

The Masters of Calatrava and the Castilian Civil War
1350–1369

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During the third quarter of the fourteenth century the bitter civil war between King Pedro the Cruel (1350–1369) and his half-brother, Count Enrique of Trastámara, tore the kingdom of Castile asunder, dividing its leaders and people, allowing no one the privilege of neutrality. Prominent among the participants in the conflict were the masters of the military Order of Calatrava who, together with the masters of Santiago and Alcántara, ranked among the great men of the realm. As the war progressed, the king and his challenger endeavored to control magisterial elections and, through them, the immense resources that the Order of Calatrava possessed in the modern provinces of Ciudad Real, Jaén, Córdoba, Seville, and so forth. The consequence was schism within the Order, the diversion of its interest and wealth to domestic politics rather than the reconquest, and an increasing brutalization of life, typified by the execution of one master by Pedro and another by Enrique. Above all, the civil war pointed up the crown's growing awareness of the need to subject all the military Orders to effective royal control.¹⁾

Juan Núñez de Prado

At the time of Pedro the Cruel's accession to the throne in March 1350 at the youthful age of sixteen years, Juan Núñez de Prado was the master of Calatrava. The illegitimate son of a knight named Carpintero and Blanca, *señora* of Las Huelgas and daughter of King Afonso III of Portugal (1248–1279), he was legitimated in 1313, on his mother's request, by Pope Clement V, and entered the Order of Calatrava.²⁾ Soon he was named *clavero* and

1) On the Order of Calatrava in general see my "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux", *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*. XV (1959) 161–193; XVI (1960) 3–59, 266–292, now reprinted in my *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates* (London: Variorum Press, 1975); FRANCISCO RADES Y ANDRADA, *Crónica de las Tres Ordenes Militares y Cavallerías de Sanctiago, Calatrava y Alcántara* (Toledo, 1572). The archives of Calatrava contain only a few charters given by Pedro the Cruel at the beginning of his reign; those of Enrique II date from his accession as undisputed sovereign of Castile.

2) Clement V's bull of legitimation, dated 20 January 1313, is found in Madrid, *Archivo Histórico*

then led a rebellion against the master, García López de Padilla (1323) who fled to Aragon and was declared deposed in 1325. Juan Núñez de Prado was then elected as master, but he was not acknowledged by the knights of Calatrava in the kingdom of Aragon until 1348.³⁾

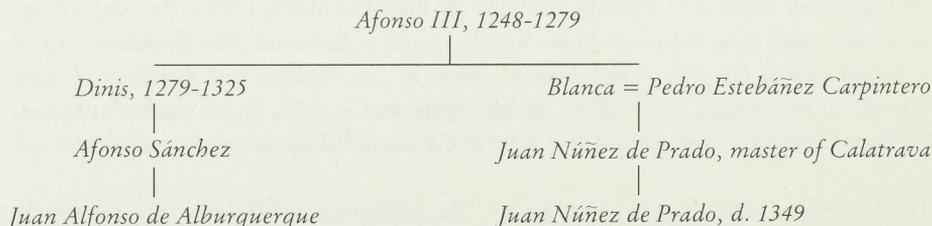
Juan Núñez de Prado was closely connected by blood ties to Juan Alfonso, lord of Alburquerque, the former tutor of Pedro the Cruel and now his *chancellor mayor*. A grandson of King Dinis of Portugal, Alburquerque was generally detested because of his Portuguese background, his great riches and his ambition.⁴⁾ Probably because of his relationship to Alburquerque, the master was appointed to the honorific post of *notario mayor*. He was also one of those assigned to guard the frontier against possible Moorish attack, but the king of Granada was quite prepared to accept a truce.⁵⁾

The dissension that was to be so characteristic of the reign erupted for the first time among the courtiers in the late summer of 1350 when Pedro fell ill and seemed on the verge of death. Immediately the courtiers began to consider possible successors; thus Alburquerque and Juan Núñez de Prado favored Alfonso XI's nephew, Fernando of Aragon, while others, including Alfonso Fernández Coronel and Garcilaso de la Vega, supported Juan Núñez de Lara, lord of Vizcaya. The king's recovery terminated the discussion, but the bitterness engendered between the two parties could not be assuaged.⁶⁾ The animosity

Nacional, Documentos Eclesiásticos de Calatrava, no. 80. Juan Núñez de Prado's family connections are indicated in the *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. 43 in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LXVI (Madrid, 1953), p. 200. RADES, Calatrava, fol. 52^v, states that his father was Pedro Estebáñez Carpintero, and that he had a son, Juan Núñez de Prado, who predeceased the master.

3) I have discussed this rebellion in "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux", loc. cit., 259–263.

4) Alburquerque was the son of Afonso Sánchez, a bastard of King Dinis, and of Teresa Martínez, a daughter of Juan Afonso de Meneses, lord of Alburquerque and royal *mordomo mor*. See ESTEBAN RODRÍGUEZ AMAYA, *Don Juan Alfonso de Alburquerque, Canciller de Don Pedro el Cruel* (Badajoz, 1949). The following chart will illustrate his relationship to Juan Núñez de Prado.



5) PEDRO LÓPEZ DE AYALA, *Crónica de Pedro I*, 1350, ch. 1–11, in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LXVI, pp. 401–408; LUIS DÍAZ MARTÍN, *Los Oficiales de Pedro I de Castilla* (Valladolid, 1975), 84–85.

6) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1350, ch. 13, p. 409. Fernando was the son of Alfonso IV of Aragon and Leonor, Alfonso XI's sister. Juan Núñez de Lara claimed affinity to the royal house through his descent from Fernando de la Cerda, a grandson of Alfonso X.

between Juan Núñez and Alfonso Fernández Coronel was of several years standing and soon would be revealed again.⁷⁾

Signs of discontent increased as the king summoned his first cortes to Valladolid in 1351. There, as was customary, he confirmed many privileges of the Order of Calatrava.⁸⁾ The execution of Leonor de Guzmán, the mistress of Alfonso XI and mother of his many illegitimate children, including Enrique of Trastámara and Fadrique, master of the Order of Santiago (1342-1358), coupled with mounting resentment of Alburquerque's influence, prompted many of the nobility to oppose the king openly. Count Enrique naturally displayed his hostility, while Alfonso Fernández Coronel prepared to defy royal authority from his castle of Aguilar near Córdoba.⁹⁾ King Pedro undertook personally to compel Enrique to submit, but entrusted the siege of Aguilar to the master of Calatrava. An extremely well-fortified place, Aguilar held out until the beginning of 1353 when Pedro, having overcome Count Enrique, was able to concentrate his full forces on this objective. The walls of Aguilar were breached by Pedro Estebáñez Carpintero, *comendador mayor* of Calatrava, and nephew of the master; the fortress surrendered on 30 January. Fernández Coronel was promptly executed, thus strengthening the influence of Alburquerque and his cohorts over the king.¹⁰⁾

In reality, rivals to both Alburquerque and Juan Núñez de Prado shortly appeared upon the scene. In the preceding year, the king lost his heart to a beautiful young girl, María de Padilla, whose relatives, especially her uncle, Juan Fernández de Fenestrosa, and her brother, Diego García de Padilla, set out to undermine Alburquerque's position.¹¹⁾

7) Juan Núñez de Prado and Alfonso Fernández Coronel quarreled over possession of Mondejar and Almoduera. Alfonso XI settled the issue on 15 December 1345. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Registro de Escrituras de la Orden de Calatrava, VII, fols. 39^r-39^v, and Documentos Reales de Calatrava, no. 218. The Registro will be abbreviated henceforth as RE.

8) The king confirmed the privileges of Calatrava on 20, 22 August, 15 September, 6, 10 December 1350; and again on 10, 13, 15, 25 October, 2, 4 November and 1 December 1351, during the cortes of Valladolid. RE, VII, fols. 116^r-125^r and Documentos Reales de Calatrava, nos. 224-230. JUAN CATALINA GARCÍA, *Castilla y León durante los Reinados de Pedro I, Enrique II, Juan I y Enrique III*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1891), I, pp. 435-475, published a list of 361 documents pertaining to the reign. More recently LUIS VICENTE DÍAZ MARTÍN has published the *Itinerario de Pedro I de Castilla. Estudio y Regesta* (Valladolid, 1975), a most exhaustive calendar of royal charters.

9) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1351, ch. 6, 12, 21, pp. 414-423.

10) *Ibid.*, 1352, ch. 1-7; 1353, ch. 1, pp. 425-428. Fernández Coronel confessed his responsibility for the death of Gonzalo Martínez de Oviedo, master of Alcántara, executed in 1339 as a traitor by Alfonso XI. See *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ch. 205, pp. 304-305. On 21 February 1353 Pedro wrote to Seville explaining his reasons for condemning Fernández Coronel and declared that with the help of the master of Calatrava and Alburquerque, he captured Aguilar on 30 January 1353. For the text see JOAQUÍN GUICHOT Y PARODI, *Don Pedro Primero de Castilla: Ensayo de Vindicación crítico-histórico de su Reinado* (Seville, 1878), Appendix I, pp. 259-263.

11) María and Diego García were children of Juan García de Padilla, lord of Villagera, and María González de Fenestrosa. Other children included Pedro García, who became *comendador* of

Little did Juan Núñez de Prado realize that his successor as master of Calatrava would be the brother of the king's mistress. Although King Pedro married Blanche of Bourbon in June 1353, he abandoned her two days later to return to the arms of his mistress, who was now pregnant. Recognizing that Alburquerque's ascendancy was finished, his enemies hastened to join the king.¹²⁾ In great distress, Alburquerque and the master of Calatrava decided to follow King Pedro in the hope of persuading him to return to his unhappy bride. As they journeyed on, Alburquerque changed his mind and in fear for his life fled to his estates in Portugal, while Juan Núñez de Prado retired to the lands of his mastership.¹³⁾

Alburquerque's fall from grace was signaled by the ouster of his friends and associates from their offices in the royal household and their replacement by the relatives of Maria de Padilla. Her uncle, Juan Fernández de Fenestrosa, the new *mayordomo mayor*, and her brother, Diego García de Padilla, the new *camarero mayor*, wielded the greatest influence at court.¹⁴⁾ In the circumstances Alburquerque did not dare to stir from his refuge in Portugal, while Juan Núñez de Prado, the master of Calatrava, concluded that he should seek safety in Aragon. He did homage to King Pedro IV (1336–1387) at Valencia on 11 October 1353 for his Order's holdings in that kingdom.¹⁵⁾ Other charters attest his presence there and his visitation of the Order of Montesa until 6 December.¹⁶⁾

Early in the following year on Pedro's invitation, the master, evidently trusting that his safety would not be compromised, returned to Castile and took up residence at Almagro, only a few miles from the fortress of Calatrava. King Pedro, however, sent troops under Juan de la Cerda, the *alguacil mayor*, to hold Almagro under surveillance until he could arrive. One of the master's relatives, Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, urged him to attack these forces and to escape once more to Aragon or at least to die an honorable death in battle. Juan Núñez insisted, however, that he would not resist the king's authority and would

Calatrava, and a bastard, Juan García de Villagera, who briefly held the *encomienda mayor* and the mastership of Santiago. LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1352, ch. 5–7, pp. 427–431.

12) *Ibid.*, 1353, ch. 3, 11–12, 21–22, pp. 429–436.

13) *Ibid.*, 1353, ch. 14–19, pp. 434–436.

14) *Ibid.*, 1353, ch. 28–29, p. 439; DÍAZ MARTÍN, *Los Oficiales de Pedro I*, 53, 81–82, 85, 108, 119–123, indicates that Diego García held the post of *camarero mayor* in 1353 and of *mayordomo mayor* in 1357, 1361 and 1363.

15) Archivo Histórico Nacional, *Documentos particulares de Calatrava*, no. 261; RE, VII, fol. 135^v–135^r.

16) The master received the homage of Alfonso Rodríguez, *comendador* of Calaceit (30 October 1353); on 28 November he received houses in Mazamagriel from Jaume Villahur; he concluded financial arrangements with Juan de Salas on 5 December and on the next day approved the cession to Juan Fernández, *comendador* of Alcañiz, of the *encomiendas* of Manaza and Silvela. *Documentos Particulares*, no. 262; RE, VII, fols. 136^r–141^v. On 3 November 1353, accompanied by Bernardino, abbot of Valldigna, he visited the Order of Montesa at its headquarters in the kingdom of Valencia and promulgated a series of *definiciones*. For the text see my "Las Definiciones Medievales de la Orden de Montesa (1326–1468)", *Miscelánea de Textos Medievales*, I (1972) 238–242, now reprinted in *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates*.

await his mercy. Thus when Pedro arrived at Almagro, probably in February 1354, the master surrendered to him. The king promptly ordered his deposition and proposed the election of Diego García de Padilla as master. The knights of Calatrava had no choice but to obey.¹⁷⁾

The deposed master was entrusted to the custody of his successor who sent him under guard to the Order's castle at Maqueda, some miles west of Toledo. A few days later, on the command of Diego García, he was murdered. López de Ayala ironically comments that the executioner, Diego López de Porres, had been sent many years before by Juan Núñez de Prado to depose the then master, García López de Padilla, from whom he had received the habit of the Order. "Así venían los juicios de Dios." Although King Pedro protested repeatedly that he was not responsible for the murder, by delivering Juan Núñez de Prado into the hands of Diego García he made it possible. One may also question whether the new master would have dared to execute his predecessor if the king had not given his approval.¹⁸⁾

Diego García de Padilla

Among the knights who protested the violence of these proceedings was Pedro Estebáñez Carpintero, *comendador mayor* of Calatrava and the hero of the siege of Aguilar. As a nephew of Juan Núñez de Prado and as the second highest ranking member of the Order,¹⁹⁾ he realized that his own life was threatened and fled to Alburquerque near the Portuguese frontier whose lord was the king's erstwhile counsellor. King Pedro, meanwhile, after disposing of the mastership, attempted to seize Juan Alfonso's possessions.

17) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1354, ch. 1, p. 440; DÍAZ MARTÍN, Itinerario de Pedro I, 317-318. Pedro de Godoy is recorded as *comendador* of Torroba on 1 April 1347: RE, VII, fol. 71^r. RADES, Calatrava, fol. 55^v, citing "memoriales antiguos", stated that the king ordered his men to arrest the master while they were eating at table. He also noted that the master had enemies among his knights, but some of them refused to consent to the deposition and fled to Martos and Osuna, rather than take part in the chapter deposing him. Those who deposed him did so for fear of the king. The new master was not obeyed by all, because of the defects in his election. Fray Alonso Estebáñez Carpintero, a nephew of Juan Núñez, in order to ingratiate himself with the king, delivered Calatrava to him and even accused his uncle of crimes, but the king responded by ordering his execution. In his last hours he confessed that his accusations were false. How much of this is drawn from a contemporary account now lost is impossible to ascertain. RADES, fol. 56^v also affirmed that Diego García was a relative of the earlier master García López de Padilla, but he did not explain this.

18) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1354, ch. 2, pp. 440-441; CATALINA GARCÍA, I, 69-70, declared that Pedro became an accomplice in the crime for not having punished the assassin.

19) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1354, ch. 4, p. 441, identified Carpintero as the nephew of the dead master. He appears as procurator of the master in 1344, as *comendador mayor* in 1345, 1346, 1347, and 1349. RE, VII, fols. 32-34, 46-47, 71-74; VIII, fol. 15. RADES, Calatrava, fol. 55^v, stated that he took refuge in Osuna with other dissidents who elected him as master. He then advanced against Calatrava but was unable to take it. After plundering the campo de Calatrava, he retreated to Osuna and then joined Alburquerque at Talavera.

When he demanded admittance to Albuquerque he was refused and pronounced sentence of death against the governor of the fortress and Carpintero. The latter, while admitting that he had taken refuge there out of fear of the king, protested his loyalty and argued that he had no responsibility for the governor's refusal to open the gates to the king. Unable and unprepared to take the place, Pedro departed soon after, probably in late March, giving Carpintero a respite from the sentence dictated against him.²⁰⁾

As the year progressed, Enrique of Trastámara and Fadrique, master of Santiago, who previously had cultivated the Padillas as a counterweight to Albuquerque, now demanded that the king put his mistress aside and restore the queen to her rightful place. Pedro was compelled to redistribute the offices in the royal household and to allow the imprisonment of Juan Fernández de Fenestrosa, but Diego García de Padilla continued in possession of the mastership of Calatrava.²¹⁾ Pedro Estebáñez Carpintero, however, apparently was elected by some of the adherents of Juan Núñez de Prado and now began to call himself master of Calatrava. He left the safety of Albuquerque to join the king's brothers Enrique and Fadrique who journeyed to Toledo in May 1355, ostensibly to secure the release of Blanche of Bourbon who was imprisoned there.²²⁾ King Pedro hastened to the city and gained entrance by the bridge of San Martín as the *infantes*, accompanied by Carpintero and others, left the city by the bridge of Alcántara (19 May). Among the defenders who fell victim to the royal wrath was Alfonso Gómez, *comendador* of Otos, one of the followers of Juan Núñez de Prado.²³⁾

As the rebel leaders withdrew to Toro, Diego García de Padilla, master of Calatrava, joined King Pedro in the siege of the city in September. Ironically, the principal defenders of Toro were Fadrique, master of Santiago, and Pedro Estebáñez Carpintero who claimed the mastership of Calatrava. Early in the new year the defenders capitulated and the king's men entered Toro on 25 January. The Queen Mother, Carpintero and others, however, attempted to continue the resistance from the *alcázar*. King Pedro offered them a pardon but when they chose to accept it, he declared that they had delayed too long. Then as the Queen Mother, Count Enrique's wife and Carpintero emerged from the door of the *alcázar*, a squire in the service of Diego García struck Carpintero on the head with a mace.

20) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1354, ch. 3-4, p. 441.

21) *Ibid.*, 1354, ch. 6-8, 20, 25-38, p. 441-459. To counter Fadrique, King Pedro caused the knights of Santiago to elect Juan García de Villagera, a half-brother of María de Padilla and Diego García, as their master. CATALINA GARCÍA, I, 96-100; DÍAZ MARTÍN, *Itinerario de Pedro I*, 325-326.

22) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1355, ch. 6-8, pp. 461-463. Pedro Álvarez is mentioned as one of the knights supporting Carpintero. CATALINA GARCÍA, I, 104-105, n. 2, cites the demands later made by King Pedro against Aragon, in which he complained of "Per Estevanyez que habia el rey dado por sentencia por traydor".

23) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1355, ch. 8-9, pp. 463-464. Alfonso Gómez was *comendador* of Guadalerzas in 1331; as *comendador* of Bolaños, he served as the Order's procurator in the royal court in 1344, 1346, 1347, 1348, and 1352. RE, VII, fols. 12-13, 46-47, 64-65, 71-74, 128-129; *Documentos Particulares de Calatrava*, no. 228.

Dying, he fell to the ground next to the Queen. As the ladies fainted, his followers, including Diego Múñiz de Godoy, “freyre de Calatrava”, were murdered.²⁴⁾ Following the slaughter, Pedro allowed his mother to return to Portugal, while Count Enrique sought refuge in France. At last the king was sole master in his own kingdom.²⁵⁾

The outbreak of war with Aragon in the summer of 1356 enabled Pedro’s enemies to establish a new base from which to resume hostilities. Pedro IV welcomed Count Enrique and other discontented Castilian nobles. Among them was Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, *comendador* of Caracuel, a relative of both Juan Núñez de Prado and Pedro Estebáñez Carpintero. According to López de Ayala, Pedro IV named him to the *encomienda* of Alcañiz, the Order’s chief seat in Aragon, and rejected the protest of the king of Castile who insisted that only the master of Calatrava had the right to name the *comendador* of Alcañiz.²⁶⁾ Documentary evidence indicates, however, that he did not immediately obtain this position.

An exchange of letters between the two sovereigns seems to indicate that the schism in the Order of Calatrava, healed in 1348, had been reopened on the death of Juan Núñez de Prado in 1354. On the grounds that Diego García de Padilla had not been properly elected, the knights in Aragon had repudiated his authority and had elected Juan Fernández, a former *comendador* of Alcañiz, who had claimed the mastership in opposition to Juan Núñez from about 1346 to 1348. Following the agreement of 1348 he had contented himself with the *encomienda* of Alcañiz but probably reassumed the title of master after the murder of Juan Núñez. Noting that this was an ecclesiastical affair, as well as an internal affair of the kingdom of Aragon, Pedro IV reminded Pedro of Castile that he had no authority to interfere (4 September 1356).²⁷⁾ The king of Aragon also had written on 13 March of the same year to Pedro Núñez, *comendador* of Las Fresnedas, Rodrigo Yáñez,

24) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1355, ch. 10–14; 1356, ch. 1–2, pp. 464–466, 470–471. The squire, Juan Sánchez de Oteo, killed Carpintero. Diego Múñiz de Godoy, according to RADES, Calatrava, 58^r, was a son of Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, and thus related to Juan Núñez de Prado and Pedro Estebáñez Carpintero. RADES fol. 56^r, also affirmed that Diego Martínez, *comendador mayor*, Diego Pérez de Godoy (I wonder whether he means Diego Múñiz), Alfonso Gómez de Foces, Juan Fernández Dumaquia, Fernán Díaz Tafur, Diego Alonso de Córdoba and Alonso de Osonilla, all knights of Calatrava, were killed at this time. Of all these, I have only found Diego Múñiz recorded in a document of 6 December 1353. RE, VII, fol. 66. Alfonso Gómez de Foces might be identical with the Alfonso Gómez mentioned in the previous note.

25) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1356, ch. 3–5, pp. 471–472.

26) *Ibid.*, 1356, ch. 9–10, pp. 474–475.

27) Pedro the Cruel’s letter is dated 8 August 1356. Both are printed in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LXVI, pp. 607–609, and in the Chronique Catalane de Pierre IV, ed. Amédée Pagès (Toulouse–Paris, 1941), 326–333. On the schism between the knights in Aragon and Castile, see my “The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Citeaux”, *loc. cit.*, 262–263. Juan Fernández is recorded in the following documents: *obrero* and *sois comendador* of Alcañiz, 6 March 1343, 13 April 1345; *obrero* and *comendador* of Alcañiz, 11 December 1345; master of Calatrava, 12 May 1348; *comendador* of Alcañiz, 25 August 1348, 2 October 1348, 7 December 1351, 6 December

comendador of Alcañiz, Pedro González, *comendador* of Maella, and others, reminding them that since Juan Fernández had been elected master "secundum Deum et ordinem", they should not put any obstacle in the way of the election. He indicated that he had already written to them on the matter and threatened them with punishment for disobedience.²⁸⁾ More than likely these knights were opposed to the resumption of the schism by the election of Juan Fernández. The latter, in the meantime, had sent Fray Sancho Fernández to obtain confirmation of the election, in accordance with the constitutions of the Order, from Abbot Thomas of Morimond. Pedro IV also wrote to the abbot for the same purpose on 3 October, pointing out that Juan Núñez de Prado had failed to fulfill several articles of the compromise made with Juan Fernández in 1348. The king, deeming that the compromise was no longer in force and that the election of Juan Fernández was legitimately and properly carried out, asked Abbot Thomas to confirm it.²⁹⁾

Juan Fernández' career as master, I suspect, was cut short by death within a few months, for on 17 January 1357 Pedro IV wrote to the *comendador* of Alcañiz and other knights assembled there for the purpose of electing a master. They had sent Fray Pedro Ariás and Fray Suero Díaz to inform him of their intentions, but he ordered them not to proceed to an election until the two knights returned bearing his written instructions as to what was to be done in the matter.³⁰⁾ In effect, I believe that Juan Fernández had died in the interval between 3 October and 17 January and that the king now nominated Pedro Múñiz de Godoy as the new master. A relative of Juan Núñez de Prado, he had taken refuge in the kingdom of Aragon sometime after the former's execution and was named *comendador* of Alcañiz by Pedro IV, probably after Juan Fernández was elected as master in 1356.³¹⁾ Although Pedro Múñiz de Godoy is recorded as master of Calatrava in a charter of 7 April 1360, given at Alcañiz, his tenure probably began in 1357.³²⁾

1353. RE, VII, fols. 6-7, 35, 58, 66-68, 69, 126-127, 140-141; VIII, fol. 16; Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Calatrava (Madrid, 1761), 756. This will be abbreviated BC.

28) JOANNES VINCKE, *Documenta Selecta Mutuas Civitatis Arago-Cathalaunicae et Ecclesiae Relationes Illustrantia* (Barcelona, 1936), no. 551, pp. 415-416. Pedro Núñez appears as *comendador* of Las Fresnedas in 1348, 1349, 1353, Pedro González as *comendador* of Maella, 1348, 1353, and Rodrigo Yáñez as *comendador* of Almoquera in 1348. RE, VII, fol. 58, 64-66, 69, 75; *Documentos Particulares de Calatrava*, no. 259.

29) VINCKE, no. 558, pp. 420-421. The pact between Juan Núñez de Prado and Juan Fernández and the other knights in Aragon, worked out in 1348, is published in BC, 756-760.

30) VINCKE, no. 564, p. 429. Fray Pedro Ariás is listed as *comendador* of Calanda in 1343 and 1353, and of Molinos in 1348; Suero Díaz appears as a *frater* of Alcañiz in 1348. RE, VII, fol. 6, 58, 66, 69, 75.

31) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1356, ch. 9-10, pp. 474-475, who describes Múñiz de Godoy as *comendador* of Caracuel; he is recorded as *comendador* of Torrova on 1 April 1347. RE, VII, fol. 71-74. RADES, Calatrava, fol. 60^v, said that he was the son of Nuño or Muño Fernández and Elvira Díaz Tafur, lords of the castle of Montoro.

32) RE, VII, fol. 155.

The dispute within the Order of Calatrava simply reflected the larger conflict between Castile and Aragon. In the ensuing months as Pedro the Cruel assaulted the Aragonese frontier, Diego García de Padilla, the Castilian master of Calatrava, served by his side, while Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, the Aragonese master, sided with their opponents.³³⁾ Diego García, however, seems to have had reason to worry increasingly about the security of his position. When some overzealous royal officers arrested his uncle, Juan Fernández de Fenestrosa at Seville in May 1358, the master apparently concluded that the end had come for him as well and tried to flee from a royal hunting party. He was captured and imprisoned at Utrera near Seville but was liberated along with his uncle, on the king's orders, two days later. Even so, the master's future seemed highly uncertain, as another incident revealed. Pedro the Cruel decided to execute his half-brother Fadrique, master of Santiago, on the grounds of treason and summoned him to the palace at Seville on 29 May. Diego García, who was entirely unaware of the king's intention, accompanied Fadrique. As they entered, the king commanded one of his officers: "Arrest the master." Perplexed, the officer inquired: "Which master shall I arrest?" "The master of Santiago" was the reply. Fadrique was taken and summarily executed. The incident illustrates the atmosphere of suspicion that so pervaded the court that not even the loyalty of Maria de Padilla's brother could be taken for granted.³⁴⁾

Whatever doubts he may have had about the master, Pedro the Cruel set them aside when he renewed his campaign against Aragon in 1359. Diego García again served on the frontier and during the summer took part in the naval expedition against the Aragonese coast. While taking his leisure on the shore near Alicante, he nearly lost his life when Aragonese troops came upon him by surprise; though he escaped to his ship, some of his men, including Juan Sánchez de Oteo, the squire who had murdered Pedro Estebáñez Carpintero, were killed.³⁵⁾ The death of his uncle, Fenestrosa, on 22 September 1359, probably caused the master to ponder again his relations with the king. The hazards of royal service were brought forcefully to his attention when the king's men murdered a noble with whom the master was dining. Even so the king still found Diego García useful though he evidently did not entrust him with his confidences. After Fenestrosa's death, Martín López de Córdoba, rather than Diego García, became the king's principal counsellor. At this time no one knew that Martín López would eventually succeed Diego García as master of Calatrava.³⁶⁾

Meanwhile, Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, the Aragonese master of Calatrava, probably accompanied Count Enrique on his invasion of Castile in the spring of 1360 and

33) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1357, ch. 3-6, pp. 477-479.

34) *Ibid.*, 1358, ch. 1-3, pp. 480-482.

35) *Ibid.*, 1359, ch. 2, 10-17, pp. 487, 494-498. Three other squires were killed: Alfonso Fernández de Castrillo, Alfonso García de Mata, and Fernando Carbón. Whether any of them were knights of Calatrava is unknown.

36) *Ibid.*, 1359, ch. 22; 1360, ch. 5, pp. 499-500, 502.

participated in the battle of Nájera at the end of April. Diego García assisted Pedro the Cruel in the rout of the Trastámaran forces and was then assigned to guard the Aragonese frontier.³⁷⁾

After the conclusion of peace between Aragon and Castile in May 1361, Diego García participated in Pedro the Cruel's hostilities against the kingdom of Granada. He distinguished himself by defeating a band of Muslims at Linuesa on the Guadiana menor, northeast of Granada on 21 December 1361. Early in the following year (15 January) as he led a force of 1000 horse and 2000 foot to attack Guadix, the Moors sallied forth to give battle on the bridge over the river. The Castilian vanguard drove them back, but the master, holding most of his tropps in reserve, failed to support his men on the bridge who were easily cut down. The Moors then attacked the main body of the Castilian army and gained a complete victory. Diego García was captured and sent to Granada.³⁸⁾

Realizing that the master was a brother of Maria de Padilla and thus uncle to the king's children, Muhammad VI decided to liberate him, hoping by this gesture to induce Pedro the Cruel to agree to a generous peace settlement. But, annoyed by the master's faulty generalship at Guadix, Pedro was not overly impressed by this offer. A few months later (April) he seized and executed the king of Granada.³⁹⁾ López de Ayala notes that Diego García's influence with the king had waned since the death of Maria de Padilla in July 1361; even so he still found the master useful. Thus when the king announced to the cortes of Seville in the spring of 1362 that he had married Maria ten years before, he called upon Diego García to testify that he had been present at the ceremony. The cortes accepted his evidence and legitimated the king's children.⁴⁰⁾ Perhaps as a reward for this service, when Pedro made his will on 18 November, he exhorted his heirs to guard and preserve the mastership of Calatrava for Diego García, together with his other estates and honors.⁴¹⁾ With the resumption of the war with Aragon and Count Enrique, the master again served on the frontier and he was present when Pedro concluded an alliance with England at Calatayud on 28 September 1364.⁴²⁾ His career after that is a matter of some debate.

The prior, sacristan, *comendadores*, knights and brethren of Calatrava on 30 August 1365 informed Abbot Thomas of Morimond that Diego García, master of the Order, had died. Rather than prolong the vacancy which could be dangerous to the Order and its

37) *Ibid.*, 1360, ch. 7–12, pp. 504–505.

38) *Ibid.*, 1361, ch. 7–8; 1362, ch. 1, pp. 514–515.

39) *Ibid.*, 1362, ch. 1, 5–6, pp. 515, 518–519. On 20 January 1362 Diego García appeared at Villarreal to confirm a charter of 1194. RE, I, fol. 131. As far as I have been able to ascertain this is his only appearance in the existing documents of Calatrava.

40) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1361, ch. 6; 1362, ch. 2, 7, pp. 513, 516, 519–520.

41) The text is given in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LXVI, 596.

42) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1362, ch. 13; 1363, ch. 1, pp. 524–525. During the war Diego García was stationed at Molina on the Aragonese frontier. For the treaty see THOMAS RYMER, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, 20 vols. (London, 1704–1735), III: II, 91.

vassals they had assembled in chapter in the convent of Calatrava, according to custom and on 15 August, by majority vote, they elected Pedro de Múñiz de Godoy as the new master. Some of those present protested that the king ought to be notified before the election. When he did learn what had happened, he demanded that the election be nullified and that Martín López de Córdoba, master of the Order of Alcántara, "who was present at the said election in conformity with the statutes of the incorporation and filiation of his Order", should be elected instead. The knights refused, whereupon the king summoned some of them to him and insisted, amid many threats, that they carry out his will. They returned to Calatrava and informed their brethren who then elected Martín López who, in turn, accepted the election. King Pedro, "in view of the violence and force used against us, the chapter", appealed to the pope to confirm the election, but the chapter protested that the approbation of the election properly pertained to the abbot of Morimond. Thus they called upon the abbot to do justice, but what action he took, if any, is unknown.⁴³⁾

43) Documentos particulares de Calatrava, no. 264. This is a notary's copy made on 30 August 1365; there is no reason to question the date as the era 1403 (or A. D. 1365) is mentioned three times. Present were the prior Juan, the sacristan Alfonso, the *subclavero* Pedro, the *obrero* of Calatrava, and the unnamed *comendadores* of Castilseras, Córdoba, El Viso, Villarrubia, Ferrera, La Fuente del Emperador, Castellanos, Daimiel, Piedrabuena, Puertollano, Pozuelo, Torroba, Argamasilla, Ballesteros, Manzanares, and the convent of Calatrava. One other *encomienda* is illegible. All of the *encomiendas* were in the *campo de Calatrava*. A partial version of this text was printed by ALONSO TORRES Y TAPIA, *Crónica de la Orden de Alcántara*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1763), II, 103-104, who affirmed that he had found it in the archives of the *sacro convento* of Calatrava. This is reprinted in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, LXVI, 612-613, with comments indicating the discrepancies between the text and the chronicle. LUIS VICENTE DÍAZ MARTÍN, "La Elección de Martín López de Córdoba como Maestre de Calatrava", *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel, OSB*, 2 vols. (Abadía de Silos, 1976), I, 424-426, has reedited the text in full; where he reads "el comendador de Almansa", I think the text is too illegible to make out; nor do I know that the Order ever had an *encomienda* at Almansa. Where his text reads "el comendador de Aragon", one should read "Argamasilla". There are no documents within ten to fifteen years of this date that would enable one to corroborate the existence of the prior Juan, the sacristan Alfonso and the *subclavero* Pedro. Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, whom the knights wanted to elect as master, appeared as master of Calatrava at Valencia on 22 June 1364 and testified in the process against Pedro IV's counsellor, Bernat de Cabrera, who was executed a month later. See *Colección de Documentos Inéditos de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. P. Bofarull et al., 41 vols. (Barcelona, 1847-1910), XXII, 61; XXXIV, 215. DÍAZ MARTÍN questions the authenticity of the document dated 30 August 1365, suggesting that it was a falsification of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries. He notes that the orthography and the language in general does not seem consonant with fourteenth century notarial practice, but he is hard pressed to determine what motives there might have been for such a falsification. He thinks it may have been due to the seventeenth century quarrel between the French and Spanish concerning the rights of the abbot of Morimond as father abbot. If this be so, the document would have to have been drawn up by a partisan of the abbot, presumably a Frenchman. Frankly, I do not find his arguments convincing. In particular, his effort to utilize the data presented by RADES Y ANDRADA concerning the dates for the accession of the masters and the length of their tenure I find unsatisfactory. RADES says nothing of this document; in my mind his chronology is confused and uncertain and thus no guide to the resolution of the problem raised

Given this testimony, it would seem that Diego García died sometime between 28 September 1364 when he is last recorded in the documentation, and 15 August 1365 when the election described above took place. The difficulty with this, however, is that the historian Pedro López de Ayala continued to record Diego García's participation in events during the next four years. For example, after Count Enrique invaded Castile again in 1366 and was proclaimed king at Calahorra, Diego García de Padilla, master of Calatrava, was stationed at Agreda near the frontier, while Martín López de Córdoba, master of Alcántara, was with King Pedro at Burgos. As Pedro moved toward Toledo, Enrique entered Burgos where he was crowned in April. At this point Diego García, master of Calatrava, decided to abandon Pedro and joined Enrique as he was advancing to Toledo.⁴⁴⁾ Sometime later because of Diego García's treason, King Pedro caused the election of Martín López de Córdoba as master of Calatrava.⁴⁵⁾ Yet Diego García seems to have returned to Pedro's service, perhaps because Enrique was unwilling to abandon Pedro Múñiz de Godoy who had served him faithfully for so many years, and to recognize Diego as the sole master of Calatrava. López de Ayala stated that King Pedro, before leaving Sevilla early in 1369 for his final confrontation with Enrique, ordered the arrest and imprisonment in Alcalá de Guadaíra of Diego García, "who had been master of Calatrava", because he was treating with the enemy.⁴⁶⁾ Nothing more is recorded of Diego García who may well have been executed at this time.

here. I continue to regard the document as authentic, but I should point out that in preferring the testimony of López de Ayala to that of the document, I have changed the views I expressed nearly twenty years ago in "The Affiliation of the Order of Calatrava with the Order of Cîteaux", *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, XVI (1960) 263-264.

44) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1366, ch. 4, 8, pp. 539-541. Pedro was in Burgos on 10 March and in Toledo on 6 April. DÍAZ MARTÍN, *Itinerario de Pedro I*, 423.

45) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1367, ch. 24, p. 572.

46) *Ibid.*, 1369, ch. 2, pp. 585-586. ENRIQUE DE LLAGUNO Y AMIROLA, in his notes to the chronicle, p. 585, reported that the MSS indicate that Diego García who had been master of Calatrava was lord of Valdecorneja in 1369, but this is not found in the printed editions. LOPEZ DE AYALA, 1366, ch. 8, p. 542, stated that Count Enrique gave Valdecorneja to García Álvarez de Toledo, for giving up the mastership of Santiago to Gonzalo Mejía. RADES, Calatrava, fol. 58^r stated that Diego García went over to Enrique as he entered Toledo, as he was irritated because of the execution of the king of Granada. Enrique promised not to dispossess him and ordered Pedro Múñiz de Godoy to renounce the mastership and to be content with the *encomienda mayor* of Alcañiz. Pedro the Cruel wrote to Diego García, "como se pareció por las palabras que le escribió", expressing astonishment that he, as the uncle of the king's children, would go over to the enemy. Declaring that he had greater confidence in him than in all the magnates of the realm, he urged him to return to his service; even if he were deprived of the mastership he would give him Andújar, Talavera and Villarreal. Diego García was very confused as a result and remained neutral while the battle of Nájera was fought. Then "más por temor que por amor", he joined Pedro in Andalusia where he was arrested and imprisoned at Alcalá. There he died and was buried and later removed to Calatrava. After his death Pedro López de Mendoza, the *comendador mayor* claimed the mastership, with the approval of Pedro the Cruel, but he died within a few days and never took possession. It is very difficult to determine the accuracy of

The difficulty of reconciling the chapter's affirmation of 30 August 1365 that Diego García had died and that Martín López had been elected, with these citations from Pedro López de Ayala is obvious. The dating of the chapter's statement is accurate and there is no good reason for denying López de Ayala's veracity, especially as he refers to Diego García three times after 1365, twice calling him master of Calatrava and the third time, the former master. At the same time he notes that Martín López was master of Alcántara and only became master of Calatrava after Diego García went over to Enrique's side. The discrepancy seems insoluble but I think that López de Ayala's references are correct and that the chapter's statement that Diego García died is in error. The knights probably were quite willing to believe the rumor of his death in order to assert their right to elect freely whomever they wished, without the king's interference, and so they proceeded hastily to elect the Aragonese master Pedro Múñiz de Godoy. Obviously Pedro the Cruel could not allow that and ordered the knights to elect Martín López instead. This assumes that both the king and López, for the time being, also believed that Diego García was dead. Once it became known that he was not, I believe that he was reinstated as master of Calatrava and that López returned to his position as master of Alcántara. All of this must have taken place within little more than two weeks. Diego García continued as master of Calatrava but sometime between April and May 1366 he joined the forces of Count Enrique. Pedro the Cruel replaced him with Martín López de Córdoba, but the latter does not appear as master of Calatrava until April 1367.

Martín López de Córdoba

This new master of Calatrava was a grandnephew of Infante Juan Manuel and so was related to the royal family.⁴⁷⁾ Early in his career he considered it politic to ally himself to the Padillas by marrying his daughter, Leonor López, to Rui Gutiérrez, son of Juan

RADES' account. His chronology is vague to say the least, and there seems to be conflict between this account and his statement on fol. 59^r that Martín López was elected in 1365. I doubt that Enrique of Trastámara was prepared to recognize him as master of Calatrava and to force Múñiz de Godoy to give up that office; the advantages would not seem to have been that important. Quite likely Pedro the Cruel did write a letter to Diego García, such as RADES appears to have excerpted; apparently the letter was written before the battle of Nájera. Pedro López de Mendoza does not figure among the extant documents of Calatrava, but a Pedro López does appear as *comendador* of Aldehuela and of the houses in Madrid in 1347. RE, VII, fol. 71-74.

47) LEONOR LÓPEZ DE CÓRDOBA, in her "Relación que deja escrita para sus descendientes", Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España, ed. Martín Fernández de Navarrete et al., 112 vols. (Madrid 1842-1895), LXXXI, 35-36, related that her father, Martín López, belonged to the Aguilar family and that he was the son of Infante Juan Manuel's niece. He married Sancha Carrillo, a niece of Alfonso XI. A. L. MOLINA MOLINA gave a paper entitled "Don Fray Martín López, Maestre de las Ordenes de Calatrava y Alcántara y Adelantado Mayor de Murcia", at the Congreso Internacional Hispano-Portugues sobre las Ordenes Militares en la Península durante la Edad Media, in 1971, but I do not know whether it has been published.

Fernández de Fenestrosa. After the latter's death in 1359, Martín López succeeded to the post of *camarero mayor* and quickly became one of the king's most trusted agents.⁴⁸⁾ On the king's orders he effected the arrest and execution of Gutierre Fernández de Toledo, the *repostero mayor* (7 September 1360), succeeding to that office.⁴⁹⁾ Two years later he arranged the arrest and execution of the king of Granada.⁵⁰⁾ His standing is also evidenced by the fact that King Pedro named him one of the executors of his will on 18 November 1362, urging the royal heirs to guard Martín López in his offices as *repostero mayor* and *camarero mayor*. The will was also entrusted to his care and he was instructed to give it to the king's son when he came of age.⁵¹⁾

Martín López's fortunes continued to rise as the king appointed him master of Alcántara early in 1365. In January of that year, the master Gutierre Gómez de Toledo, attempting to relieve Murviedro, was defeated and killed at Las Alcublas in an encounter with the count of Denia and Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, the Aragonese master of Calatrava. Pedro the Cruel filled the vacancy by ordering the knights of Alcántara to elect Martín López as master.⁵²⁾ On 21 April he appointed López as *adelantado mayor* of Murcia, a post also filled by the previous master of Alcántara.⁵³⁾ Fray Martín López de Córdoba, master of Alcántara, on 8 May, notified Murcia that he was appointing a lieutenant to act for him

48) Martín López carried Pedro the Cruel's letter to Pedro IV in September 1356. In the confrontation between Pedro and Infante Juan at Bilbao in June 1358, López, *camarero mayor*, tried to restrain the latter, who was murdered at that time. In 1359 López took part in the naval expedition against Aragon. Chronique Catalane de Pierre IV, 331; LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1358, ch. 6; 1359, ch. 11, pp. 484, 494; DÍAZ MARTÍN, *Los Oficiales de Pedro I*, 31–32, 55, 82, 99, 102, 108, records him as *camarero mayor* in 1361, *repostero mayor* in 1362, and *mayordomo mayor* in 1364.

49) The king sent López to Alfaro, ostensibly to instruct the *repostero mayor* concerning negotiations with Aragon. After being forced to sign a document ordering the *alcaide* of Molina to deliver the town to López, the *repostero* was arrested and beheaded (September 1360). From Alfaro López went to Soria, where on the king's orders, he arrested the wife and children of Gómez Carrillo, whom the king had executed; then he joined the king at Almazán. In the next year he was sent to investigate whether Queen Blanche of Bourbon, who was imprisoned at Medina Sidonia, had sent a certain man to the king to plead for her release. LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1360, ch. 15, 18–19; 1361, ch. 3, pp. 506–508, 512. 50) *Ibid.*, 1362, ch. 5–6, pp. 518–519.

51) For the text of the will, see Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LXVI, 593–598.

52) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1364, ch. 6–8, pp. 533–534; prior to his appointment as master, López was sent to Orihuela, but Pedro IV had strengthened its defenses so that the Castilians did not attempt to take it at this time. LEONOR LÓPEZ, *loc. cit.*, 35, said that Pedro the Cruel gave her father the *encomienda* of Alcántara at Seville and then made him master of the Order. RADES, Alcántara, fol. 29^v, stated that he was elected master in 1364.

53) A couple of months previously, on 7 February, the king issued a letter of credence to Martín López, his *camarero mayor*, *repostero mayor*, and *mayordomo mayor* of Infante Sancho, but as he was not yet described as master of Alcántara, his election must have taken place sometime between 7 February and 21 April. DÍAZ MARTÍN, *Itinerario de Pedro I*, nos. 903, 908, pp. 416–417.

as *adelantado*.⁵⁴⁾ Later, in August, the election reported by the chapter of Calatrava took place, but I do not believe that it became effective. A few months later, probably in November, King Pedro sent Martín López to England to persuade Edward III not to allow English knights to serve Enrique of Trastámara.⁵⁵⁾

When Count Enrique invaded Castile early in 1366 Martín López remained steadfast in his loyalty to the king, while Diego García, as we have seen, defected. As Pedro retreated from Burgos to Seville and then to Galicia, Martín López, master of Alcántara, accompanied him. Pedro rejected his advice to make a stand in Galicia and sailed instead to Bayonne, with López still at his side, to negotiate an alliance with the Black Prince. The treaty of Libourne was concluded on 23 September 1366. Among the Castilian pledges given in return for English assistance were Pedro's daughters and López's wife.⁵⁶⁾

In the meantime Enrique again invaded Castile, advancing to Burgos where he was proclaimed as king and where he convened the cortes of the realm. Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, "master of the Order of Chivalry of Calatrava", was in his company.⁵⁷⁾ The Trastámaran army then moved out to meet the allied forces of King Pedro and the Black Prince at Nájera. Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, whom Chandos Herald described as "a good and hardy knight, the master of Calatrava", declared "that he would strike so hard that day that he would pierce the enemy's line". He and his knights formed part of the Trastámaran right wing on the fateful day of 13 April 1367, but the victory at Nájera went to Pedro and the Black Prince. Among the many prisoners taken was Múñiz de Godoy, who was captured while hiding in a cellar. Though Pedro wanted to kill all the Castilians taken captive, the Black Prince prevented him and most of them, by paying ransom, were able to regain their liberty. Thus Pedro Múñiz de Godoy survived to fight another day.⁵⁸⁾

54) ROGELIO PÉREZ BUSTAMANTE, *El Gobierno y la Administración de los Reinos de la Corona de Castilla (1230-1474)*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1976), II, nos. 338-339, pp. 139-140, for the text of the king's letter of 21 April and a notice of López's letter of 8 May.

55) RADES, Alcántara, fol. 29^v, gives the text of Pedro's instructions to Martín López, his envoy to England. See P. E. RUSSELL, *English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), 38-39.

56) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1366, ch. 4-13, 23-24, pp. 538-543, 548-549. For the treaty of Libourne see RYMER, III:II, 115-123. "Dominus Frater Martinus Lupi, Magister Militiae Domus de Alcantara Ordinis Cisterciensis", appears as a witness and as Pedro's procurator.

57) *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1861-1903), II, 144; the *cuaderno* mentioning the master is dated 7 February 1367. RADES, Alcántara, fol. 30^r, said that Enrique II gave the masterships of Calatrava and Alcántara to Pedro Múñiz de Godoy who appeared at the cortes of Burgos as such. The knights of Alcántara protested to the pope who ordered that Melén Suárez, the *clavero*, be entrusted with the administration of the Order until a new master could be canonically elected. In the *cuaderno* cited above, Múñiz de Godoy is described only as master of Calatrava, and López de Ayala only refers to him by that title.

58) CHANDOS HERALD, *Le Prince Noir, Poème du Héraut d'Armes Chandos. The Life and Feats of Edward the Black Prince*, ed. and tr. by Francisque Michel (London and Paris, 1883), 210, 333-234; *Chronique Catalane de Pierre IV*, 396; LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1367, ch. 3-4, 12, pp. 551-552, 556-557.

López de Ayala did not mention the participation of either Martín López or Diego García in the battle of Nájera, though it would seem certain that the former was there. A few days after the battle when the victors had returned in triumph to Burgos, King Pedro informed the city of Murcia that Martín López, master of Calatrava, *camarero mayor*, *repostero mayor* and *mayordomo mayor* of Infante Sancho, would continue to serve as *adelantado mayor* of Murcia (18 April 1367). On the same day, Fray Martín López, "by the grace of God and by the favor of the king, master of the chivalry of the Order of Calatrava", notified the city of Murcia that the king had confirmed him in his post as *adelantado mayor* and that he was now appointing a lieutenant.⁵⁹⁾

These are the first documents in which Martín López is described as master of Calatrava. Perhaps after the defection of Diego García in April–May 1366, Pedro the Cruel made no attempt to replace him as master of Calatrava. The necessity of seeking English assistance in Gascony probably absorbed the king's full attention in the ensuing months. In all the documents relating to the English alliance Martín López is consistently called master of Alcántara. His formal appointment to the mastership of Calatrava may well have been made immediately after the victory of Nájera and the capture of Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, as a reward for faithful service. Moreover, if Diego García had gone over to the enemy, as López de Ayala says, they obviously had not acknowledged him as master of Calatrava, instead of Múñiz de Godoy. Thus, the rejection of Diego García by all parties and the capture of Múñiz de Godoy allowed King Pedro to confer the mastership of Calatrava upon Martín López de Córdoba. What sort of election the knights of Calatrava now carried out is uncertain, but such formalities at this time probably did not concern Pedro the Cruel very much. López de Ayala states that the king also named Pedro Girón, a knight of Calatrava, to be the new master of Alcántara.⁶⁰⁾ This appointment probably was made soon after Nájera, as there was no precedent for allowing Martín López to hold both masterships. To allow him to do so would have constituted a danger for Pedro the Cruel.

López de Ayala suggests, in fact, that Martín López had already begun to reassess his

Before the battle Múñiz de Godoy and others were sent into Álava to curb English forces seeking supplies. By his treaties with the Black Prince, Pedro the Cruel relinquished rights to deal with any enemies except his half-brother Sancho. RADES, Calatrava, fol. 61^r, said that Múñiz de Godoy sold Belmonte, a fortress in Aragon belonging to the Order, to raise the money for his ransom.

59) DÍAZ MARTÍN, *Itinerario de Pedro I*, no. 951, p. 432. The text of López's letter is given in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LXVI, 572, note 1. As master of Alcántara, López was present at Bayonne on 20 February 1367 when Pedro the Cruel received certain sums from the Black Prince. RYMER, III:II, 131. On 29 April 1367 at Burgos Pedro granted certain properties to Lope López de Haro, son of Martín López, master of Alcántara. DÍAZ MARTÍN, *Itinerario*, no. 958, p. 434. This last reference to Martín López as master of Alcántara is probably due to scribal habit. I doubt that he retained the mastership once he was appointed to Calatrava. RADES, Alcántara, fol. 30^r, said that he was appointed to Calatrava a few days after Nájera; but in Calatrava, fol. 59^r, he stated that he was elected in 1365.

60) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1367, ch. 26, pp. 572–573.

position as the king's loyal servitor before the battle of Nájera. As King Pedro made his way from Burgos to Seville, after the battle, he appointed López as *capitán mayor* of Córdoba. There, the master tried to sow dissension among the citizens by informing them that Pedro and the Black Prince were at odds with one another. Prince Edward, distressed by Pedro's behavior and concerned lest the kingdom of Castile be lost, proposed that the king marry a noblewoman by whom he might have legitimate children. The Prince himself should be named regent and governor of Castile and León, while Martín López should govern Andalusia and Murcia in the Prince's name. Though López de Ayala was uncertain of the veracity of this story, he affirmed that the Córdobaans subsequently related it to Enrique II. Catalina García doubted it, citing the proofs of the king's favor to Martín López earlier in the year, but Russell believed that it could not be dismissed as mere Trastámaran propaganda; rather he thought that it reflected an attempt by the Black Prince, with López's support, to carve out a kingdom for himself.⁶¹ Quite possibly Prince Edward had such ambitions and Martín López may have reported them to the Córdobaans. Given the atmosphere of treachery that surrounded Pedro the Cruel, the master may well have been tempted by the prospects held out to him by the Black Prince.

Pedro the Cruel seems to have entertained his own suspicions of the master, if another story of López de Ayala is true. He tells us that Martín López failed to carry out the king's orders to execute three Córdobaan nobles, perhaps because he wished to curry favor with the citizens and to repair his own future, now that Pedro's cause seemed so badly damaged. When the king realized that López had disobeyed him, he decided to be done with him. Summoning Pedro Girón, a knight of Calatrava, whom he had made master of Alcántara, he urged him to assassinate Martín López, promising as a reward, the mastership of Calatrava. Girón found his opportunity when López accompanied him to Martos, an *encomienda* belonging to the Order of Calatrava near Jaén. López, trusting Girón, who held the castle for him, entered with only a few knights and was easily captured together with Juan Fernández de Lago, a knight of Calatrava. The latter, who had served as *comendador* of Xilvela in Aragon, apparently was a partisan of Count Enrique. His presence on this occasion suggests that perhaps Martín López was intriguing with Enrique against the king, but this remains speculation. Girón intended to send his prisoners to the king and did not execute them. Before he could do so, Muhammad V of Granada, who liked the master of Calatrava, intervened, demanding that King Pedro release him. Annoyed though he was, Pedro could ill afford trouble with Granada at this time and ordered López to be given his liberty.⁶²

61) *Ibid.*, 1367, ch. 24-25. p. 572; CATALINA GARCIA, I. 411-412, note 3; Russell, 125.

62) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1367, ch. 26, pp. 572-573. The Editors (p. 612, note 19) indicated that the manuscripts described Girón as a "freyre de la Orden de Alcántara . . . e fícialre el rey maestre de Alcántara;" but the printed text had "freyre de Calatrava . . . e fícialre el rey maestre de Calatrava." RADES, Calatrava, fol. 59^r, stated that Girón was *comendador* of Martos in the Order of Calatrava. I do not find any mention of him in the documents of Calatrava. Neither RADES, nor TORRES Y TAPIA,

The evaluation of these reports by Pedro López de Ayala is difficult. The master may have come to the conclusion that King Pedro had mishandled his relations with the Black Prince and that the future of his kingship, and of his dynasty, required continued cooperation with the English, even to the point of allowing Edward to act as regent. According to the proposal reported by López de Ayala, the master, who was already *adelantado mayor* of Murcia and *capitán mayor* of Córdoba, did not stand to gain much more power and influence than he already had. He may also have concluded that the execution of the leading citizens of Córdoba was unwise and detrimental to the king's cause. While it is possible that Count Enrique's agents approached the master, it seems unlikely that they would be willing to oust Pedro Múñiz de Godoy so as to allow López to retain the mastership. I believe that Pedro the Cruel was probably ready to believe any rumor of treachery about any one of his supporters, including Martín López, and that he probably did order his arrest, if not his execution. Yet in view of the confidence that the king later reposed in Martín López and the latter's persistent loyalty even after the king's death, it seems doubtful that the master had definitively turned against the royal cause. Self-interest, if no other principle, must have determined him to remain loyal until the very end. He must have been able to persuade Pedro that any rumors of disloyalty were unfounded.

In the meantime, Count Enrique returned to Castile early in the fall of 1367. Pedro IV of Aragon objected to his passage through Aragonese territory and when he learned that Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, with large forces belonging to the Order of Calatrava, had also gone to Castile, he decreed the immediate confiscation of all the Order's properties in Aragon and demanded that all Aragonese subjects return home (7 October 1367).⁶³ As Enrique advanced to Burgos, many Castilian towns declared for him, including Córdoba, where the very nobles whom Martín López had been ordered to execute captained the revolt. López probably had not returned to Córdoba after his arrest at Martos but had joined the king at Seville. Count Enrique sent Múñiz de Godoy to secure the city. Early in 1368, Pedro the Cruel, with his ally Muhammad V of Granada, attempted to recover Córdoba, but the defenders led by Múñiz de Godoy, Gonzalo Mejía, the master of Santiago, and Juan Alfonso de Guzmán, repelled the assault.⁶⁴

Failing in this, King Pedro decided to relieve Toledo then under siege by Enrique of Trastámara. López de Ayala informs us that before the king left Seville, he ordered the

441, record him as master of Alcántara, but FERNÃO LOPES, *Crónica de el Rei D. Fernando*, 2 Vols. (Lisbon, 1895), ch. 25, I. 85, listed Pedro Girón, master of Alcántara, among the opponents of Enrique II, and the supporters of Fernando I of Portugal, in 1370. Juan Fernández de Lago, *comendador* of Xilvela, witnessed an agreement between Enrique II and Pedro IV on 9 April 1364. CATALINA GARCIA, I, 489–490.

63) JOAQUÍN MIRET Y SANS, "Negociations de Pierre IV d'Aragon avec la Cour de France, 1366–1367," *Revue Hispanique*, XIII (1905) 133.

64) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1367, ch. 34–36; 1368, ch. 1–5, pp. 576–580, 583–584.

imprisonment of Diego García de Padilla, the former master of Calatrava, in Alcalá de Guadaíra, because he was treating with the enemy. Once the king departed from Seville, Pedro Múñiz de Godoy and the master of Santiago, on Enrique's instructions, hastened through the Campo de Calatrava to Orgaz, a few miles south of Toledo. There they joined Enrique who hoped to give battle to Pedro. The battle of Montiel, fought on 14 March 1369, proved an easy victory for Enrique. A few days later, in a famous encounter, Enrique wrestled his brother to the ground and stabbed him to death.⁶⁵⁾

Immediately after the battle of Montiel, some of the king's men fled to Baeza near Jaén, where they encountered Martín López, the master of Calatrava, who was gathering troops to aid the king. According to López de Ayala, when the master realized that the king was besieged in Montiel, he decided that there was now no hope for him and hastened to Carmona. On the other hand, Leonor López, the master's daughter, insisted that he went to Carmona only after learning of the king's death.⁶⁶⁾ Under Martín López's control, Carmona, where Pedro the Cruel had left several of his children and his treasure, now became the chief center of resistance to Enrique II (1369-1379) in Andalusia. In exchange for the surrender of Carmona the new monarch offered López safeconduct for himself and the royal children to England, Portugal, Granada or any other realm, but the master refused to negotiate.⁶⁷⁾ Instead he may have offered his homage to King Fernando I of Portugal, who now claimed the Castilian throne.⁶⁸⁾ Enrique II, intent on invading Portugal, appointed Pedro Múñiz de Godoy and the master of Santiago to watch Carmona and to defend the frontier against the king of Granada. Although the Portuguese campaign was indecisive, the masters of Calatrava and Santiago persuaded Muhammad V to sign a truce on 31 May 1370.⁶⁹⁾

Carmona was now the only outstanding problem in Andalusia. Papal legates sent to

65) *Ibid.*, 1369, ch. 2-8, pp. 585-593.

66) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, 1369, ch. 7, p. 590; LEONOR LÓPEZ, *loc. cit.*, 36.

67) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, *Crónica de Enrique II*, 1369, ch. 1, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LXVIII, 1-2.

68) *The Cronicon Conimbricense*, in *España Sagrada*, ed. Enrique Flores, 51 vols. (Madrid, 1754-1759), XXIII, 348, stated that Martim Lopes who held Ciudad Rodrigo pledged homage to Fernando I; but in 1370 Enrique II captured and executed Martim Lopes who was one of the defenders of Zamora. The editors of LÓPEZ DE AYALA'S chronicle (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LXVIII, 48), on this account, supposed that the master of Calatrava had rendered homage to the king of Portugal. Martim Lopes, the defender of Ciudad Rodrigo and Zamora, does not seem to have been the same person as the master of Calatrava. Even so, it seems likely that the master sought aid from Portugal and was willing to recognize Fernando I as king of Castile. FERNÃO LOPES, *Chronica de el Rei D. Fernando I*, ch. 46, I, 138-141, affirmed that he did ask the king for help; Fernando I promised it but failed to deliver it.

69) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, *Crónica de Enrique II*, 1370, ch. 4, p. 6. LUIS SUÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ, "Política internacional de Enrique II", *Hispania XVI* (1956) 60-61, published two letters of Muhammad V, dated 12 December 1369, the one to Pedro Múñiz, master of Calatrava, and *adelantado mayor de la frontera*, and the other to Enrique II, concerning the restoration of booty recently taken.

negotiate peace between Castile and Portugal tried unsuccessfully to induce Martín López to surrender. Enrique II therefore decided to establish a formal siege of the town on 21 March 1371. In a letter to Murcia he indicated that the defenders were running short of supplies and were on the verge of starvation; expecting Martín López to attempt to escape from the town, he was determined to prevent it.⁷⁰ In the course of the siege forty men-at-arms who scaled the walls of Carmona were captured and executed. The king, who until then had hoped to win López to his service because he was a "good knight" now resolved to give no quarter. The master, seeing that his forces were being steadily depleted by desertions and that he could expect no help from England, Portugal or Granada, finally decided to negotiate.⁷¹

The master offered, according to López de Ayala, to surrender Carmona and the remainder of the royal treasure (though most of it had been used in the defense) as well as Pedro the Cruel's chancellor of the privy seal, provided that he, Martín López, be given safeconduct to another kingdom or else received into Enrique II's favor. Leonor López stated, however, that her father demanded safeconduct to England for Pedro the Cruel's children and his treasure, and pardon for himself, his children and his followers. Fernando Osorez, the master of Santiago, in the king's name, consented to the terms, and Carmona surrendered on 10 May 1371. On the following day Martín López was brought before the king who ordered his arrest and sent him to Seville to be imprisoned with his children and supporters. In spite of the protests of the master of Santiago, Enrique II decided to execute López. As her father was being dragged through the streets of Seville to the plaza of San Francisco, he met, according to Leonor López, Bertrand du Guesclin, the French knight who had betrayed Pedro the Cruel at Montiel. Du Guesclin said to him: "Lord Master, did I not tell you that your activities would end this way?" López replied: "It is better to die as a loyal man, as I do, than to live as a traitor, as you do."⁷² There is no evidence that Bertrand du Guesclin was in Castile at this time, but it is very likely that Martín López engaged in a similar exchange with someone else. His daughter affirmed that he was beheaded, but another source related that his hands and feet were cut off and he was burned on 12 June 1371.⁷³

Pedro Múñiz de Godoy

The execution of Martín López de Córdoba not only eliminated the last opposition to Enrique II but also to Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, who now emerged as the undisputed master of Calatrava. Elected probably in 1357 by the knights in Aragon, he initially represented a

70) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, *Crónica de Enrique II*, 1371, ch. 1, p. 8. The king's letter is given in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, LXVIII, 54.

71) LÓPEZ DE AYALA, *Crónica de Enrique II*, 1371, ch. 1-2, pp. 8-9.

72) *Ibid.*, 1371, ch. 2, pp. 8-9; LEONOR LÓPEZ, *loc. cit.*, 36-37.

73) LEONOR LÓPEZ, *loc. cit.*, 36-37; see also *Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles*, LXVIII, 9, note 2.

faction within the Order and his fortunes depended largely upon those of the lord of Trastámara. In spite of his capture at Nájera, Múñiz de Godoy came back with Enrique II to fight another day in the fall of 1367. Most of the knights of Calatrava in Castile, seeing the rapid decline of King Pedro's forces, in all likelihood now acknowledged Múñiz de Godoy as master. Only a handful seem to have held out with Martín López. Thereafter Múñiz de Godoy enjoyed a successful career as the sole master of Calatrava until King Juan I transferred him to the wealthier and more powerful mastership of Santiago in 1384.

The complete involvement of the Order of Calatrava (as well as the other Orders) in political affairs in the middle of the fourteenth century is a sign of its increasing secularization. The great resources available to the master made that office one to be prized. In addition to controlling landed properties and other types of revenue, the masters also held important positions in the royal court. Juan Núñez de Prado served as *notario mayor*, Diego García as *camarero mayor* and *mayordomo mayor*, and Martín López de Córdoba as *camarero mayor*, *repostero mayor*, *mayordomo mayor* for Infante Sancho, and as *adelantado mayor* of Murcia. In some measure the curial offices were purely honorary, but they did give the masters an opportunity to influence the king's affairs.

Rivalry among the knights seeking the magisterial office was not unusual, but the choice of the master was also becoming more and more of a concern to the king. Intervention by Pedro the Cruel was blatant. On his command Juan Núñez de Prado was summarily deposed and executed and replaced by Diego García. Although the latter's tenure was comparatively long, about twelve years, his influence seems to have fluctuated and his position always seems to have been precarious. When, like so many others, he vacillated in his loyalty, the king replaced him with Martín López de Córdoba. Whether the king ordered the execution of Diego García is uncertain, but given Pedro's general policy, it would seem likely. Martín López, on the other hand, survived whatever suspicions the king had concerning him, only to meet his fate at the hands of Enrique II.

None of the masters mentioned enjoyed unchallenged authority within the Order. Throughout this period the Order was divided by the schism between the knights in Castile and those in Aragon. Schism was nothing new. From 1323 to 1348 the Aragonese knights had maintained their opposition to Juan Núñez de Prado. The idea of schism seems to have been firmly established in the consciousness of the knights during those twenty-five years so that little encouragement was needed for the reopening of the breach in 1354. Then it lasted for another seventeen years until the execution of Martín López. Schism was due in part to the feeling that the Aragonese knights should not be subject to a foreign master. The Aragonese had long enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy under the general jurisdiction of the *comendador mayor* of Alcañiz, and it is not surprising that he should have aspired to be an independent master. A growing sense of national identity that distinguished Aragonese from Castilians also contributed to this development. It was pointed up in the exchange of letters between Pedro the Cruel, who insisted that the Aragonese knights were subject to the Castilian master, and Pedro IV, who rejected that

idea. As a king who acknowledged no temporal superior, he could not allow Pedro the Cruel to interfere in the internal affairs of his kingdom through the Order of Calatrava. Threatened as he was by war with Castile, he had reason to fear that the military resources of Calatrava in Aragon would be turned against him, if they were entirely under the control of a Castilian master. It was all the more important for him to insist upon the autonomy, if not the full independence, of the Order in his own realm.

Pedro Estebáñez Carpintero and Pedro Múñiz de Godoy, the leaders of the opposition to the Castilian masters were not, however, Aragonese and probably had never served in Aragon. The former died in Castile, but the latter, like Enrique of Trastámara, found Aragon a useful base of operations for his campaign to wrest the mastership from the protégées of Pedro the Cruel. The anti-masters, as well as a number of knights of lower rank, were linked by family ties to Juan Núñez de Prado. This was their motivation for opposing Pedro the Cruel, Diego García and Martín López. Ideological arguments and Aragonese sentiments of independence had nothing to do with their going into opposition. One suspects that if Juan Núñez had remained as master, these men would have continued faithful to Pedro the Cruel. Múñiz de Godoy, of course, was able to take advantage of the Aragonese tradition of autonomy, but in the long run he was determined to restore the unity of the Order in its Castilian and Aragonese branches.

Civil war, whenever and wherever it occurs, pits brother against brother. Castile in the mid-fourteenth century was no exception. Especially poignant was the enmity that developed between the knights of Calatrava who found themselves on opposing sides; they, more than many men, were expected, by virtue of their membership in a monastic community, to love and support one another. Once the civil war was concluded, the old hatreds and rivalries within the Order had to be smoothed over; old wounds had to be healed and a sense of true peace and true obedience to the master had to be restored. The task facing Pedro Múñiz de Godoy was a formidable one.