costumbres* in his description and its relation to interpellation. Also in the *descriptio superficialis* Pulgar tends to level deviations from the norm.

[El] marqués de Santillana [...] fue om[br]e de mediana estatura, bien proporcionado en la compostura de sus miembros & fermoso en las faciones de su rostro. (19)

Alfonso de Fonseca [...] fue om[br]e de mediana estatura, bien proporcionado en las faciones de su rostro & en la composición de sus miembros. (64)

The tendency to idealize bodily descriptions of the *claros varones* can be interpreted as a consequence of the fading mnemotechnical nature of his *semblanzas* in the second half of the 15th century (Folger, *Generaciones* 185-95). Modern readers hardly appreciate these descriptions and some of them, such as the editor Tate, judge them to be superfluous.

The physical descriptions are formulated in well-trying phrases, and indeed, add little of value to the *semblanza* [...]. Little would have been lost had they been omitted, and their presence may be ascribed to a lingering belief in the correspondence between temperament and external appearance. (36)⁵⁶

⁵⁴ This actually happened to Diego Enríquez de Castillo (100).

⁵⁵ Regarding Pulgar’s biography see Carriazo (“Estudio [...] *Crónica*“ 20-49).

⁵⁶ See also Castillo Mathieu (432). Romero, on the other hand, finds in Pulgar’s portraits a “profound sagacity“ which expresses the “particular“ of the person portrayed in emblematic form (164).

The “lingering belief” in the hermeneutical potential of physiognomy, however, is negligible. The example of the Conde de Haro, who is depicted as a “grand zelador de justicia,” with “cervices torcidas & los ojos un poco viscos” (16), is proof enough that Haro’s *descriptio superficialis* bears no relation to the virtue he embodies. Is Tate, then, right in asserting that little would have been lost had Pulgar omitted these descriptions? Is the *descriptio superficialis* a fossil that slipped into *Claros varones* as a result of the adaptation of the model *Generaciones*?

The answer to this question is yes, although it is crucial to realize the importance of the intertextual reference resulting from this adaption. On one hand, the reader familiar with *Generaciones* realizes that Pulgar inscribes himself with *Claros varones* in a tradition (Genette, *Architexte* 84). Although Pulgar sees and presents himself as an “original author,” he draws the authority for his new project by inserting his work in the genealogy of texts and *auctores* (Müller; Minnis). On the other hand, with his unveiled reworking of *Generaciones*, Pulgar imposes upon his readers an interpretation of the model. It is instructive to take a close look at Pulgar’s reference to his model Pérez de Guzmán:

escribió en metro algunos claros varones naturales dellos que fueron en España: asimismo escribió brevemente en prosa las condiciones del muy alto & exçelente Rey don Juan de esclarecida memoria vuestro padre, & de algunos cavalleros & perlados sus súbditos que fueron en su tiempo. (3-4)

Blending together *Loores* and *Generaciones*, Pulgar suggests that *Generaciones* celebrates Juan II and exalts the *condiciones* of his loyal *subjects* (“súbditos”). It is a reading of *Generaciones* that will surprise the reader familiar with Pérez de Guzmán’s caustic condemnation of Juan II (“Remjsion & negligencia casy mostruosa”; Pérez de Guzmán, fol. 32^r), his all but panegyric description of noblemen whom he criticizes precisely because of their lack of loyalty (Folger, *Generaciones* 65-68). Thus Pulgar creates, as Jorge Luis Borges describes it in his famous essay “Kafka y sus precursores,” his own tradition. Pulgar’s *Claros varones*, then, vampirizes the authority of Pérez de Guzmán and, at the same time, co-opts *Generaciones*, a texts written as a tactical (and potentially subversive) intervention against the hegemonic discourse of official historiography, for the strategic project of shaping docile noble subjects.

Claros varones was only the first step in the domestication of *Generaciones*. In 1512 Cristóbal de Santisteban, courtier of Charles V, publishes *Generaciones* as the third part of an anonymous compilation titled *Mar de istorias* (Folger, “Cristobal de Santisteban”).

[Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (image to the left): “Siguen se las generaciones semblanças y obras de los ecelentes reyes de españa don enrique el tercero y don Jua<n> el segundo y de los venerables perlados y notables caualleros que en los tiempos destes reyes fueron”, here as the third part of: *Mar de istorias*. Ed. Cristóbal de Santisteban. Valladolid: Diego de Gumiel, 1512].

Generaciones, an artifact oscillating between textuality and mnemonic potentiality, is, for the first time, fixed. Five years later, Lorenzo Galíndez de Carvajal adds *Generaciones* to his edition of the *Cronica del serenissimo rey don Juan segundo deste nombre*.⁵⁷ Galíndez de Carvajal, professor of law at Salamanca and counsellor to the Spanish kings (Floranes), published this chronicle in his function as “censor” of the royal chronicles. With the chronicles produced by Alfonso el Sabio’s historians, the work of Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, and the chronicles of Pero López de Ayala, there existed an authorized version

of Castilian historiography from the beginnings until the reign of Enrique III (Folger, “Genealogy”). It was Galíndez’s plan to supersede the plurality of historiographical accounts of the 15th century by publishing chronicles backed by the authority of the Spanish kings.

He first tackled the thorny issue of covering the period of Juan II. Galíndez’s 1517 chronicle is ostensibly an important book: printed in prestigious folio format with high-quality woodcuts, dedicated to the new Spanish king, and protected by royal privilege. No reader could doubt that this Chronicle was authorized by institutional power. In the prologue addressed to the King, Galíndez explains that “esta Crónica fué escrita y ordenada por muchos autores,” resulting in “alguna diversidad de opiniones” (ed. Rosell, 273). Scrutinizing the texts at his disposal, he lists Álvaro García de Santa María, Juan de Mena, Pero Carrillo de Huete, Lope Barrientos and Mosén Diego de Valera as possible contributors. He then identifies Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, “varón noble, prudente y verdadero” as the “ordenador” of Juan II’s chronicle.⁵⁸ He explains that he



⁵⁷ This text is the basis for Rosell’s edition in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.

⁵⁸ From early on, Pérez de Guzmán enjoyed the reputation of being reliable and “prudent”; a series of texts was attributed to him in order to give them greater authority (Folger, “Cristóbal de Santisteban”). Today it is generally accepted that Pérez de Guzmán was not the author of the compilation which Galíndez de Carvajal used (Carriazo,

decided to use a chronicle by the Señor de Batres pertaining to Queen Isabel's "cámara," which the queen appreciated "por más auténtica y aprobada." Oddly, he decides to supplement this chronicle with *Generaciones*, the text which provides proof that its author could not have been its "ordenador."⁵⁹ As an appendix to the *Crónica de Juan segundo*, "emmendated," "corrected," and framed by Galíndez's glosses, *Generaciones* became a "Who's Who" of early 15th-century nobility (Beltrán, "Transmisión" 63).

Ironically, Galíndez's operation of strategically screening the available resources, censoring and reorganizing them, literally rewrote Pérez de Guzmán's text, which had been conceived of as a tactical counter-memory, transforming its author, a man obsessed with the corruption of truth by institutionalized historiography, into the very author of the text he was presumably writing against. With the censor's work, *Generaciones* factually found its place—and was stripped of the alterity and multiple subject positions which were a result of having been written tactically. It was in this pruned and domesticated state that *Generaciones y semblanzas*, a text with roots in medieval memorial culture, was inserted by scholarship into a genealogy of modern forms of biography.

"Notas"; Meregalli; Terracini 63-91). "La historia de este texto prócer [sc. la Historia de Juan II]," Juan de Mata Carriazo commented in 1947, "es una especie de nudo gordiano de la Historiografía española" (*Anecdótico* 18). In spite of the work of Carriazo and Lore Terracini, this "knot" is, like many others in this area of research, yet to be resolved.

⁵⁹ Pérez de Guzmán emphatically states that he has neither the intention nor the resources to write the chronicle of Juan II.

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