

Some notes on the relations between D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and D. Alonso de Granada Venegas

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza wrote the *Guerra de Granada*, it is assumed, shortly after the war ended, in the year of 1571. At that time, in his banishment from the Court of Felipe II¹, he was a very lonely old man. Although he spent those declining years of his life in his native Granada, where his late brother's family, his nephew the third Marquis of Mondéjar, and his grandnephew the fifth Count of Tendilla, still held the captain-generalship of the Alhambra and Granada, he was not close to these relatives of whom he was sharply critical. Besides, his nephew left Granada in the course of 1569, some time after the high command of the war was taken out of his hands and entrusted to Don Juan of Austria. One of Mendoza's few remaining correspondents was Cardinal Espinosa, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, reputedly one of the most sinister of persecutors, whom he addressed as his benefactor, and who, surprising as it may appear, tried to influence the unforgiving King in Don Diego's favor. Calling him «the only Saint to whom he prayed,"² Mendoza repeatedly

(1) Cf. ANGEL GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA y EUGENIO MELE, *Vida y obras de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, 3 vols., (Madrid, 1941-1943); II, pp. 362-384.

(2) GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *op. cit.*, III, p. 449: «...que no tengo otro santo a quien me encomiende...»

complained to the Cardinal about the neglect and lack of esteem he suffered in Granada³. After Espinosa's death in 1572, the only person still to receive —or, at least, to preserve— letters from him was Jerónimo Zurita⁴. It has escaped attention, however, that he had at least one personal friend left: his neighbor, the young Don Alonso de Granada Venegas y Rengifo.

In his *Guerra*⁵ Mendoza mentions Don Alonso Venegas twice. The name appears for the first time in Mendoza's report of the outbreak of the war in the last days of 1568, touching on the spread of the revolt of the Moriscos throughout the kingdom of Granada. The Moriscos in the settlements along the river of Almería, he says, rounded up 1400 men under a Moor by name of El Ramí, occupying a stronghold next to Almería, and then they sent certain persons with letters to, among others, Don Alonso Venegas, «a nobleman of great authority among them, who went to the assembly of the councilmen without having opened the letter. He read it, and after some thought fell in a faint, but when the other councilors made him come to, asking him what was the matter, he replied: 'A Kingdom is a strong temptation!', giving them the letter in which they requested him to become King of Almería. He lived regretful ever since, but continued loyal and busy in the service of the King.»⁶

That this paragraph is subtly ironical becomes clear when we remember that Mendoza is not speaking here of some stranger but of his own friend. The young Spanish nobleman,

(3) *Ibid.*, cf. p. 461: «ninguno... me miró ni me ha mirado el rostro desde que aquí vine, ni ha hecho más cuenta de mí que de un cesto...»

(4) Published by Dormer, *Progresos de la Historia en el Reino de Aragón*, (Zaragoza, 1680).

(5) My quotations will be taken from *De la Guerra de Granada*, Comentarios por Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, ed. Manuel Gómez Moreno, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, tomo XLIX, (Madrid, 1948).

(6) «hombre noble, de gran autoridad entre ellos, que con la carta cerrada fue a el ayuntamiento de regidores, y leída, pensando un poco cayó desmayado; mas tornándole los otros regidores y reprehendiéndolo, respondió: recia tentación es la de reino, y dióles la carta en que parecía cómo le ofrecían tomalle por rey de Almería. Vivió doliente desde entonces, pero leal y ocupado en servicio del rey». *Guerra*, p. 41.

the center of this episode of temptation and resignation, was a descendant from both the most illustrious Moorish and Christian houses: he was, in fact, partly a Mendoza himself. Since the incident of his reaction to the invitation by the Moors is a *non sequitur*, without particular relevance to his general narrative, the writer must have inserted it for purely personal reasons.

It is well to keep in mind the fact of Don Alonso's mixed ancestry (even though Mendoza does not mention it) to understand the significance of the second reference to him. When Mendoza speaks again of Don Alonso Venegas, the war is at a later stage; the time considered is the spring of 1570. Don Juan of Austria in the mountains of the Alpujarras, then entrusted Don Alonso Venegas with opening peace negotiations with Aben Aboo. Significantly, the descendant of Cidi Yahía as well as the Méndozas was to emerge in that war as the agent most trusted on both sides to effect a compromise peace, a policy, however, that the civic authorities in Granada disturbed and finally made impossible: «...regarding the peace, concerning the leniency in the treatment accorded the Moriscos who came to surrender, (some of the ministers) put obstacles in the way and showed jealousy of Don Alonso Venegas, sending the Moriscos through the length and breadth of Castile, forcing many of them on to the galleys, injuring those who were going to surrender, and for trifling reasons declaring them captives, their goods forfeited»⁷.

Here, Mendoza is deadly serious, expressing, as he frequently does elsewhere in this work, the basic split among his countrymen. Some of them, as the Granada Venegas family, and as his own father, brother and nephew had done and were doing, lived in peace and friendship with the Morisco population, continuing thus until nearly the evening of their revolt.

(7) «...cuanto a la paz, con licencia en el tratamiento que se hacía a los moriscos reducidos y que venían a reducirse, y poniendo algunos impedimentos y mostrando celos de don Alonso Venegas (algunos ministros) enviaban moriscos a toda Castilla, sacábanlos muchos para las galeras, denostaban los que se iban a rendir, y por libianas causas los daban por cautivos, su ropa perdida.» *Guerra*, p. 174.

Their enemies insisted that, as great landowners served by Morisco tenant farmers, their friendliness was based on self-interest. Whatever their motives, the Mendoza and their friends had been successful throughout more than seventy years after the conquest of Granada in preventing, again and again, the repeated attempts by hostile elements to carry out anti-Morisco legislation. During each of the preceding reigns: under the Catholic Kings, in the name of Queen Juana, and under Charles V, the decrees against the Moors' Moorishness, forbidding them the use of their language, dress, customs and countless other habits, were being revived—a perpetual offense against the original peace treaty of 1492 which guaranteed them the freedom of their customs and religion. Every time, however, by means of huge tributes and the support of their powerful friends, the *pragmática* remained a dead letter until, in 1566, Felipe II and the leaders of the Inquisition prevailed over the advocates of moderation. The King was advised by Cardinal Espinosa who not only was the Grand Inquisitor but also the «President of Castile», (equivalent to the office of Prime Minister of Spain), and by another official of the Inquisition, Don Pedro de Deza, whom Espinosa had put at the head of the civilian government, the *audiencia*, of Granada, as a counterweight to the benevolent Mendoza on the Alhambra. Insisting on a rapid enactment of the *pragmática*, Felipe II disregarded the apprehensions and warnings of those who knew that such harshness would lead to disaster. In vain, first the Marquis of Mondéjar, and then Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, apparently the only Granadine official to take Mondéjar's side, went to Madrid to implore the King for leniency. Upon his return to Granada, at Christmas time of 1568, Don Alonso found an explosive situation. Reporting on it to the King and the Cardinal⁸, he stressed the plight of the peaceful Moriscos, strongly advocating that a distinction be made between them and the actual rebels—a line he faithfully followed throughout the duration of the conflict. (In the end,

(8) See letters I and II of the *apéndice*. I found seven letters of Alonso de Granada Venegas in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan (Envío I - 57, fol. 9). They are published here, following this paper.

of course, this policy was defeated.) In both letters he emphatically offered his services and his life to the King, declarations he, as part *morisco*, obviously felt were needed to dispel any doubt about his loyal stand as a Christian.

Apart from those two references in his book, Mendoza mentions Alonso Venegas once more. In a private letter to Cardinal Espinosa from June 29, 1570, the time when Venegas was still engaged in pacifying the Moors, Mendoza, speaking of the mood then prevailing in Granada, says with his customary irony: «We live at peace here, but with *suspición*, because every breeze embarrasses us, and every person gives cause for jealousy. One thing is approved: since the agreement with the Moors cannot be annulled, it is treated with apathy and given no support until the last of them is caught. Right now the place is burning with jealousy about the commission given to Don Alonso Venegas»⁹.

The «commission» alluded to by Mendoza is reflected in Venegas' letters to Espinosa¹⁰. From the letter of the 1st of January 1570 we see that Espinosa had ordered Don Alonso once more to try for peace. (His efforts with Aben Umeya as early as January and February of 1569, during the campaign of the Marquis of Mondéjar, are reported by Mármol Carvajal¹¹. We have no letters of Don Alonso from that time). In order to do so effectively, he needed a larger force of cavalry, urging the Cardinal to send him the powers to raise them, affirming once more that his personal enemies were to be found in his own camp,» so that those who rule here should not think that I am moved by self-interest or sympathy (with the Moors); as long as they erroneously believe such a thing,

(9) «Aquí vivimos en paz, pero con sospecha, porque cualquier viento nos embaraza y cualquier persona nos causa celos: una cosa vale, que el apuntamiento con los moros no se puede despintar, llevándolo con flema y nos les dando ocasiones hasta aver cogido del todo la hebra. Ahora se arde el lugar de celos de la comisión que se dió a don Alonso Venegas». GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *op. cit.*, III, p. 458.

(10) Letters III and IV of the *apéndice*.

(11) LUIS DE MÁRMOL CARVAJAL, *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reyno de Granada*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1797); I, pp. 446, 453, 459.

my honor suffers; and I say this on account of the ministers of this place here, and not for any other reason»¹².

It is somewhat astounding to see Venegas propose such a conciliatory line of action to the King and his Inquisitor-Prime Minister. This shows that he could count on a certain sympathy for his «Morisco-friendly» attitude (in deeds, though not in words) in the highest places, while the local *audiencia* of Granada, in their mania of persecution under President Deza, were running far ahead of the will of the central government of Castile — and this despite the fact that Cardinal Espinosa had originally set those events in motion¹³. Their continuing support of Granada Venegas makes it appear that neither the Grand Inquisitor nor the King, but the personal enemies of Mondéjar and Venegas in Granada were responsible for the ultimate rigor in their dealings with the defeated Moriscos, when all men, women and children not yet enslaved or killed were expelled from Andalucía: (Their final expulsion from Spain was not to happen until a new generation had grown up, in 1609.)

In his letter IV Don Alonso reiterates his willingness to carry out the dangerous commission to contact Aben Aboo personally, urging haste in providing him with the necessary means. According to Mármol Carvajal¹⁴, March and April of 1569 found Don Alonso in Jayena, Terque and Padules in correspondence with Aben Aboo. His letters from Jayena¹⁵ seem only to be covering notes for more explicit information he was sending to the King. An equally short note from Padules¹⁶, however, reflects Don Alonso's exultation about the success he had momentarily achieved. It concerns the capitulation of Aben Aboo as he had negotiated it on May 19 with El Habaqui¹⁷. (In the end, of course, Aben Aboo had El Habaqui

(12) See letter III of the *apéndice*.

(13) Cf. JULIO CARO BAROJA, *Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada*, (Madrid, 1957), p. 154.

(14) *Op. cit.*, III, pp. 271, 317, 336, 337, 340, 344.

(15) Letters V and VI of the *apéndice*.

(16) Letter VII of the *apéndice*.

(17) MÁRMOL CARVAJAL, *op. cit.*, II, p. 358.

murdered, upsetting this «peace», but that is beyond the range of these letters).

Don Alonso does not mention Mendoza in these letters, nor do Mendoza's sparse comments reveal any special personal link between himself and Venegas, but this is not surprising, because Mendoza's objectivity in describing historical personages, even his own father, is well known. His criticism of the character of his nephew, the Marquis of Mondéjar, and of the conduct in the war of his grandnephew, the Count of Tendilla, earned him undivided praise for honest reporting. Don Alonso Venegas, as we mentioned earlier, was also related to him: Don Diego was a greatgrandson of Don Iñigo López de Mendoza, the Marquis of Santillana, and Don Alonso, a generation younger (he lived until 1606), could claim the same patriarch of the Mendoza as his maternal ancestor. Yet despite their cousinship, distant as it was, and even had it been closer—if Mendoza had noticed faults in Venegas he would have subtly denounced them. But all his remarks about him are favorable: Venegas gave him no reason for criticism. As we saw, he narrates the episode about Don Alonso's shock at being offered the crown of his Moorish forefathers with good-humored understanding; later, Venegas' attempts at pacifying the Moors are favorably contrasted with actions of other government officials who persisted in persecuting the beaten people; and both in the book as well as in his letter he accuses Don Alonso's colleagues of jealousy. Obviously, he sympathized with Don Alonso de Granada Venegas. In a style as severe as Mendoza's, an absence of fault-finding almost amounts to praise, while a profession of sympathy seems to disclose a strong affection and friendship.

A look at the hitherto neglected question of Mendoza's residence in Granada will lead us to the fact that they were also close neighbors. Almost two decades before Granada was to become at once his prison and place of exile, Mendoza's thoughts had veered to the city of his birth as a place for later retirement. In 1551, serving Charles V both as ambassador in Rome and as governor of Siena, he felt his work coming

to a triumphant conclusion. He looked back with justifiable self-satisfaction on his meritorious twenty years in the Emperor's service. Then in the process of building a fortress with the intention of subjecting the Sienese permanently under the Spanish crown, his ambition was, he told his friend, the Bishop of Arras, «to show (the Emperor) that the service had been accomplished and to feel myself paid by this fact, and should there be nothing else to satisfy me, I would wish to leave while the going is good, as long as my enemies at least have not been able to hurt me; this, and to go with God to the Generalife»¹⁸. In a postscriptum he reiterates this intention: «...Once this here is completed, I want to go home in my poverty»¹⁹.

In the references to «his house», his «going home», as it were, to the Generalife, the fact relevant to our theme is that the Generalife was not Mendoza's «house» but that of the Granada Venegas. It is not generally known that this family, whose descendants, the Marquises of Campotéjar, owned the Generalife until 1921²⁰, was in charge of that estate since the time of the Catholic Kings. Seco de Lucena, for instance, says that the Catholic Kings gave the tenancy to Comendador Fray Juan de Hinestrosa²¹ who was followed by others, and in the year 1525 by Gil Vázquez de Rengifo, after whom it came to Don Pedro Granada Venegas, ostensibly the first member of that family on the Generalife²². But in the latest guide book to the *Casa de los Tiros* we read that the Generalife was given in his day by the grace of the King to Cidi

(18) «Mostrarle hecho el servicio y tenerme con esto por pagado, y quando otra cosa no pueda contentarme, con salir en juego, y que mis emulos a lo menos no me ayen estoruado; esto e yrme con Dios a Genalarife». in: *Algunas Cartas de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, publicanlas ALBERTO VÁZQUEZ y R. SELDEN ROSE, (New Haven, 1935); Mendoza to the Bishop of Arras, Siena, March 14, 1551, p. 215.

(19) «...quiero mas, acabado lo de aqui, irme con mi pobreza a mi casa». *Ibid.*, p. 220.

(20) *Casa de los Tiros*, «Guías de los Museos de España», XI, (Granada, 1962), ed. Antonio Gallego Morell, p. 13.

Also: LUIS SECO DE LUCENA, *La Alhambra —como fué y como es*, (Granada, 1935), p. 315.

(21) SECO DE LUCENA, *Ibid.*

Cf., also: LEOPOLDO DE EGUILAZ Y YANGUAS, *Reseña histórica de la conquista del reino de Granada por los Reyes Católicos según los cronistas árabes*. (Granda, 1894), p. 59.

(22) SECO DE LUCENA, *Ibid.*

Yahía, whose daughter brought it as dowry at her marriage to Gil Vázquez Rengifo²³. From this statement it appears that the Granada Venegas actually held title to the property from the time of the conquest of Granada. The contradictory opinions stem perhaps from some confusion in the minds of earlier writers. Apparently the first Don Pedro de Granada—who was formerly Cidi Yahía, the great Moorish prince—did not choose to live on the Generalife. Lafuente Alcántara tells us, for example, that the Cidi, persuaded by the Catholic Kings to give up his vast estates of Marchena and Luchar, was dissatisfied with the compensation they gave him. All he received was the lordship over the estate of Campotéjar, the insignia of the order of Santiago, and an appointment as alguacil mayor of Granada. Lafuente Alcántara does not mention the Generalife in this connection²⁴. If Cidi Yahía was entrusted also with the Generalife, it is understandable, too, that the former Moor, great traitor of his own people, and great contributor to the Christian victory, must have been disappointed about the ingratitude of the Catholic Kings. His former dominion over two rich provinces (with altogether 29 townships) could not compare with the greater glory of his ancestors as Princes of Almería and pretenders to the throne of the kingdom of Granada. But it was more and better than, for all of its beauty, the small estate of the Generalife—even though the Generalife at that time comprised not only the hill-side with the famous summer palace and gardens, but also all the land between the Darro and Genil from the *Campo de los Mártires* and the *Torres Bermejas* to the summit of the *Cerro Santa Elena* or *del Sol*²⁵. Although Don Pedro de Granada had retired to Andarax where he died in 1506²⁶, his son Don Alonso (the former Ali Omar Aben Nazar, the first member of the Morisco family to marry a Mendoza, a cousin of the Count of Tendilla)²⁷

(23) See note 20, *Casa de los Tiros*, p. 13.

(24) MIGUEL LAFUENTE ALCÁNTARA, *Historia de Granada*, (Granada, 1845), IV, pp. 142, 143.

(25) For the former extent of the territory of Generalife see: FRANCISCO DE PAULA VALLADAR, *Guía de Granada*, (Granada, 1906), pp. 427-431.

(26) LAFUENTE ALCÁNTARA, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 143.

(27) Her name was Juana or María de Mendoza, daughter of Francisco Hurtado de

very probably lived on the Generalife, at least until the time of the marriage of his sister (who must have been one of his two much younger half-sisters from Cidi Yahía's second, Spanish-Christian, wife) in 1525 to Gil Vázquez Rengifo. Their daughter, in turn, married her first cousin, Don Alonso's son Pedro the second, father of «our» Don Alonso. Obviously, according to these latest findings, there was at all times a part of the Granada Venegas family on the Generalife.

To the links of friendship and relation by marriage must be added, thus, that of propinquity. Don Diego was born in either 1503 or 1504²⁸ in the *Palacio árabe* of the Alhambra, the house of the Count of Tendilla²⁹. There is no reason to doubt this because nothing indicates that his mother, Doña Francisca Pacheco, should have absented herself from the Alhambra during those years. In 1508, a time when the Countess had perhaps already died³⁰, even the Count had not crossed the Sierra Morena for many years³¹. The nearest neighbors of Tendilla with his house full of big and small children were,

Mendoza. On her parentage cf. «Romancero General», II, ed. A. Duran, in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XVI, p. 130:

«Romances sobre Don Alonso Granada y Venegas», 1124:

«A Don Alonso casaron
Con la bella Doña Juana,
Dama suya, a quien criaron, (= los Reyes Católicos)
De Mendoza, cuyo padre
Fué el valiente Don Hurtado
Que sirvió en esta conquista
De Cazorla adelantado,
Nieta del de Santillana...»

(28) The year of Mendoza's birth is not usually given as 1504, but the following remarks by him narrow the date to that year: Dormer, *op. cit.*, in a letter to JERÓNIMO ZURITA, Dec. 1, 1573, Mendoza says: «he casi setenta años», p. 502. Rosell, ed. *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vol. XXI, p. XXVIII, in a letter dated Sept. 20, 1568, Mendoza says he is 64 years old; and in his last will, August 6, 1575, he says of himself that he is «71 años más o menos», in *Memorias de la Real Academia Española*, vol. X, 1910, ed. CRISTÓBAL PÉREZ PASTOR, pp. 153-194, quoted by GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *op. cit.*, II, p. 385.

(29) On the *Palacio de Tendilla* see ANTONIO GALLEGO y BURÍN, *La Alhambra*, (Granada, 1963), p. 198.

(30) In GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *op. cit.*, I, p. 39, it appears that the Countess was not living in 1510, the year of the marriage of Doña Maria Pacheco with Don Juan de Padilla. Since she is not mentioned in the letters of the Count published by JOSÉ CEPEDA ADÁN (see the following note), she had probably died before 1508.

(31) «Por ventura como ves que ha muchos años que no pasé Syerra Morena», JOSÉ CEPEDA ADÁN, «Andalucía en 1508», separata de *Hispania* (Madrid), 1962, no. LXXXV; p. 32, letter of Count Íñigo to Gonzalo del Campo, June 18, 1508.

of course, the inhabitants of the Generalife: during Don Diego's childhood they must have been this former Ali Omar, the first Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, with his family. Theirs might well have been a second home to D. Diego. Indeed, his father's first cousin, the wife of this Don Alonso, may have had a hand in raising old Count Iñigo's youngest son, the soon motherless Don Diego, so that in later years he held fond memories of the Generalife as his home. Besides, after his father's death in 1515 he was not, it seems, on best terms with the new head of his house, his eldest brother Don Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, the second Marquis of Mondéjar³². This fact makes it even more plausible that, during his many years absence from his country, he would think of the Generalife with the friendly and congenial Granada Venegas as his home rather than of the *Palacio* on the Alhambra which had become the house of Don Luis.

In 1551, the date of Mendoza's afore-mentioned letter to the Bishop of Arras, the *alcaide* of the Generalife would have been Don Pedro de Granada Venegas y Mendoza, grandson and namesake of Cidi Yahía (and, like Don Diego, a great-grandson of the Marquis of Santillana), who must have been near in age to Mendoza. He took part together with in the Tunis campaign (1535), and he married about 1540, but when Don Diego finally returned to Granada Don Pedro was no longer alive. Would the Generalife still have been Mendoza's «home» under Don Pedro's heir? Are we able to judge from Don Diego's one-time remark about the Generalife that he actually lived there after his return?

His home-coming, it is true, did not occur under the circumstances envisioned in 1551. At the height of his career, having been virtually the master of Rome during the Conclave of 1549/50, being indirectly responsible for the election of a Pope favorable to the Emperor's interests, and conducting

(32) See: GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 57, 58, for the fact that Don Luis carried on a law suit against him which lasted many years, disputing Don Diego the rent of 100,000 maravedis from the *dehesa* of Alhendín, left him by the testament of their father.

himself as absolute ruler of the Republic of Siena, he had expected to retire to his native town with great honors. Instead he returned to Granada in utter disgrace, the King's prisoner, under royal orders to hold himself at the disposal of the Marquis of Mondéjar, his nephew, and to serve him, lame and aged as he was, in the war. After being released from the fortress La Mota in Medina del Campo where he had been held for seven months, he traveled perhaps in the rear-guard of the train of Don Juan of Austria who arrived in Granada on April 12, 1569. Don Diego reportedly presented himself before his nephew on the Alhambra on April 17³³. Is it not feasible that under such humiliating circumstances he might have lodged elsewhere than he had planned in earlier, better times?

But the information gained from his letters to Espinosa reveals that his residence belonged, indeed, to the Generalife. Though he does not speak of the Generalife, the location of his lodging can be inferred from his accidental description of his house as the «first of the place». «Every day», he writes to the Cardinal, «the Moors come to the gate of Granada to eat our grapes; if this goes on, as I fear it will, I think I'll invite them to my house which is the first of the place...»³⁴

This description fits the locality near Fuente Peña, at the easternmost angle of the Alhambra hill, close to the modern entrance to the Generalife where an ancient gateway still bears the coat-of-arms of the Granada-Venegas.* That place always was the weak link for a stealthy approach to the fortress: when Christians, for instance, entered the Alhambra

(33) E. SEÑAN y ALONSO, *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, Apuntes biográfico-críticos, (1886), p. 55, gives a document from *Legajo 98 no. 12 del Archivo de la Alhambra* where Don Diego's arrival on April 17, 1569 is reported.

(34) «Cada día se nos vienen a comer uvas con nosotros a la puerta de Granada los moros; si esto va a la larga, como temo, conuidallos pienso en mi posada, que es la primera del lugar...» GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *op. cit.*, III, letter of October 3, 1569, pp. 451 and 452.

(*) Estoy obligada al Sr. Director del Museo de la Alhambra, Don Jesús Bermúdez Pareja, por esclarecer para mi este problema del lugar de la posible vivienda de Don Diego, y por su gentileza en darme otras varias informaciones acerca del ambiente de los Mendoza en Granada.

in the early hours of January 2, 1492, for their secret interview with Boabdil to receive the keys to the Alhambra from his hands, they came from this corner: «we arrived at the Alhambra at dawn and entered from the end towards the Aljares»³⁵. Similarly, on Christmas Eve of 1568, when the Moriscos brought seventeen rope ladders, planning to scale the Alhambra, they intended to do so from «the *Torre del Agua*, the place where the Alhambra is least strong»³⁶, or, as Mendoza said, from the side looking towards the Generalife, reconnoitering from the *Cerro de Santa Elena* or *del Sol*³⁷. This was the same general direction from where the marauders would be coming during the war, stealing grapes, cattle, flour and even the millers³⁸.

Thus we find that Don Diego occupied one of a group of country houses formerly standing in the orchards and vineyards belonging to the Generalife. Having with him a household that included a chaplain, a mayordomo, lackeys, pages, personal servants, house-keepers and slaves³⁹, would he have lived there as a guest of the Granada Venegas? Did he rent the house, or could he have owned it? Impossible as it is to answer these questions, a likely guess is that, at one time in his youth, perhaps when he took leave for his first visit to Italy as a student, the family Venegas, more brotherly than his own eldest brother, set aside one of the several cottages on their estate for him to use whenever he should wish to return to Granada. Because, obviously, his right to live there had not changed under the tenure of the new young master Don Alonso whom Don Diego must have come to know well during his years in the service of Felipe II. Don Alonso came often

(35) «...llegamos al Alhambra en amaneciendo e fue a entrar por do aquel cabo de los Aljares»; MARÍA DEL CARMEN PESCADOR DEL HOYO, «Como fué de verdad la toma de Granada», pp. 283-344, in *Al-Andalus*, vol. XX, fasc. 2, 1955, p. 286. The *Aljares*, also called *Alijares*, belonged to the territory of Generalife, see Valladar, my note 25.

(36) «la torre del agua, que es por donde el Alhambra está menos fuerte», from a letter by Alonso Ochoa de Rivera to don Francisco Mexia, Feb. 13, 1569, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. 665, 1914, p. 399.

(37) *Guerra*, p. 31.

(38) GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *op. cit.*, III, letter of April 27, 1570, p. 456.

(39) Cf. «Testamento de D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza», in *Memorias*, see my note 28.

to the Royal Court, being there, as we had seen earlier, during most of 1568, including the critical days of July when Mendoza had his foolish quarrel with Don Diego de Leyva, the cause of his fall from royal grace. Although his few letters in our appendix contain no reference to Don Diego, once, at least, he mentions the Generalife. On January 1, 1570, he implores the Cardinal Espinosa to send him assistance for safeguarding that estate. As is already known from Don Diego's letters, the orchards of the Generalife bore the brunt of the nightly attacks of the Moriscos, a constant danger. «I implore your Reverence», Don Alonso writes, «to order support for the Generalife because it is in danger of rapidly becoming lost... It is a shame that a house like that should fall... those of us who have property here feel in our hearts like Job»⁴⁰. This is as near as he comes to alluding to his aged friend, guest, tenant, or co-owner, whatever Don Diego may have been, without directly mentioning him. If anyone felt like Job, it was certainly Mendoza. In addition to sharing the dangers from the enemies (whose justified cause for revolt, ironically, he was the only Christian of his time to articulate) he was walking about in his native town —his house arrest lifted in March of 1570⁴¹— friendless and neglected, hardly any one looking him in the face. His sympathetic references to Don Alonso, however, make it quite clear that this young friend and relative had not changed in his high regard for him. Don Alonso, indeed, deserves credit for the interesting fact, now established for the first time, that Diego Hurtado de Mendoza wrote the *Guerra de Granada* near Fuente Peña in the first house inside the city limits of the Granada Venegas' Generalife.

(40) Letter III of the *apéndice*.

(41) GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *op. cit.*, letter of March 23, 1570, p. 454 and 455.

APENDICE DE CARTAS

Archivo del Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan

Envío I-57, fol. 9.*

I

1568. 25 de diciembre.

A la S.C.R.M. del Rei don Felipe nuestro Señor. (*Autógrafo, de 2 hojas en folio con sello de lacre, en color rojo oscuro, con cinco granadas y un león en los cuarteles del escudo*).

S.C.R.M.

Yo acabo de llegar a este lugar, y hállome tan alterado y con tantos escándalos que no le conosco; y como quien tanto desea en este reino el servicio de Dios y de V.M. y la quietud dél, dije a V.M. los otros días, quando el alboroto pasado, quando dixeron que el Albaisín se alçava lo que dél entiendo; y asi lo haré sienpre como lo devo.

V.M. sepa que los buenos deste reino y los que biven bien están afligidísimos con los malos tratamientos que cada día reçiben de obras y palabras, y de la poca confiança que dellos se haze, y los malos y inquietos, que son hartos, están alterados con lo mismo y con tantas novedades como an venido juntas, que en la ejecución dellas sería menester otra traça que la que se tiene para onrar y faborecer a los buenos y que lo mereçiesen, y castigar con mucho rigor a los demás, como se solía haser en tienpos más peligrosos, resién ganado este reino. Si yo valiere para algo, aquí estoí las espuelas calçadas como llegué para deramar mi sangre en el servicio de V.M., como lo hisieron mis aguelos y padres, deseando acabar la vida en esta demanda. Y así suplico a V.M. unildemente admita lo que aquí digo con el zelo que devo y tengo a su servicio de V.M., cuya sacra y católica y real persona

(*) Debo a la amabilidad del Sr. Director del Museo del Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, D. Pedro Longás Bartibás, la copia de estos documentos inéditos y el permiso de publicarlos. Le envío por ello la expresión de mi profunda gratitud.

guarde Nuestro Señor con acrecentamiento de mayores reinos y señorios, como los vasallos y criados de V.M. lo deseamos. En Granada 25 de desienbre 1568

Besa las reales manos de V.M. su leal vasallo y criado

Don Alonso de Granada Venegas (*rúbrica*)

II

[*Sin fecha, pero según el contenido debe ser del mismo tiempo más o menos, pues luego ya no se hablaría de las «premáticas.»*]

Al Yll.mo y R.mo S.r el cardenal de Çiçuença (Espinosa) mi señor inquisidor jeneral y presidente de Castilla. (*Autógrafo de 2 hojas en folio, con sello de lacre, en color rojo oscuro.*)

Yll.mo y R.mo S.or

Está V.S. Yll.ma sienpre tan ocupado que no puede onbre informalle como quería; y por lo que toca a mi propia obligación y a lo que deseo servir a V.S. Yll.ma hago esto para que V.S. Ill.ma entienda quel camino que en aquel reino de Granada se toma para con aquella jente es muy aspero, y no digo en quanto annudalles la lengua y abito, questo ojala estuviera hechos días a que no ai nadie que lo desee más que yo, sino de los malos tratamientos que les hasen en los medios de la execución de las premáticas y en otras cosas que son muchas, y en llevar a todos por un parejo, buenos y malos, ques cosa para haser cada día más enemigos; y en no quererles oir aun en las cosas que les rogavan antes con ello, como lo del perdón jeneral y otras cosas que les podría quitar las almas y los cuerpos, a lo menos obligarme ai yo a tener aquella tierra tan quieta como solía estar con poco cuydado. Suplico a V.S. Yll.ma lo mande mirar como hase lo demás todo; porque cierto conviene, sino cada día estará más inquietos porque están muy aflijidos; y tome V.S. Yll.ma esto de mi como quien tanto desea el servicio de Nuestro Señor en aquella tierra prinçipalmente, y el de su magestad; y que en tiempo de V.S. Yll.ma se pusiese remedio más conveniente para esto, y quando V.S. lo quisiese entender más particularmente y fuere servido de oirme me obligaría a quietallo todo con medios muy blandos y que sirviesen para animallos a todo lo bueno. V.S. Yll.ma lo mire todo conforme a la obligación que tiene, pues le a puesto Dios en ese lugar que no va poco en redimir un reino tan grande y tan bueno como aquel. En lo que toca a mi negoçio particular suplico a V.S. Yll.ma lo mande mirar como todo lo que a mi toca, pues siempre V.S. Yll.ma me ha hecho tanta merçed y fabor. Y pues se entiende la obligación que su magestad tiene de onrar a los nietos de

los aguelos que deramaron mucha sangre en su servicio, pues no hare yo menos agora y sienpre que se ofresca como lo devo a mi profisión. Y el fin para que yo lo quiero es para servir más a su magestad y a V.S. Yll.ma, cuya Yll.ma y R.ma persona guarde y prospere Nuestro Señor como yo lo deseo y V.S. Yll.ma lo mereçe, quiero que sea el padre Alvarado el mensajero, porque sabe algo de lo que aquí digo.

Yll.mo y R.mo S.r

Besa las manos de V. Yll.ma su verdadero servidor

Don Alonso de Granada Venegas (*rúbrica*)

III

1570. 1 de enero.

Al Ill. y R. Señor el cardenal de Çiguença, mi Señor, Presidente de Castilla y inquisidor mayor de España.

Ill.mo y R.mo:

Vien se acordará V.S. Ill.ma la priesa con que me mandó salir de ai, y así yo vine con toda la que pude, y con el contentamiento quera rason a servir a su Md en cualquiera cosa de las que se mandasen. Hallé al señor don Juan de camino para Guejar y fui con él, y huelgome que sabe V.S. Ill.ma los días que a que yo le dije lo que inportava quitar de aquellos dos puestos a los enemigos. Ello se hizo bien a Dios graçias, como V.S. Yll.ma avrá entendido; y yo me hallo el más confuso onbre del mundo, porque con la priesa de la partida del señor don Juan al río de Almançora no se pudo dar orden en darme los cavallos que su Md mandó ni tanpoco tratar de nada de lo que V.S. Yll.ma me mandó que yo tratase con esta jente para redusir a los que uviesen ido engañados a la siera; y aviendo yo de haser los cavallos será menester salir de aquí para levantillos con más brevedad, y para esto sería menester que V.S. Ill.ma mande que allá se me den las patentes de su Md para que mejor se haga, porque de algunas partes se me an ofreçido como lo escribo a su Md.; y en lo demás desta jente se me dé la comisión para tratallo, porque sin ella yo no osaría enpeçallo, porque no piensen los que aca gobiernan que me mueve mi interese o inclinación; y en tanto que se desengañasen pa-deçería mi onor; y esto dígolo por los ministros de aca y no por otra cosa, porque para con los demás de parte mía yo sabría tomar el hilo como conviniese para hazer algún efeto. Y así quedo aguardando lo que V.S. Yll.ma me mandará para poner luego manos a la labor en lo uno y en lo otro, ques bien menester la priesa sigun está de perdida esta tierra, y cada día más.

Y ojala V.S. Ill.ma la viese para que le hiziese más lástima. También suplico a V.S. Ill.ma mande que se remedie lo que toca al Jinalarife como lo suplico por una petición a su Md. porque apriesa se pierde, y es lástima que una casa como aquella se asuele no aviendo inconveniente en lo que yo pido para nada; y aunque aca lo e dicho no se hase nada; y a mi no tiene más lo que toca a su magestad que mi interese, y puedese bien creer esto, porque los que aquí tenemos hacienda tenemos ya hecho el corazón como Job. Lo uno y lo otro suplico a V.S. Ill.ma mande proveer, pues le puso Dios a V.S. Yll.ma en ese lugar para remediallo todo, cuya Yll.ma y R.ma. persona Nuestro Señor guarde con la prosperidad de mayores estados que yo deseo

En Granada el primero día del año 1570.

Yll. y R. S.

Besa las manos de V.S. Yll.ma su mayor servidor

Don Alonso de Granada Venegas (*rúbrica*)

IV

1570. 5 de marzo

Al Ill.mo y R.mo S.or El Cardenal de Çiguença mi S.or Presidente de Castilla y Ynquisidor General de España.

(*MS de 2 hojas en folio, con huellas del sello de lacre desaparecido.*
(*letra de secretario*)

Ill.mo y R.mo S.or

Ningún género de disculpa tendría de no tener muy adelante el edificio que V.S. Ill.ma me mandó si me uvieran dado algún género de Materiales para él y así entenderá V.S. Ill.ma por la carta que con esta a su Magestad escribo las largas que se án traydo conmigo, que deseando yo servirle lo que yo deseo y devo, no e podido enpeçar a hacello aviendo avido tan buenas coyunturas, y siendo cosa tan fácil mi despacho, pues la brebedad es lo que más conviene para todo sigun anda todo por aca. Y pues allí digo lo que entiendo y sabe V.S. Ill.ma que por mí no se perderá punto, se provea lo que más convenga en todo, que yo desde que aquí llegué ando las espuelas calçadas y mis cavallos ensillados dando la priesa que digo, y así me la daré para que quando esta llegue yo esté fuera de aquí, que no es tiempo de otra cosa que cada uno avia de ayudar lo que pudiese y dexar hacer a el otro, y no devo más que ocurrir a su magestad y a V.S.a Yll.ma cuya

Yll.ma y R.ma persona de V.S.a Nuestro Señor guarde y en Estados acreciente con la prosperidad que yo deseo.

En Granada 5 de Março 1570

(Autógrafo): Al fin digo que como quiera que sea saldré luego de aquí y en llegando me daré priesa y avisaré de lo que hiziere lo de los bastimentos para estos exercitos temo mucho.

Yll.mo y R.mo S.r

Besa las manos de V. Yll.ma, su mayor servidor

Don Alonso de Granada Venegas (*rúbrica*)

V

1570, 2 de abril.

Al Yll.mo y R.mo S.or el cardenal de Çiguença mi S.or, presidente de Castilla y inquisidor mayor despaña, s.s.s.

(Autógrafo, de dos hojas en folio, con sello de lacre.)

Ill.mo y R.mo S.or

Pues sé la merced y fabor que S. Yll.ma sienpre me hase, justo es queme queje, pues me sobra tanta razón como la que S. Yll.ma verá por la que a Su Magestad y a Juan Vasques de Salasar particularmente para que informe a V.S. Yll.ma Y pues V.S. Yll.ma deve conoçer el deseo que yo tengo al serviçio de Su Magestad, que en esto a nadie daré ventaja, suplico a V.S. Yll.ma mande que no se me haga agravio sino todo fabor y merçed, que con este de mi Rei todo lo podré, y sin él ni valgo nada ni quiero valer ni cansar a V.S. Yll.ma

Nuestro Señor guarde en prosperidad destados acreçiente la Yll.ma y R.ma persona de V.S. Yll.ma como deseo.

En Jayena 2 de abril 1570

Ill.mo y R.mo S.or

Besa las manos de V.S. Yll.ma su servidor

Don Alonso de Granada Venegas (*rúbrica*).

VI

1570. 21 de abril

Al Ill.mo y R.mo señor el cardenal de Çiguença, mi señor,
Presidente de Castilla y inquisidor General despaña.

(Autógrafo, de dos hojas en folio, con sello de lacre).

Yll.mo y R.mo S.or

Por menos que meresca esta merçed tengo de suplicar a V.S. Yll.ma me mande avisar de su salud y a mandar en que sirva, pues nadie ai en el mundo que más deva ni desee hazer. Y por lo que por aca pasa en todo entenderá V.S. Yll.ma por la carta que scrivo a su magestad no digo más de que Nuestro Señor guarde y en prosperidad de mayores estados acreçiente la Yll.ma persona de V.S. Yll.ma como yo deseo.

Y no suplico a V.S. Yll.ma nada de lo que a mi toca, pues sé el cuydado que de haserme sienpre merçed y favor V.S. Yll.ma tiene.

En Jayena 21 de abril 1570

Yll.mo y R.mo. S.or

Beso las manos de V.S. Yll.ma su servidor

Don Alonso de Granada Venegas (*rúbrica*).

VII

1570. 21 de mayo

Al Yll.mo y R.mo S.or el cardenal de Çiguença mi señor,
Presidente de Castilla i inquisidor mayor despaña.

(Autógrafo, de 2 hojas en folio, con sello de lacre, en color rojo claro).

Yll.mo y R.mo. S.or

Bendito sea Dios que a traído estos negoçios a este estado que yo prometo a V.S. Yll.ma que no a sido poco, según lo an deseado menos muchas jentes; yo lo e procurado lo que e podido por entender ques cosa que conviene al servicio de Nuestro Señor y de su magestad, y avermelo V.S. Yll.ma mandado; y así no bolveré las espaldas a ello

hasta vello como yo deseo, pues sé cuan siguras las tengo con el favor y gran merçed que V.S. Yll.ma sienpre me haze, y porque por la que yo escrivo a su magestad, entenderá V.S. Yll.ma lo que yo desto espero y temo, no quiero decir más de que Nuestro Señor guarde y en prosperidad destados acreciente la Yll.ma y R.ma persona de V.S. Yll.ma como yo lo deseo.

En Padules, 21 de mayo 1570

Yll.mo y R.mo. S.or

Besa las manos de V.S. Yll.ma su mayor servidor

Don Alonso de Granada Venegas (*rúbrica*).

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