

“Incapable of Walking Without his *Valido*”: The *Privanza* of the Pacheco Lineage (1435-1529)¹

María Teresa Chicote Pompanin²

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Abstract. Starting off from a series of quotations taken from the *Crónica de Enrique IV* by fray Jerónimo de la Cruz (BNE, Mss. 1776), this article brings to light sources that justify why the first two Marquises of Villena – Juan Pacheco and Diego López Pacheco – were viewed as *privados* by their contemporaries and as *validos* by seventeenth-century authors. At the same time, this study will also analyse the Pachecos’ actions in an attempt to unveil the pragmatic and symbolic tactics they used to control the Castilian public arena. Particular attention will be paid to the teachings the past offered the Pachecos, through both the history of their lineage and the more recent events they had personally witnessed during their youth.

Key Words: *Privanza*; Royal Favouritism; Patronage; Use of the Past; Marquises of Villena.

[es] “No sabía andar si su valido”: La *privanza* del linaje de los Pacheco (1435-1529)

Resumen. Partiendo del análisis de una serie de citas tomadas de la *Crónica de Enrique IV* de fray Jerónimo de la Cruz (BNE, Mss. 1776), este artículo dará a conocer una serie de fuentes que justifican por qué motivos los primeros marqueses de Villena –Juan Pacheco y Diego López Pacheco– eran considerados *privados* por sus contemporáneos y *validos* por autores del siglo XVII. Al mismo tiempo, este estudio también analizará las acciones de los Pacheco con el objetivo de desvelar las tácticas tanto prácticas como simbólicas que usaron para controlar la política castellana. Se prestará especial atención a las enseñanzas que tomaron del pasado, tanto de su propio linaje como de los sucesos más recientes a los que asistieron personalmente durante su juventud.

Palabras clave: *privanza*; favor real; patronazgo; uso del pasado; marqueses de Villena.

Summary: The King elevated him from page to grandee: the Pachecos’ Career, More a prisoner of Pacheco than a king: Personal Bonds, Ruling the palace more than the King: Orchestrating the Royal Court, It was built by King Enrique and Pacheco took it away from him: Cultural displays, Conclusions, Bibliography

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² Durham University.
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7737-7533>
E-mail: maria.t.chicote@durham.ac.uk; mtchicote@gmail.com

In the 1650s, the Hieronymite monk fray Jerónimo de la Cruz completed a chronicle recounting the life of King Enrique IV of Castile (1454-1474). In his opinion, Enrique IV had not been a bad monarch, viewing him instead as a virtuous but feeble man whose only weakness was being “incapable of walking without his *valido* Don Juan Pacheco”³. This statement casts Pacheco, the first Marquis of Villena, as a *valido*, and shows that in fray Jerónimo’s judgement there was no difference between the role the Marquis had played in the fifteenth century and the one the Duke of Lerma, the Count-Duke of Olivares and other famous *validos* played in the Spanish Golden Age.

The term *valido* was a neologism coined at the beginning of the seventeenth century to label the favourite who orchestrated the royal court and the administrative system⁴. Kings’ favourites, however, continued to be called *privados*, a word that derived from the Latin *privatus*, alluding to the exclusive relationship that bound a lord to a particular subject⁵. It might seem at first sight that both terms were almost identical, but there actually was a fundamental difference. Modern studies have pointed out that a seventeenth-century monarch could have multiple *privados*, but he never had more than one *valido*⁶. It thus becomes clear that fray Jerónimo considered Juan Pacheco to be Enrique IV’s greatest favourite and several allusions in his chronicle suggest that he openly disparaged this *modus operandi*.

It is also interesting to investigate the motivations behind this monk’s text. It has been indicated that fray Jerónimo used fifteenth-century history to discuss the present; he retold the story of Enrique IV to reflect on Felipe IV’s reign⁷. Other writers shared this practice and often relied on medieval history to speak about their present⁸. The memorandum written against the Count-Duke of Olivares and its response known as *Nicandro*, for instance, perfectly illustrate this trend, as they both quote the “History of Don Enrique” when dealing with Felipe IV’s ministers⁹. Saavedra Fajar-

³ “No sabía andar sin su balido Don Juan Pacheco”: *Crónica de Enrique IV*, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Mss. 1776, fol. 22r.

⁴ Malcolm, A.: *Royal Favouritism and the Governing Elite of the Spanish Monarchy, 1640-1665*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017, p. 2.

⁵ Covarrubias, S. de: *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Madrid, Luis Sánchez, 1611, c. 596v.

⁶ Escudero López, J. A.: “Privados, validos y primeros ministros”, in Suárez Fernández, L. and Escudero López, J. A. (eds.): *Los validos*, Madrid, Dykinson, 2004, pp. 18-21.

⁷ Labandeira Fernández, A.: “Una nueva crónica de Enrique IV. La *Historia del serenissimo rey D. Henrique Quarto* de Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz”, *Bulletin Hispanique*, 84/1 (1982), pp. 24-40; Fernández Aparicio, J.: “Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz y su *Crónica de Enrique IV* (ca. 1650)”, in *La orden de San Jerónimo y sus monasterios. Actas del simposium*, 2 vols., El Escorial, Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 1999, vol. 2, pp. 731-749.

⁸ Fernández Aparicio, J.: “La imagen del rey Enrique IV de Castilla en la primera mitad del siglo XVII: Absolutismo y justicia en el diálogo entre dos épocas”, *En la España medieval*, 27 (2004), pp. 339-381; Bouza, F.: “Entre vidas atlánticas y letras medievales: Por una historia de los usos de la memoria de lo medieval en el Siglo de Oro”, in Díaz de Durana Ortiz de Urbina, R. et al. (eds.): *La apertura de Europa al Mundo Atlántico. Espacios de poder, economía marítima y circulación cultural*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Universidad del País Vasco, 2011, pp. 203-223; Mrozek Eliszczynski, G.: “Hagan los príncipes la cuenta con las historias. La carga del pasado en el debate sobre el valimiento (1598-1621)”, *Magallánica: Revista de historia moderna*, 3/6 (2017), pp. 18-38.

⁹ Elliott, J. H., De la Peña, J. F. and Negro del Cerro, F. (eds.): *Memoriales y cartas del Conde-Duque de Olivares. Vol. I, tt. 1-2, Política interior: 1621-1645*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica - Marcial Pons, 2013, vol. 1, p. 396; Rioja, F. de.: *Nicandro o Antidoto contra las calumnias*, Madrid, s.n., 1643, c. 6r. Early modern authors usually refer to Diego Enríquez del Castillo’s chronicle when they speak about the “History of Don Enrique”.

do, on his part, explicitly mentioned Juan Pacheco and his son Diego when listing past *validos*¹⁰ and other authors even published fifteenth-century forgeries like the *Centón epistolario*. In this collection of letters supposedly sent by a royal physician, a missive vividly pictured Pacheco by saying that “he was already winning over his Prince’s heart” in 1442¹¹.

This brief selection of seventeenth-century texts suggests that their authors and readers were well aware of the role played by the first two Marquises of Villena alongside their sovereigns. Nevertheless, the *privanza* of the Pacheco lineage is a topic that needs to be studied in greater depth because modern historiographic works still consider that the Pachecos were only moved by their “passion for wealth and power”¹². Starting off from a series of quotations taken from fray Jerónimo’s chronicle, this article brings to light sources that justify why the Pachecos were viewed as *privados* by their contemporaries and as *validos* by seventeenth-century authors like Saavedra Fajardo and De la Cruz. At the same time, this study will also analyse the Pachecos’ actions in an attempt to unveil the pragmatic and symbolic tactics they used to control the Castilian public arena. Particular attention will be paid to the teachings the past offered the Pachecos, through both the history of their lineage and the more recent events they had personally witnessed during their youth.

The King elevated him from page to grandee: the Pachecos’ Career

Like many of his contemporaries, fray Jerónimo de la Cruz took most of his information from the texts to which he had access¹³. When he spoke about the Pachecos, he relied on these accounts and did not explore the genealogy of his protagonists any further. In his opinion, the family only started to prosper when “the king elevated him [Juan Pacheco] from page to grandee”¹⁴. Fray Jerónimo was not greatly interested in the Pacheco lineage and simply repeated what others had said about their flight from Portugal at the end of the fourteenth century¹⁵. For the Pachecos, however, the past was a constant reminder of their former power, and their family’s flight was a warning against future calamities.

The problems the Pachecos had to face began when the head of the family, Lopo Fernandes Pacheco, gained power in the court of Afonso IV of Portugal. Lopo was just a local lord, but by the 1330s, he began accumulating royal offices and gained custody over Prince Pedro, the heir to the throne¹⁶. Upon Lopo’s death in 1349, his son Diogo had already become one of the leading figures in Portugal and, despite his

¹⁰ Saavedra Fajardo, D.: *Obras de don Diego de Saavedra Fajardo y del licenciado Pedro Fernandez Navarrete*, Madrid, M. Rivadeneyra, 1853, pp. 342-343, 438.

¹¹ “Ca se le va metiendo Juan Pacheco fasta el corazón”, in Pons Rodríguez, L.: “Centón epistolario de Fernán Gómez de Cidbarreal”, *Lemir*, 20 (2016), pp. 415-416.

¹² Marino, N. F.: *Don Juan Pacheco. Wealth and Power in Late Medieval Spain*, Tempe (Arizona), Arizona Centre of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006; Franco Silva, A.: *Juan Pacheco, privado de Enrique IV de Castilla. La pasión por la riqueza y el poder*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2011.

¹³ He mentions the chronicles by Diego Enríquez del Castillo, Alfonso de Palencia, Mariana and Garibay among others, see Labandeira Fernández, *op. cit.* (note 7, 1982); Fernández Aparicio, *op. cit.* (note 7, 1999).

¹⁴ “De paje le lebantó el Rey a la mayor grandajea”, BNE, Mss. 1776, fol. 112r.

¹⁵ BNE, Mss. 1776, fol. 231v.

¹⁶ Lourenço, V.: “Lopo Fernandes Pacheco: Um Valido de d. Afonso IV”, *Estudios Humanísticos – Historia*, 5 (2006), pp. 49-69.

quarrels with the Portuguese Crown, he often acted as diplomat and established strong ties with the neighbouring Kingdom of Castile¹⁷. During the second half of the fourteenth century, the Pachecos left for exile several times and finally installed their household in Castile in 1398¹⁸.

This flight left a deep mark on the family's history. The Pachecos recalled the ascendancy they once held in Portugal and constantly tried to recreate their former power in their adopted homeland of Castile¹⁹. This explains why they sided with the Castilian king's favourite Álvaro de Luna and sent their first-born son Juan Pacheco to his service in the early 1430s²⁰. Growing up under Luna's protection, Juan Pacheco observed his master's tactics to rule over the royal court, but he also discovered the weaknesses that ultimately led Luna to the scaffold in 1453 accused of *lèse-majesté*²¹. Thanks to his master's patronage, Juan Pacheco was sent to the court of the Crown Prince Enrique in 1435. From that moment on, the young Pacheco made good use of his personal skills to establish a close relationship with the royal heir and, in just a few years, he obtained many possessions, royal offices and aristocratic titles, the first of which was the Marquisate of Villena²².

When Enrique reached the throne in 1454, Juan Pacheco's pre-eminence increased. From then on, the Marquis of Villena influenced the Castilian political agenda and his power remained almost unrivalled until his death in 1474²³. Pacheco realised that Luna had failed to secure his lineage's future and that is why he transferred his titles and role as *privado* to his son Diego long before his death. Juan Pacheco passed away of natural causes in October 1474 and only a few months later the king also died, appointing Diego López Pacheco as the tutor of his heiress Juana and entrusting him with the mission to arrange her marriage to the Portuguese King.

The succession to the Castilian throne, however, was unclear and Diego López Pacheco fought against Isabel and Fernando, Juana's contenders for the throne, until their final victory in 1480²⁴. This defeat dealt a harsh blow to the Pacheco lineage. Not only did they lose many possessions, they also had to face a new political landscape in which the *privanza* was no longer relevant. Despite his precarious position,

¹⁷ Costa, M. Y.: *Diogo Lopes Pacheco: Subsídios para o estudo da acção política de um magnate português do séc. XIV*, PhD Thesis, Universidade de Coimbra, 1967; Fernandes, F. R.: "Diogo Lopes Pacheco: Acción política y diplomacia entre Portugal y Castilla en el siglo XV", *Studia historica. Historia medieval*, 18 (2000), pp. 211-224.

¹⁸ Fernandes, F. R., "Os exílios da linhagem dos Pacheco e sua relação com a natureza de suas vinculações aos Castro (segunda metade do século XIV)", *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 82 (2008), pp. 31-54.

¹⁹ Chicote Pompanin, M. T.: *Patronage and Historical Memories in Castile: The Marquises of Villena at the Dawn of the Early Modern Period (1445-1529)*, PhD Thesis, The Warburg Institute, 2020, pp. 87-217.

²⁰ Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp. 49-101.

²¹ Round, N.: *The Greatest Man Uncrowned: A Study of the Fall of Don Álvaro de Luna*, London, Tamesis Books, 1986; Pastor Bodmer, I.: *Grandeza y tragedia de un valido. La muerte de Don Álvaro de Luna*, 2 vols., Madrid, Caja de Madrid, 1992; Calderón Ortega, J. M.: *Álvaro de Luna. Riqueza y poder en la Castilla del siglo XV*, Madrid, Dykinson, 1998; Calderón Ortega, J. M.: "Los privados castellanos del siglo XV: Reflexiones en torno a Álvaro de Luna y Juan Pacheco", in Suárez Fernández, L. and Escudero López, J.A. (eds.): *Los validos*, Madrid, Dykinson, 2004, pp. 41-62.

²² Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 12).

²³ Frias Ponce, I.: *Don Juan Pacheco, Marqués de Villena (1419-1474)*, PhD Thesis, UNED, 1990; Marino, *op. cit.* (note 12); Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 12).

²⁴ Torres Fontes, J.: "La conquista del Marquesado de Villena en el reinado de los Reyes Católicos", *Hispania*, 13/50 (1953), pp. 37-151.

Diego López Pacheco regained some of his offices, served the Royal Crown and continued to be regarded as an important nobleman. When he died in 1529, he left behind a Castile that was radically different from the one into which he had been born in the 1440s²⁵.

The aim of this article is not to offer a biography of the first two Marquises of Villena, but rather to understand the means through which they established a *privanza* that allowed them to exercise influence over their rulers and countrymen. A basic characteristic of any *privanza* was the fact that one had to be deemed a favourite by the monarch, but also by the elites and the commoners. Only through a skilful combination of personal bonds, cliental networks and symbolic communication tools could a person achieve a successful *privanza* that did not end in political exile or death, but which instead increased the *privado*'s power and that of his lineage.

More a prisoner of Pacheco than a king: Personal Bonds

When discussing the short reign of King Alfonso (1465-1468), fray Jerónimo affirmed that he was “more a prisoner of Pacheco than a king”²⁶. He asserted something similar to describe the power the Marquis held over Enrique IV by stating that “Pacheco was the master of Enrique’s person”²⁷ and was even more explicit when he claimed that Juan II and Enrique IV “were both sick of their sides: one was ill of Álvaro de Luna and the other of Juan Pacheco”²⁸. The chronicle does not discuss Diego López Pacheco’s career, but the Venetian ambassador Vincenzo Querini depicted him in a similar fashion in 1506, when he stated that Diego “was the one who governed the king [Philippe I] who has recently passed away”²⁹.

A feature that Alvaro de Luna, Juan Pacheco and Diego López Pacheco shared with former *privados* and later *validos* was the ascendancy they exercised over their rulers through their personal relationships³⁰. These bonds are difficult to outline because they were cultivated on the blurry borderline between the public and the private spheres, but some glimpses of the fondness that arose between the monarch and his favourite can be discerned in some official documents. In 1456, Juan Pacheco declared he was Enrique IV’s “humble servant, creature and made-man”³¹ and the King, for his part, called him his “beloved” in 1472³². Enrique IV even claimed that Juan Pacheco’s aristocratic titles mirrored personal ties because “according to the

²⁵ Franco Silva, A.: *Entre la derrota y la esperanza: Don Diego López Pacheco, Marqués de Villena (mediados del siglo XV-1529)*, Cádiz, Universidad de Cádiz, 2005.

²⁶ “Más prisionero de Pacheco que Rey”, BNE, Mss. 1776, fol. 173r.

²⁷ “Pacheco [era] dueño de la persona [del Rey]”, *ibidem*, fol. 93r.

²⁸ “Estaban ambos enfermos de los costados: el uno enfermaba de Don Álvaro de Luna y el otro de Don Juan Pacheco”, *ibidem*, fol. 38v.

²⁹ “È quello che governava il re al presente morto”, in Querini, V.: “Relazione di Borgogna con aggiunta di alcuni particolari intorno i regni di Inghilterra e di Castiglia”, in Alberi, E. (ed.): *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, Florence, All’Insegna di Clío, 1839, p. 24.

³⁰ García García, B. J.: “La aristocracia y el arte de la privanza”, *Historia social*, 28 (1997), pp. 115-116.

³¹ “Vuestro humilde servidor, criança e fechura”, in Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 12), p. 155.

³² “Mi bienamado don Johan Pacheco”, in Grant of 100,000 *maravedís* that Enrique IV made to Juan Pacheco on 8 June 1472, Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), 9/289, fol. 120r.

laws of Castile, count means companion and, when a monarch makes somebody a count, it appears that he makes him his companion"³³.

It is hard to pinpoint the origin of these personal bonds because they rarely left behind documentary traces and very few documents speak about the youth of royal persons. Nevertheless, the sources unanimously reveal that both Álvaro de Luna and Juan Pacheco played a fundamental role alongside Juan II and Enrique IV in their youth³⁴ and that they developed what has been defined as a *parenté de bouche* during their formative years³⁵.

Validos and *privados* also directed their efforts to gaining the trust of the heir to the throne³⁶, a technique that, as we have seen, medieval favourites like Lopo Fernandes Pacheco had already employed. Luna was granted custody over the Prince in 1432, assumed control of his household in 1435 and soon tried to dominate it through his page Juan Pacheco. Later events demonstrated that Pacheco soon surpassed his master and took advantage of this position at Luna's expense³⁷. Pacheco, for his part, was appointed as Prince Alfonso's tutor in 1465 and of Princess Juana in 1472³⁸. He carefully avoided repeating Luna's error and instead of entrusting the tutorship to others when he could not directly exercise it, he left the young royals in the company his own family members like his wife, his son, his nephew the Count of Ureña or his relative the Bishop of Burgos³⁹. The second Marquis of Villena found himself in a more difficult predicament because he had to create bonds with royal heirs who lived in foreign countries. Despite these difficulties, Diego managed to create links that allowed him to establish a short but successful *privanza* between 1502 and 1506⁴⁰.

Recent research has shown that early modern *validos* cleverly used family members to sustain their power and complement their patronage activities⁴¹. We lack de-

³³ "Ca segunt las leyes de Castilla conde tanto quiere desir como conpañero, ca fasiendo el rey a alguno conde, paresçe que lo fase conpañero", in Title of Count issued to Juan Pacheco on 30 September 1461: Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza (AHNOB), Frías, c. 120, doc. 18, fol. 1v.

³⁴ Carceller Cerviño, M. P.: "Álvaro de Luna, Juan Pacheco y Beltrán de la Cueva: Un estudio comparativo del privado regio a fines de la Edad Media", *En la España medieval*, 32 (2009), pp. 85-112.

³⁵ Foronda, F.: *La privanza ou le régime de la faveur: Autorité monarchique et puissance aristocratique en Castille (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*, 2 vols, PhD Thesis, Université Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2003, vol. 1, pp. 31-55.

³⁶ Feros, A., *El duque de Lerma. Realeza y privanza en la España de Felipe III*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2006, pp. 90-108.

³⁷ Calderón Ortega, J. M.: *Álvaro de Luna, 1419-1453. Colección diplomática*, Madrid, Dykinson, 1999, pp. 121-123; Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp. 49-101.

³⁸ *Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla. Tomo II contiene la colección diplomática del mismo rey*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 1835, pp. 337-340; Azcona, T.: *Juana de Castilla, mal llamada La Beltraneja: 1462-1530*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 1998, pp. 174-177.

³⁹ Palencia, A.: *Crónica de Enrique IV*, 4 vols. Madrid, Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, 1904-1908, vol. 1, p. 540; *Ibidem*, vol. 2, p. 19; Sánchez-Parra García, M. P. (ed.): *Crónica anónima de Enrique IV de Castilla, 1454-1474. Crónica castellana*, 2 vols., Madrid, Ediciones de la Torre, 1991, vol. 2, p. 193; Enriquez del Castillo, D.: *Crónica de Enrique IV de Diego Enriquez del Castillo*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 1994, p. 396; Azcona, *op. cit.* (note 38), p. 174.

⁴⁰ Chicote Pompanin, M. T.: "El que gobernó al rey ahora muerto: Diego López Pacheco y la privanza moderna", in Fortea Pérez; J. I. et al. (coords.): *Monarquías en conflicto. Linajes y noblezas en la articulación de la Monarquía Hispánica*, Santander, Fundación Española de Historia Moderna – Universidad de Cantabria, 2018, pp. 641-658.

⁴¹ Valladares Ramírez, R. (ed.): *Hijas e hijos de validos. Familia, género y política en la España del siglo XVII*, Valencia, Albatros, 2018; Cavero de Carondelet, C.: "Proyectos compartidos. Las fundaciones del cardenal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas durante el valimiento del duque de Lerma", in García García, B. J. and Rodríguez Rebollo, Á. (eds.): *Apariencia y razón. Las artes y la arquitectura en el reinado de Felipe III*, Madrid, Doce Calles, 2020, pp. 67-92.

tailed studies outlining how earlier *privados* employed their families, but the fact that Álvaro de Luna's sons held important royal offices suggests that this might be a fruitful field of research⁴². We are still far from knowing if Luna's wife also assisted him in the day-to-day governance of Castile, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that she did because her actions after Luna's death reveal a woman with exceptional political skills⁴³. Sources are more explicit when they discuss Juan Pacheco, who was often aided by his wife and brother, and often used his offspring to settle alliances with the most powerful families⁴⁴. Pacheco's decision to place his son Diego alongside Enrique IV was particularly successful. Chronicles affirm that the king "told Diego López Pacheco that he would love him as he had once loved his father"⁴⁵. Decades later, Diego employed the very same technique when he attempted to regain power in the royal court by placing his son Diego II at Charles V's service⁴⁶.

Even if a *privado* was trusted by the monarch and the royal heirs, he still needed to establish a good understanding with the queen, the third pole of the monarchic triangle of power. According to Castilian law, the queen mirrored the king and was essential to attain political balance⁴⁷. Juan II's first wife had shaped his relationship with Álvaro de Luna and his second spouse had a decisive impact on putting an end to the *privado*'s career⁴⁸. Juan Pacheco had personally witnessed these events and attempted to maintain a good relationship with Enrique IV's wives. Little is known about the relations Pacheco maintained with Blanca of Navarre, but we have more information on Enrique IV's second wife Juana de Avis. It has been suggested that her marriage to Enrique IV might have been induced by Pacheco himself and various extant letters she wrote demonstrate that he played an instrumental role by her side, especially between 1472 and 1474, when Pacheco was entrusted with her guardianship⁴⁹.

⁴² About Juan de Luna, see Calderón Ortega, *op. cit.* (note 21, 1998), pp. 113-114; Cañas Gálvez, F. P.: "La cámara de Juan II: Vida privada, ceremonia y lujo en la corte de Castilla a mediados del siglo XV", in Gamba Gutiérrez, A. and Labrador Arroyo F. (eds.): *Evolución y estructura de la Casa Real de Castilla*, 2 vols., Madrid, Ediciones Polifemo, 2010, vol. 1, pp. 155 and 182. About Pedro de Luna, see Cañas Gálvez, F. P.: "El despensero mayor de raciones de la Casa del rey. Estudio institucional y documentos de un oficio curial en la Castilla Trastámara (1380-1456)", *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, 22 (2015), p. 134.

⁴³ Berco, C.: "Juana Pimentel, the Mendoza Family, and the Crown", in Nader, H. (ed.): *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain. Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450-1650*, Chicago, University of Illinois, 2004, pp. 27-47.

⁴⁴ Poveda Rico, D.: "Testamento de una dama del siglo XV. Doña María Portocarrero, señora de Moguer, marquesa de Villena y condesa de Xiquena, Vélez Blanco y Vélez Rubio", unpublished, Archivo de la Colegiata de Belmonte; O' Callaghan, J. F.: "Don Pedro Girón, Master of the Order of Calatrava (1445-1466)", *Hispania*, 21/83 (1961), pp. 342-390; Franco Silva, A.: "Las mujeres de Juan Pacheco y su parentela", *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, 36 (2009), pp. 161-182.

⁴⁵ "Le dezia que en el mesmo amor en que avie tenido a su padre entenda de tener a el", in Sánchez-Parra García, *op. cit.* (note 37), p. 458.

⁴⁶ Franco Silva, A.: *La pérdida definitiva del Marquesado de Villena. Don Diego II López Pacheco*, Cádiz, Universidad de Cádiz, pp. 19-35.

⁴⁷ Pelaz Flores, D.: "Reynante(s) en vno. Fundamentación teórica del poder de la pareja regia en la Corona de Castilla durante la Baja Edad Media", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 48/2 (2018), pp. 845-869.

⁴⁸ Pelaz Flores, D.: *Poder y representación de la reina en la Corona de Castilla (1418-1496)*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 2017, pp. 63-116.

⁴⁹ Alliance between Queen Juana and Juan Pacheco, 4 November 1466, AHNOB, Frías, c. 14, doc. 4; Letter by Queen Juana to Juan Pacheco, undated, AHNOB, c. 127, doc. 4; Letter by Queen Juana to Juan Pacheco, undated, AHNOB, c. 16, doc. 31-32; Azcona, *op. cit.* (note 38), pp. 174-177. On Juana de Avis see Pelaz Flores, D.: "To Be the Queen's Daughter: Controversy, Adultery, and the Legitimacy Problem in the Reign of Enrique IV

Diego López Pacheco lived in a radically different context because he backed the claims of Juana of Castile as the proprietary monarch and courted her husband's opinion to maintain his position as *privado*. He succeeded in doing so, but after her defeat in 1480 at the hands of Isabel and Fernando, he was obliged to step back and await a more propitious moment. This arrived in 1500, when the heiress to the Crowns of Castile and Aragon was Princess Juana, the daughter of Isabel and Fernando, who had married Philippe Duke of Burgundy. Diego soon became one of their closest advisors and the conversations he held with Philippe were particularly fluid⁵⁰.

In its early stages, the *privanza* was not an institutionalised political system⁵¹, but it reached a new stage during Enrique IV's reign when it was formalised through the so-called "contracts of *privanza*". These were agreements that settled a governmental system in which the ruler's authority was never placed into question, but the power had to be shared with certain figures⁵². It seems that this new political tool was conceived by Juan II and Juan Pacheco in 1440. In a first exceptional contract, Juan II undertook that he "would not consent nor allow you to be separated and distanced from the side of the said Prince my son"⁵³. Pacheco's position at the Prince's side was thus officialised and, in later years, it was further reinforced through the numerous contracts he devised to set the rules of his political game⁵⁴.

Juan Pacheco reached the climax of his *privanza* when he signed an unprecedented document with the Archbishop of Toledo in 1468. The king was no longer a party to this contract of *privanza* and the two *privados* affirmed: "Since King Alfonso is of such a tender age that he cannot rule and govern these reigns by himself, and he needs people to accompany, assist and help him [...] we shall aid him to rule and govern these realms"⁵⁵. After King Alfonso's death in 1468, Pacheco returned to Enrique IV's side and, only three years later, the monarch gave him permission to establish on his behalf any alliance under any terms with whomever he wished⁵⁶. This last document granted Pacheco almost absolute power and it was precisely in

of Castile (1454-1474)", in Woodacre E. and Fleiner, C. (eds.): *Royal Mothers and Their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 1-29; Álvarez Palenzuela, V. A.: "Juana de Portugal", in: *Diccionario Biográfico Español*, [online version]: <http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/13524/juana-de-portugal> (accessed on 12 May 2020).

⁵⁰ Chicote Pompanin, *op. cit.* (note 40).

⁵¹ Foronda, *op. cit.* (note 35); Foronda, F.: "La *privanza*, entre monarquía y nobleza", in Nieto Soria, J. M. (ed.): *La monarquía como conflicto en la Corona castellano-leonesa (c. 1230-1504)*, Madrid, Sílex, 2006, pp. 73-132; Foronda, F.: *Privauté, gouvernement et souveraineté: Castille, XIIIe-XIVe siècle*, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2020.

⁵² Foronda, F.: "Vers un gouvernement de jure dans la Castille du XVe siècle: Les contrats de *privanza* d'Henri IV de Trastamare", in Foronda, F. and Carrasco Manchado, A. I. (eds.): *Du contrat d'alliance au contrat politique. Cultures et sociétés politiques dans la péninsule ibérique de la fin du Moyen âge*, Toulouse, CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2007, pp. 189-250.

⁵³ "Non permitiré nin consentiré que seades arredrado nin apartado de çerca del dicho Príncipe mi fijo, mas que siempre estedes çerca de él", in Contract of mutual help between Juan II and Juan Pacheco, 26 October 1440, AHNOB, Frías, c. 129, doc. 1.

⁵⁴ Foronda, *op. cit.* (note 52).

⁵⁵ "E por quanto el dicho señor rey don Alonso es de tan tierna edad que por sí mesmo non puede regir e govarnar sus reynos, e es necesario que tenga personas que le acompañen e sirvan e ayuden [...] le ayudemos a govarnar e regir sus reynos", in Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 12), p. 636.

⁵⁶ Enrique IV gives Juan Pacheco permission to sign any alliance, 23 April 1471, AHNOB, Frías, c. 12, doc. 15.

these circumstances that his contemporaries affirmed that they saw him “not only as a king, but also as a god of the Earth”⁵⁷.

Diego López Pacheco followed in his father’s footsteps and signed a similar contract of *privanza* with Afonso V of Portugal in 1475⁵⁸. During the *privanza* he exercised alongside Juana and Philippe, however, no documents were drafted setting forth the terms of their agreement. This did not mean that Diego had forsaken his faith in the *privanza* as an almost-official governmental system and a message he sent to Charles V during the War of the *Comunidades* proves that he still believed in it as late as the 1520s⁵⁹.

Ruling the palace more than the King: Orchestrating the Royal Court

Fray Jerónimo de la Cruz claimed that many members of the royal court did not know how to behave when they realised that Juan Pacheco and Alfonso Carrillo were “ruling the palace more than the King”⁶⁰, complaints that were very similar to those voiced in the seventeenth-century against the Count-Duke of Olivares⁶¹. In the case of Diego López Pacheco, these voices were not so virulent because he always operated cloaked by the shadows of the throne. As the following pages will show, the Pachecos attempted to control the complex mechanisms of Castile’s administration and external affairs by directly exercising power and creating flexible networks of clients.

Seventeenth-century *validos* and former *privados* knew that a first step to achieving a successful *privanza* was to reach a position that entitled them to exercise real power, which was usually attained through the offices they accumulated⁶². Álvaro de Luna offers a telling example because he formed part of the Royal Council, was elevated to Constable of Castile, *Camarero Mayor de los Paños* and Great Notary, and was also appointed as the *Mayordomo Mayor* (High Steward) of the Prince’s Household. He likewise administrated the Military Order of Santiago and subsequently became its Grand Master⁶³.

⁵⁷ “Non solamente rey, más un dios de la tierra”, in Puyol, J. (ed.), *Crónica incompleta de los reyes católicos (1469-1476) según un manuscrito anónimo de la época*, Madrid, Tipografía de Archivos, 1934, p. 113.

⁵⁸ Contract between Afonso V and Diego López Pacheco, 29 March 1475, AHNOB, Frías, c. 16, doc. 30; Malalana Ureña, A. and Torreblanca López, A.: “Aproximación al conocimiento de los linajes lusos asentados en Castilla: Relaciones entre Don Alfonso V de Portugal y Don Diego López Pacheco”, in *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de historia medieval*, 4 vols, Oporto, Instituto Nacional de Investigação, 1989, vol. 3, pp. 927-941.

⁵⁹ Memorandum that Diego López Pacheco sent to Charles V, undated, BNE, Mss. 18634/7, fol. 3v; Castañeda Tordera, I.: “Conservar y reputar el linaje en tiempos de mudanza dinástica: Práctica política del II duque de Escalona durante las Comunidades de Castilla”, in López Gómez, Ó., Ávila Seoane, N. and Cabezas Fontanilla, S. (eds.): *Escalona 1083-1554: De la repoblación a tiempos del Lazarillo*, Toledo, Ayuntamiento de Escalona, 2011, pp. 193-240.

⁶⁰ “Mandar en palacio más que el Rey”, BNE, Mss. 1776, fol. 125v.

⁶¹ Cohen, S.: “Y para valido un duque mal nacido: Sátira y crítica sobre el Conde-Duque de Olivares”, in Pérez-Salazar Resano, C., Taberner Sala, R. and Usunáriz Garayoa, J.M. (eds.): *Los poderes de la palabra: El impropio en la cultura hispánica del Siglo de Oro*, New York, Peter Lang, 2013, pp. 75-97.

⁶² Ferros, A.: “Lerma y Olivares: La práctica del valimiento en la primera mitad del seiscientos”, in García Sanz, Á. and Elliott, J.H. (eds.): *La España del Conde-Duque de Olivares*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 1990, pp. 206-209.

⁶³ Calderón Ortega, *op. cit.* (note 21, 1998), pp. 103-138.

The Pachecos augmented their offices in a similar fashion. Juan Pacheco was allowed to hold the Prince's knife and was made Justice of Segovia in 1440. The following year he entered the Royal Council and, in 1442, he became *Guarda del Rey* and *Camarero Mayor de los Paños*. Nevertheless, the most important office of his early career was that of *Mayordomo Mayor* of the Prince's household, which he obtained in 1444 after Luna was forced to relinquish it⁶⁴. According to contemporary accounts, these offices gave Pacheco great power, but "if someone approached him requesting assistance, he was not ashamed of feigning powerlessness"⁶⁵. Besides, Pacheco did not directly manage Enrique's expenditure and, on the few occasions he did, he made sure that Enrique asked him in writing to oversee his treasurer's books⁶⁶. After Juan II's death, Pacheco kept his title of *Mayordomo Mayor*⁶⁷ and was then elected Grand Master of Santiago and appointed administrator of the Order of Calatrava⁶⁸. Juan Pacheco passed his offices on to his son Diego, who successfully held on to the title of *Mayordomo Mayor* during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, but failed to be elected Grand Master of Santiago⁶⁹.

Being appointed *Mayordomo Mayor* was critical for the Pachecos since it granted them authority over the offices of the royal household⁷⁰. Nonetheless, *privados* and *validos* also exercised their power in far more subtle ways through extensive and flexible networks of clients⁷¹. Even though he was not the King's *Mayordomo*, Luna controlled many sectors of Castile's administration though his made-men⁷² and his fall from grace was partly caused by these bureaucrats' desertion⁷³. Juan Pacheco was named *Mayordomo* of the Prince in 1444 but was acting as such much earlier, as is perfectly illustrated by a letter Juan II sent him in 1442⁷⁴.

Over the years, Juan Pacheco appointed his own men to many positions⁷⁵. An eloquent letter sent by a certain Juan Martínez Guerrero to Pacheco in the early 1450s confirms that he had been granted the honour of appointing Enrique's scribes "because Your Nobility has ordered these powers to be given to me and not to any

⁶⁴ Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp. 49-101.

⁶⁵ "Si alguno se acercaba a pedirle ayuda, no se avergonzaba de alegar impotencia", in Palencia, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 3, p. 248.

⁶⁶ Letter by Pedro Girón concerning Enrique's treasurer, undated, AHNOB, Villena, c. 1, doc. 1 (83).

⁶⁷ Confirmation of Juan Pacheco's title of *Mayordomo Mayor*, 4 October 1454, AHNOB, Frías, c. 6, doc. 2.

⁶⁸ Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp. 254-324.

⁶⁹ Franco Silva, A.: "La provisión del Maestrazgo de Santiago tras la muerte de Juan Pacheco: Unas cartas inéditas", in González Jiménez, M. (ed.): *La Península Ibérica en la era de los descubrimientos (1391-1492)*, 2 vols., Seville, Consejería de Cultura, 1997, vol. 1, pp. 561-583.

⁷⁰ Salazar y Acha, J.: *La casa del Rey de Castilla y León en la Edad Media*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2000, pp. 163-192.

⁷¹ Feros, *op. cit.* (note 62), pp. 209-216.

⁷² Foronda, F.: "Patronazgo, relación de clientela y estructura clientelar. El testimonio del epílogo de la Historia de don Álvaro de Luna", *Hispania*, 70/235 (2010), pp. 431-460.

⁷³ Cañas Gálvez, F. P.: "Una conspiración en la Corte de Castilla: La trama burocrático-administrativa en la caída del condestable Álvaro de Luna (1453)", in Péricard, J. (ed.): *La part de l'ombre: Artisans du pouvoir et arbitres des rapports sociaux (VIIIe - XVe siècles)*, Limoges, Pulim, 2015, pp. 267-288.

⁷⁴ Letter by Juan II to Juan Pacheco concerning the Prince's treasurer, 15 October 1442, AHNOB, Frías, c. 129, doc. 17.

⁷⁵ Palencia, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 1, p. 151; Enríquez del Castillo, *op. cit.* (note 39), p. 157; Orozco, P. and Parra, J.: *(Primera) historia de la Orden de Santiago: Manuscrito del siglo XV de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Badajoz, Institución Pedro de Valencia, 1978, p. 391.

other person”⁷⁶. Future research might clarify the extent of Juan Pacheco’s network of clients, but what matters now is the fact that he benefited from the authority he exercised over these people, a sound example of which is a letter he sent on 18 November 1469. The missive says “We have entrusted you with a charter of our king with a blank space for the amount of *maravedís* that should be given to the Count of Plasencia [...] and we now beseech you to place a thousand *maravedís* there”⁷⁷. Few words could be more explicit, Pacheco had given an important document to one of his made-men and asked him to issue its final version when he thought the situation was auspicious.

It is likely that many of the letters and documents through which *privados* and *validos* performed their daily activities have disappeared, but it also appears that numerous orders were dispatched orally⁷⁸. During the *privanza* of Diego López Pacheco, for instance, various sources reveal that he received and sent emissaries who conveyed sensitive information. Although the official ambassador sent by Juana and Philippe from Brussels was Philibert de Veyre, Diego communicated directly with them through his own personal accountant Pedro de Guaza⁷⁹.

Besides controlling the Castilian administration, one of the greatest achievements of *privados* and *validos* alike was to be viewed by their contemporaries as the intermediaries anyone had to resort to if they wished to contact the monarchs⁸⁰. The preceding paragraphs have already shown that Juan II contacted Juan Pacheco when he wished to obtain something from the Prince and two letters his wife addressed to Pacheco in 1442 testify to this practice⁸¹. Diego López Pacheco fulfilled a similar role when the Catholic Monarchs asked him to use his influence over Juana and Philippe in 1502. A first letter explicitly ordered Diego to convince Princess Juana to travel to Madrid⁸² and another asked him to “persuade her to remain strong and to hinder and disapprove of the Prince’s departure, for it is a harmful thing for them and for us”⁸³.

These excerpts demonstrate that the Castilian royal family considered the Pachecos as useful intermediaries, but other documents suggest that foreign forces were also aware of their importance. The Queen of Navarre contacted Juan Pacheco when she wished to recommend her personal messenger to the Castilian court⁸⁴ and the monarchs of Aragon often sought his help when they wanted to intervene in Castilian

⁷⁶ “Vuestra Noblesa mandó que fuesen a mí dados los poderes e non a otra persona ninguna”, in Letter by Juan Martínez Guerrero to Juan Pacheco, undated, AHNOB, Villena, c. 1, doc. 1 (60).

⁷⁷ “Nos ovimos confiado de vos un albalá del Rey nuestro señor, en blanco la suma de merced que fase al señor Conde de Plasencia [...] rogómosvos que en lo blanco del dicho albalá fynchades el dicho cuento de maravedís”, in Letter by Juan Pacheco to Juan de Porres, 18 November 1469, AHNOB, Osuna, c. 314, doc. 56.

⁷⁸ Gómez Rivero, R.: “Lerma y el control de cargos”, *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 73 (2003), pp. 229-230; Salas Almela, L.: “Realeza, valimiento y poder: En torno a las últimas aportaciones sobre el reinado de Felipe III”, *Hispania*, 70/234 (2010), p. 176.

⁷⁹ Sainz de Baranda, P. and Salvá, M. (eds.): *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, Madrid, Viuda de Calero, 1846, t. VIII, pp. 279 and 290-291.

⁸⁰ Feros, *op. cit.* (note 62), pp. 216-224.

⁸¹ Two letters by Queen María to Juan Pacheco, 24 January 1442 and 4 April 1443, AHNOB, Frías, c. 129, doc. 38-39.

⁸² Letter by King Fernando to Diego López Pacheco, 15 November 1502, AHNOB, Villena, c. 1, doc. 5 (22).

⁸³ “Esforçadla vos para que esté muy rezia y estorve la yda del Príncipe y la contradiga como cosa tan dañosa a ellos y a nosotros”, in Letter by the Catholic Monarchs to Diego López Pacheco, 7 December 1502, AHNOB, Frías, c. 17, doc. 59.

⁸⁴ *Memorias*, *op. cit.* (note 38), p. 7.

matters⁸⁵. To gain Pacheco's trust, the Aragonese Queen gifted him some falcons⁸⁶, while her husband made him a member of the Order of the *Jarra*⁸⁷. In later decades, Pacheco maintained conversations with Louis XI of France, the Prince of Navarre and the Great Chamberlain of Aragon and, when the Pope sent Rodrigo de Borja – the future Pope Alexander VI – as his emissary to Castile, he commended him directly to Juan Pacheco⁸⁸.

Despite the different historical circumstances, he had to live through, Diego López Pacheco also became a crucial link with foreign powers. When Enrique IV was seeking a temporary truce with the Kingdom of Granada in 1469, Diego acted as his intermediary with the Muslim ambassadors⁸⁹. Likewise, when Afonso V of Portugal was attempting to seize power in Castile after having married Juana, it was not the monarch himself but rather Diego who sent messengers to Louis XI of France to seek his support⁹⁰. The same happened with the Emperor Maximilian I, who discussed with Diego the possibility of becoming governor when Charles V's was a minor⁹¹. Diego also maintained amicable conversations with Manuel I of Portugal, who often addressed him by saying that he was “the one I much love and appreciate”⁹².

Privados were an essential link with foreign powers, but they further reinforced their control over foreign policy by influencing the choice of ambassadors, as Álvaro de Luna did during Juan II's reign⁹³. According to contemporary sources, Juan Pacheco also chose Enrique IV's ambassadors⁹⁴ and, at times, he himself acted as the emissary of Castile, thus mirroring the official duties of his Portuguese forebears⁹⁵. Fewer sources discuss Diego López Pacheco's influence over foreign affairs, but it is quite relevant to point out that one of Juana and Philippe's most trusted messengers

⁸⁵ Agreement between Alfonso V of Aragon and Juan Pacheco, 15 November 1456, AHNOB, Frías, c. 12, doc. 1; Olivera Serrano, C. and Ladero Quesada, M. Á. (eds.), *Documentos sobre Enrique IV de Castilla y su tiempo. Volumen I*, Madrid, Universidad Carlos III, 2016, p. 285; Enríquez del Castillo, *op. cit.* (note 39), p. 188; Sánchez-Parra García, *op. cit.* (note 39), pp. 21-23.

⁸⁶ Letters by the Queen of Aragon concerning the falcons she gifted to Juan Pacheco, undated and 25 November 1444, AHNOB, Frías, c. 1, doc. 39; Villena, c. 1, doc. 1 (n. n.).

⁸⁷ Alfonso V of Aragon makes Juan Pacheco a member of the Order of the *Jarra*, 30 November 1440, AHNOB, Frías, cp. 265, doc. 8.

⁸⁸ Chicote Pompanin, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 108-112; Letter by Sixtus IV to Juan Pacheco, 13 April 1472, AHNOB, Frías, c. 113, doc. 2.

⁸⁹ Truce signed with the Reign of Granada, 1469, AHNOB, Frías, c. 19, doc. 2-6.

⁹⁰ Comines, P.: *Mémoires de messire Philippe de Comines où l'on trouve l'histoire des rois de France Louis XI et Charles VIII*, 3 vols., London, Rollin, 1747, vol. 3, pp. 157-158.

⁹¹ Chicote Pompanin, *op. cit.* (note 38), p. 653.

⁹² “Aquelle que muyto amo e preço”, in Two letters by Manuel I of Portugal to Diego López Pacheco, 19 November 1513 and 4 February 1514, AHNOB, Frías, c. 22, doc. 22-23.

⁹³ *Memorias*, *op. cit.* (note 38), pp. 83-84.

⁹⁴ Palencia, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 1, pp. 158, 216, 418 and 421; Daumet, G.: *Étude sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille au XIV^e et au XV^e siècles*, Paris, Émile Bouillon, 1898, p. 94.

⁹⁵ Enríquez del Castillo, *op. cit.* (note 39), p. 188; Fernandes, *op. cit.* (note 17). For more detailed studies on Castilian diplomacy see: Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, Á.: *Alejandro VI y los Reyes Católicos: Relaciones político-eclesiásticas (1492-1503)*, Rome, Edizioni Università della Santa Croce, 2005; Fernández de Córdoba Miralles, Á.: “Fernando el Católico y Julio II: papado y monarquía hispánica en el umbral de la modernidad”, *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, 29 (2020), pp. 563-571; Villarroel González, Ó.: *El rey y el papa: política y diplomacia en los albores del Renacimiento (Castilla en el siglo XV)*, Madrid, Sílex, 2009; Villarroel González, Ó.: “Diplomacia y construcción monárquica: la participación eclesiástica castellana”, *Medievalista*, 28 (2020), pp. 191-223.

was precisely Diego de Guevara, whose sister Marina happened to be married to Diego's brother Alonso Téllez Girón⁹⁶.

Despite the importance of the spoken word, written documents continued to be powerful tools in internal and external affairs, and having royal papers in one's possession was a mean of increasing that person's ascendancy over the polity. This was graphically illustrated by Mateo Renzi in 1622 when he affirmed that the *privado* was "the Prince's archive and chest of his papers"⁹⁷, an idea that was repeated by Juan Baños de Velasco, who stated that a *privado* was a "very faithful archive of the Prince's secrets"⁹⁸. Both statements can be applied perfectly to the Pachecos' *privanza* because they stored numerous royal documents in their own personal archive.

Juan Pacheco kept papers linked to events of major importance in which he had intervened like, for instance, when he acted as one of the judges of the *Sentencia de Medina del Campo*⁹⁹. On other occasions, he retained documents he had actively helped to draft, as in the case of the marriage agreement between Princess Juana and Enrique Fortuna¹⁰⁰. He also kept charters because two drafts of the same document were drawn up, one for the king and the other for himself¹⁰¹. But one of the most interesting features of the Pacheco archive is the fact that it was a repository of already signed and sometimes partially blank documents that, in normal circumstances, one would expect to find in royal archives¹⁰².

A final item on the *privado*'s agenda was to ensure his pre-eminence and avoid losing favour. Many authors have shown that Álvaro de Luna was labelled a tyrant because he had subjugated Juan II and controlled Castile¹⁰³. Juan Pacheco, for his part, made sure that he was never seen as the only person acting alongside Enrique IV. Despite his overall supremacy, he was always accompanied by other *privados* and, when they began threatening his position, he managed to distance them from Enrique's entourage (Rodrigo Portocarrero, Juan de Valenzuela, Francisco Valdés, Gómez de Cáceres, Miguel Lucas de Iranzo and Beltrán de la Cueva¹⁰⁴). Diego López Pacheco learnt from his father's teachings: he was never regarded as Juana and Philippe's only *privado* and shared his *privanza* with other grandees like the Duke of Nájera and Juan Manuel, the Lord of Belmonte¹⁰⁵. When viewing these ex-

⁹⁶ Gómez de Fuensalida, G.: *Correspondencia de Gutierre Gómez de Fuensalida, embajador en Alemania, Flandes é Inglaterra (1496-1509)*, Madrid, Duque de Berwick y de Alba, 1907, pp. 322 and 393; *Chronicle of Spain* by Esteban de Garibay, 16th century, BNE, Mss. 11111, fols. 295r-295v.

⁹⁷ "Archivo y custodia de sus Papeles", in García García, *op. cit.* (note 30), p. 119.

⁹⁸ "Fidelísimo archivo de sus secretos", in Baños de Velasco, J.: *Anneo Séneca ilustrado en blasones políticos y morales*, Madrid, Mateo de Espinosa y Arteaga, 1670, p. 86.

⁹⁹ Inventory of the Pachecos' archive, mid-18th century, AHNOB, Frias, c. 210, doc. 1, fols. 317r-317v.

¹⁰⁰ Marriage agreement with Princess Juana and the Infante Fortuna, 1474, AHNOB, Frias, c. 16, doc. 27.

¹⁰¹ Agreement between Enrique IV and some noblemen regarding Alfonso's tutorship, 25 October 1465, RAH, 9/289, fols. 109r-109v.

¹⁰² AHNOB, Frias, c. 210, doc. 1, fols. 296v-319r.

¹⁰³ Corral y Maestro, L. *Don Alvaro de Luna según testimonios inéditos de la época*, Valladolid, Editorial Viuda de Montero, 1915; Nieto Soria, J. M.: "Álvaro de Luna as Tyrant. Public Opinion and Political Conflict in 15th Century Castile", *Imago Temporis: Medium Aevum*, 11 (2017), pp. 273-297.

¹⁰⁴ Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp. 130-134, 219-226 and 254-279.

¹⁰⁵ Montero Tejada, R. M.: "Ideología y parentesco: Bases de la actuación política del primer duque de Nájera a comienzos del siglo XVI", *Espacio Tiempo y Forma. Serie III, Historia Medieval*, 5 (1992), pp. 229-260; Fernández Conti, S.: "Manuel, Juan", in Martínez Millán, J. (ed.): *La corte de Carlos V*, 5 vols., Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, vol. 3, pp. 264-269; Cauchies, J. M.: "Croit conseil et ses ministres. Les conseillers de Philippe le Beau (1494-1506)", in Michon, C. (ed.):

amples, it almost seems that the Pachecos were following Joaquín Setanti's advice, who said in 1614 that a royal favourite "should have many made-men; but they should be created in such a way so that he could get rid of them later if they do not turn out well for him"¹⁰⁶.

It was built by King Enrique and Pacheco took it away from him: Cultural displays

In Jerónimo de la Cruz's opinion, the Hieronymite monastery of Santa María de El Parral in the outskirts of Segovia "was built by King Enrique and Pacheco took it away from him"¹⁰⁷. This passage suggests that fray Jerónimo had read the chronicle by José de Sigüenza (1595-1605) according to which El Parral was a royal oeuvre in all respects. Juan Pacheco waited patiently until the works were almost finished and he then asked to be given the monastery. For both Sigüenza and De la Cruz, Pacheco had stolen from Enrique IV both his kingdom and his final resting place¹⁰⁸.

Without entering into the debate about this anecdote's veracity, it is useful since it highlights the close links that existed between cultural creations and politics in the world of *privados* and *validos*. Some scholars have spoken about self-fashioning, while others have preferred to use terms like symbolic communication and social performance¹⁰⁹. What all these studies have demonstrated is that, despite the changes in the leading aesthetic trends of the time, cultural manifestations continued to be used to stage personas and to mediate how somebody's actions were meant to be perceived. Following the same train of thought, the Pachecos targeted their patronage at creating cultural works that showcased their family's position next to the Crown as a natural *status quo*.

Privados and *validos* often transmitted messages during public festivities, but the way in which these messages were conveyed always depended on the cultural language of the society in which they were living¹¹⁰. This is the case of chivalric performances. Chivalry was a cultural construct; it implied a set of ideals, models and paradigms that wide sectors of society shared and understood¹¹¹. The Pachecos might have drawn their inspiration from Álvaro de Luna, for numerous sources indicate that he used chivalric displays to show off his court's greatness and openly challenge his opponents¹¹². Nonetheless, the Pachecos might have also looked back at their

Conseils et conseillers dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: v. 1450 - v. 1550, Tours, Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 2012, pp. 47-66.

¹⁰⁶ "Le conviene tambien mucho hazer hombres de su mano, pero hechos de manera que pueda luego deshazerlos quando no le salgan bien (Centella 259)", in Setanti, J. and Arias Montano, B., *Aphorismos sacados de la Historia de Publio Cornelio Tacito y Las Centellas de varios conceptos*, Barcelona, Sebastián Mateuat, 1614, p. 28.

¹⁰⁷ "Fue fábrica del Rey Don Enrique y se le quitó Pacheco", BNE, Mss. 1776, fol. 298r.

¹⁰⁸ Sigüenza, J.: *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, 2 vols., Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 2000, vol. 1, p. 416.

¹⁰⁹ Greenblatt, S.: *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980; Stollberg-Rilinger, B.: "La communication symbolique à l'époque pré-moderne. Concepts, thèses, perspectives de recherche", *Trivium*, 2 (2008), pp. 1-44; Alexander, J. C.: "Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy", *Sociological Theory*, 22/4 (2004), pp. 527-573.

¹¹⁰ García García, B. J. and Lobato López, M. L. (eds.): *Dramaturgia festiva y cultura nobiliaria en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, Iberoamericana, 2007.

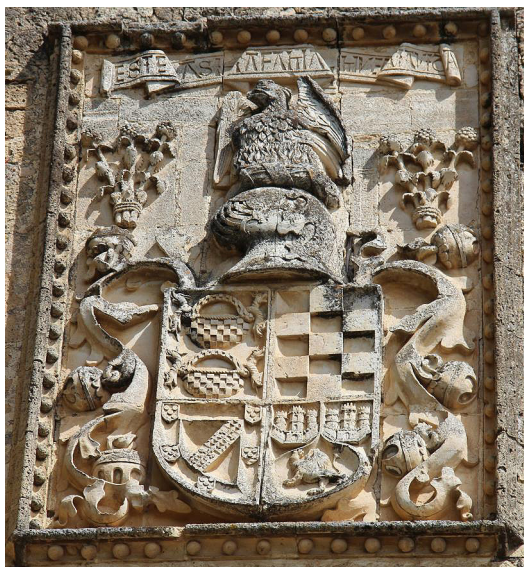
¹¹¹ Fallows, N.: *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010.

¹¹² Carriazo y Arroquia, J. M. (ed.): *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla, Maestre de Santiago*, Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1940, p. 207; Ruiz, T. F.: "Fiestas, torneos y símbolos de realeza en la Castilla del siglo XV: Las fiestas de Valladolid de 1428", in Rucquoi, A. (ed.): *Realidad e imágenes del poder: España a fines de la Edad Media*, Valladolid, Ámbito Ediciones, 1988, pp. 249-266.

own family history. In fact, chivalric tales like the *Twelve of England* recounted the adventures of the fictional characters of their fourteenth-century ancestors João and Lopo Fernandes Pacheco¹¹³.

These models might explain why Juan Pacheco also challenged other grandees in public games, as he did in Seville in 1456. On this occasion, he used a tournament in the German fashion as the excuse to contest the power of the Duke of Medina Sidonia and the rising royal favourite Miguel Lucas de Iranzo¹¹⁴. Diego López Pacheco also took part in chivalric games¹¹⁵ and even conducted himself as a true knight when he lost an arm fighting in the Granada War¹¹⁶. Moreover, the Pachecos employed the language of chivalry in the clever design of their personal *mottos* “One with no equal” and “May life die and fame forever live”, which they proudly displayed next to the phoenix they employed as their heraldic animal (**Fig. 1**)¹¹⁷.

Fig. 1. Coat of arms of Diego López Pacheco with his motto “Esté así la fama e muera la vida”. Façade of the Monastery of El Parral.



Military and chivalric orders constituted another fundamental facet of knightly culture. Belonging to an order served to create a sense of community among the few knights selected for them and this was precisely the aim of the Order of the *Jarra*, to which Juan Pacheco was admitted in 1449¹¹⁸ and of the Orders of the Golden Spur

¹¹³ Hutchinson, A. P.: “*Os Doze de Inglaterra: A Romance of Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Later Middle Ages?*”, in Bullón-Fernández, M. (ed.): *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages: 12th-15th Century*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 167-187.

¹¹⁴ Palencia, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 1, pp. 227-229; Sánchez-Parra García, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 2, pp. 57-58.

¹¹⁵ Argensola, L.: *Anales de Aragón*, 3 vols., Zaragoza, Institución “Fernando el Católico”, 2013, vol. 2, pp. 528 and 539.

¹¹⁶ Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 25), p. 74.

¹¹⁷ Chicote Pompanin, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 96-99 and 223-225: “Una sin par” and “Esté así la fama e muera la vida”.

¹¹⁸ AHNOB, Frias, cp. 265, doc. 8.

and of the Golden Fleece, whose ranks Diego López Pacheco joined in 1519¹¹⁹. Orders also functioned as a means of distinction for those who ruled them and this paper has already mentioned the great efforts the Pachecos made to become Grand Masters of Santiago, the richest and most important order in Castile. Juan Pacheco timed this concession particularly well and was granted the Santiago's insignia at the unique moment when the contending kings Enrique and Alfonso were both residing in Segovia, thereby pre-empting any possible future problems that could place his appointment into doubt¹²⁰.

Such performances spoke of the *privados*' personal virtues, but these men also needed to stage their proximity to the monarch as both a person and an institution¹²¹. The close relationship that linked seventeenth-century *validos* to the Crown was often crystallised in the creation of a networks of private residences used to host the royal family¹²². Earlier *privados* resorted to a similar technique and particularly telling is the occasion when King Alfonso retired to Juan Pacheco's hometown of Belmonte¹²³, a tactic the *privado* used to alleviate tensions in the royal court and which he had probably learnt from Álvaro de Luna, who often welcomed Juan II in his villages of Escalona and Ayllón¹²⁴. Diego López Pacheco also hosted members of the royal family in 1502, precisely when Juana and Philippe travelled to Castile to be sworn in as heirs to the throne. When the young couple reached Madrid, they were hosted by Diego¹²⁵ and, when they travelled to Toledo, they were housed again in one of his palaces. According to contemporary sources, eighty-two new servants were hired for the occasion¹²⁶ and all the rooms were enriched with tapestries and silverware¹²⁷. Diego offered frequent entertainments and even gave Phillippe a domesticated ostrich as a present¹²⁸. All these activities should not be regarded as extravagantly frivolous courtly games, they were strategies used by elites to promote themselves and which their contemporaries understood¹²⁹.

¹¹⁹ AHNOB, Frías, c. 210, doc.1, fol. 311v; Vilanova de Rosselló, R. and Doménech y Roura, F.: *Capítulo del Toisón de Oro celebrado en Barcelona el año 1519*, Barcelona, Librería Verdaguer, 1930, p. 106.

¹²⁰ Palencia, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 2, p. 97; Sánchez-Parra García, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 2, p. 223.

¹²¹ Nieto Soria, J. M.: "La monarquía bajomedieval castellana ¿una realeza sagrada?", in *Homenaje al Profesor Juan Torres Fontes*, 2 vols., Murcia, Universidad de Murcia - Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1987, vol. 2, pp. 1225-1237; Kantorowicz, E. H.: *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957; Feros, *op. cit.* (note 36), p. 147.

¹²² García García, B. J.: "Espacios de la privanza. Las residencias del favorito como extensión de los Reales Sitios en tiempos del duque de Lerma (1599-1618)", in García García, B. J. (dir.): *Felix Austria. Lazos familiares, cultura política y mecenazgo artístico entre las cortes de los Habsburgo*, Madrid, Fundación Carlos Amberes, 2016, pp. 393-440.

¹²³ Palencia, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

¹²⁴ Carriazo y Arroquia, *op. cit.* (note 112), pp. 143, 213, 216-222, 245-246, 254 and 289-290.

¹²⁵ Vallejo, J.: *Memorial de la vida de fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros*, Madrid, Bailly-Bailliere, 1913, p. 54.

¹²⁶ Payment to the servants hired for the Princes' stay, 15 June 1503: AHNOB, Frías, c. 668, doc. 7.

¹²⁷ Payment for the tapestries bought for the Princes' stay, 25 April 1502, AHNOB, Frías, c. 668, doc. 34. Chmel, J. (ed.): "Reise des Erzherzogs Philipp nach Spanien 1501", in *Die Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien im Interesse der Geschichte, besonders der österreichischen*, Vienna, Gedruck und im Verlage bey Carl Gerold, 1841, p. 653; Padilla, L.: "Crónica de Felipe I llamado el Hermoso", in Sainz de Baranda and Salvá (eds.), *op. cit.* (note 79), p. 65.

¹²⁸ Padilla, *op. cit.* (note 127), p. 88; Lalaing, A.: "Premier voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne", in Gachard, L.P. (ed.): *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4 vols, Brussels, F. Hayez, 1876, vol. 1, p. 176.

¹²⁹ Porras Gil, M.C.: "El arte de recibir: Fiestas y faustos por una princesa", in Zalama Rodríguez, M. Á. (dir.): *Juana I en Tordesillas: su mundo, su entorno, Valladolid*, Ayuntamiento de Tordesillas, 2010, pp. 239-258; Aram, B.: "Voyages from Burgundy to Castile: Cultural Conflict and Dynastic Transitions, 1502-06", in Palos,

Such performances demonstrated that a monarch as a person enjoyed the *privado*'s company, but a public display of their relationship during political ceremonies was something altogether different, projecting the trust that the Crown as an institution placed on the *privado*. A first symbolic moment was the baptism of a royal child, when *privados* like Álvaro de Luna, Juan Pacheco and Diego López Pacheco were granted the honour of becoming the child's godparents¹³⁰. The official swearing in of an heir, however, was of greater significance due to its political implications. Alvaro de Luna appeared next to Prince Enrique during his 1425 swearing in ceremony¹³¹, as did Juan Pacheco when Princess Juana was sworn in in 1462¹³². During the dynastic troubles of the 1460s, Pacheco remained close to the Princes and, when Isabel was sworn in by the *Cortes* of 1469, he orchestrated the event so that it took place in his own town of Ocaña¹³³. Diego López Pacheco closely mirrored his father's footsteps walking next to Princess Juana during her swearing in ceremonies held in Toledo and Zaragoza in 1502¹³⁴.

Despite their importance, these were just one-off events and the presence of *privados* alongside their monarchs during the *Cortes* was considered of far greater importance because it symbolised the *privado*'s role in the polity's day-to-day governance. Luna and Juan Pacheco occupied a position traditionally assigned to members of the royal family¹³⁵ and Diego López Pacheco went a step further in the *Cortes* that Juana and Philippe attended in 1506. On that occasion, Diego publicly showed King Philippe how to behave at formal receptions, thus demonstrating he was his most important advisor and highlighting that the monarch's Burgundian favourites were not up to the task because of their lack of familiarity with Castilian etiquette¹³⁶.

Such public acts were witnessed by just a few people and their communicational value diminished when people stopped talking or reading about them. It is therefore not surprising that royal favourites of all times resorted to more long-lasting methods to display their *privanza*'s ideals¹³⁷. Álvaro de Luna, for instance, devised an extensive literary campaign: he became the dedicatee and also ordered the redaction of several literary works that mirrored his intellectual concerns; he staged his persona by composing court poetry¹³⁸; and he even wrote a lengthy book in which he defend-

J. L. and Sánchez, M. (eds.): *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2016, pp. 91-114.

¹³⁰ Martín Rodríguez, J. L.: *Enrique IV de Castilla. Rey de Navarra, Príncipe de Cataluña*, Hondarribia, Nerea, 2003, p. 18; Enríquez del Castillo, *op. cit.* (note 39), p. 184; Zurita, J.: *Historia del rey Don Fernando el Católico. De las empresas y ligas de Italia*, Zaragoza, Institución "Fernando el Católico", vol. I.1, p. 251.

¹³¹ Martín Rodríguez, *op. cit.* (note 130), p. 18.

¹³² Villarreal González, Ó.: *Juana la Beltraneja: La construcción de una ilegitimidad*, Madrid, Silex, 2014, pp. 67-77.

¹³³ Olivera Serrano, C.: *Las Cortes de Castilla y León y la crisis del reino (1445-1474): El Registro de Cortes*, Valladolid, Cortes de Castilla y León, 1986, pp. 119-152.

¹³⁴ Chmel, *op. cit.* (note 127), pp. 649-651; Lalaing, *op. cit.* (note 130), pp. 177-181, 240; Zurita, *op. cit.* (note 130), vol. I.2, pp. 141.

¹³⁵ Real Academia de la Historia, *Cortes de los antiguos Reinos de León y de Castilla*, 5 vols., Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1866, vol. 3, pp. 496 and 576. Members of the royal family are mentioned in *Ibidem*, pp. 161, 312, 393 and 457.

¹³⁶ Alcocer, P.: *Relación de algunas cosas que pasaron en estos reinos desde que murió la reina católica Doña Isabel, hasta que se acabaron las comunidades en la ciudad de Toledo*, Seville, Rafael Tarascó, 1872, p. 12.

¹³⁷ Matas Caballero, J., Micó Juan, J.M. and Ponce Cárdenas, J. (eds.): *El duque de Lerma. Poder y literatura en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, CEEH, 2011.

¹³⁸ Gómez Redondo, F.: *Historia de la prosa medieval castellana III. Los orígenes del humanismo: El marco cultural de Enrique III y Juan II*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2002, pp. 2784-2797 and 2936-2943; Villaseñor Sebastián, F.,

ed the moral equality of men and women (**Fig. 2**)¹³⁹. The ultimate aim of this latter piece was much deeper, however. When one lingers on the passage: “Virtues and vices are not a person’s appetite, desire or vigour; they are virtues we have and acquire because we are used to doing them many times”¹⁴⁰, one realises that these words could well be read as Luna’s response to those who claimed that nobility was an inherent virtue that only a few families possessed¹⁴¹. Through this work, Luna was stating that people were born with no virtues or rights, and that they only acquired them through their actions, just as he had done.

Fig. 2. Manuscript of the *Virtuosas e claras mugeres* by Álvaro de Luna. Salamanca, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Salamanca, Ms 207, fol. 3r.



As far as we know, the Pachecos did not write any literary works, but the prefaces of several books dedicated to them suggest that they had an interest in literature. Juan Pacheco became the dedicatee of two practical treatises by Diego de Valera. The first of these was written following Juan Pacheco’s instructions and analysed

“Por fechos de armas, e composición de singulares libros por él mesmo ordenados: La biblioteca de Álvaro de Luna”, in Pérez Monzón, O., Miquel Juan, M. and Martín Gil, M. (eds.): *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano. La capilla fúnebre de Álvaro de Luna en contexto*, Madrid, Sílex, 2018, pp. 53-70.

¹³⁹ Gómez Redondo, *op. cit.* (note 138), pp. 3222-3252; Chicote Pompanin, M. T. and Fuentes Ortiz, Á.: “El auctor de esta obra es el condestable don Álvaro de Luna. Génesis, iluminación y suntuosidad en las *Virtuosas e claras mugeres*”, in López Gómez, Ó.: *Don Álvaro de Luna y Escalona. Poder, propaganda y memoria histórica en el otoño de la Edad Media*, Toledo, Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 2013, pp. 171-212.

¹⁴⁰ “Las virtudes ni las menguas non sean apetitos o deseos nin poderios virtuales, mas son virtudes que avemos e ganamos por las costunbrar a fazer muchas vezes”, in Luna, Á. de: *Virtuosas e claras mugeres (1446)*, ed. L. Pons Rodríguez, Valladolid, Instituto Castellano y Leonés de la Lengua, 2008, pp. 214-215.

¹⁴¹ Rodríguez del Padrón, J.: *Obra completa*, Dueñas, Simancas, 2005, pp. 73 and 83; Serrano, L.: *Los conversos D. Pablo de Santa María y D. Alfonso de Cartagena*, Madrid, Escuela de Estudios Hebraicos, 1942, p. 291.

various Castilian titles, while the second offered practical advice for leading a successful political life¹⁴². The latter's closing sentence closely matches Pacheco's ideas about cliental networks, for it reads: "Examine your friends and servants with great care, and regard virtuous and good noblemen as treasures"¹⁴³. Literary works were also dedicated to Diego López Pacheco, but in his case their subject matter focused on religious piety and inner devotion¹⁴⁴.

Not everybody could attend ceremonies or had access to poems and books, which is why *privados* and *validos* also showcased their personas through lavish edifices¹⁴⁵. We have already mentioned Luna's palace in Escalona, but it should be added that this building was conceived as a joint enterprise of Juan II and his *privado*. Indeed, a royal charter affirms that Luna had built "chambers, palaces and houses which are very remarkable and sumptuous" in Escalona following the King's orders¹⁴⁶, and an eighteenth-century description specifies that these very rooms "had been ordered by King Juan II, so that they could be used as His Majesty's palace" when he visited the town¹⁴⁷. Nevertheless, Luna's greatest architectural enterprise was the renowned Chapel of Santiago in Toledo Cathedral, to which we shall return below¹⁴⁸.

During his youth, Juan Pacheco was at Luna's service and witnessed his great architectural enterprises. Hence, it comes as no surprise to note that he too devoted enormous resources to the construction of castles and churches in his own estates¹⁴⁹. As pointed out above, he escorted King Alfonso to Belmonte in 1467 to show him "the great and complex buildings he was constructing at the time"¹⁵⁰. It is possible to surmise that on that occasion he showed Alfonso the proud genealogical statements that he had included in Belmonte's triangular fortress, the church of San Bartolomé, the hospital of San Andrés and the Franciscan convent¹⁵¹. The Pachecos also financed the construction and maintenance of numerous religious and charitable institutions,

¹⁴² Villa Prieto, J.: "El epistolario de Diego de Valera: Consejos y consuelos para el marqués de Villena (c. 1445-1465)", *Territorio, sociedad y poder*, 6 (2011), pp. 152-172.

¹⁴³ "Pues con mucha solicitud examinad los amigos e servidores; e de los virtuosos fidalgos e buenos fazed thesoro", in Valera, D.: "Tratado de providencia contra fortuna", in Penna, M. (ed.): *Prosistas castellanos del siglo XV*, 2 vols., Madrid, Atlas, 1959, vol. 1, p. 144.

¹⁴⁴ Chicote Pompanin, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 282-293.

¹⁴⁵ García García, B. J. and Rodríguez Rebollo, Á. (eds.): *Apariencia y razón. Las artes y la arquitectura en el reinado de Felipe III*, Madrid, Doce Calles, 2020.

¹⁴⁶ "Por mi mandado fezistes e hedificastes, e hazedes e hedificades en ella ciertos palacios, e alcázar e casas muy notables e sumptuosas", in Villaseñor Sebastián, F. "La mejor labrada e mejor casa y la más notable, rica e maravillosa capilla que había en toda España: Desarrollo artístico y arquitectónico en Castilla en tiempos de don Álvaro de Luna", in López Gómez, Ó. (coord.): *Don Álvaro de Luna y Escalona. Poder, propaganda y memoria histórica en el otoño de la Edad Media*, Toledo, Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 2013, p. 136.

¹⁴⁷ "Hízose dicha havitación por mandado del rey don Juan el 2º porque sirviese de palacio a Su Magestad", in Description of the lands of the Houses of Villena, Escalona and Belmonte by Pedro Salanova y Guilarte, British Library (BL), Egerton 419, fol. 274r.

¹⁴⁸ Pérez Monzón, O., Miquel Juan, M. and Martín Gil, M. (eds.): *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano. La capilla fúnebre de Alvaro de Luna en contexto*, Madrid, Silex, 2018.

¹⁴⁹ Chicote Pompanin, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 147-207.

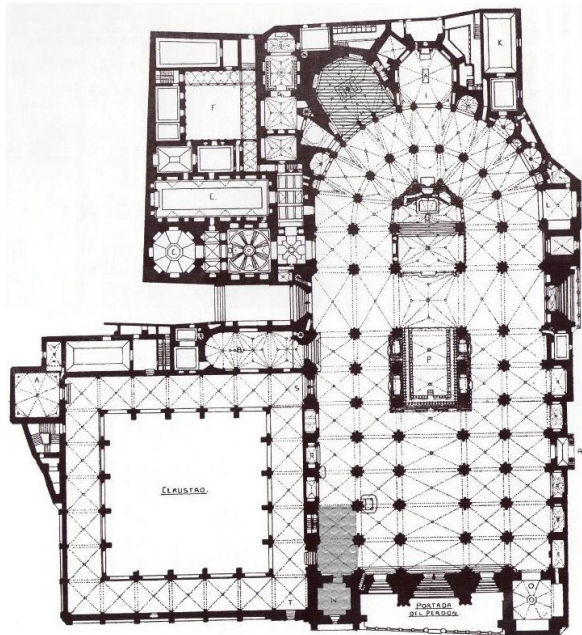
¹⁵⁰ "Las grandes y complicadas fábricas que allí levantaba por aquellos días", in Palencia, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

¹⁵¹ Chicote Pompanin, M. T.: "Una fortezza triangolare per il nuovo Marchese di Villena: Precisazioni cronologiche e formali sul castello quattrocentesco di Belmonte", in Rosario Nobile, M. (ed.): *Architetture per la vita. Palazzi e dimore dell'ultimo gotico tra XV e XVI secolo*, in press (expected 2021); Chicote Pompanin, M. T.: "Adapting a Pantheon to a Lineage's Memory. The Collegiate Church of Belmonte and the Marquises of Villena", *Codex Aquilarensis* 34 (2018), pp. 197-212.

and a thorough analysis of this religious patronage reveals that the Pachecos always sponsored orders that were in tune with the Crown's interests (Franciscans, Hieronymites, Dominicans and Conceptionists)¹⁵².

The Pachecos displayed their *privanza* through ceremonies, literature, religion and architecture, but the element that closed the circle of their public performance was the *mise-en-scène* of their pantheon. This might seem a simple matter, but no seventeenth-century *valido* ever came so close to reflecting his *privanza* in his burial place. Besides, complex political, economic and symbolic interests lay behind choosing a final resting place over another. This conflict of interests is well exemplified by the struggle that arose over Juan II's burial place. His ancestors had traditionally been buried in the Chapel of the New Kings in Toledo Cathedral¹⁵³ and it was no coincidence that Luna had built his own funerary chapel in that same cathedral (**Fig. 3**)¹⁵⁴. By doing so, he was accompanying Juan II both in life and in death. What Luna failed to foresee, however, was Juan II's sudden decision to break with tradition and build his pantheon in the newly founded convent of Santa María de Miraflores in Burgos. Luna insistently tried to undermine the King's project, and this became one of the accusations that led him to the scaffold in 1453¹⁵⁵.

Fig. 3. Plan of Toledo Cathedral marking the Chapel of Santiago (stripes) and the today lost Chapel of the New Kings (dots).



¹⁵² Chicote Pompanin, *op. cit.* (note 19), pp. 131-146 and 259-269.

¹⁵³ Nogales Rincón, D.: *La representación religiosa de la monarquía castellano-leonesa: la Capilla Real (1252-1504)*, PhD Thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009, pp. 1571-1708.

¹⁵⁴ Pérez Monzón, Miquel Juan, and Martín Gil (eds.), *op. cit.* (note 148).

¹⁵⁵ Alonso Ruiz, B.: "Las capillas funerarias de los Trastámara: De la creación de la memoria a *la grandeza humillada*", in Pérez Monzón, Miquel Juan and Martín Gil (eds.), *op. cit.* (note 148), p. 155.

The introductory quotation of this section alluded to the fact that Juan Pacheco “had stolen” Enrique IV’s pantheon in the monastery of El Parral. Contemporary historians and modern scholars have assumed that Pacheco had simply taken over the King’s luxurious burial place, but Pacheco actually went much further: he was leaving open the possibility of Enrique IV being buried next to him. In fact, archival documents from 1472 explicitly state that only members of the Pacheco family could occupy El Parral’s main chapel “with the sole exception of King Enrique IV should he wish to do so”¹⁵⁶.

Juan Pacheco might well have been inspired by Luna’s project in Toledo Cathedral, but it cannot be forgotten that Lopo Fernandes Pacheco, the very first *privado* of the Pacheco lineage, had also been buried in a royal pantheon. When Afonso IV of Portugal completed the reconstruction of Lisbon Cathedral’s chevet in 1334 and decided that it would be his burial place, his notion of a royal pantheon was quite flexible and included the closest members of his entourage¹⁵⁷. For this reason, Lopo Fernandes Pacheco and his wife were allowed to immortalise their life-long affinity to the Crown by being buried in one of the deambulatory’s chapels and leaving a lengthy inscription that spoke about Lopo’s close bond with the monarch (**Fig. 4**)¹⁵⁸.

Fig. 4. Lopo Fernandes Pacheco’s funerary monument and inscription in Lisbon Cathedral.



¹⁵⁶ “Excepto el señor don Enrique 4º si quisiesse”, in Inventory of the Pacheco’s archive, 18th century, AHNOB, Frias, c. 186, doc. 1, fols. 303v-305r.

¹⁵⁷ Rodrigues, J.: “A Sé de Lisboa, da Panteão Régio de D. Afonso IV a ‘necrópole’ de enterramentos privilegiados no final da Idade Média”, in Alfonso, L. U. and Melo, J. R. (eds.): *O Fascínio do Gótico. Um tributo a José Custódio Vieira da Silva*, Lisbon, Artis, 2016, pp. 33-52.

¹⁵⁸ Lourenço, *op. cit.* (note 16).

Conclusions

When Juan Pacheco chose El Parral as his family's final resting place he was placing a final broach on the representation of his lineage's *privanza* (Fig. 5). In fact, this monument contained several messages that played on the past, present and future of the Pacheco family. El Parral alluded to the lineage's past because, by encouraging Enrique IV to be buried there, they could rest forever under the same roof, just as their forebear Lopo Fernandes Pacheco had done next to Afonso IV. This pantheon also alluded to the Pachecos' present because it had been built by a king who had decided to grant it to his *privado*, exactly as he had done with other many favours. Lastly, El Parral also projected messages about the lineage's *privanza* into the future because a Requiem Mass would be sung for Enrique IV's soul every 9 September for centuries to come in order "to thank him for the many favours that my lord the Grand Master [Juan Pacheco] and I [Diego López Pacheco] have received from His Majesty, for we are his made-men"¹⁵⁹.

El Parral also demonstrates that *privados* could not always bring their plans to fruition. As it happened to Álvaro de Luna, Juan Pacheco could not convince Enrique IV to choose El Parral as his pantheon and the King's remains were buried in the Monastery of Guadalupe instead. Nevertheless, some sources add that Enrique's corpse was placed in "the house of oblivion [...] not far from Master Pacheco"¹⁶⁰ because his *privado*'s body was temporarily buried in Guadalupe before its definitive transfer to El Parral¹⁶¹. This anecdote suggests that the Pachecos' success depended on their ability to learn from past errors and adapt to fast-changing circumstances. The very nature of *privanza* required a high degree of memory and elasticity, since it depended on the character of the king and his entourage, as well as on the historical, social and cultural constructs in which they operated.

This study has analysed the flexible ways – which have been divided into personal bonds, ways of orchestrating the royal court and cultural displays – through which the Pachecos controlled the polity, and has highlighted the critical role played by the lessons they learnt from former *privados*. This work has also shown that one of the most fruitful approaches to the analysis of their *privanza* is to view it within the spectrum of performance because the Pachecos devised actions that were aimed at presenting their power as an irreplaceable, logical and natural *status quo*.

Lastly, this work has demonstrated that the Pachecos lived in a *tempus continuum* with their past and this very continuity over time offered legitimacy to their *privanza*. The seventeenth-century authors who spoke about the Pachecos also perceived a continuity over time and understood the Pachecos' actions because, despite the inevitable differences, they read them with the same idiom of *privanza*. Only occasionally did they adapt this language to fit in words of a new jargon like *valido*. For this reason, authors such as Jerónimo de la Cruz and Diego de Saavedra Fajardo described the Pachecos using exactly the same terms they employed to define the Duke of Lerma and the Count-Duke of Olivares.

¹⁵⁹ "En reconocimiento de las muchas mercedes que de su Alteza el maestre mi señor y yo recibimos, cuya hechura fuimos", in Franco Silva, *op. cit.* (note 25), p. 183.

¹⁶⁰ "En la mansión del perpetuo olvido [...] no lejos del Maestre Pacheco", in Palencia, *op. cit.* (note 39), vol. 3, p. 358.

¹⁶¹ Hernández Ruiz de Villa, R. (ed.), "El Libro del Monasterio de Santa María del Parral de Segovia", *Estudios segovianos*, 18 (1966), p. 287.

Fig. 5. Funerary monuments of Juan Pacheco and María Portocarrero in the main chapel of the Monastery of El Parral.



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