

NOTES ON THE ANCESTRY OF SANCHA DE AYALA

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Sancha (de Ayala) Blount (d. 1418) has attracted genealogical attention for her unusual status as a gateway individual linking medieval noble Spanish ancestry with a large number of English and American descendants.¹ Her American 'gateway' descendants include early colonists Lawrence and John Washington, Thomas and John Ludlow and Sarah (Ludlow) Carter of Virginia, and Roger Ludlow, William Wentworth, Christopher Lawson, Anne (Marbury) Hutchinson, Katherine (Marbury) Scott, Elizabeth (Marshall) Lewis, Robert Abell, and Governor Thomas Dudley, all of New England.² Sancha is also an ancestress of Queen Elizabeth II.³ Her brother, Pedro Suarez de Toledo, is a

¹ On Sancha's life, see Milton Rubincam, "The Spanish Ancestry of American Colonists," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 51 (1963), 235-238; based for Sancha's life on Alexander Croke, *Genealogical history of the Croke family, originally named Le Blount*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1823), particularly 2:173-195; confirmed by a short account in *Complete Peerage*, 2d. ed., 9:331-333. Rubincam also prepared a five-generation ahnentafel, published as "A Critique of Spanish Genealogy: the Ancestry of Sancha (de Ayala) Blount," in *Studies in Genealogy and Family History in Tribute to Charles Evans*, ed. Lindsay L. Brook (Salt Lake City, 1989), pp. 263-271. The ahnentafel and 'critique' were originally prepared in 1963. The late Charles Evans also prepared an article on Sancha in 1986, with a lengthier but more speculative ahnentafel, still unpublished at the time of his death; a copy of this last was kindly sent to us by David H. Kelley.

² For these American descendants, see Rubincam, "Spanish Ancestry," and Gary Boyd Roberts, *Ancestors of the American Presidents*, '1st authoritative' ed. (Baltimore, 1995), pp. 365-368. The descent of Matthew Clarkson of New York from King Edward I and incidentally from Constance (Blount) Sutton, daughter of Sancha, as shown in Gary Boyd Roberts, *Royal Descents of 500 Immigrants* (Baltimore, 1993), 226-7, has recently been shown to be false: Col. Charles M. Hansen, "Secretary Matthew Clarkson of New York: a Correction of his Lineage," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 127 (1996), 193-201. A male-line descent to William Blunt of Andover, Mass. is shown in Josephine C. Frost, *Ancestors of Jerry Crary and his wife Laura Antoinette Dunham* (New York, 1924), 9-10, citing a manuscript chart in the Long Island (now the Brooklyn) Historical Society (also shown by W. Wilfrid Bayne, "The Baronial Blounts and Some of their Descendants," *The Augustan* 10 [1967], 369-381; 11 [1968], 73-76, at p. 74); this is not supported by Croke, in the chart opposite 2:286, and we have not examined the validity of this line.

³ Gerald Paget, *Lineage and Ancestry of Charles, Prince of Wales*, 2 vols. (London, 1977), shows four descents--two to each of the parents of

great-great-great grandfather of King Fernando 'el Catolico' II of Aragon and V of Castile, husband of Queen Isabella; through him Sancha's ancestry is shared by all royal families in Europe.⁴

I. PATERNAL ANCESTRY: TOLEDO

In Sancha's day surnames were a relatively new phenomenon among the Castilian aristocracy, and custom permitted the assumption of a surname from either one's father or mother. 'Ayala', the name Sancha used, was the name of her mother's family, more distinguished and famous than that of her father.⁵ Sancha de Ayala's father was one Diego Gómez, *notario mayor* and *alcalde mayor* of Toledo, active from around 1350 until after 1373, who appears to have gone without a surname, though his male relatives began using the surname 'de Toledo' in his lifetime.⁶ Milton Rubincam and others have called him 'Diego Gómez de Guzmán or de Toledo', perpetuating his ambiguous placement in the largest modern compendium of medieval Spanish pedigrees, the eighty-eight volume *Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispano-americana*, which lists his

Elizabeth, wife of George VI. A fifth Blount line to the Queen Mother is from Sir John Blount of Sodington, brother of Sancha's husband.

⁴ Rubincam, "Spanish Ancestry," 237. Sancha de Ayala's ancestry will be encompassed in the ongoing study by Neil D. Thompson and Charles M. Hansen, "A Medieval Heritage: The Ancestry of Charles II, King of England," *The Genealogist* 2 (1981), 157-68 and subsequent nos. Thompson and Hansen have currently reached Sancha's grand-niece, María Fernández de Córdoba (no 491); Sancha's parents will be nos. 2932 and 2933. Leonor Alvarez de Toledo, wife of Cosimo de'Medici (no. 29 in Charles II's ahnentafel), also shares multiple kinship with Sancha de Ayala through the Ayala, Ceballos, Carrillo, Palomeque and Osorio families. Szabolcs de Vajay, "Die Ahnen der Doña Leonor Alvarez de Toledo, Großfürstin von Toskana," *Genealogisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1968), 5-23, carries Leonor's ancestry back to *three* siblings of Sancha's mother.

⁵ Croke, 2:181, quotes a fragment of a translation of a letter to 'Sancha de Ayala' from her patroness Constance, styled Queen of Castile, second wife of John of Gaunt.

⁶ The earliest use of the surname among this family that we have found in a contemporary document is by a brother of Diego Gómez, Gutierre Gómez de Toledo, master of the military order of Alcantara, in a charter of 1355: Luís Vicente Díaz Martín, "Los maestros de las ordenes militares en el reinado de Pedro I de Castilla," *Hispania: revista española de historia* 40 (1981?), 284-356, no. 9.

paternal line twice, under the surnames 'Guzmán' and 'Toledo'.⁷ Both pedigrees derive from the work of the renowned seventeenth-century Spanish genealogist Luís de Salazar y Castro: the *Historia genealógica de la casa de Lara* (1696) links Sancha's father's line to the great house of Guzmán, whereas the *Índice de las glorias de la casa de Farnese* (1716) shows him, more correctly, as member of a group of Toledan noble families with the surname 'Toledo'.⁸ The 'Guzmán' identity was probably postulated because some of Sancha's paternal cousins did assume the surname 'Guzmán', though only after inheriting it through mothers and grandmothers of that house--lines which Sancha does not share.⁹

Sancha's paternal lineage is clear for four generations before her own. Three of them are proven by a charter of 1373, a royal confirmation of an exchange of property between Diego Gómez (Sancha's father), and Diego's aunt

⁷ *Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispano-americana*, ed. Albert and Arturo García Carraffa, 88 vols. (Madrid, 1919-1963), s. n. 'Guzmán', 42:170-171; and 'Toledo', 86:194-195.

⁸ Luís de Salazar y Castro, *Historia genealógica de la casa de Lara*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1696-7), 1:348; *Índice de las glorias de la casa de Farnese* (Madrid, 1716), pp. 588. Note that in *Farnese* (followed by García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia*, s.n. 'Toledo') he erroneously derived these several Toledan lineages from a common root. This has been rectified with modern studies of the several noble lineages arising from Mozarabic Toledo: see Javier Rodríguez Marquina, "Linajes mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII," in *Genealogías mozárabes: ponencias y comunicaciones presentadas al I Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes, Toledo, 1975* (Toledo, 1981), 11-64; and Julio Porres Martín-Cleto, "El linaje de don Esteban Illan," *ibid.*, 65-80; also Pierre Molénat, "Des Beni-'Abd Al-Malik aux comtes d'Orgaz: le lignage de Gonzalo Ruiz de Toledo," in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo: actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes (Toledo, 20-26 mayo 1985)*, 2:259-280. Sancha de Ayala descends from several of the families treated by Rodríguez Marquina, including her paternal house (61-64), that of Pedro Fernández Barroso (identified with her paternal house here, though they are most probably distinct), that of Diego García (here included with the Ibn Lampader lineage, 33-36, though others suggest he belongs with the lineage of García Juanez, 51-54); and probably the families of Gudiel (37-39) and Ermildez (55-60), though the connections are speculative.

⁹ The error has been perpetuated recently in, for example, Roberts' *Ancestors of the Presidents* (see n. 1) and Christy Hawes Bond, *Gateway Families: Ancestors and Descendants of Richard Simrall Hawes, III, and Marie Christy Johnson* (Concord, 1994), pp. 552-553.

Constanza, on one part, and a group representing the city of Toledo, on the other, resulting from a renegotiation of a pious testamentary legacy of Diego Gómez' grandfather Fernán Gómez.¹⁰ Here Diego Gómez names his father as Gómez Pérez, who was son of Fernán Gómez and brother of Constanza. Fernán Gómez' father appears in all pedigrees as another Gómez Pérez, also *alguacil mayor* of Toledo. About *his* father, however, there is disagreement in the pedigrees.¹¹ Men of this line bore as arms a castle *azure* on a field of gold.¹² Sancha de Ayala's eldest son Sir John Blount, KG, also bore *or a castle azure* as his first quarter (obviously for Sancha's paternal ancestry), while other descendants quartered both her paternal arms and her maternal arms--those of Ayala.¹³

¹⁰ Ricardo Izquierdo Benito, ed., *Privilegios Reales otorgados a Toledo durante la Edad Media, 1101-1494* (Toledo, 1990), no. 107, pp. 207-211: a royal confirmation, dated 27 March 1375, of an act dated 15 February 1373.

¹¹ Salazar y Castro, *Lara* 1:348 (and followed by Rubincam), placed Pedro Suarez, *alguacil mayor* of Toledo in 1247 and dead by 1255 (Angel González Palencia, *Los mozarabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1926-30), 1:220) above Gómez Pérez. This is supported by the repeated use of the name 'Pedro Suarez' among descendants, and also by the fact that Sancha de Ayala's English descendants quartered *or, a castle azure*, which are precisely the arms attributed by Salazar y Castro to this first Pedro Suarez (though on what evidence is unknown). Subsequently in 1716 in his *Índice de las Glorias*, p. 588, Salazar y Castro replaced him with Pedro Fernández, *alcalde mayor* of Toledo in 1221, although the same wife was given these two individuals in the two pedigrees. Finally, Rodríguez Marquina, "Linajes mozarabes de Toledo," pp. 61-64 and chart following, suggests Pedro Gómez Barroso (also an ancestor of Sancha de Ayala on her mother's side, AT no. 52) as common ancestor of the Barroso and Gómez de Toledo lineages, though this is supported only by a papal dispensation for consanguinity in the third degree between two fourteenth-century descendants who probably have other paths of consanguinity.

¹² Fernán Gómez is said in one source to have borne 'un castillo colorado en campo de oro', which is *or, a castle gules*, though the word *colorado* might be taken to mean non-specifically 'colored' (Rodríguez Marquina, "Linajes mozarabes de Toledo", p. 63, citing notes to an edition of a chronicle that we have not been able to locate). The *alguacil* Pedro Suarez, possibly his grandfather, bore the castle *azure* (see previous note), which is how the English descendants bore it.

¹³ Sir John Blount's Garter stall plate is described by Croke, 2:195: quarterly, 1 and 4, *or a castle azure* (assigned the family name of 'Sanchet' by Ashmole in his *History of the Noble Order of the Garter* [1716], and mistakenly assumed by later writers to be a variant of the royal Castilian arms, which were *gules, a castle or*); 2 and 3, *barry nebuly or and sable* (Blount). Sir John's nephew and heir, Walter Blount, 1st Lord Mountjoy, bore

II. THE 'LIBRO DEL LINAJE DE LOS SEÑORES DE AYALA': MATERNAL ANCESTRY AND ROYAL DESCENTS

It is through her maternal family, the house of Ayala, that Sancha de Ayala is most likely to connect with the older families of the Castilian court and the 'old nobility' of Castile and León. By far the most important primary source for Sancha's maternal ancestry is a genealogical treatise on the Ayala ancestry and alliances, called the 'Libro del linaje de los señores de Ayala,' begun by Sancha's maternal grandfather, Fernán Pérez de Ayala, in 1371, and continued after his death by his son, Pedro López de Ayala, royal chronicler and grand chancellor of Castile.¹⁴ The version printed by Salazar y Castro in

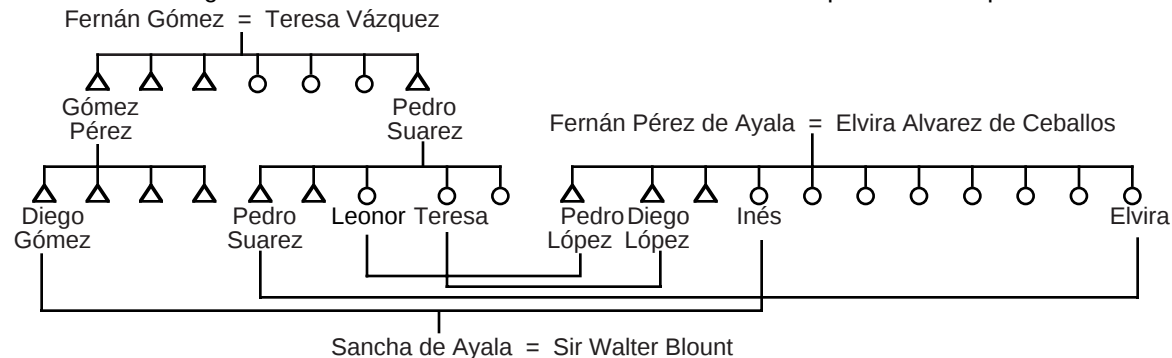
quarterly 1, *argent two wolves passant sable within a bordure or charged with eight saltires gules* (Ayala); 2, Toledo; 3, Blount; and 4, *vair*, about which last quartering there has been much confusion, as it was believed since at least the early sixteenth century to represent an earlier marriage with an heiress of Beauchamp of Hache, which is definitely false (see Cecil R. Humphery-Smith, "The Blount Quarters," *The Coat of Arms* 4 [1957], 224-7, corrected by G. D. Squibb, "The Heirs of Beauchamp of Hatch," *ibid.*, pp. 275-7). The late Charles Evans, in his unpublished article on Sancha, briefly reviewed the sources on extant Blount heraldry. No English writer (including Evans) ever correctly identified the arms *or a castle azure*, for Diego Gómez de Toledo, quartered by Sancha's Blount descendants. The Blounts' use of Sancha's arms has been criticized as irregular, as Sancha was not an heiress in the strict sense. Perhaps use was felt to be justified in that the Blounts were the only English descendants of these foreign families. Among followers of the Lancastrians (as were the Blounts) might it have been believed particularly appropriate to display arms representing Castilian connections? Indeed these Spanish arms were even quartered *before* the paternal arms of Blount for the next four generations. Besides the Garter stall plates, there are descriptions of contemporary arms for Sancha's great-granddaughter Anne Blount, wife of Andrews, Baron Windsor of Stanwell, in the church of Saint Andrew's in the Wardrobe (Thomas Dingley, *History from marble*, 2 vols. [Camden Series, 94, 97: London, 1867-8], 2:464-5); and Sancha's great-great-granddaughter Elizabeth Blount, wife of Sir Thomas Oxenbridge and Sir David Owen, in the church of Northiam, Sussex (Fane Lambarde, "Coats of Arms in Sussex Churches," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 68 [1927], at 210-11, corrected at 69 [1928], 218-9). Finally, there is the magnificent Tudor scroll with thirty-six achievements, representing at least nine generations of Blounts, described and reproduced in the Burlington Fine Arts Club's *Catalogue of a collection of objects of British heraldic art to the end of the Tudor period* (London, 1916), pp. 3-5 and plate 3: here the Blount coat reverts to the first quarter (pushing Ayala and Toledo into the second and third quarters, respectively) only in the arms of Sancha's great-great grandson William Blount, KG (d. 1535), 4th Lord Mountjoy, and his daughter Gertrude, wife of Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter.

¹⁴ The manuscript and its surviving continuations and variants are all discussed in an excellent study by Michel Garcia, *Obra y personalidad del*

1694 in his *Pruebas de la historia de la casa de Lara*, reprinted by Alexander Croke in 1823, and quoted by Milton Rubincam, must actually date from the middle of the fifteenth century, and is merely one of a family of continuations and paraphrased derivatives that exist.¹⁵ The most original version of the chronicle, first published only in 1950, contains a much fuller account of Sancha's maternal ancestry. While we cannot exhaustively present Sancha's known ancestry in this space, the following two royal descents, based

canciller Ayala (Madrid, 1983), pp. 7-26. The earliest version (which however only exists in a seventeenth-century copy made by Salazar y Castro) is printed by Garcia, *Obra y personalidad*, pp. 328-350. The same text was previously published by Juan de Contreras y López de Ayala, Marqués de Lozoya, in his *Introducción a la biografía del canciller Ayala*, 2d ed., expanded (Bilbao, 1950), pp. 123-150. This latter volume also contains a will (6 January 1375) and codicil (2 December 1378) of Fernán Pérez de Ayala, as well as photographs of the alabaster tomb effigies of Fernán Pérez and his wife Elvira de Ceballos, and their son Pedro López de Ayala and his wife, who all lie in the 'Torre de Ayala' at Quijana in the valley of Ayala, in the northwest corner of the province of Alava, some 20 km. south of Bilbao. Garcia's edition of Salazar y Castro's text of the "Libro del Linaje" notes that Salazar's manuscript continued with a transcription of a will of 23 August 1372 and later codicil of Fernán Pérez; this will may be different from that printed by the marqués de Lozoya, but Garcia did not print it so they cannot be compared.

¹⁵ Luís de Salazar y Castro, *Pruebas de la historia de la casa de Lara* (Madrid, 1694), pp. 56-61; partially reprinted in 1823 by Croke, 2:782-787. It includes details on grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Fernán Pérez de Ayala (including Sancha's marriage to Walter Blount) which are not in the original and must have been added by a later continuator who was familiar with the Toledo family. In addition it (correctly) identifies Sancha's father Diego Gómez as 'grandson of Fernán Gómez and Diego García' whereas the 'original' version (Garcia, p. 348) named Diego Gómez as 'son of Pedro Suarez de Toledo and grandson of Fernán Gómez', which is contradicted by the first-hand evidence of the charter of 1375. As the 'original version' survives only in a late copy, this error could have been an interpolation. Pedro López de Ayala would surely have known the truth since his own wife *was* the daughter of Pedro Suarez, and thus first cousin, not sister, to Inés' husband Diego Gómez. The following table shows that the interrelationships are complex:



in part on the pedigrees of the 'Libro del linaje', show some of Sancha's ancestral lines and the problems associated with them. These are the only potential royal descents we can currently identify for Sancha de Ayala, and they are here presented in condensed format with references to serve as a basis for further exploration and discussion. Neither one is supported in all generations with satisfactory proof. The most sound descent is presented first.

A. Alfonso VI (d. 1109), king of Castile:

1. Alfonso VI had by mistress, Jimena Muñoz (liaison 1077-79; she d. 1128):
2. Elvira Alfonso (b. say 1079; m. 1st, by 1097, Raimond de Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who d. 1105) = (2d, by 1117) Count Fernando Fernández (d. bef. 1130)
3. Teresa Fernández (b. say 1115) = Count Osorio Martínez (b. bef. 1108; att. from 1126, d. 1160)
4. Gonzalo Osorio (att. 1169-1180; *mayordomo mayor* of King Fernando II)
5. Osorio González (att. 1194; d. say 1220)
6. Rodrigo Osorio (att., prob. posthumously, 1253/8)
7. Rodrigo Rodríguez (att. 1253/8; att. 1273?)¹⁶
8. Alvar Rodríguez Osorio = Elvira Nuñez (de Navarra?)¹⁷
9. Elvira Alvarez Osorio = García Gómez Carillo (att. 1312)
10. Juana García Carrillo = (as first husband) Diego Gutiérrez de Ceballos (d.1330)
11. Elvira Alvarez de Ceballos (d. by 1372) = Fernán Pérez de Ayala (test. 2 Dec 1378)
12. Inés Alfonso de Ayala = Diego Gómez de Toledo
13. Sancha de Ayala = Walter Blount

Gens. 1-8: José M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, "Jimena Muñoz, Amiga de Alfonso VI," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 21 (1991), 11-40; José M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, "El conde Osorio Martínez y los Marqueses de Astorga," *Astórica* 7 (1988), 11-31. José M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, "La Infanta Doña Elvira, hija de Alfonso VI y de Jimena Muñoz, a la luz de los diplomas," *Archivos leoneses* 33 (1979), 271-287.¹⁸ A charter of 1173

¹⁶ Canal Sánchez-Pagín ("El conde Osorio Martínez") suggests that he must have died around 1270; however, according to Salazar y Castro (*Farnese*, 585), he was *merino mayor* of León in 1273.

¹⁷ Salazar y Castro (*Farnese*, 585) calls her a daughter of Nuño, bishop of Astorga; Canal Sánchez-Pagín ("El conde Osorio Martínez") calls her 'de Navarra', but does not cite a source for this name.

¹⁸ Alfonso VI had two daughters named Elvira. Bernard F. Reilly (*The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126* (Princeton, 1982), p. 218, n. 35) stated that the Elvira who married Count Fernando Fernández was the daughter of Alfonso and Queen Isabel; however, if the marriage of one of the Elviras to King Roger II of Sicily is accepted (as it seems to be universally), then she must have been the younger, legitimate Elvira and

attests to 'royal descent' for Gonzalo Osorio, gen. 4, through his mother, countess Teresa: Canal, "El conde Osorio Martínez," pp. 30-31.

Gens. 8-12: 'Libro del linaje de los señores de Ayala' of Fernán Pérez and Pedro López de Ayala, ed. Michel Garcia, *Obra y personalidad*, pp. 328-350. These connections are also accepted by all standard nobiliary authorities, including Salazar y Castro's *Farnese* and García Carraffa's *Enciclopedia* (which draws on various sources in addition to Salazar y Castro). However, no modern genealogical studies of these families in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (most importantly Carrillo, Ceballos and Ayala) exist.

Despite its uncertainties, this is the least contentious of Sancha's royal descents. José M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín ("El conde Osorio Martínez", esp. pp. 26-27; etc.) reviews the traditional descent of the Osorios (later Marquises of Astorga), suggests this filiation for generations 4 - 6, and conclusively proves the identity and royal descent of the wife of count Osorio Martínez (gen. 3). The 'traditional' Osorio filiation, as given by Luís de Salazar y Castro (*Farnese*, p. 585), traces the Astorga line through a Rodrigo Osorio, son of count Osorio Martínez, who, however, died very young. Canal concludes that while positive proof is lacking for any version of the descent in gens. 4-6, this current reconstruction is the most plausible; at any rate there is universal acceptance of the descent of the later Osorios from count Osorio Martínez and countess Teresa.¹⁹

cannot, for reasons of chronology, have been the same who married Count Fernando Fernández. Canal Sánchez-Pagín ("La Infanta Doña Elvira") makes a convincing argument for the identity of the infanta Elvira, wife of Count Fernando Fernández, with the widow of Count Raimond of Toulouse. There is additional discussion and edition of relevant documents by Augusto Quintana Prieto, "La Infanta doña Elvira, hija de Alfonso VI y de Jimena Muñiz," in *Temas bercianos*, 3 vols. (Ponferrada, 1983-1984), 3:277-416.

¹⁹ The descent is argued by Canal Sánchez-Pagín as follows: Gonzalo Osorio had (among other sons) a son Osorio González, identified with five siblings in a charter of 1194. The 'Repartimiento de Sevilla' of 1253/8 contains notice of land grants to 'Rodrigo Rodríguez, son of Rodrigo Osorio' (gens. 6-7 here) and 'Martín González, son of Gonzalo Osorio', and evidence to suggest that Rodrigo and Martín are first cousins; because their fathers have the patronymic 'Osorio', they are most likely grandchildren of the Osorio González attested in 1194.

B. Alfonso IX (d. 1230), king of León:

This lineage presents a possible but problematic descent from a more recent king.²⁰ It is not supported by currently available scholarly reconstructions, and needs further research to confirm or disprove:

1. Alfonso IX = Berenguela, dau. Alfonso VIII of Castile, granddaughter of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine
2. Alfonso de Molina (1203-1272) (had by an unidentified mistress:)
3. Urraca Alfonso (b. say 1225/30) = García Gómez Carrillo (called 'él de los garfios' ['he of the claws']),²¹ *alcalde* of the city of Jerez de la Frontera in 1264.
4. García Gómez Carrillo, Lord of Mazuelo (acc. Salazar), Lord of Ormazza (acc. García Carraffa), *alcalde mayor de los hijosdalgo de Castilla*²² = Elvira Alvarez Osorio
5. Juana García Carrillo = (as first husband) Diego Gutierrez de Ceballos (d. 1330)
6. Elvira Alvarez de Ceballos = Fernán Pérez de Ayala
7. Inés Alfonso de Ayala = Diego Gómez de Toledo
8. Sancha de Ayala

Gens. 1-3: Szabolcs de Vajay, "From Alfonso VIII to Alfonso X: the first two centuries of the Burgundian dynasty in Castile and León: a prosopographical catalogue in social genealogy, 1100-1300," in *Studies in Genealogy and Family History in Tribute to Charles Evans*, ed. Lindsay Brook (Salt Lake City, 1989), pp. 366-417, especially p. 391.

Gens. 3-8: 'Libro del linaje de los señores de Ayala' of Fernán Pérez and Pedro López de Ayala, ed. Michel Garcia, *Obra y personalidad*, pp. 328-350, at p. 345. But see *contra* García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia*, 23:208-212. Following García Carraffa, Milton Rubincam ("A Critique of Spanish Genealogy") places a different individual as father of García Gómez Carrillo, gens. 3-4.

²⁰ If this descent can be proved it would supersede the most recent royal descent currently known for William Wentworth and Christopher Lawson (a shared illegitimate descent from King Henry II of England: see Gary Boyd Roberts, *Royal Descents of 500 Immigrants*, 350-351), but for none of the other colonists cited at the beginning of this piece.

²¹ The nickname 'él de los garfios' was earned following his valiant stand at the siege of Jerez de la Frontera, when he commanded the Castilian garrison in the citadel against the Mudéjar revolt on 31 May 1264. The early fourteenth-century *Crónica del rey don Alfonso X* (ed. D. Cayetano Rosell, in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 66 [Madrid, 1875], pp. 8-9) narrates how García Gómez Carrillo, the last man left alive defending the citadel at Jerez, was wounded and captured by the Mudéjars by means of iron grappling hooks ('claws') set on long poles. See also García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia*, s.n. "Carrillo," 23:212 n. 1; and Joseph O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: the Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 182-183, on the Mudéjar revolt.

²² The *alcalde mayor de los hijosdalgo* (an office not defined in Rubincam's "Critique...") was a justice at the royal court with authority over cases involving the nobility. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, pp. 68-69.

This line depends on the descent of Juana Carrillo (gen. 5) from García Gómez Carrillo, 'él de los garfios' (gen. 3), and from his royally-descended wife Urraca Alfonso. The genealogical treatise written by Pedro López de Ayala--Juana's great-grandson--claims Juana's descent exactly as shown above from 'él de los garfios' without mentioning the latter's wife (and García Carraffa's *Enciclopedia* and Vajay's "From Alfonso VIII" do not say he had any other wife). However, Szabolcs de Vajay ("From Alfonso VIII") stated that García Gómez Carrillo, 'él de los garfios,' and Urraca Alfonso, had an only son, Gómez García, also *alcalde mayor de los hijosdalgo de Castilla*.

The Carrillo pedigree in García Carraffa's *Enciclopedia* makes Juana Carrillo the first cousin thrice removed, not the granddaughter of 'él de los garvios;' it separates the Carrillo family into parallel lines, distinguishing the lords of Ormaza (to which it assigns Juana and her father) from the line of the lords of Mazuelo, which includes 'él de los garfios'. However, the Carrillo pedigree as given by García Carraffa is obviously flawed for this period and needs reconstruction from scratch.

Several details hint that the Carrillo pedigree may be closer to what is given in the Ayala manuscript, rather than as in the García Carraffa's *Enciclopedia*. First, Salazar y Castro, who presented García Gómez Carrillo (father of Juana) in a pedigree of the Osorio family (*Farnese*, p. 585), identified him as lord of Mazuelo, which would suggest genealogical continuity with 'él de los garfios', who is stated to have held Mazuelo. In addition, a son of 'él de los garfios' is said to have held the office of *alcalde mayor de los hijosdalgo de Castilla*, which, although not hereditary, was also stated to

have been held by Juana's father during the same reign.²³ Juana's father then could be another son of 'él de los garfios', not mentioned by García Carraffa, or even the same individual, with some pedigree having mistakenly inverted the first name and cognomen.

No modern scholarly work treating these generations of Carrillos has been found, although charters from the monastery of San Salvador de Oña permit tentative reconstruction of parts of this lineage and contradict the pedigree in García Carraffa's *Enciclopedia*.²⁴ Systematic searching in monastic and public charters for the thirteenth and early fourteenth century might either confirm or eliminate this possible royal descent through the Carrillo family.

III. OTHER THEORIES OF ROYAL DESCENT

Only one other royal descent for Sancha de Ayala has formally been advanced in print: the patrilineal descent of the lords of Ayala, through the house of Haro, sovereign counts of Viscaya, from Urraca Alfonso, illegitimate daughter of King Alfonso IX of León, printed by John Denison Champlin, "The Ancestry of Anne Hutchinson," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 45 (1914), 17-26, and also presented independently by Dom W. Wilfrid Bayne,

²³ According to García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia*, 23:208, 211. Ultimately, independent documentary evidence for the tenure of the office of *alcalde mayor de los hijosdalgo* and of the lordship of Mazuelo must be found to render this evidence useful.

²⁴ A fragmentary Carrillo pedigree for the thirteenth century can be reconstructed with *Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña*, nos. 496 and 703; the document abstracted by Luciano Serrano, "El mayordomo mayor de doña Berenguela: Garci Fernández de Villamajor," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 104 (1934), 135 and n. 1; and *Documentación del monasterio de San Salvador de Oña*, ed. Isabel Oceja Gonzalo, 4 vols. (Burgos, 1983-6), no. 292. García Gomez Carrillo appears in several documents in the published Oña collections from 1251 (?) to 1284. Oceja's no. 153, a notice of an act of García Gomez Carrillo with wife Elvira in 1251, suggests some difficulties with the pedigree (if it refers to 'él de los garfios') or the chronology (if it refers to the parents of Juana) unless it is misdated; it survives only as an entry in a nineteenth-century index of documents made at the dissolution of the abbey.

O.S.B., in "De Ayala of Castile," *The Augustan* 13 (1970), 289-91.²⁵ It must be discarded, together with the assertion (also made by Fernán Pérez de Ayala and printed by Champlin) that the 'Infante don Vela', semi-legendary founder of the first dynasty of lords of Ayala, was the son of an eleventh-century king of Aragon.²⁶

Sancha and 'Muslim' Lara Descents

It seems appropriate to address two other specific ancestries alleged for Sancha de Ayala here. In the preface to the book *Royal Highness*, Iain Moncreiffe mentions H.R.H. Prince William's descent, through 'Blount and Ayala' and 'Don Manrique de Lara' from a tenth-century marriage of a lord of Lara with a Muslim princess of Córdoba.²⁷ Regardless of the true ancestry of

²⁵ The patrilineal descent of the Ayala family from a son of a count of Vizcaya was asserted as early as 1371 when first incorporated into the 'Libro del linaje' (ed. Garcia, p. 340) and has not been proven false. The selection of a royally-descended scion of the house of Haro to amplify this graft appeared in Gonzalo Argote de Molina's *Nobleza del Andaluzia* (Seville, 1588); it was presented in tabular form by Alexander Croke (*op cit.*); thence it was printed by Champlin, and later by Bayne (and included in the unpublished article on Sancha prepared by the late Charles Evans). However already at the end of the seventeenth century Luís de Salazar y Castro had debunked the royal line by deriving the later Ayalas from an earlier Haro cadet, bypassing the alleged royal marriage, in his massive manuscript *Historia genealógica de la casa de Haro* (5 vols., Madrid, Library of the Real Academia de la Historia). Excerpts (including this lineage) have been published as *Historia genealógica de la casa de Haro (señores de Llodio, Mendoza, Orozco y Ayala)*, ed. Dalmiro de la Válgoma y Díaz-Varela (Madrid, 1959), with the Ayalas on pp. 244-279.

²⁶ On the legendary associations of don Vela see Michel Garcia, *Obra y personalidad del canciller Ayala*, 12-14. Don Vela and his Ayala descendants appear in García Carraffa's *Enciclopedia*, s.n. 'Salcedo', 81:197ff. Gregorio de Balparda y las Herreras, *Historia critica de Vizcaya y de sus fueros*, 3 vols. (Madrid and Bilbao, 1924-1945), 2:136-141, reviews the verifiable data on Vela Obequez, probable founder of the house of Ayala, and the other authentic early members of the lineage; he was not, as far as can be ascertained, a king's son.

²⁷ Moncreiffe, *Royal Highness*, p. 8. The line is also included (but without specific descent to Sancha de Ayala) in Forest E. Barber, "Arab Blood Royal," *The Augustan* 18 (1975), at pp. 123-4. The origins of this legendary descent may be purely literary, but it passed into the realm of genealogy as early as the fourteenth century; the most magisterial review of the tradition remains Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La leyenda de los siete infantes*, 3d ed. (Madrid, 1971; first pub. 1896), especially pp. 11-20 ('Historia y ficción') and 432-436 ('Las genealogías').

the Lara family, Sancha de Ayala cannot now be shown to have any descent from the Laras.²⁸

One other Muslim descent posited for Sancha through the Laras must be laid to rest separately, because it affects other gateway links as well as Sancha de Ayala. Descent from Zaida, the Muslim mistress, and possibly consort, of King Alfonso VI, has been a popular genealogical desideratum for decades now.²⁹ Its spectre has been raised in discussion of Sancha de Ayala, with a descent from Gonzalo Ruiz Girón and his first wife, Sancha Rodríguez, commonly identified as Sancha Rodríguez de Lara, granddaughter of Zaida's alleged daughter Sancha Alfonso and her husband Rodrigo González de Lara.³⁰ This line is shared (as Turton's *Plantagenet Ancestry* shows), by the Castilian princesses Constance and Isabel, daughters of Pedro the Cruel, who married John of Gaunt and Edmund of Langley, respectively; Isabel has numerous English and American descendants.³¹ It is important to note that this Zaida descent

²⁸ The ancestry of the twelfth-century brothers Pedro and Rodrigo González, founders of the historical Lara house, continues to be disputed. See, for example, Szabolcs de Vajay, "Structures de pouvoir et réseaux de familles du VIII^e au XII^e siècles," in *Genealogica et Heraldica: Actas do 170 Congresso Internacional das Ciências Genealógica e Heráldica, Lisboa, 1986* (Lisbon, 1989), 275-315, esp. table 3 *hors texte*, offering a startling revision based on unpublished research by Jaime de Salazar Acha and José Masnata.

²⁹ On Zaida, see George H. S. L. Washington, "The Princess Zaida," *The American Genealogist* 38 (1963), 245-247; Charles Evans, "The Princess Zaida," *The American Genealogist* 39 (1963), 157-160; and "The Princess Zaida: Addenda," *The American Genealogist* 52 (1976), 32; and David H. Kelley, "A Mediaeval Miscellany: Commentaries on Roderick W. Stuart's *Royalty for Commoners*," *The American Genealogist* 69 (1994), 110-118, particularly pp. 113-114.

³⁰ The Girón-Ceballos line may be followed in García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia*, at 'Girón,' 39:45-47. The Lara identification is in Salazar y Castro, *Lara*, 3:246-266. The Girón-Ceballos marriage is not supported by modern scholarly accounts, although some alliance is possible.

³¹ W. H. Turton's *Plantagenet Ancestry* (London, 1928, pp. 34-35, 54, 68). The descents from Zaida, via Lara and Girón, to the daughters of Pedro the Cruel are reiterated, in two of the three variations, by Forest E. Barber, "Arab Blood Royal," *The Augustan* 18 (1975), 115-124, especially p. 123. Note that through the Ceballos line, Sancha would be a fourth cousin of princesses Constance (her patroness, whom she accompanied to England) and Isabel, through their mother, Maria de Padilla, though it should be noted that the Ceballos

is fictitious for all descendants of the alleged Lara-Girón marriage, including the Castilian princesses: Sancha Rodríguez, first wife of Gonzalo Ruiz Girón and alleged great-granddaughter of Zaida, has recently been shown to be a daughter of one Rodrigo Fernández de Toroño, and not a Lara at all.³² In fact, this reidentification of Sancha Rodríguez eliminates *all* currently pretended lines of descent from Zaida through Spanish families. Of Zaida's alleged daughters, Sancha, who married Rodrigo González de Lara, now has no known descendants beyond the fifth generation.³³ Elvira Alfonso, the other alleged daughter of Zaida, was wife of King Roger II of Sicily, and apparently did leave descendants, though no descents have been traced in this context.³⁴

genealogy provided by García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia*, 39:45-47, does not include Teresa de Ceballos, who, according to Turton (p. 35), married Gonzalo Pérez de Hínestrosa and is an ancestress of the princesses (though the princesses' other two descents from the Giróns are valid). If Sancha's possible descent from Alfonso de Molina (*vide supra*) were proved, Sancha would be a fourth cousin of the half blood to the princesses through their father King Pedro the Cruel.

³² Jaime de Salazar Acha, "Los descendientes del conde Ero Fernández," in *Galicia en la edad media: actas del coloquio de 13-17 julio 1987* (Madrid, 1990), pp. 67-86 (especialmente p. 81 and n. 88), based on an early thirteenth-century genealogy prepared by the monks of Santa María de Ferreira de Pallares, recording the progeny of their founders.

³³ The children of Rodrigo González de Lara as compiled by Salazar y Castro (*Lara*, 3:246-266) include a fictitious 'Rodrigo Rodríguez': his reputed children all belong to the Rodrigo Fernandez de Toroño cited in the previous note. The only known children of Rodrigo González de Lara remain, as Salazar y Castro documented, the childless son Pedro Rodríguez and the daughter Elvira Rodríguez, second wife of Ermengol VI, count of Urgell, who has descendants only known for three more generations: see José M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, "Casamientos de los condes de Urgel en Castilla," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 19 (1989), 119-135, especially 124-128; also *Europäische Stammtafeln*, new series, ed. Detlev Schwennicke, 16 vols. in 19 parts (Marburg, 1980-), 3:132 (Urgell) and 3:117 (Vizcaya).

³⁴ On the two Elviras see above, note *18. The Sicilian descendants appear in *Europäische Stammtafeln*, new ser. 2:206. We leave aside any further question of the maternity of Alfonso VI's children and the identity of his wives and concubines. There is an extensive literature on this which has failed to resolve the questions of whether the Moorish concubine Zaida was identical with a later queen named Isabel, or whether in fact there may have been two queens Isabel (as Bernard Reilly suggested), either of which may have borne the two daughters attributed to a mother of that name. For differing views see (in addition to the articles cited above in note *18 and the work of Bernard Reilly) Clemente Palencia, "Historia y leyendas de las mujeres de Alfonso VI," in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo*, 2:281-90; Edmund Miller, "The Names of Queens: With Particular Reference to the

IV. DIRECTION OF FURTHER RESEARCH

The families in Sancha de Ayala's immediate maternal ancestry (Ceballos, Carrillo, and Ayala itself) were members of what is called by Castilian social historians the 'new nobility': rising families in royal service in the late thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³⁵ Fernán Pérez de Ayala's 'Libro del linaje de los señores de Ayala' is a curious testimony to the self-perception of these families--a celebration, but also a defensive justification, of their current position. In the case of Ayala, the family struggled to succeed to a prestigious lordship after the extinction of an older line to which it was only remotely related.³⁶ The Ayala lineage, like the others with which it intermarried, came to supplant attenuated patrilineal lines from the earlier comital aristocracy of the twelfth century and before. While there is little doubt that the 'new' families took the blood of the old ones through marriage, there has been no careful genealogical study of these particular families in the thirteenth century--the century in which such alliances would have been made.

Contemporary documents, including most usefully monastic collections of donation charters, abound from thirteenth-century Castile. Publication

Matrimonial Entanglements of Alfonso VI of Castile," [Augustan Society] *Omnibus* 12 (1990), 10-16; and José M. Canal Sánchez-Pagín, "Jimena Muñoz, Amiga de Alfonso VI," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 21 (1991), 11-40. We thank Professor Khalid Blankinship of Temple University for sharing with us a draft of his work "On the Alleged Muslim Ancestry of European Royalty," slated for publication in *The Genealogist*, which also examines the maternity of the daughters of Alfonso VI, though it focuses on the significant flaws within Zaida's alleged Muslim ancestry.

³⁵ On this phenomenon, see Salvador de Moxó Ortiz de Villajos, "De la nobleza vieja a la nobleza nueva," in *Estudios sobre la sociedad castellana en la baja edad media* (Madrid, 1969), pp. 1-210; however, his case-study pedigrees, based uncritically on Salazar y Castro, cannot be considered authoritative.

³⁶ As an old man, Fernán Pérez de Ayala still remembered the fighting nearly fifty years before, when he was 'still too young to bear arms', when his elder brother won the lordship of Ayala after killing the bastard son of the last of the earlier lords (ed. Garcia, pp. 334, 343-4).

efforts have heretofore focused on earlier documents and many thirteenth-century archival collections remain unpublished. However, significant thirteenth-century material has been made available in print in recent decades from various regional and ecclesiastical archives. It is hoped that continuing, systematic perusal of published (and, ultimately, unpublished) collections of documents, particularly private charters from ecclesiastical archives, will reveal the evidence with which we may eventually confirm or reconstruct the filiation and alliances of these families in the crucial generations.