The Granada Venegas Family, 1431-1643: Nobility, Renaissance and Morisco Identity

By

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A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction

Of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in History

in the Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

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Summer 2015

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Abstract

In the Spanish city of Granada, beginning with its conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, Christian aesthetics, briefly Gothic, and then classical were imposed on the landscape. There, the revival of classical Roman culture took place against the backdrop of Islamic civilization. The Renaissance was brought to the city by its conquerors along with Christianity and Castilian law. When Granada fell, many Muslim leaders fled to North Africa. Other elite families stayed, collaborated with the new rulers and began to promote this new classical culture. The Granada Venegas were one of the families that stayed, and participated in the Renaissance in Granada by sponsoring a group of writers and poets, and they served the crown in various military capacities. They were royal, having descended from a Sultan who had ruled Granada in 1431. Cidi Yahya Al Nayar, the heir to this family, converted to Christianity prior to the conquest. Thus he was one of the Morisco elites most respected by the conquerors. My dissertation follows Cidi Yahya Al Nayar's descendants, the Granada Venegas family, in their more than one hundred year quest to join the high nobility of Spain. This quest ended at the court of Philip IV in Madrid when Don Pedro de Granada Venegas was made a Marqúes in 1643. The Granada Venegas were Moriscos, or Muslim converts to Christianity. Most accounts of Morisco history have focused their attention on many Morisco laborers and farmers who tried to keep their cultural and religious traditions alive and who ultimately were expelled from Spain in 1609. This dissertation describes a different sort of Morisco experience—the successful assimilation of elites—which adds complexity to our understanding of this persecuted minority. The Granada Venegas family, as Moriscos, worked hard and successfully to convince their neighbors in Granada, and ultimately the crown in Madrid, that they were loyal servants and devout Christians, worthy of a noble title.

To my Father

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

There are many people who have helped me with this project. I am especially grateful for those who gave of their time in person or over email to strategize with me and encourage me in its early stages, including A. Katie Harris and Katrina Olds who worked with me on a chapter draft at the Northwest Hispanists' Working Group, Thomas Glick at Boston University, Adam Beaver at Princeton University, and Miguel Luís López-Guadalupe Muñoz and Enrique Soria Mesa in Spain. Among many others, I am grateful especially to the archivists of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, the Casa de los Tiros and the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada, and to the National Endowment for the Humanities for including me in its 2013 Summer Seminar in New York, "Researching Early Modern Manuscripts and Printed Books," to the libraries which welcomed our research projects, especially the Morgan Library and the Hispanic Society of America. I am thankful to Carla Rahn Phillips and the Mellon Weekend Workshops in Vernacular Paleography, and to the History Department at Berkeley for funding my final dissertation-writing year. I am thankful to Leah Middlebrook, Barbara Altmann and Stephanie Moore for being part of a panel I organized on "Olivier de la Marche in the Sixteenth Century" at the 2015 Renaissance Society of America annual meeting—our discussions and your feedback to me were very helpful to my third dissertation chapter. I am also thankful to Sarah Reeser from the University of Toronto for having me discuss a section of my first chapter in your panel on "Post-Conquest Religiosity" at the 2015 medieval conference at Kalamazoo. I am thankful also to the National Endowment for the Humanities for accepting me to the 2015 Summer Seminar "The Alhambra and Spain's Islamic Past," which will be an intellectual spring board for all of my future work on the history of Granada.

All of you who have taught me history, literature, foreign language, music, and more over the course of my education have ultimately had your hands in this project, for we are no one without our teachers, and without the scholars who have gone before us.

I am most grateful to my graduate advisor Thomas Dandelet for all of your guidance and assistance in this dissertation, and your advising during all of my years of formation at Berkeley. I look forward to teaching others out of the wealth of what you have taught me, not the least of which is about the Renaissance in the cities of Spain and Italy.

My two other dissertation readers, Jonathan Sheehan and Ignacio Navarrete, have also been very supportive of this project and have helped me immensely over the course of my education at Berkeley. Thank you, Ignacio Navarrete, for all of your encouragement, and for introducing me to the field of Spanish literature.

To my professors at Berkeley, Thomas Dandelet, Jonathan Sheehan, Ignacio Navarrete, Jan de Vries, Geoffrey Koziol, Maria Mavroudi, Maureen Miller, Ethan Shagan, Emilie Bergmann, Christopher Ocker, and Albert Ascoli, and my professors at Dartmouth, David Lagomarsino, Walter Simons, Kenneth Shewmaker, Ed Miller, Sheila Culbert, Emmanuel Rota, Eleonora Stoppino, Deborah Garretson, and Robert Duff, thank you for teaching me all that you have, for holding me to high standards, and for believing in me. I am especially grateful to David Lagomarsino and Walter Simons for encouraging me to pursue a graduate degree, and to David Lagomarsino, as my undergraduate advisor, for filling me with enthusiasm for early modern Europe, and for with patience and wisdom, helping me bring my first major research project to fruition. A special thank you I give to my professors of Italian history, language and literature, Emmanuel Rota and Eleonora Stoppino, and to Albert Ascoli. I am very thankful to Maria Mavroudi, Maureen Miller, Geoffrey Koziol and Walter Simons for giving me my foundation in

the history of medieval Europe, without which I would not be able to say anything about the early modern and late medieval.

I thank my alma mater, Dartmouth College, for the liberal arts education and study abroad experiences that propelled me on to higher study. “Though round the girdled earth they roam, her spell on them remains.”

To my teachers at the Episcopal School of Jacksonville, FL, Nancy Prendergast, William Valentine, Deborah Hodge, Victoria Register-Freeman, Carol C. Schoenberger, John Iorii, Jeff Tippins, Taylor Smith and Peter Pierson, thank you for pushing me to excel and for helping me love learning for its own sake. To Art Peterson, also an historian of early modern Spain, who first introduced me to the Habsburgs in high school, I wish you were still here and I could talk to you about this milestone. Thank you to John Iorii, who taught me it was always, always possible to know more about the past. Thank you to Carol C. Schoenberger, who made me love geography before I ever read Fernand Braudel. Thank you as well to Beth White at Shore Country Day, for getting me started, and for keeping in touch with me ever since.

To all of my colleagues and friends at Berkeley who have given me their friendship, camaraderie and support, especially Daniel Melleno, Margaret Tillman, and Simon Grote, you all have helped me more than you know. To my friends in my entering class, Doug O’Reagan, Ashley Leyba, Robert Harkins, Ti Ngo, and Hilary Falb Kalisman, I have enjoyed sharing this rollercoaster with you. To my distinguished colleague, Matthew Michel, with whom I have shared academic interests since middle school, thank you for giving of your linguistic expertise at key moments during this process. Thank you to Tanya Varela for your kind answers to some questions as well. Many other old friends have been a great support to me during this effort. I have been encouraged and inspired by the conversations I have had with countless younger friends and colleagues, and with my students, especially in my two seminars “The Knight in European History from the 12th-17th Century” and “Warriors, Nobles, and Chivalric Orders in Medieval Europe,” in Spring 2012 and Fall 2013.

To my parents, David and Donna, I would not have been able to begin to write let alone finish this dissertation without you and without your unconditional love and generosity. Thank you for allowing a junior in high school to study for a summer at Oxford, where she fell in love with Europe. Thank you for letting me reach for the stars, and for all that you have shared with me and have done for me my whole life. I dedicate this dissertation to my father, the first historian of early modern Europe that I ever got to know and love.

To my boyfriend Jesse, thank you for all the ways you have helped me, and the times you have given me thoughts from your legal mind and when you have provided me with joyful distraction in the course of this adventure.

Plus Oultre.

Introduction

 [1]

On a hill in Granada, overlooking the Nasrid palaces of the Alhambra, and the whitewashed houses of the Albayzín, are the Generalife palaces and gardens. The Generalife had been the summer pleasure palace of the Muslim Nasrid sultans in the Middle Ages. High on a hill, breezes blow through the palace courtyard, the Patio de la Acequia, a long pool surrounded by fountains, flowers and pomegranate trees, with a long arched promenade. Each window of the promenade contains a slightly different magnificent view of the orchards and vineyards, the Alhambra fortress-palace complex and Granada below. After the Christian conquest of Muslim Granada in 1492, the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile appointed Don Gil Vázquez Rengifo to the guardianship of the Generalife palace. In 1535, at the marriage of Rengifo's daughter, this honor passed to her new husband, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas Mendoza, the son of a convert to Christianity and a descendant of the Muslim kings of Granada.[2]

This meant that Don Pedro, the great-great grandson of a Nasrid sultan, Yusuf IV, was living in a royal Nasrid palace, this time as a steward of the Christian king who owned it. From 1535-1660, this family presided over the palace of Granada that was second only to the Alhambra in magnificence. How this happened—the assimilation of converts from Islam, or Moriscos, into this prestigious position, and even greater ones, provides an excellent case study for understanding four important historical problems and themes raised by today's historiography of early modern Spain: Morisco historiography, the development of chivalric culture and the military orders, and the evolution of the nobility and its military and court identity in the age of Empire. It also illuminates the rise of a distinct Spanish Renaissance in the

[1] Generalife palace with a view of the Alhambra, Granada, Spain, photograph by author, October 13, 2012.

[2] José Antonio García Luján, The Generalife: Garden of Paradise (Granada: Copartgraf, 2007), 23.

realm of cultural and intellectual life, art, architecture and politics. The story of this elite Morisco family, the Granada Venegas, proves that it *was* possible for Moriscos to assimilate successfully into Christian society.

Not only was this palace, the Generalife, an opulent reminder of Nasrid cultural life, but it would also serve as a setting for the flowering of Renaissance literary culture in Granada. In 1526-27, Granada was also the center of Charles V's empire, as he spent his honeymoon there, with all his courtiers around him. It was in the gardens of the Generalife in that year that a Venetian ambassador urged the young poet Juan Boscán to imitate Italian forms in his Spanish poetry,[3] as the third chapter of this dissertation explains. Later, the emperor would build a monumental argument for the revival of the Roman Empire, the Palacio de Carlos V, on a neighboring hill, within the Alhambra's walls.[4]

The Granada Venegas, as guardians of the Generalife, had a bird's eye view of how the Christians' Renaissance was imposed on Granada's landscape, and how the Moriscos responded at various times by revolting in the Albayzín neighborhood below. From these pavilions, they could also see flashes of weapons, from the troops stationed in the Alhambra, led by the Captain general, the leader of the powerful Mendoza family who lived there. Despite scholars' sustained interest in the history of the Granada Venegas's neighbors and associates, the Mendoza family, the Granada Venegas have been little studied.[5] This dissertation provides the first monograph on

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[3] Letter from Juan Boscán to the Duquesa de Soma, "…me dijo por qué no probaba en lengua castellana sonetos y otras clases de trovas usadas por los buenos autores de Italia: y solamente me lo dijo así livianamente, más aún, me rogó que lo hiciese…" cited in Álvaro Salvador, *Guía literaria de la ciudad de Granada, itinerarios árabe y renacentista* (Granada: La Vela, 2007), 102-104; Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega ultimately translated Castilgione's the courtier, in part to show that poetry was for the nobility alone to practice. Ignacio Navarrete, Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 48.

[4] Earl E. Rosenthal, The Palace of Charles V in Granada (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 264.

[5] In addition to the many biographies of famous noble figures such as the Duke of Alba or the Count-Duke of Olivares, several of the important noble families in Andalucía have been the subject of monographs, including Helen Nader, The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979); Erica Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970); Yuen-Gen Liang, Family and Empire: The Férnandez de Córdoba and the Spanish Realm (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); The Granada Venegas have not been the subject of a monograph, though some have published articles on them and on a few other elite Moriscos, for example: José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar,* Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010); Aaron Stamper, "The Córdoba y Valor: A Legacy of Dissidence," paper presented at UC Mediterranean Studies MRP Workshop, UC San Diego, April 18, 2015; José Antonio García Luján has written a book on the two palaces the Granada Venegas lived in in Granada, and has published a number of important primary sources in his appendices. José Antonio García Luján, The Casa de los Tiros in Granada (Granada, Copartgraf, 2006); José Antonio García Luján, The Generalife: Garden of Paradise (Granada: Copartgraf, 2007).

the history of the Granada Venegas family. It follows their story from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, focusing on Spanish literary sources, especially in Chapter 3, in order to explain the Granada Venegas's role in promoting both Renaissance culture and the culture of a traditional military elite.[6]

Rather than starting at the conquest of Granada in 1492, this dissertation begins with a chapter on the intricate alliances and bloody conflicts between Granada's sultans and Castilian and Aragonese kings from 1431-1492. The integration of the Granada Venegas into Christian society can only be understood in light of the phenomenon of the Moorish guard that served the kings of Castile, and the frontier romances and ballads that illustrate a shared noble and chivalric culture across religious frontiers. This periodization which includes the fifteenth century engages with much current scholarship that questions deep divides between the Middle Ages and early modern periods.[7] Neither Castile nor Nasrid Granada experienced a stable succession of power from father to son, and neither Castile nor Granada had a fixed border, but rather had a constantly moving frontier zone. Within Granada, the leading families played important roles in shoring up the power of the sultan, or raising another in his place. Sultan Yusuf IV, the ancestor of the Granada Venegas, was one of these Nasrid kings who had a firm alliance with Castile, and his sons continued this tradition, as explained in Chapter 1. When Nasrid elites, such as the Granada Venegas, converted to Christianity, they were not only committing a religious act, but a political one as well.[8] This project is thus a cultural and political history of an elite family, that spans the period from 1431 to 1643, from Castile and the kingdom of Granada in the late Middle Ages, to the Spain of Philip IV and the Spanish Empire at its height.

Since the early 2000s, due to the quadricentennial of the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, both Spanish and American historians and scholars of literature have expressed a greater interest in the "Morisco question," tracing the history of the Muslim converts to Christianity,

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[6] In 1643, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, Marqués of Campotéjar, died without heirs. His two nephews, Don Fernando de Granada Venegas Ochoa, a cleric, and Don Juan de Granada Venegas Ochoa inherited the title and died without heirs. In 1661, the title passed to a cousin, Pedro Lomellini Pavesi, from a Genoese merchant family. The Lomellini resided in Granada. When their line ended, the title passed to another cousin, Pedro Grimaldi Lomellini, in 1716. This family was fully absentee, and lived in Genoa. They kept their title until their final heir, Giacomo Durazzo Pallavicini, died in 1921. After this, the family's properties, the Casa de los Tiros and the Generalife, were given back to the Spanish crown, but the family retained some of the Granada Venegas's papers, which they took back to Genoa with them, and hold in a private archive that has not allowed access to researchers. The title of Marqués of Campotéjar then passed to a female Spanish grandee, Casilda de Bustos Figueroa, who was Duchess of Pastrana and the Marqués of Corvera. Her son, José María Finat y Bustos, who through his father was also the Conde of Finat, Visconde de Rías, and Conde of Mayalde, Olvieto y Villaflor, is the current Marqués of Campotéjar in 2015. He was born in 1932. José Antonio García Luján, The Generalife: Garden of Paradise, 89-92.

[7] For more on these questions see Randolph Starn, "The Early Modern Muddle," Journal of Early Modern History, Vol.6 Issue 3 (2002): 296-307; William J. Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," American Historical Review, Vol.84, No.1 (1979): 1-15.

[8] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467, Translated by Martin Beagles (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 39-40.

between the conquest of Nasrid Granada in 1492, and their 1609 expulsion.[9] Works by Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, and several important articles and books by Enrique Soria Mesa, along with others, have created a new historiography of the Moriscos that emphasizes their agency and creativity despite the obstacles they faced from the crown or the Spanish Inquisition. This dissertation extends the timeline to the mid seventeenth century to show how one family continued their social rise after the expulsion.[10] The case of the Granada Venegas pushes the history of the Moriscos forward into the seventeenth century, and adds an important chapter to this body of revisionist literature on the Morisco question. Social historians of the Moriscos have largely focused on these many Moriscos who did not fully assimilate.[11] This dissertation underlines the fact that some Moriscos *did* assimilate into Spanish society. Like much of this new historiography, this dissertation also recognizes more "ambiguity surrounding identity and interplay within and among social groups than we used to think, with many examples of passing, go-betweens, and chameleon-like shifts."[12]

The concept of individuals "passing" and experiencing "chameleon-like" shifts is not new to scholars of Jewish history. Historians have described this tendency in the *judeo-conversos*.

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[9] Before this the classic history of the Moriscos was Julio Caro Baroja, *Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada: Ensayo de Historia Social* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Politicos, 1957).

[10] *Un Oriente Español* by García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano deals with the *libros plúmbeos* discovered in Granada that claimed an ancient Christian past for the city and a Christian pedigree for the Moriscos. *Un Oriente Español: Los Moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrrareforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2010); Enrique Soria Mesa, in several articles and books, has provided a social history of the Moriscos and other Castilian elites. Scholars of Spanish literature, especially Cervantistas like Carroll B. Johnson, have emphasized the importance of Morisco themes and concerns in Spanish Golden Age literature, some of which may be hidden in plain sight. William Childers, "Cervantes in Moriscolandia," Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America 32, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 277, 290; Carroll B. Johnson, Transliterating a Culture: Cervantes and the Moriscos, Edited by Mark Groundland (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2010); Recent books by Barbara Fuchs and Mary Elizabeth Perry also contribute substantially to this new historiography, especially in the experiences of Morisco women, and in the question of how Spain, and its Muslim past were viewed by other Europeans. Barbara Fuchs, Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2009); Mary Elizabeth Perry, The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[11] "The prevailing image of Moriscos had corresponded to the seventeenth century view of them as, essentially, non-Spaniards stubbornly employing their limited cultural, economic, social and political resources in a vain attempt to resist assimilation. Unwilling or unable to adapt to the ideological shift after Trent, their expulsion had become a fait accompli by 1590, if not earlier, reducing them to "sitting ducks," passively waiting for the ax to fall. The new Morisco historiography paints a more varied and dynamic picture, giving greater attention to class differentiation and above all to the growing numbers who successfully integrated and improved their status within the host society." William Childers, "Cervantes in Moriscolandia," Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America 32, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 287; Mercedes García-Arenal, y Fernando Rodriquez Mediano, *Un Oriente Español.*

[12] William Childers, "Cervantes in Moriscolandia," 290.

This historiography grew quite richly after the Second World War, explaining how the *marranos*, Portuguese *conversos*, returned to Spain in the late sixteenth century after their expulsion from Portugal. This group traveled widely, and blended into their surroundings, some changing their confessional identity multiple times.[13] To historians Thomas Glick and Yirminahu Yovel, the *marranos* were both inside and outside of fixed markers of identity, and to these scholars, this malleability and change was a harbinger of modernity. Glick makes a comparison between the experience of *judeo-conversos* and Moriscos in early modern Spain:

> …if the Moriscos were able to achieve what the crypto-Jew could not (continuous maintenance of their religious tradition), their cultural success was a measure of social failure. By the same token, the cultural failure of the crypto-Jew was a measure of their social success. They had found a place in Spanish society despite their impulses to the contrary.[14]

In the late twentieth century, numerous books focused on the "social success" of the famous *judeo-conversos* who moved up the ranks of Castilian society, such as Teresa of Ávila, Inquisitor Torquemada, or the Archbishop of Toledo, Jímenez de Cisneros. Glick's statement that the *conversos* succeeded socially and failed culturally, and the Moriscos succeeded culturally and failed socially,[15] for the vast majority of the agrarian Morisco population, is an entirely accurate one. According to Mary Elizabeth Perry, by the 1560s, "the Moriscos of Granada were largely farmers who owned their own land, very rarely vassals dependent on a lord or city dwellers assimilating to urban Christian life."[16]

In contrast to the *judeo-conversos'* successful transformation, the Moriscos, in small enclaves of laborers, artisans, and farmers, largely failed to assimilate into Christian society. While for a brief moment, it was legal to practice Islam in Aragon, and Henry Kamen has shown that certain Aragonese lords protected their Mudéjar serfs and even built them mosques,[17] Charles V expelled the last Muslim Mudéjar communities from Aragon in the 1520s, and so all Muslims in Spain were legally considered Christians. In the isolated towns of the Alpujarras mountains, a largely unassimilated population of Moriscos found regulations against their language and dress particularly onerous, and led two failed revolts in response to them. Due to the fact they were able to keep their Muslim customs alive, and as punishment after the Alpujarras revolt, the Moriscos were expelled from Granada to other parts of Castile in 1571.

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[13] To give one example, "Joao Batista was born a Christian in Lisbon, circumcised in Flanders, and a Jew in Salonika; once baptized in Rome he returned to Portugal, then went to Safed where he was a Jew and briefly a Muslim, and finally ended his life as a Christian in Venice." Thomas F. Glick, "On Converso and Marrano Ethnicity," in Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World, 1391-1648, Ed. Benjamin R. Gampel, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 72.
[14] Thomas F. Glick, "On Converso and Marrano Ethnicity," 70.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Mary Elizabeth Perry, The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 96, citing Ortiz and Vincent, Historia de los Moriscos, 80.
[17] Henry Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

The Moriscos, despite having been baptized as Christians, were expelled en masse from Spain in 1609 by Philip III.

Despite these obstacles and the examples of their fellow Moriscos who remained true to their ancestral religion, the Granada Venegas successfully assimilated into Christian society. They intermarried with Christian elites, both Spanish nobility and Italian merchant families.[18] While the Granada Venegas took up Christian culture as their own, "Moorishness" was also appropriated by Christians to their own ends. In literature,[19] and in tournament games such as the *juegos de cañas*, or mounted games where the combatants threw sticks at one another, Spaniards embraced some of the qualities they admired in the Moors, in some instances, their nobility, or prowess. These shared noble ideals helped the Granada Venegas in their quest for favor and acceptance.

While Chapter 1 addresses the fifteenth century history of this family, Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the spread of Renaissance culture in Granada, and how the Granada Venegas, part of the new "collaborator elite,"[20] participated in it as literary patrons. The Granada Venegas were patrons of writers including Latin poets, such as Juan Latino, the writer of an epic Latin poem about a Spanish naval victory, and Hernando de Acuña, whose poetry contributed to a vision of Charles V as Caesar and emperor, and who translated a famous French Burgundian chivalric romance, which had been a favorite of the emperor's. Thus the Granada Venegas were patrons of both Renaissance culture and Chivalric culture. Literary *tertulias* would become far more common in Spain in later centuries,[21] and so the Granada Venegas helped lay the foundation for Spanish urban intellectual life. The promotion of Renaissance culture was also a way the Granada Venegas showed that they were a part of the Castilian nobility. Chapter 3 also discusses the architecture and decorations of the house in which the *tertulia* met, and a few instances in which the Granada Venegas asserted their rights and their noble identity in the midst of Granada's Christian religious festivals.

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[18] Erinque Soria Mesa, "Una Gran Familia: Las elites Moriscas del Reino de Granada," *Estudis* 35 (2009): 18.

[19] "The direction of this research raises the possibility of situating 'Maurophile' texts, in the broadest sense—including, of course, Pérez de Hita's *Guerras Civiles de Granada* and the Moorish ballads he incorporated, but also Miguel de Luna's *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo*, and even the *libros plúmbeos*—as part of a process whereby and elite minority of the Granadan Moriscos negotiated their integration into Castilian society, even as the majority found themselves condemned to permanent exile. "William Childers, "Cervantes in Moriscolandia," Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America 32, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 289; Barbara Fuchs, Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2009); Mary Elizabeth Perry, The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[20] Enrique Soria Mesa, a social historian of Andalucía and of the Spanish nobility, has written of the Granada Venegas in the context of broader social advancement and social history. For him, they are an outlier group, members of the "collaborator elite" who worked with the conquerors against their fellow Moriscos. Enrique Soria Mesa, *Linajes Granadinos* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2008), 76.

[21] Inmaculada Osuna, *Poesía y Academía en Granada en torno a 1600: La Poetica Silva* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2003).

While scholars have debated for some time whether the Spanish Renaissance was influenced by meetings of humanists and clerics at the papal court in Avignon,[22] or was led by Castilian nobility in the fifteenth century, as Helen Nader describes,[23] or at its core, was a religious movement,[24] much of the prevailing wisdom is that Spain was most interested in classical culture during the reign of Charles V, 1516-1557, and that his court, filled with Italians, scholars and diplomats from across Europe, was a catalyst for it. Individual cities, such as Florence,[25] Rome,[26] and Venice,[27] have their own unique histories of Renaissance patronage and politics. In each of these places, individual families, such as the Medici family, or popes, such as Julius II or Alexander VI were patrons of the arts. This dissertation looks at Granada as another important location for the Renaissance, with its own patrons, poets, and architectural projects.

The Christianization of Granada, and the role of its energetic laity, has been a rich subject for several recent histories, such as that of David Coleman and A. Katie Harris.[28] But the Christianization of Granada was tied to the Renaissance in Granada—for instance, the style of the city's cathedral, modeled on the works of Augustus's architect, Vitruvius, is one of the strongest pieces of evidence for the revival of classical culture and aesthetics there.[29] This dissertation, rather than focusing on the spread of Christianity in the city, will explain how a newly Christian family, the Granada Venegas, promoted Renaissance culture, and moved up the social ladder.

Chapter 4 discusses the history of Spain's military orders, and analyzes why the orders remained important to Spanish society in the seventeenth century, such that Don Pedro de Granada Venegas applied to join one. His lengthy application to join Alcántara in 1607 not only included letters written by Don Pedro to the council of orders, but letters written on his behalf by

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[22] Ottavio Di Camillo, "Spanish Humanism in the Fifteenth Century" (Yale University, PhD Dissertation, 1972).

[23] Helen Nader, The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979).

[24] Francisco Javier Martínez Medina, Cultura Religiosa en la Granada Renacentista y Barroca: Estudio Iconológico (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 145.

[25] Gene Brucker, Renaissance Florence (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Eric W. Cochrane, Florence in the Forgotten Centuries: A history of Florence and the Florentines in the age of the Grand Dukes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

[26] Charles L. Stinger, The Renaissance in Rome (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998); Ingrid D. Rowland, The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth Century Rome (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Thomas J. Dandelet, Spanish Rome, 1500-1700 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[27] Frederic C. Lane, Venice: A Maritime Republic (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); William Bouwsma, Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

[28] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old World Frontier City, 1492-1600 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); A. Katie Harris, From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

[29] Earl E. Rosenthal, The Cathedral of Granada (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

twenty-four theologians from the city of Valladolid.[30] Ultimately, fifty theologians would write on his behalf.[31] To enter the order, one had to prove to the king and to the Council of Orders that they did not have Moorish or Jewish blood. Chapters 4 and 5 explain that these purity of the blood laws were a challenge that the Granada Venegas overcame though various means, including enlisting the help of theologians as eminent as Pedro Suárez.

A central purpose at the heart of this dissertation is to understand how a Morisco family from Granada was able to assimilate into the upper ranks of the Spanish ruling class. To this end, it will analyze how the family accomplished this through a combination of traditional dynastic strategies combined with the adoption of the religious and cultural traditions espoused by the Christian nobility of Granada. This meant embracing a Renaissance aesthetic as well as the intellectual fashions of leading Christian families such as the Mendoza, not to mention Isabella, Ferdinand, and Charles V. At the same time, being nobles and warriors was also a key element to their assimilation, and the Granada Venegas proved to be loyal military captains for their sovereigns throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, often in the face of Morisco resistance, if not open rebellion.

For their service to the crown, several of the leading members of the Granada Venegas family expected to receive benefits from the king including positions of influence, economic privileges, and eventually a place in the royal court itself. This dissertation will argue that by the seventeenth century, the Granada Venegas were able to use both Renaissance cultural practices and the very traditional mechanisms of assimilation, such as membership in a military order, to rise in society and overcome any doubt about the purity of their blood. More specifically, this dissertation will show how the Granada Venegas were able to successfully argue that their royal and noble blood trumped any concern about the antiquity of their Christian faith.[32]

A noble title was the ultimate goal of social mobility in Spain and throughout early modern Europe, not just for economic and political reasons, but for cultural ones, as the nobility were the promoters and creators of Europe's dominant culture. In the seventeenth century, the Granada Venegas moved to Madrid and became a part of its vibrant court life, serving in the

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[30] "Granada Venegas, Pedro de, Granada, 1607," Pruebas de Caballeros, Ordenes Militares Alcántara, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Microfilm 665.

[31] *El caso y paraceres de cinquenta teologos, doctors y maestros en Santa Teologia y lectores della y dos alegaciones de derecho del licenciado Pelaez de Mieres y del licenciado Gonzalo de Berrio, sobre el despacho del Abito de Alcántara que tiene cedula de merced don Pedro de Granada Venegas,* by Don Pedro de Granada Venegas and Peláez de Mieres, Melchor and Berrio, Gonzálo de, 1607, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

[32] As one central example, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas applied to join the Order of Alcántara in 1607 and his application is preserved today in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, and available to researchers in microfilm. This source is one of the largest and most significant sources for this dissertation and is examined in Chapter 4. Other important sources include legal documents as well as various printed books of poetry, history, and heraldry. For instance, the will of Don Pedro de Granada (d. 1504), and the inventory of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas's library, made at his death in 1643, letters from the Granada Venegas to the crown in the sixteenth century, and contemporary histories and poetry written by members of the Granada Venegas's literary circle and by other writers and poets.

royal household.[33] Their goals were achieved when Don Pedro de Granada Venegas received the high noble title of Marqués of Campotéjar in 1643. Their ultimate success at attaining a high noble title proves that it *was* possible for Moriscos to assimilate into Christian society, and even into the nobility of early modern Spain.

[33] Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 183.

Chapter 1:
Legends of the Fifteenth Century Frontier:
Nasrid Nobility and the Reconquista

In the fifteenth century**,** knights from Christian Castile continued to expand southward into the last Islamic Kingdom in Iberia, Nasrid Granada. Because there were civil wars in both Granada and Castile, it was a dangerous time for the Islamic ruling class. As Granada had an unregulated succession, there were multiple powerful families with royal blood vying for power. One such family descended from Sultan Yusuf IV (r.1431-1432). They were known as the Infantes de Almería—the princes of the coastal city of Almería. When Granada was engaged in its own civil war as well as the war against Castile for the defense of Granada, from 1482 to 1492, the Infantes de Almería chose to side with Sultan Muley Hacen and his brother El Zagal. Fighting against them was Muley Hacen's son Boabdil, the man who is often referred to as "the last king of Granada" and who was famously captured by Ferdinand and Isabella. The Infantes de Almería were a powerful Nasrid faction. Ultimately, they chose to convert to Christianity and they entered Granada with the conquering army. The heir to this family, Cidi Yahya Al Nayar, changed his name to Don Pedro de Granada when he converted, founding the Christian Granada Venegas family. Their story is set in a time of Castile and Granada's fluid frontier, of marriage alliances between nobility and kings, and of the tradition of the Moorish guard.[1] The male line of this family had an unbroken relationship of personal vassalage to Christian kings since 1431, and the family also had a genetic link to a Christian noble family in Cordoba. Remaining in Granada after its conquest in 1492, the Granada Venegas were a thread of political continuity that crossed religious boundaries, bringing us from medieval to early modern Spain and from Al-Andalus to a united Catholic kingdom.

Nasrid Granada: Landscape, Economy, and Culture

After the Christian army won the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, many Muslims began to move to the territory of Granada.[2] Around this same time, in 1238, Mohammed I ibn bin Nasr (Ben al Ahmar) established himself in Granada as Sultan, beginning the Nasrid dynasty. His kingdom was one-tenth the size of Castile and one-third the size of Aragon. The kingdom of Granada, including the coastal and mountainous cities of Granada, Almería, and Málaga, was roughly 30,000 kilometers square and had an overall population of 300,000. Granada's population swelled as the Reconquista began to shrink the territories belonging to the Muslims.[3] When Fernando III of Castile conquered Baeza (1227), Úbeda (1233), Córdoba (1236), and Sevilla (1248), the populations of these Muslim cities fled to the kingdom and city of Granada. These new immigrants built houses and expanded the hillside neighborhood of the Albayzín in

[1] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile (1410-1467) (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
[2] Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1988), 69-71.
[3] Bernard F. Reilly, The Medieval Spains (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 191.

the capitol city.[4] By the end of Nasrid rule, the Albayzín, which had expanded outside the old Zirid walls, had more than 14,000 houses and 30 mosques.[5]

The city of Granada stands on a plain surmounted by three hills: San Cristobal (750 m), San Miguel (974 m), and the Alhambra hill (790 m).[6] Three rivers flow through this plain: the Darro, the Genil, and the Biero. The fertile farmlands of the Vega surround the city. For much of its medieval period, the foundation of Granada's economy was the cultivation, weaving, and selling of linen and silk. Inhabitants of the region raised crops including olives, grapes, citrus fruit, vegetables, sugarcane, and nuts.[7] They also sold numerous small luxury goods. The artisans of the Albayzín neighborhood, on the hill rising opposite the Alhambra palace, produced goods made of silk, wool, cotton, leather, metal, and ceramics. During the last years of Nasrid Granada, the state was not self-sustaining. It produced fruit and silk for export but received much of its food from Morocco and elsewhere.[8]

In their capitol city, building on the modest foundations laid by the Zirid and Almohad dynasties, the Nasrids expanded the Alcazaba fortress, and began to build the hill-top Alhambra complex, a "royal palace, and courtly city."[9] By the early 14th century, many of its towers were completed. The old Nasrid city of Granada had four zones: the high city or *ciudad alta*, the city below or Medina, the Jewish quarter, and the royal fortress of the Alhambra. The high city consisted of the densely populated, winding streets of the Albayzín hill. The Medina, the commercial and religious center, stretched from the Calle Elvira to the Plaza de Bibrambla and included the Great Mosque and the university. The Jewish quarter spread from the calle Paveneras to the Campo del Principe, skirting the Albayzín and the Medina. The Jewish quarter had many names: Mauror, Al Yahud, the Antequeruela, and in modern Granada, the Realejo. The Alhambra, the palace of the Sultans, was "in reality an independent hill city."[10]

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[4] Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada*, 69-71.

[5] The Zirids built a settlement in Granada before the Nasrids. Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada*, 78.

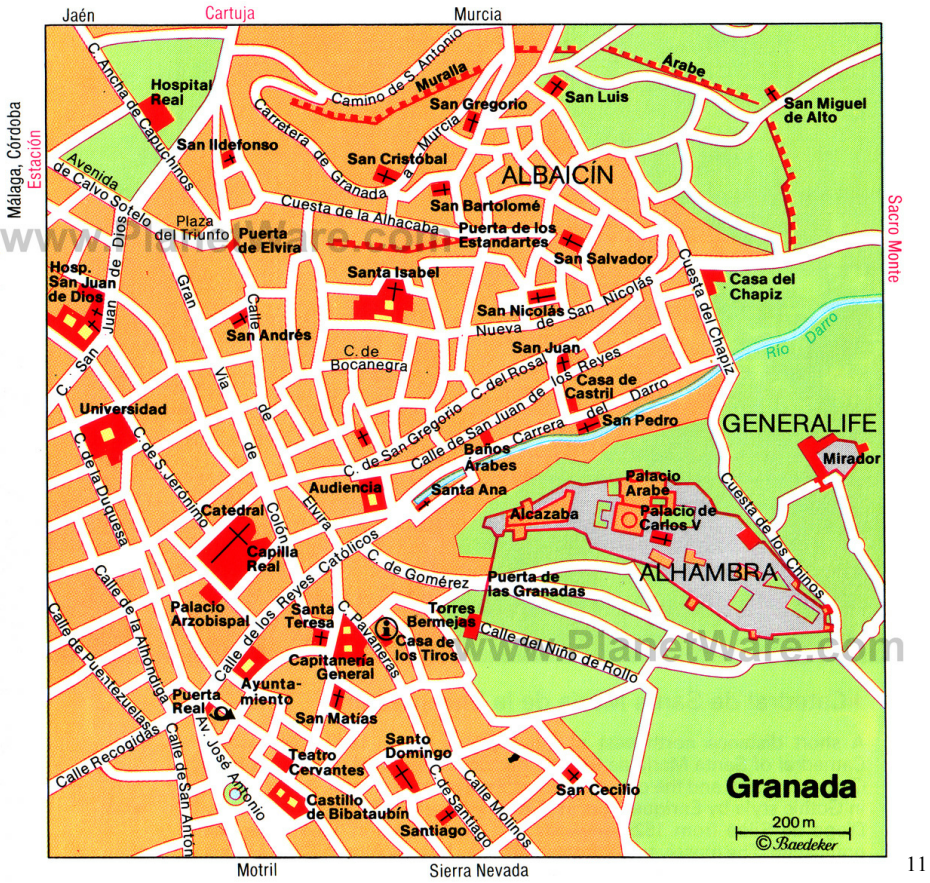
[6] Ibid, 51.

[7] Enrique Pareja López, Francisco Ortega Alba, Juan Sanz Sampelayo, Ignacio Henares Cuellar, and Antonio Sánchez Trigueros, *Granada, Tomo II, Provincia* (Granada: Instituto Provincial de Estudios y Promoción Cultural, 1981), 485.

[8] "Nasrid Granada," in Richard Fletcher, Moorish Spain (New York: Henry Holst and Company, 1992), 157-171.

[9] "Fortaleza, palacio real y ciudad cortesana," Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada*, 71.

[10] Rafael López Guzmán, *Los Palacios del Renacimiento* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2005), 19.



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Yusuf I (1333-1354) and Muhammad V (1353-59, 1362-91) were two of the most prolific builders of Nasrid Granada. Yusuf built the city's university, called the Madraza. He also improved the Great Mosque and the Alcaicería, which became the most famous market in Europe.[12] At the place where a bridge crossed the river Darro, uniting the royal palace of the Alhambra and the residential areas of the Albayzín, Muhammad V built a hospital, or *maristan*, in 1365. According to the Nasrid historian and philosopher, Ibn al-Khatib (1313-74), the *maristan* was equipped with "copious flowing water and fresh air." The building was a response to the Europe-wide plague that reached the city in 1349. The sultan built the *maristan* between his palace and the people. In this way, by building a hospital between himself and the people and their places of worship, Muhammad V made a statement that in his role as sultan he was the people's intermediary before God.[13] Much of what remains of the Nasrid Alhambra in the twenty-first century was built by Muhammad V.

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[11] "Granada Map," http://www.planetware.com/i/map/E/granada-map.jpg. Accessed May 18, 2012.

[12] Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada*, 73.

[13] "It was located near a river with clean, fresh air in an area where religious and ritual buildings such as mosques, oratories and baths clustered."Athena C Syrakoy, "Health, Spirituality and Power in Medieval Iberia: The *maristan* and its role in Nasrid Granada," in Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: the Urban impact of Religion, State and Society (London: Routledge, 2007), 192.

A modest fortress was built in 11th century on the Alhambra hill by the Zirids. The Nasrids, however, built the palace that has stood until modern times. In visual arts and architecture, Granada's fourteenth century was a time of great cultural production, especially in the Alhambra itself. Muhammad V not only built the *maristan* baths for his citizens, but he also built numerous buildings, fountains, halls and gardens in the Alhambra for himself and his court. Such notable areas of the Alhambra, such as the Hall of the Ambassadors, the Patio de los Leones, the Tocador de la Reina, and the Generalife gardens were all greatly expanded during the fourteenth century, and decorated and elaborated on during the fifteenth. Some have called the fourteenth century the Nasrid golden age.[14] Several of Granada and North Africa's most famous and significant preachers, poets, diplomats and historians lived during this period: Ibn Abbad (1332-1389), Ibn al-Khatib (1332-1374), Ibn Zamrak (1333-1393) and Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406). Ibn Zamrak's poetry adorns the walls of the Alhambra. The life of Ibn Khaldun, who was born in Tunis, served the Nasrids, and died in Cairo, is perhaps emblematic of the mobility and breadth of the late medieval Muslim world.[15]

One piece of art in the Alhambra has been quite interesting and troublesome to scholars of Nasrid Granada and of Islamic Art—the painted ceilings in the Hall of Justice, or the Hall of Kings (circa 1360). Despite prohibitions in Islam against portraying human likenesses, this round painting on leather includes human figures, men seated in council, hunting scenes, and men and women acting out scenes of courtly love. Earlier scholarship speculated that this work may have borrowed from similar Christian works or that Christian artisans may have painted it. According to R.M. Rodríguez Porto, these are translations and interpretations that were part of an Iberian-wide cultural dialogue, which included Spanish literature as well.[16] She follows the scholarship of Cynthia Robinson, who argued that the romances that inspired the Alhambra paintings were Spanish rather than French romances, for example *Flores y Blancaflor* and *Tristan and Leonis*. Both were modified

> in order to privilege the ideological concerns of the Nasrid court, both as an Islamic political entity with an agenda of jihad and—in a fashion that could easily be viewed as contradictory—as a participant in Iberia's much-discussed frontier culture, which involved a 'marriage of convenience' with Castilian allies.[17]

Similarly, María Rosa Menocal maintained that in twelfth-century Toledo Christians, Muslims, and Jews interacted and borrowed from one another across aesthetic and religious divides. They shared a taste for a particular popular form of architecture. They did not merely hire Muslim artisans to create Muslim architecture for them.[18]

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[14] "From the high point of Granadan culture achieved at the end of the fourteenth century, Granada declined rapidly," L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 244.

[15] Bernard F. Reilly, The Medieval Spains, 198.

[16] R.M. Rodríguez Porto, "Courtliness and its *Trjuamanes*: Manufacturing Chivalric Imagery across the Castilian-Grenadine Frontier" in Medieval Encounters 14 (2008): 262-263.

[17] Cynthia Robinson, "Arthur in the Alhambra? Narrative and Nasrid Courtly Self-Fashioning in The Hall of Justice Ceiling Paintings," Medieval Encounters 14 (2008): 164.

[18] "…when the Castilians and Franks were the predominant landholders in the city—second only to the cathedral—and they came to build new houses, they would fashion homes and palaces that

This dialogue across the frontier did not prevent assertions of difference, or later, the destruction of one aesthetic and its replacement by another. For instance, in 1362, Sultan Muhammad V required that his courtiers wear turbans "like their Arab brothers" rather than continue to emulate Castilian styles.[19] At the Castilian court during the same time, Nasrid textiles and silks were extremely popular. Especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Castilian and Aragonese monarchs were buried in such opulent pieces of art, some with Arabic calligraphy.[20] Ferdinand and Isabella entered Granada wearing Nasrid silks and dressed in the local style, appropriating the aesthetic of their new subject peoples at the very moment of political conquest. These aesthetic actions were manifestations of shared tastes and borrowings across a cultural frontier as well as acts of cultural imperialism in the midst of a conquest.

Nasrid Granada: Politics and Society

The Muslim city was populated by a number of diverse groups that lived in distinct neighborhoods. In 1410, Ferdinand, the brother of Henry III and regent of Castile, conquered Antequera, a city close to Málaga, in the westernmost part of Granada's territory, close to the Córdoban frontier. From Antequera, 2,638 people moved to Granada and were allowed to settle in the Jewish quarter, which, as a result, they re-named the Antequeruela.[21] There are *Antequerelas* in numerous cities across southern Spain because of this conquest and migration. The Nasrid nobility lived along the Calle Elvira, and the Medina, the central neighborhood of the city, surrounding the Mosque, the Madraza, and the market of the Alcaicería, or Zacatín. Nasrid Granada began to grow such that it competed with Constantinople in size. It contained many Genovese, Jews, and Castilians, as well as refugees from other parts of the Muslim world such as Syrians and Berbers.[22] In 1466, a traveler wrote that Granada was as big as Damascus, but that it had more people.[23]

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mimicked those of the Taifas: an open rectangular courtyard with porticoes leading to long rooms on either side. Like Taifa palaces, some incorporated fountains, pools, and flowing water, new pleasures learned in the frontier city…" "organize these monuments chronologically, pull them apart, and we are left with a sad pile of historical detritus. The point of this sly historical rebus is precisely its indecipherability despite itself. It no longer makes sense to separate the threads of Castilian, Taifa, Umayyad, and Visigothic culture in these works of architecture, disentangling the roots of each fragment or motif through an inquiry into style, religion, or political history. Castilian culture, Castilian identity, is now something more than the sum of its parts." Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner, The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 135 and 143.

[19] R.M. Rodríguez Porto, "Courtliness and its *Trjuamanes*: Manufacturing Chivalric Imagery across the Castilian-Grenadine Frontier" in Medieval Encounters 14 (2008): 262-263.

[20] Another example of this phenomenon is a silk burial cloth, made in Granada for the archbishop of Barcleona, Arnaldo de Gurb, who was buried in 1284. *A la Luz de la Seda* (Granada: Museo de la Alhambra, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, in collaboration with the Instituto Gómez-Moreno de la Fundación Rodríguez-Acosta, 2011), items 6443, 3917.

[21] There are Antequeruela's in numerous cities across Spain because of this conquest and migration.

[22] Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada*, 79.

[23] Ibid, 74.

The Nasrids were governed by a ruler called a Sultan, or Emir. Castilian sources referred to him as a king. He was advised by his chief minister or *wazir*, by prominent members of his court or his family, and by noblemen of the important lineages.[24] The rulers of Nasrid Granada had a "poorly regulated succession."[25] This led to a great number of intrigues and rivalries among family members for control over the kingdom. It was not always the oldest son who succeeded—many times the brother of the Sultan or a younger son asserted a claim to the throne. Historians and scholars have long been fascinated by, and critical of, the sorts of "harem intrigues" and rivalries between wives and mothers vying for power, and their effects on Nasrid politics and the decline of the state—especially the relationship between the last Sultan Boabdil, his mother Ayxa, his father, the Sultan Muley Hacén, and his mother's rival Zoraya (Isabel de Solis), who had Christian lineage.[26] Washington Irving provides an apt example of this point of view:

> Though Muley Abul Hassan was at peace in his external relations, a civil war raged in his harem, which it is proper to notice, as it had a fatal effect upon the fortunes of the kingdom. Though cruel by nature, he was uxorious and somewhat prone to be managed by his wives.[27]

Irving continued to explain that the wives each had a strong political faction behind her. One faction was that of Boabdil, his mother Aixa, and the Abecerrajes, and the other was that of Zoraya and the Venegas, both of whom had Christian ancestry. Irving believes that these factions were central to Nasrid decline; he gives a great deal of space to the biographies of these women in his writings, and describes their political agency.

Some more recent historians have been dismissive of the idea that such intrigues impacted Nasrid history. According to these scholars, the most critical reasons for the decline and fall of the Nasrid state were a combination of Nasrid factionalism and Castile's sustained destruction of the agricultural roots of the Nasrid economy by consistent raiding, looting, and burning of vineyards, olive groves, fruit trees, and sites of silk worm cultivation.[28] L.P. Harvey strongly expresses this point of view:

> Granada fell because it was economically and demographically weaker, and because Castile's cruel long-term policy of wrecking Granadan agriculture was making it difficult for even the hard-working and skilled Granadan farmers to survive. The jealousies of

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[24] **"***Wazir* (from wazara 'to carry a burden'). A vizier, or minister of government, or, in Caliphal times, close advisors to the Caliph: under the Safavids and Ottomans, Wazir was the name for governor…the most celebrated wazir of all, however, was Nizam al-Mulk, the minister who completely ran the government under the early Seljuqs." Cyril Glassé, The New Encyclopedia of Islam (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), 549.

[25] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467, Translated by Martin Beagles (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 38.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Washington Irving, Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, Author's Revised Edition (1850), Kindle Electronic Edition: Chapter III, Location 380.

[28] Richard Fletcher, Moorish Spain (New York: Henry Holst and Company, 1992); L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

> Zoraya and Fatima (or Aisha, as the romantically minded historians seem to prefer to call her) were of quite secondary importance.[29]

While these frontier raids and acts of agricultural destruction indubitably were critical in the ultimate defeat of Nasrid Granada, it is worth considering some of the questions of historical interpretation and agency which are brought up by this emphasis on economics over personalities in historical causation.

In a new comprehensive treatment of the political power of Nasrid women, Barbara Boloix Gallardo explains the key role these women had in shaping the Nasrid succession and Nasrid social life.[30] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ottoman women had a similar role. Leslie Pierce explains that the women in the Ottoman harem were not separated from the rest of society in order to prevent them from influencing politics. Other western historians have had this perspective because of the "separation of the spheres" which happened in the modern period. On the contrary, because of their access to the Sultan and to their own highly developed hierarchies of power, with the queen mother at the top, these women were able to greatly affect politics. There was no distinction between the male as public and the female as private. Rather, in Ottoman society there was a distinction between the sacred interior and profane exterior. The more powerful, holy or wealthy a person was, the more they could prevent access to themselves. The person on the outside had the least power. Thus, for Nasrid as well as Ottoman history, it is important to not consider political intervention by elite Muslim women, especially by the queen mother, to be meddling outside of their sphere. To consider it such would be anachronistic.[31] It is a challenging but necessary task to endeavor to explain how elite individuals, men and women, shaped their political history within the economic context.

It has become common for historians to refer to the extreme factionalism of Nasrid politics as a symptom of their decline and an *ex post facto* reason for their end. However, the fifteenth century was a time of war and disunity across Europe, including in Castile. In Nasrid Granada, in Castile, and in England, the fifteenth century was a time of civil war and internal conflict between royal and noble powers, and among their various factions. Castile was beset by a civil war with two female claimants to the throne, the supposed daughter and the half-sister of Henry IV. Marriage alliances and succession controversies were as vital to Castilian and Aragonese politics as they were to Nasrid politics. The last Sultan of Granada, Boabdil, was actually at war with his father, Muley Hacén, and then his uncle, El Zagal, for much of the ten-year struggle with the Catholic Kings for control of Granada. The conquest was part external and part civil conflict.

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[29] L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 267.

[30] Barbara Boloix Gallardo, *Las Sultanas de la Alhambra* (Madrid: Comares, 2013); For a study of the economic lives of Nasrid women, see Maya Shatzmiller, Her Day in Court. Women's Property Rights in Fifteenth-Century Granada (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); For Ottoman women in politics, see Leslie P. Pierce, The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[31] Leslie P. Pierce, "Introduction: Myths and Realities of the Harem," The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire, 3-12.

Civil war was one factor leading to the fall of Granada, but not the only one.[32] Nasrid Granada also did not receive the aid it needed from other Muslim powers in order to survive. It was internally divided and isolated from its allies. Much like the Byzantines thirty-nine years earlier, the Nasrids were eventually defeated due to the strength of their neighboring enemies and the apathy of their co-religionists in other lands. "Victorious" Castile was also embroiled in civil wars and succession crises throughout the fifteenth century. It is important to remember that the outcome of the Reconquista was not as certain to those fighting it as it is to those studying it today.

Castile: Landscape, Economy, Politics, and Society

Castile conquered the great Muslim cities of Córdoba, Cádiz and Sevilla in the thirteenth century, leaving only Nasrid Granada as the remaining Muslim state. In the fifteenth century, the Iberian peninsula was divided into the kingdoms of Portugal, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Nasrid Granada. Of these, Portugal and Aragon had reached their present territorial limits. The Christian Kingdom of Castile was slowly gaining territory and expanding southward. The kings of Castile listed these as their titles: "king of Castile, León, Toledo, Galicia, Murcia, Jaén, Córdoba and Seville, lord of Vizcaya and Molina."[33] Their kingdom stretched from Galicia in the North to the Gualalquivir valley, Murcia and Gibraltar (1462) in the South.

In the north, the coastal territories of Galicia, Asturias and Cantabria were mountainous and wooded. There the inhabitants farmed vegetables, cider apples and wine grapes, fished the seas, and imported grains from the south. These territories, never conquered by a Muslim power, served as Castile's vital link with France, England, and the Low Countries by sea. Further south, stretched the vast and dry Meseta or central plateau of Old Castile, and what was once the independent kingdom of León. Wheat fields, vineyards, and sheep pasture dominated the Meseta. The cities of Northern Castile, such as Burgos, the capitol of the wool merchants, and Segovia, a city of weavers, sent their wool and goods to be traded at the fairs of Medina del Campo, and then shipped north from Santander and other coastal cities. In the fourteenth century, Castile had replaced England as the major supplier of raw wool to Italian and Flemish looms, and held that position well into the early modern period. The trading axis between Northern Europe and Medina del Campo would prove indispensible throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[34]

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[32] The conflict between factions in fifteenth century Granada is understood as a civil war, and is often viewed as a period of decline. However, it should be noted that in earlier periods in the history of Al-Andalus, Muslim also fought against Muslim, and sometimes they allied with Christian powers against one another. In the twelfth century, Alhmohads and Almoravids fought one another over the legitimacy of their ideologies, and declared religious jihad against one another. Abigail Krasner Balbale, "Jihad between Muslims at the Time of the Reconquista," (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association Washington DC, Jan 4, 2014).

[33] Luis Suárez Fernández, "The Kingdom of Castile in the Fifteenth Century," in Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369-1516: Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain, Edited by Roger Highfield, Translated by Frances M. López-Morillas (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), 80.

[34] The Medina del Campo fairs were very important to the Castilian economy, and were gravely affected by the Spanish bankruptcy of 1575. Jaime Vicens Vives, An Economic History of Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 375; For a re-evaluation of this bankruptcy that

According to Luis Suárez Fernández, the commercial cities of Valladolid, Burgos, and Medina del Campo were "like islands in a sea of nobility."[35] Further south, to the Guadarrama mountains, in the plains of Madrid, Cuenca, and Toledo, cattle ranching dominated. Noble families and the military orders of Alcántara, Calatrava, and Santiago governed lands they had conquered from the small Muslim taifa states. The territories added to Castile in the thirteenth century included cities along the warmer and wetter Guadalquivir River valley, such as Cádiz, Sevilla, and Córdoba, which were filled with cattle ranches, sheep, olive trees, and vineyards. William D. Phillips, Jr. explains that "for Castile as a whole, fishing forestry, mining and cattle were important, but the real wealth of the kingdom came from wool."[36] Wool was the primary export, but Castilian honey from Alcarria, Toledo, Talavera, and Ciudad Real was also in high demand abroad.[37]

The second half of the fifteenth century was a period of succession crisis for Castile, which began at the death of Henry IV in 1474. Juana la Beltraneja, Henry's daughter (of doubtful paternity), along with Afonso of Portugal, fought against Isabella, Henry's half-sister, and her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon. In 1479, Isabella was declared queen of Castile and Ferdinand succeeded his father as king of Aragon. Ferdinand and Isabella won the war of the Spanish succession and began to rule the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon jointly for the first time. There are a number of reasons why historians have treated Ferdinand and Isabella's reign as the beginning of early modern Spain and the end of medieval Spain.[38] First, their marriage in 1469 and ascension in 1479 officially united the kingdoms of Castile and ended a period of civil war in Castile. From the *longue durée*, historians know this to be a lasting political unification. Second, Ferdinand and Isabella would conquer Nasrid Granada in 1492 and absorb it into the Kingdom of Castile. Thus, they completed and ended the Reconquista, a centuries-long process of war, crusade, and absorption of Muslim land into Castile and Aragon, which some argue defined the history of medieval Spain.[39] At the same time as the Catholic Kings completed the Reconquista, in 1492, they expelled the Jews, who had played many important roles in medieval Spain. Third, Ferdinand and Isabella sponsored Christopher Columbus and his journeys of exploration. The empire that Columbus and Fernán Córtez inaugurated would be a major source

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compares Philip's debt favorably with that of modern empires, see Mauricio Drelichman and Hans-Joachim Voth, "The Sustainable Debts of Philip II: A Reconstruction of Spain's Fiscal Position, 1566-1596," The Journal of Economic History 70, 04 (Dec. 2010): 813-842; Mauricio Drelichman and Hans-Joachim Voth, Lending to the Borrower from Hell: Debt, Taxes and Default in the Age of Philip II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[35] Luis Suárez Fernández, "The Kingdom of Castile in the Fifteenth Century," in Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369-1516: Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain, Edited by Roger Highfield, Translated by Frances M. López-Morillas (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), 101.

[36] William D. Phillips, Jr., Henry IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth Century Castile, 1425-1480 (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Society of America, 1978), 17-20.

[37] Luis Suárez Fernández, "The Kingdom of Castile in the Fifteenth Century," 83.

[38] Some historians give greater emphasis to Charles V's transitional role in the age of Reformation, since he was the emperor who faced Martin Luther and helped call the Council of Trent.

[39] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennslyvania Press, 2003).

of wealth and prestige for Spain, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Fourth, in their governance, Ferdinand and Isabella were quite successful. Through the Mesta system, they made the export of raw wool more powerful than agriculture and centralized the migration and grazing of sheep and the taxing of that industry. Ferdinand became sovereign of the three most powerful military orders, Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara, thus controlling their powers as territorial lords and military forces and removing their social and political opposition to his authority. After Ferdinand and Isabella founded the Castilian Inquisition in 1478, they sent it into Aragon for the first time, making the Inquisition the first governing institution with authority in both crowns of a united Spain. They also received from the pope the authority to appoint their own bishops, including the archbishop of Toledo.

At the conclusion of the Reconquista, they were given the titles of the Catholic Kings, starting a relationship with the papacy that, though difficult at times, would endure to the time of Philip II and the Council of Trent. Through many of these actions, Ferdinand and Isabella brought the nobility more under their control, beginning a strong relationship between crown and nobility that would be strengthened at the conclusion of the Comuneros Revolt (1521-22), when an absentee Charles V was given a victory over the cities by the Spanish nobility.[40]

All of these characteristics make Ferdinand and Isabella the heralds of a new, united, Catholic early modern Spain. However, despite the Catholic Kings' transitional role, they and their predecessors, Ferdinand of Antequera, Juan II, Henry IV, and successors Charles V, Philip II, and Philip III were also a part of a story of continuity from the early fifteenth century. From a political perspective, Ferdinand and Isabella's union was not the first time that Aragon and Castile were in some way tied together. They were tied together through blood and dynasty when Ferdinand of Antequera, serving as regent of Castile with Catherine of Lancaster during the minority of Juan II, succeeded the throne of Aragon and became Ferdinand I. Thus, the Trastámara took the throne of Aragon as well, almost fifty years after Henry of Trastámara became king of Castile. Not only this, but Ferdinand continued to serve as regent of Castile during his years as King of Aragon. From 1412 to 1416, he governed part of Castile while Catherine ruled the other half. To ask for favors and concessions Castilians had to travel into Aragonese territory, and a lot of Castilian capital ended up in Aragon as a result of these journeys.[41]

The fifteenth century is a less popular period for study among historians of Castile, due to its transitional character as the end of one phase in Spanish history and the beginning of another. However, there are some historians, including myself, who wish this to change. According to William D. Phillips, Jr. in his biography of Henry IV,

> Many supposedly modern features of the Spain of Fernando and Isabel had been developing long before 1474, and numerous medieval features persisted well into the

[40] For a recent synthesis of the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, see John Edwards, The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1520 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000) and John Edwards, Ferdinand and Isabella (Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2005).

[41] Juan Torres Fontes, "The Regency of Don Ferdinand of Antequera," in Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369-1516: Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain, Edited by Roger Highfield, Translated by Frances M. López-Morillas (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), 154-157.

> Golden Age. The late fifteenth century in Castile is too rich and complex to fit the standard categories with ease.[42]

One of the reasons that the Catholic Kings have been given so much credit for this transitional role is because of the campaign they began in their lifetimes to discredit Henry IV. Many of the chronicles and narrative sources that cover Henry's reign are hostile to him due to the need to legitimize Isabella's rule. According to Phillips, Henry was not a successful king, but he attempted certain reforms that were then implemented under Isabella. Isabella continued his foreign policy, friendly towards England and Portugal and hostile to France, through her children's Portuguese and English marriages. Henry's diplomatic and trading relationships with the Low Countries were extended, and Ferdinand and Isabella also cemented them with marriage treaties.[43] Ferdinand and Isabella's marriage and ascension to both crowns unified two kingdoms and created what we know as the Spain of the sixteenth century. As the first monarchs of a united Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella faced numerous challenges. However, their successful rule laid the groundwork for their Habsburg successors and for the coming imperial "composite monarchy" of Charles V.[44]

Nasrid Granada and Castile in the Fifteenth Century: Diplomacy, Vassalage, and War

Due in large part to their long common border, there were strong ties between Nasrid Granada and Castile in the late medieval period. The frontier between the two kingdoms was porous, and warriors and knights changed sides when it suited their advantage.[45] The kings of

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[42] William D. Phillips, Jr., Henry IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth Century Castile, 1425-1480, 16.

[43] Their oldest daughter, Isabella, married Afonso, king of Portugal. When he died, she married Manuel I of Portugal. When Isabella died, her sister Maria married Manuel as well. Ferdinand and Isabella's oldest son, Juan, married Margaret of Austria, daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian and Mary, Duchess of Burgundy. Juana, the next daughter, married Phillip, Duke of Burgundy, the second child of Maximilian and Mary. The two of them would become Juana I and Philip I of Castile. The youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, Catherine of Aragon, married Arthur, and then his brother, Henry VIII of England.

[44] England also emerged out of a civil war of succession, around this time—the Wars of the Roses. When Henry VII Tudor took the throne in 1485 and married Elizabeth of York, he founded a dynasty that would compete with a united Spain. However, as he was not uniting two crowns, but rather, two houses, this comparison is not often made. It is worth questioning why Ferdinand and Isabella become the first monarchs of "early modern Spain" but that English historians usually end medieval England with the Reformation of Henry VIII. Perhaps answers can be found in the role that culture or politics play in periodization. H. Koenigsberger, "The Empire of Charles V in Europe," in The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol.II, The Reformation: 1520-1559, Edited by G.R. Elton (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

[45] In this chapter, Nasrid Granada and Castile are the two kingdoms described in detail, due to the fact that Granada was ultimately incorporated into Castile. Aragon was an equally important player on the Iberian peninsula in the fifteenth century. However, Aragon was oriented towards the Mediterranean, and to its commercial and political empire in Italy. Aragon had commercial relations with Granada, but due to Castile's conquest and incorporation of Murcia, Aragon lost

Castile had a Moorish Guard.[46] It should come as no surprise, then, that Nasrid noblemen entered Christian service in the early years of Christian Granada. Indeed, Nasrid Granada played an important role in the forging of what became early modern Spain. It was not a decadent afterthought that was merely wiped away and forgotten because it was part of a different era. Instead, the winners of the Castilian civil war came together with certain survivors of the Nasrid civil war. Just as Afonso and Juana la Beltraneja retreated to Portugal, Boabdil, El Zagal, and many other Nasrid leaders and citizens fled to North Africa. Others stayed and built new lives in Christian Granada. The dividing lines between medieval and early modern Spain, and between the "success" of Castile and the "defeat" of Granada, are not that clear, as the two kingdoms had much in common.

Before discussing the relationship between the two kingdoms in the fifteenth century, it is important to note some of the precedents for alliances and agreements of vassalage between Muslims and Christians in the thirteenth, the century when the Nasrid state was founded, and when Muslims were adjusting to their status as Mudéjars in Christian Valencia.[47] Vassalage has sometimes been understood as an ideal type, and so, it is important to explain the significance of actual individual historical relationships based on what characteristics they had, rather than what terms are used in the documents that describe them.[48] Relationships involving grants of land and payment of rents were not always linked to those involving promises of military aid. In the realms of James I of Aragon in the thirteenth century, many land-holdings were nearly independent, and rental agreements were often stronger than ties of loyalty to a lord. Urban merchants were sometimes also holders of land in the countryside. The communes of the cities themselves were a major political force. In James I's new realm of Valencia, "landlord, lord, and alodial farmer assimilated to each other."[49] The Muslims, as Mudéjars, were integrated into this unique system. However, at the same time, they constituted a separate social and religious structure. The Mudéjars in Christian Valencia were also integrated into this system of networks of loyalty, land holding, and military service. For instance, in the thirteenth century, Mudéjar archers fought as a part of the Order of Santiago's army, against the bishops of Cuenca and Siguenza.[50]

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its border with Granada and ceased its official expansion into Muslim territory after the thirteenth century. However, Aragonese individuals did join Castile's armies and Ferdinand of Aragon would be a key player in the fall of Granada in 1492.

[46] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467, Translated by Martin Beagles (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[47] For Valencia, see Robert I. Burns, Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth Century Kingdom of Valencia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973; For Aragon, see Brian Catlos, The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[48] For a very detailed re-evaluation of the concepts of vassalage and fiefs in the Middle Ages, see Susan Reynolds, Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

[49] Robert I. Burns, "The Muslim in the Feudal Order," Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth Century Kingdom of Valencia (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 275-278.

[50] Ibid, 290-291.

In order to retain control over their lands and not have to live under Christian law, certain Islamic leaders, like the founder of the Nasrids, Ben al-Ahmar, chose to pay a tribute, or *paria*, to the Christians. He and Fernando III of Castile entered into a vassalage agreement. Thus, the Nasrids began their rule with a fundamental problem already in place—it was not considered lawful under Islamic law to be the vassal of a Christian king. According to R. M. Rodríguez Porto, "The founder of the Nasrid dynasty, Muhammad al-Ahmar, [Ben al-Ahmar] was knighted by Alfonso X himself in 1252 and signed several of the Learned King's *privilegios rodados* as his vassal; it is thus clear that he was fully integrated into the administrative apparatus of the Castilian crown."[51] The Nasrid sultan had the right to attend the Castilian Cortes, but he had to provide troops to defend Fernando in time of war. He sent five hundred knights to help Fernando conquer Seville, and also helped at Jaen.[52] In this first relationship between the Nasrid dynasty and the kingdom of Castile, there is not only a requirement of monetary tribute, but also of military aid.

These vassalage arrangements would cause problems for Granada in the areas of ideology, war, taxation, and liquidity. They had to negotiate truces with Castile in order to protect their agricultural wealth from raiding parties, but they had to be careful that their citizenry not feel the weight of the taxes that Castile asked for in return. Castile, on the other hand, used these truces and taxes to their advantage, to rebuild their armies or focus on civil wars or other pursuits.[53] The relationship with Castile was the key problem facing the sultans of Nasrid Granada.

After the Castilian conquest of much of northeastern and southwestern Al-Andalus in the thirteenth century, the Muslims of Valencia, Córdoba, Murcia, and elsewhere had to decide whether to emigrate to Muslim lands, either to the kingdom of Nasrid Granada or to North Africa, or remain in Christian lands, living as Mudéjars.[54] The journey to Muslim lands was not always easy because Christian kings imposed tolls and taxes on the emigrants and required them to purchase costly travel licenses.[55] However, many Muslim scholars and leaders encouraged emigration.[56] An important North African Malīkī jurist, al-Wansharīsī**,** wrote that a Muslim's choice to continue living in a Christian land was "manifest proof of his bile and base spirit," and that "this chosen course will cause him much frustration and disgrace." At the end of the fourteenth century, another North African *fatwā* from the region of Oran condemned those who stayed in Christian lands:

> He who lives in Christian lands does not care for what is sacred…he mingles with the infidels in their feasts and celebrations. With respect to a Mudéjar's wife, she is a slave to

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[51] R.M. Rodríguez Porto, "Courtliness and its *Trjuamanes*: Manufacturing Chivalric Imagery across the Castilian-Grenadine Frontier," 238 and 233.
[52] Robert I. Burns, "The Muslim in the Feudal Order," Islam Under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth Century Kingdom of Valencia, 288.
[53] L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 247-248.
[54] For information regarding the violence experienced by Mudéjars in Aragon in the fourteenth century, see David Nirenberg, Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
[55] Kathryn A. Miller, "Muslim Minorities and the Obligation to Emigrate to Islamic Territory: Two *Fatwās* from Fifteenth Century Granada," in Islamic Law and Society 7, 2: (2000), 258-261.
[56] Bernard F. Reilly, The Medieval Spains, 195.

> the Christian and subjects herself to him everyday…oh evil fortune! What is worse than one who does not guard what is sacred, his religion and his family.[57]

In his early fifteenth century *fatwā*, al-Haffār, a Granadan jurist, agreed. He argued that living with Christians exposed Muslims to corruption and sin. Even if their primary motivation to stay in Christian lands was to convert the inhabitants to Islam, al-Haffār wrote that Muslims "did not have the capacity to change [this lack of belief.]"[58] Furthermore, he said it was permissible for one spouse to leave for Islamic lands without the other, even if that spouse was the wife. They would both still be bound by the numerous laws of marriage, however.

Al-Haffār nevertheless acted as a legal advisor and a religious leader, or *muftī* to Mudéjars from Christian lands who wrote to him. According to Kathryn A. Miller, "a Mālikī *muftī,* then, could steadfastly endorse emigration, condemn Muslim co-existence with Christians, and yet communicate with, and offer support to the Mudéjars."[59] Another Granadan jurist, al-Mawwāq, writing in the early fifteenth century, agreed with Al-Haffār, in large part, and also remarked that the Mudéjars were "far from knowledge" and "in the land of the infidel, there was ignorance over many more things."[60]

The conquest of Aragon and Murcia had caused many intellectuals and religious and political leaders to flee to Nasrid Granada and to North Africa. Thus the populations living under Christian control were in need of instruction, guidance, and information from their fellow Muslims.[61] Muslims who were poor laborers rather than scholars needed to travel to Muslim lands to ask the advice of learned Muslims. Despite the difficulties, there were many reasons why Muslims traveled to and from Muslim and Christian lands, such as family obligations, trade, or study. Al-Mawwāq did not condemn them outright for such travel, but rather told them that God would judge them, and that a Muslim with a "suitable excuse" could be forgiven.[62] In the fifteenth century, such journeys were commonplace. For example, Muslim teachers went to Christian Spain to teach the Mudéjars, and there is evidence that a Muslim from Granada journeyed to Valencia to teach Arabic in 1465.[63]

Legends of the Frontier: The Emergence of Pedro Venegas

Nasrid Granada's close proximity to Christian lands, and to the Mudéjars living there, made it a place of religious and political contact between societies. Nasrid Granada and Castile shared more than just a frontier and a protracted conflict. They also shared a political world. Factions from one kingdom joined factions from another. Nasrid Granada pitted Castile against Aragon, just as Christian kingdoms had allied with one taifa state against another in an earlier

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[57] Translation from Kathryn A. Miller, "Muslim Minorities and the Obligation to Emigrate to Islamic Territory: Two *Fatwās* from Fifteenth Century Granada," 270-271.
[58] Kathryn A. Miller, "Muslim Minorities and the Obligation to Emigrate to Islamic Territory: Two *Fatwās* from Fifteenth Century Granada," 266-267.
[59] Ibid, 269-271.
[60] Ibid, 274.
[61] Bernard F. Reilly, The Medieval Spains, 197.
[62] Kathryn A. Miller, "Muslim Minorities and the Obligation to Emigrate to Islamic Territory: Two *Fatwās* from Fifteenth Century Granada," 275.
[63] Ibid.

period.[64] The frontier between Granada and Castile in the fifteenth century was quite open, and the many individuals who crossed this frontier had a direct effect on political change and dynastic rivalries in the two territories. When Muhammad VIII (1417-1419 and 1427-1429) took the throne from Muhammad IX in 1427, he brought one such man of the frontier with him to help him form his government: Ridwan Bannigash, or Pedro Venegas.[65] As will be discussed later in the chapter, he played an important role in the political events that followed in 1431.

Since the thirteenth century, there had been men living in Christian Córdoba by the name of Pedro Venegas or Egas Venegas. They were the señores de Luque, a powerful family in Córdoba, who became the Condes de Luque in the sixteenth century. According to a manuscript in the provincial archive in Córdoba, there was a Pedro Venegas serving as *Alcalde* in Córdoba as early as 1274. This noble family was known in the sixteenth century as the Córdoba Venegas or Venegas de Córdoba.[66] According to a chronicle of Juan II, a boy named Pedro Venegas had been born in Christian Córdoba and at the age of eight had been captured by Muslims and raised at the Nasrid court.[67] There is some ambiguity as to whether this man's name was Ridwan or Pedro Venegas, or whether he could have changed his name from Pedro to Ridwan Bannigas.[68] Ridwan Venegas, however, also appears to have been the name of a man who acted as a kingmaker for Muhammed V in the fourteenth century.[69] Other names Pedro was called were Gilayre, or Tornadizo, words that meant he converted from Christianity to Islam and was therefore considered an apostate.

A chronicle from this period reveals a more mysterious aspect of this origin story. According to the Cronica del Halconero de Juan II, in 1431 Juan II arrested Egas, señor de Luque, son of the alcaide Pedro Venegas, as well as Mencia de Quesada and two of their sons,

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[64] Abigail Krasner Balbale, "Jihad between Muslims at the Time of the Reconquista," in Religious Diversity in the Medieval Mediterranean, Part 2: Intra-communal Disputation and Discussion, American Historical Association Annual Meeting, Washington DC, Jan 4, 2014.

[65] L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 246.

[66] "Términos Jurisdiccionales. Copia de varios documentos presentados por el Ayuntamiento de Córdoba al Alcalde mayor Pedro Venegas. 1 Apeo y deslinde del término de Córdoba de concierto con la Orden de Calatrava en el año 1.274, cuyo deslinde principiaba por el río de Guadalmez a Chillón, el Almaden, Arco Real de Sancho, a Riofrio, a Capilla, a Agudo, al río de las Yeguas al Guadalquivir. En seguido desde la Torre del Cañaveral a la Higuera, cerca del Guadalquivir a la entrada." Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba, AH-12.01.01 Signatura: C -1016-002.

[67] A. García de Santa Maria, *Coronica de Don Juan II de Castilla (1420-1434)* Vol.1, Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España, (Madrid: 1891), 279.

[68] There are indications that Pedro Venegas changed his name to Ridwan Bannigas when he converted to Islam and entered the Sultan's service. Roser Salicrú i Lluch, "Nuevos mitos de la frontera: Muhammad X el Cojo, Ali Al-Amin y Ridwan Bannigas entre historiografía y historia, entre realidad y leyenda," in *Estudios de frontera: historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la frontera* (Alcalá la Real: Deputación Provicial de Jaén, 2001), 501; . L.P. Harvey agrees. "As his name indicates, Ridwan had a mixed background. He is said to have been born of Christian parents, and to have been carried off as a captive while still a child. He was given a thorough Islamic Education, which permitted him to rise rapidly through the bureaucracy." L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 246.

[69] L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 207.

including Pedro Venegas and García el Chibe, a page of the king. The chronicler does not elaborate on the reason for the arrest, except that there were "some pieces of information and some suspicions." The family was then imprisoned at the "castillo de Almodóbar del Rio."[70] The Pedro Venegas who played an important political role in 1431 could not have been a child at the time. Could there have been another sibling who had already been "captured?" Or could this imprisonment in the tower have led to "capture" by the Moors? Whether they were suspected of Nasrid sympathies, or of having converted to Islam, is unclear. In a separate section of the chronicle, it identifies the convert or *elche* who fought in 1432 against Muhammad El Izquierdo on behalf of Abenalmao, Jusuf IV, as Gilayre, but it does not associate him with the Córdoba Venegas or Pedro in particular.[71]

There may have been several individuals in Nasrid history who were known as Pedro Venegas, Ridwan Venegas, Ridwan Bannigash, Gilayre, or El Tornadizo. What we do know, however, is that in the early fifteenth century, a Pedro Venegas married Cetti Merien Venegas, the sister of Yusuf IV, and with her he had three children, Abulcasim Venegas, Ridwan Venegas, and Cetti Merien Venegas. [72] One of these children, Abulcasim Venegas, was identified as a descendant of the Venegas of Córdoba by the late fifteenth century chronicler, the Cura de los Palacios. The chronicler writes: "this Alguacil was of the lineage of Christians of the Venegas of Córdoba, and his father and grandparents were Christians and he was born in the land of the Moors, and was a great servant of the king [El Zagal]."[73] The Cura identifies Abucasim's family as the Christian Venegas of Córdoba, corroborating the claim that Abuclasim, Ridwan, and Cetti Merrien were the children of Pedro Venegas and Cetti Merien, the sister of Yusuf IV. Even if the identity of his father Pedro is somewhat unclear, we do have a fifteenth-century source asserting the lineage of Abulcasim. Furthermore, by the 1440s the name Venegas may have been a positive one for Muslims who converted to Christianity to adopt. For example, from 1446 to 1452, a knight named Mahomad ben Sa served the king of Castile in his special guard. The name he chose at his conversion was García Venegas.[74]

A Morisco author in the late sixteenth century asserted a different origin for this family than Christian Córdoba. In the third chapter of Part I of the Guerras Civiles de Granada (1595), Ginés Pérez de Hita lists the most important *caballeros* of Nasrid Granada in the fifteenth century and their place of origin. He includes in his list the "Vanegas, de Fez," claiming that they

[70] Capitulo LXXVIII," Pedro Carillo de Huete, *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II* , Edited by Juan Mata de Carriazo (Granada: Universidad de Granada), 92-93.
[71] "Capitulo CX," Pedro Carillo de Huete, *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II*, 120.
[72] Roser Salicrú i Lluch, "Nuevos mitos de la frontera: Muhammad X el Cojo, Ali Al-Amin y Ridwan Bannigas entre historiografía y historia, entre realidad y leyenda," in *Estudios de frontera: historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la frontera* (Alcalá la Real: Deputacion Provicial de Jaén, 2001), 487-505.
[73] According to this chronicle, the Aguacil of Guarda, Abulcasim Venegas, El Zagal's *wazir*, was a decendant of the Christian Venegas of Córdoba., "Este Alguacil, era de linaje de christianos de los Venegas de Córdoba, é su padre é abuelos fueron christianos é él nació en tierra de moros, é era muy gran servidor del Rey." Andres Bernaldez, Cura de los Palacios, *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos* (Sevilla, José María Geofrin, 1870), 157-158.
[74] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467, 151.

originated in Morocco.[75] Hita places the Venegas within Nasrid society as a native Muslim family that came over in one of the many immigrations from North Africa to Al-Andalus, rather than as cousins of a family that had been in Córdoba since the thirteenth century. The majority of the primary source evidence I have found supports the claim for the connection to Córdoba and the Condes de Luque. I know of only one secondary source that argues that Pedro Venegas converted to Christianity again at the end of his life, and I believe that this may have been a modern invention.[76] A source from the early seventeenth century, the *Origen de la Casa de Granada*, asserts that Pedro Venegas and Gilayre (the renegade, or convert from Christianity) were the same person.

> The princess Cetimerien married Pedro Venegas for love, son of the lord of Luque. When he was eight years old, they carried him to Granada. Having taken on the law of the Moors, they called him Gilayre, that between the Moors, means the Renegade…[77]

This source claims that this family was both royal through princess Cetti Merien, and noble, through the son of the lord of Luque—descending from Muslim royalty and Christian nobility.[78]

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[75] Gínes Pérez de Hita, *Guerras Civiles de Granada: Primera Parte*, Edited by Shasta M. Bryant (Newark, Deleware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2000 (first published 1595)), 22.

[76] In Endika de Mogrobejo's lineage of the Córdoba Venegas, she asserts that not only Pedro Venegas (who would have been an adult in the 1430s), but his sons Abulcasim and Reduan Venegas also converted to Christianity before they died. She did not cite her sources, and I have not found any evidence for this in any primary sources. According to agreements between Abulcasim and Ferdinand of Aragon, he was one of the Nasrid elites allowed to sell his goods and emigrate peacefully to North Africa. "Pedro Venegas de Quesada, el cual fue hecho cautivo a la edad de ocho años en Granada, donde casó despues con una Princesa hermana del Rey Juraf Aben Almaul, de la cual procreó los dos famosos Generales Albucacin y Reduan Venegas, que después se bautizaron cuando se ganó Granada. Procreó también en su mujer a la Princesa Citimarien, que casó con Cidi Ayaya, Alcaide de Baza, nieto del Rey Yuzaf, que después de bautizado se llamó Pedro de Granada Venegas, progenitors ambos de los Marqueses de Campotéjar. Pedro Venegas, cuando reconoció su apostasía, se reconcilió con la Iglesia, y en odio de los moros persuadió al Rey Don Juan II para la famosa entrada del año de 1431; pero después no quiso volver a Córdoba, y murió retirado en la ciudad de Jaén." Enrika de Mogrobejo, *Diccionario Hispanoamericano de heraldica, onomastica y genealogica, Vol.VII* (Bilbao: Editorial Mogrobejo-Zabala, 1995-2009), 73; This Christian captive story is asserted by the Cura de los Palacios, in a fifteenth century chronicle, Andres Bernaldez, Cura de los Palacios, *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos* (Sevilla, José María Geofrin, 1870), 157-158, and is repeated again in the "Origen de la Casa de Granada," an anonymous seventeenth century document, *Origen de la Casa de Granada*, Anonimo, 17th century, Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, 13r-13v.

[77] *Origen de la Casa de Granada*, Anonimo, 17th century, Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, 13r-13v. This source will be discussed in detail in "Ch. 4: Becoming a Knight, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas and the Order of Alcántara, Morisco Identity, Knighthood and the Purity of the Blood in the Seventeenth Century."

[78] This assertion, that the family had Nasrid royal blood and the blood of a Christian nobleman, was made by the Granada Venegas family in the early seventeenth century, as discussed in Chapter 4.

The Reign of Yusuf IV, 1431-1432

In 1431, Muhammad VIII, Sultan of Granada and master of Pedro Venegas, was murdered by the agents of Muhammad IX at Salobreña. Juan II and his powerful favorite, Alvaro de Luna, were in favor of Muhammad IX's coup. However, soon thereafter Muhammad IX aligned himself with Aragon against Castile and it became time for the Castilians to change sides. After the death of his master, Muhammad VIII, Pedro Venegas traveled to Christian Córdoba to ask Juan II of Castile if he would support Yusuf, the grandson of Muhammad VI (1332-1362) and descendant of Ben Hud, as the new ruler of Granada.[79] Álvaro de Luna then attacked Muhammad IX, on Juan II and Yusuf's behalf, winning the battle of La Higuerela in July of 1431. After this victory, Yusuf IV was installed as king of Granada.[80] Whether he was a total puppet of the Castilian court is unclear, but Yusuf IV was not popular among his people because of his "contract of vassalage" with Castile and perhaps for other dynastic reasons as well.[81] Yusuf IV ruled Granada for only one year. When Muhammad IX took power again in 1432, he had Yusuf IV executed.[82]

Yusuf IV may have been a Castilian puppet, but he was also an heir to an alternative royal dynasty with older roots than the Nasrids themselves.[83] In the early thirteenth century, after the Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa, a man claiming to be descended from the kings of Zaragoza (1039-1110) started a rebellion in Murcia against the Almohads, claiming that the real Caliph was in Baghdad.[84] This man, Ben Hud Al Nayar, ruled Almería, Granada, and Murcia from 1229 to 1238. He also controlled Córdoba from 1229 to 1236. When Ben Al Ahmar, the alcaide of a small town, handed Córdoba over to Fernando III and created an arrangement with him, he was rebelling against the authority of Ben Hud. In 1238, Ben Al Ahmar declared himself king, and with Castile's help, Ben Hud was killed and his family expelled from his realms.[85] This

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[79] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 555.

[80] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010), 14.

[81] This contract is in the collections of the Casa de los Tiros in Granada, a house owned by the Granada Venegas family as of 1535. The first page of this contract is reproduced by José Antonio García Luján, in "Appendix I, Contract of Vassalage between Yusuf IV and Juan II of Castile," *Documentos de la Casa de Granada: Linaje Granada Venegas, Marqués de Campotéjar*, Estudio y transcripción de José Antonio García Luján (Huescar: Fundación C. Ntra.Sra del Carmen y Fundación Portillo, 2010), 77.

[82] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, 14.

[83] José Antonio García Luján asserts this lineage for Yusuf IV in his study of the Casa de los Tiros, which was the house of the Granada Venegas in Granada starting in 1535. José Antonio García Luján, The Casa de los Tiros in Granada, 17-18.

[84] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennslyvania Press, 2003), 87-88.

[85] José Antonio García Luján, The Casa de los Tiros in Granada, 17-18.

action established the new kingdom of Nasrid Granada which would last until 1492. A descendant of Ben Hud, in Murcia, also entered into an arrangement with Castile, handing over his castle in return for certain rights which resembled those of Mudéjars in 1240.[86]

Yusuf IV's ally, Juan II (1405-1454), was not a powerful king of the Reconquista in comparison to Fernando III "el Santo" (1199-1252), Ferdinand of Antequera (1380-1416), or Ferdinand the Catholic (1452-1516). Many historians have condemned him for his reliance on favorites. He did not actively pursue the conflict against the Nasrids. However, he did successfully collect tribute money from Yusuf IV. This strong relationship with Nasrid Granada was brief. In 1432, after Yusuf IV died and the new king of Granada, Muhammad IX, reneged on the treaty, the pope gave Castile a bull of crusade.[87]

Muhammad IX, who was not a son of Yusuf IV, succeeded him in 1432. Despite his failure to give his sons control over Granada, Yusuf IV did leave them a great amount of wealth. It is clear from the will of Sultan Yusuf IV that his family was very wealthy and was powerful both politically and economically.[88] Collectively, the children of Yusuf IV, Abencelim Abraham El Nayar, Jamet Abenyami El Nayar, and his daughter Yquivila Nayara were known as the Infantes de Almería because of the extensive land holdings in Almería and power that the family had there, and because of their descent from Ben Hud, king of Almería. They had territory throughout the Sultanate, in Granada, Alhama, and Almería, and in lands surrounding Granada. Yusuf IV divided his property among his sons in this way: Abencelim Abraham El Nayar received the "Taha de Marchena," an entire Nasrid administrative district in the Alpujarras, and the family's main houses in the city of Granada. Jamet Abenyami El Nayar received the "Taha de Luchar," houses in the city of Almería, and a house in the "viña de Andarax." To his daughter, Yquivila Nayara, and her husband, the alcaide Abumajomat Atrabili, Yusuf IV gave "all of the farm house lands on the border of the city of Granada, fifty parcels of land in the Vega of Granada," and six houses in the Zacatín market in Granada. Not only did they own farmland, vineyards, and urban houses, but they also owned shops in the wealthy silk market of Granada, the Zacatín.[89]

Sultan Yusuf IV was also the subject of a frontier ballad that showed that he was viewed by a contemporary Christian poet as a "good Moor." The anonymous poem *Abenamar,*

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[86] L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 44-45.

[87] Ibid, 253.

[88] The will of Yusuf IV, in Arabic, was translated into Spanish by Juan Facundo Riano y Montero, a scholar working in Granada's archives in the nineteenth century. Montero's notebook, containing his Spanish translation of the will, is housed at the Hispanic Society of America in New York. Hispanic Society of America, 1241 Granada, 1474, B863.

[89] "Abencelim Abraham Elnayar and Hamet Abenjami Elnayar, princes of Granada, and Iquivila Nayara, princess of Granada, children of Yusuf Abenhamet, king of Granada, agree to partition of his estate," 19th century copy is stamped red morocco with gold tooled borders and spine; glazed marble end papers, note in hand of Penney, CL on stub before f.1 received 1/12/40, gift of mrs. J. Riano y Gayangos. Text translated from Arabic, is contained in MS notebook of Riano y Montero, Juan Facundo (1829-1901), along with other transcr. From docs and Arabic MSS, extracts from early printed books, copies of arabic inscrip. From Seville and Granada, tracings and photographs of coins and art objects, etc.," Hispanic Society of America, 1241 Granada, 1474, B863.

Abenamar describes the meeting between Juan II and Abanalmao in 1431.[90] The poem begins with a compliment to Abenalmao, declaring that he was born under a good omen. He is told that a Moor born with such a good omen could never lie. Abenalmao responds that he could never lie, because his mother was a captive Christian and she taught him not to lie. The Christian king then asks Abenalmao, "Which castles are those? They are tall and they shine!" He responds that they are the Alhambra, the mosque, and the Alijares, "marvelously carved." Then, after praising the Generalife palace, "the King Don Juan" addresses the city of Granada directly: "If you would like, Granada, marry me. I would give you as a dowry, Córdoba and Sevilla." In the poem, Granada replies, "I am married, King Don Juan, I am married, and not a widow. And the Moor that has me is much better, and I wanted him."[91] Abenalmao was thus a symbol for the Christians of a frontier hero, a "good Moor."[92]

Yusuf IV was the subject of Christian frontier ballads, a guest at the Castilian king's court, and popular among Christians. He also seems to have engaged in an adept marriage strategy with Christians and Christian converts to Islam. Yusuf IV married his sister Cetti Merien to Pedro Venegas, the very man who had been integral in arranging his alliance with Juan II.[93] This political and marital alliance did not end in the 1430s, but rather, it was cemented by further generations of these two families. When Yusuf IV was at the court of Juan II, he debated with "the greatest Christian collector of Koranic manuscripts in the 15th century," Juan de Segovia, about the Muslim faith, another factor that made him an attractive frontier figure for Christians.[94] The history of Yusuf IV and his family in the fifteenth century is a story of royal alliances, factional politics, and frontier legend. Not only did the family of a Christian captive unite with the family of a Nasrid Sultan—they did so several times. This was a political, economic, and marital alliance that lasted for most of the fifteenth century. As mentioned earlier, Yusuf IV married his sister Cetti Merien to Pedro Venegas, who had been captured from Christian

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[90] Rachel Arié, *El Reino Nasrí de Granada, 1232-1492* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 64-65; Luján also asserts that the poem, *Abenamar, Abenamar*, is about Yusuf IV. José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010), 14.

[91] "Si tu quisieras, Granada, contigo me casaría. Darete en arras y dote, a Córdoba y a Sevilla. Casada soy, el rey don Juan, casada soy y no viuda, el moro que a mi me tiene, muy grande bien, me quería. "Romance Anonimo: Abenamar y el Rey Don Juan: Abenamar, Abenamar," *Antología de poesía española*. http://users.ipfw.edu/jehle/poesia.htm.

[92] According to Juan Torres Fontes, the core poem I just described is verifiably from the fifteenth century. However, Gines Perez de Hita, in his *Guerras Civiles de Granada* in the sixteenth century, added several other verses to this poem that relate to the pain of the war (both the war for Granada and the two Morisco revolts) in the countryside and in Granada. Juan Torres Fontes, "La historicidad del Romance *Abenámar, Abenámar*," *Historia de Andalucía, V: El Reino nazarí y la formación de la nueva Andalucía* (Fundación José Manuel Lara), 174-189.

[93] Cetti Merien married a son of the Señor de Luque who was named Pedro or Ridwan Venegas. Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467, Translated by Martin Beagles (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 147.

[94] Ana Echevarría, The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude Towards Muslims in 15th Century Spain (Boston: Brill, 1999), 70 and 87.

Córdoba at the age of eight and was a convert to Islam. Yusuf IV's son, Abencelim Abrahén El Nayar, married Fatima, a royal daughter of Sultan Cirila or Ismail. They had a son named Cidi Yahya Al Nayar in 1435, when they lived in the Taha de Marchena.[95] In 1460 Cidi Yahya Al Nayar, the grandson of Yusuf IV, married Cetti Merien Venegas, the daughter of Pedro Venegas and Cetti Merien, the sister of Yusuf IV. His wife was thus of his father's generation, not his own.[96] Both had royal Nasrid blood. One was the grandson and the other the niece of Yusuf IV.

The War for Granada

The war for Granada took place intermittently throughout the fifteenth century, with periods of truce and periods of warfare, much like the Hundred Years War between England and France (1337-1453). After the reign of Yusuf IV, Castile tried to install another ruler, Yusuf V, but that attempt also only lasted a year (1445-1446). In 1447 Granada gained back some territory, and in 1449 Granada and Christian Navarre allied against Castile. In 1452 the Nasrids lost a major battle to Castile. In the 1450s, two Sultans claimed Granada--Muhammad XI in the Alhambra and Sa'd in Ronda. Sa'd was "on good terms" with the Castilian king, Henry IV Trastámara, who had succeeded his father Juan II in 1454.[97] However, once S'ad took over Granada in 1455, he did not agree to the vassalage demands of the Christians.[98] In 1457, S'ad and Henry IV made a truce that lasted until 1461. S'ad was in debt and began selling off many of his goods. Some of them ended up in the hands of Abulcasim Venegas, the son of Pedro Venegas. During this time, S'ad's son, the future Sultan Muley Hacén, was at the Castilian court.[99]

Nasrid Granada went through numerous wars of succession in the fifteenth century, and numerous rebellions against the ruling Sultan. In 1462, Abū' l-Hasan (Muley Hacén), then an *infante*, was leading a rebellion against his father, Sa'd. During that time, he was courted by Henry IV. In fact, according to Henry IV, Muley Hacén served with the king's guard and was the recipient of gifts of mail and armor from the Castilian king.[100] During the reign of Sultan Muley Hacén of Granada (1464-82, 1483-85), there were two revolts against his authority. Both were led by members of the Nasrid nobility. The first, in 1470, was led by the *alcaides*, many of

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[95] "Abencelim Abraham Elnayar and Hamet Abenjami Elnayar, princes of Granada, and Iquivila Nayara, princess of Granada, children of Yusuf Abenhamet, king of Granada, agree to partition of his estate," 19th century copy is stamped red morocco with gold tooled borders and spine; glazed marble end papers, note in hand of Penney, CL on stub before f.1 received 1/12/40, gift of Mrs. J. Riano y Gayangos. Text translated from Arabic, is contained in MS notebook of Riano y Montero, Juan Facundo (1829-1901), along with other transcriptions. From docs and Arabic MSS, extracts from early printed books, copies of arabic inscriptions. From Seville and Granada, tracings and photographs of coins and art objects, etc. Hispanic Society of America, 1241 Granada, 1474. B863.

[96] Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* 7 (1987): 57-83.

[97] L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 253-263.

[98] Ibid, 262.

[99] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467, 34-35.

[100] Ibid, 136.

whom were members of the Abencerraje lineage.[101] They failed because Muley Hacén's brother El Zagal did not side with them against him. The second revolt was led by "prince Ibrahim al-Nayyar, lord of Almería, who made an alliance with prince Fernando of Aragon in 1474 to depose Muley Hacén."[102] Ibrahim, or Abencelim, had been at the court of Henry IV when Muley Hacén came to power.[103]

Abencelim was the son of Yusuf IV and the father of Cidi Yahya Al Nayar. It seems that each of the last kings of Granada, Muley Hacén, El Zagal, and Boabdil, flirted with becoming a full vassal of the King of Castile, although only Muhammad XII (Boabdil) became famous for it. Abencelim made an agreement with Henry IV in which Henry supported his claim to the throne of Granada.[104] Not only this, but he later made an alliance with prince Ferdinand of Aragon and the "Infante Abenzelin Abenabraen Alnayar" (father of Cidi Yahya) from Tordesillas on June 27, 1474, has been preserved. It contains an agreement of vassalage of Abencelim to Ferdinand, and refers to an earlier agreement between Juan II of Castile and Sultan Yusuf IV, Abencelim's father.[105] At the time, Ferdinand was the husband of Isabella (then disputing with Juana la Beltraneja her claim to Castile), and the prince of Aragon, as his father Juan II of Aragon was still alive. Not only did Juan II of Castile and Yusuf IV (1431-1432) have a treaty of vassalage, but Yusuf's son, Abencelim, also had an agreement of vassalage with a Christian monarch in 1474. Thus, two generations of this royal Nasrid faction officially allied themselves with Christians against their rivals in Granada.

Like the Sultans of Granada, Henry IV also dealt with a rebellion against his authority, the War of the Castilian Succession. In the course of Henry's reign, certain noblemen began to dispute the paternity of his daughter, Juana, whom he wished to succeed him. Her paternity was ascribed to Beltrán de la Cueva, leading her to be called Juana "la Beltraneja." Her rival for the succession was Henry IV's half-sister Isabella. Isabella of Castile married Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1469. At the death of Henry IV, she was crowned Queen of Castile in Segovia in 1474. From 1474 to 1479, in the War of the Castilian Succession, the supporters of Juana fought Isabella and Ferdinand for the right to rule. Afonso of Portugal fought on the side of Juana, and their intended marriage would have united Castile and Portugal rather than Castile and Aragon. However, after their failed war against Isabella, they both returned to Portugal and Juana entered a convent.[106] Ferdinand of Aragon, after his father's death in 1479, began to rule Aragon in his

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[101] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467, 37.

[102] Ana Echevarría, The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude Towards Muslims in 15th Century Spain (Boston: Brill, 1999), 37-38.

[103] Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* 7 (1987): 59.

[104] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, The Last Crusade in the West: Castile and the Conquest of Granada (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 116.

[105] Part I, "Apéndice II: Carta del Príncipe Don Fernando de Aragón al Infante Abenzelin," Alfonso Bustos y Bustos, Marqués de Corvera, *Guerra y Sitio de Baza en el siglo XV*, Estudio introductorio y edición facsimile por José Antonio García Luján (Granada: Casa Ducal de Pastrana, 2009), 51-53.

[106] William D. Phillips, Jr., Henry IV and the Crisis of Fifteenth Century Castile, 1425-1480, 124-125.

own right, as Ferdinand II. It is interesting to consider the vassalage of a Muslim *infante* to Ferdinand of Aragon in the context of this Castilian war of succession. Ferdinand and Isabella emerged victorious from their civil war and chose to use their strength against Granada. Unfortunately for the sultans of Granada, their own civil conflict was still raging when Ferdinand and Isabella began their war against them in earnest.

Although the struggle between Castile and Granada had continued for much of the century, the final conflict took place during the decade from 1482 to 1492. The pope, in support of the conflict, had already issued several crusading bulls in 1432 and 1479, but a new bull in 1482 called for international troops to join the fight and it provided additional favors, privileges, indulgences, and sources of revenue for the Catholic Kings.[107]

On December 26, 1481, after the Sultan Muley Hacén had refused to pay tribute to Ferdinand and Isabella, his troops attacked the Castilian garrison at Zahara, taking the defenders away as prisoners.[108] In retaliation, on February 28, 1482, Christian forces, led by Rodrigo Ponce de León, the son of the Count of Cádiz, attacked the Nasrid city of Alhama by surprise. Alhama was located halfway between the city of Granada and Málaga, deep into Nasrid territory and along important trading routes. The *escaladores* climbed into the city and faced a fierce resistance, but they took it. Muley Hacén tried to take the strategic city back in March, but failed. Hernando de Pulgar, one of the Catholic Kings' chroniclers, later blamed the "lazy" citizens of Alhama for their defeat. He claimed their penchant for baths, "idleness" and "ease" were seeds of their own destruction.[109] The Christians then used Alhama as a staging point from which to launch other attacks on Granada's territories.

By 1482, there was another civil war in Granada. There were two royal factions fighting for control of Nasrid territory, one led by Abū' l-Hasan (Muley Hacén) and the other by his son Muhammad XII, or Boabdil. Abū' l-Hasan (Muley Hacén) had ruled Granada since 1464. Siding with him were his brother, Muhammad al-Zagal (El Zagal), and his *wazir*, Abū' l-Qāsim (Abulcasim) Venegas, who was the son of Pedro Venegas, kingmaker to Yusuf IV. Fighting with Boabdil against Muley Hacén were his mother, Aixa, and his *wazir* Yūsuf b Kumāsha. The power of the two brothers was centered in the coastal city of Málaga, whereas Boabdil held Granada.[110] Boabdil was roundly condemned at the time by the Granadan jurist al-Mawwāq in a *fatwā* for fighting against his father. This *fatwā* is summarized as follows: "his disloyalty had not only weakened the Granadan state as its borders were besieged by Christians…but had also undermined the authority of the Sultan and the cohesiveness of the Muslim community."[111]

If losing Alhama in 1482 was a psychological blow to the Nasrids, the humiliating defeat in the Mountains of Málaga which soon followed was an equivalent loss to the Castilians. Soon after their defeat in Málaga, however, the Castilians had a major breakthrough. They captured Boabdil, on April 20, 1483, when he led 700 cavalry and 9000 infantry to an area south of

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[107] "The Holy See and the Reconquest of Granada," in Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369-1516: Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain, Edited by Roger Highfield, Translated by Frances M. López-Morillas (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), 357-60.
[108] David Nicolle, Granada 1492: The Twilight of Moorish Spain, Praeger Illustrated Military History Series (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2005), 39.
[109] L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 271.
[110] Ibid, 275.
[111] Kathryn A. Miller, "Muslim Minorities and the Obligation to Emigrate to Islamic Territory: Two Fatwās from Fifteenth Century Granada," 276.

Córdoba and attacked the Christians.[112] In order to be released from captivity, Boabdil had to sign a treaty of vassalage with the Catholic Kings. He agreed to a two-year truce with them, which would apply to all realms under his control. In September of 1483, Boabdil signed a treaty that made him a vassal of the Catholic Kings for five years. However, the people of Granada did not like the fact that one of their rival Sultans had become an official vassal of the Christians, and Boabdil was still faced with opposition from his family. Boabdil was forced to withdraw from the city of Granada and regroup his forces in Guadix.[113] By 1484, El Zagal had begun to take over the war effort from his aging brother, Muley Hacén. Muley Hacén, the father of Boabdil, suffered a stroke in 1485. Uncle then battled nephew until the very end of Nasrid power.[114]

Boabdil was not the only Nasrid leader who entered into negotiations with Ferdinand and Isabella during this conflict. Boabdil's vassalage contract was meant to mirror that which Muhammed I (Ben al Ahmar) had made with Fernando III at the very beginning of the Nasrid dynasty.[115] Cidi Yahya Al Nayar's negotiations, in contrast, did not point back to thirteenth century political precedent. While he was arguably one of the most powerful men in Nasrid Granada, following El Zagal and Boabdil, Cidi Yahya was not the Sultan. In his negotiations with the Catholic kings, another very important factor was discussed—his religion. When it appeared that Boabdil's forces were gaining on his and those of El Zagal, Cidi Yahya Al Nayar, whose father Abencelim had made the aforementioned agreement with Ferdinand in 1474, also made a treaty with Ferdinand and Isabella. This treaty was signed on the 23rd of December, 1485.[116]

Ferdinand and Isabella, after listing their titles, began the treaty with the striking statement that both Cidi Yahya Al Nayar and his son had decided to convert to Christianity:

> So to you Cidi Aya Alnayar, alciade of Almeria and Vera, and Alnayar, your son, for the service of God for the service of God and enlightened by the Holy Spirit, knowing how daring are those that live and are anointed in our holy Christian faith, in which your father and grandfathers lived and died, because you descend from a lineage of Christian vassals, and desiring to convert yourself to our holy Catholic faith, and [sic] the name of our lord and redeemer Jesus Christ, you have in your will to become Christians and receive the water of baptism and come into the service of God and our service, and connected with this, surrender to us the said cities with their fortresses.[117]

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[112] John Edwards, Ferdinand and Isabella: Profiles in Power (Harlow, England: Pearson, 2005), 51.
[113] Camilo Álvarez de Morales, *Muley Hacén, El Zagal y Boabdil: Los Ultimos Reyes de Granada* (Granada, Comares, 2000), 96.
[114] David Nicolle, Granada 1492: The Twilight of Moorish Spain, 90.
[115] Camilo Álvarez de Morales, *Muley Hacén, El Zagal y Boabdil: Los Ultimos Reyes de Granada*, 130.
[116] Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* 7 (1987): 65.
[117] "Por tanto a vos Cidi Aya Alnayar, alcayde de Almería y Vera, y Alnayar, vuestro fijo, por servicio de Dios e alunbrados por Espíritu Santo, conosciendo quando bein aventurados son los que biven e umgen en nuestra santa fe cristiana, en la qual vuestro padre e aguelos bivieron e

The cities to be surrendered were Almería and Vera. Cidi Yahya's maternal grandfather was Don Pedro Venegas, who had been born a Christian in Córdoba. His paternal grandfather had been the Sultan of Granada, Yusuf IV, a vassal of the Christian king Juan II. Ferdinand and Isabella, in this treaty, do not identify his connection to Pedro Venegas, or specify whether Abulcasim, Yahya's father, may have converted to Christianity, or whether Yusuf IV had been a secret Christian. However, they assert that his "fathers and grandfathers" were "Christian vassals who practiced the Christian faith. This Christian lineage may have been known, and it may have caused his Islamic faith and identity to be suspect among his own people.[118]

This excerpt from their contract is evidence of the fact that Ferdinand and Isabella viewed Cidi Yahya differently from Boabdil. He was not treated as a Sultan or the sovereign of Nasrid Granada. He was treated as a key individual with military power whose forebears were Christians and who had expressed the desire to convert and to serve the Catholic Kings. Ferdinand and Isabella also made some concrete offers to him.

> We promise you [the *alcalde*] and your descendants, upon our good faith and royal word, that for doing the aforementioned things, we will grant you our favor in the villa of Gandia.[119]

The villa de Gandía is located on the coast between Alicante and Valencia. Along with this territory Yahya would receive all of its vassals, Muslim and Jewish, male and female, all rents, all privileges, all lands and waters and all civil and criminal jurisdiction. Most importantly, Ferdinand promised to Cidi Yahya and his descendants that he would be the Duke of Gandía, not just the señor or marqués.

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murieron, porque vosotros descendeys de linaje de vassallos cristianos, e deseando convertir vos a la nuestra santa fe cathoica, e ensalcal el nombre de Nuestro Señor e Redentor Jesucristo, teneys en voluntad de vos fazer cristianos e recibir el agua de bautismo e venid al servicio de Dios e nuestro, e junto con esto entregarnos las dichas cibdades con sus fortalezas." In "Apendice Documental:1485, diciembre 23, Alcalá de Henares. Asiento original de Cidi Alnayar, alcaide de Almería, con los Reyes Católicos, para la entrega de las cidudades de Almería y Vera con sus tierras, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. 18.633-6" in Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* 7 (1987): 77..

[118] L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 246-247.

[119] "Nos prometemos a vos, el dicho alcayde, para vos e para vuestros descendientes, e juramos por nuestra buena fe e palabra real, que faziento e agoliendo vosotros realmente e de fecho las cosas sobre dichas, en tal caso vos faremos merced para vos e para vuestros descendientes de la villa de Gandía…""Apendice Documental:1485, diciembre 23, Alcalá de Henares. Asiento original de Cidi Alnayar, alcaide de Almería, con los Reyes Católicos, para la entrega de las cidudades de Almería y Vera con sus tierras, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. 18.633-6" in Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* 7 (1987): 77.

> …with all of its uses, laws and rights and tributes, that we have, and in past times had the lords of this villa, for which all will be yours by right of heredity, forevermore, and we will give you the title of Duke of this villa.[120]

Thus, Ferdinand and Isabella promised to Cidi Yahya that he would be given one of the highest ranks of nobility, that of Duke. There were forty-nine families in Castile in 1474 which were *titulos* or *grandes*, that is, dukes, marquises, counts, and viscounts.[121] Whereas a significant portion (between four and ten percent) of Castile's population circa 1500 were nobility of any rank, from *grandes* and *titulos* to *caballeros* and *hidalgos*, in Aragon it may have been as small as one-and-a half or two percent. Thus, the creation of another dukedom in Valencia in the kingdom of Aragon would have been significant.[122]

This promise may not have been made in good faith, because on December 3, 1485, just twenty days earlier, also in Alcalá de Henares, Ferdinand had signed a treaty with then Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, that his son Pedro Luis would be given this very title. They used a different notary, Luis González.[123] Famous Dukes of Gandía would later include Juan, second son of the Borgia pope, who was murdered under mysterious circumstances, and Francisco de Borja, who joined the Jesuits and was canonized in 1672, a century after his death.[124] Ferdinand promised Cidi Yahya a title that he had just given to a son of an influential cardinal. A Nasrid nobleman would have had very little knowledge of this recent agreement, and Ferdinand may have used this to his advantage. Ferdinand never made Cidi Yahya a duke, but his family would later seek royal favors based on these and other promises.

In 1487, the war looked more favorable for the Christians. Christian troops made successful attacks on Vélez Málaga, and then besieged Málaga itself capturing the city in August after almost an entire campaign season fighting there. They punished many of its defenders by enslaving them, and executed some of the Christians who had converted to Islam (*elches*) that they found there. They executed them by throwing pointed reeds at them—a deadly version of

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[120] "…e con todos los usos, derechos e servidumbres, e tributos, que nos avemos, e en tiempos pasados tovieron los señores de la dicha villa, para que todo sea vuestro proprio por juro de heredad, para syempre jamás, e vos daremos el titulo de Duque de la dicha villa…""Apendice Documental:1485, diciembre 23, Alcalá de Henares. Asiento original de Cidi Alnayar, alcaide de Almería, con los Reyes Católicos, para la entrega de las cidudades de Almería y Vera con sus tierras, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms. 18.633-6" in Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* 7 (1987): 77.

[121] Philippe Contamine, "The European Nobility," in The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. VII, 1415-1500, Edited by Chirstopher Allmand (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 98.

[122] Philippe Contamine, "The European Nobility," 96.

[123] Santiago la Parra López, "El ducado de Gandía y la memoria familiar de san Francisco de Borja" *Revista Borja, Universitat Politécnica de Valencia* (2003): 84.

[124] Joan Francesco Mira, "Los Borja: de la historia al mito" *Pasajes, Publicacions Universitat de Valencia* No. 5/6 (Enero y Agosto 2001): 136-143.

the Nasrid tournament game, *the juego de cañas*.[125] El Zagal responded with numerous counter raids, but the tide of the war was turning against the Nasrids.

The Siege of Baza and the Conversion of Cidi Yahya Al Nayar

The Nasrid city of Baza, in the region of Almería, was surrounded by a fertile Vega, or lowlands, with fruit trees, vineyards and olive groves. These agricultural riches comprised most of the city's wealth. They also were the city's first line of defense against a siege, as the deep and muddy rows made it hard for horses of besieging troops and easy for a guerilla force to defend. As in many medieval and early modern sieges, time became the most potent weapon of the besiegers. Cidi Yahya Al Nayar was in charge of Baza's defense. It seems that in the four years since his correspondence with the Catholic Kings he had remained in the service of El Zagal. After many skirmishes in the muddy vineyards, the Castilians withdrew to a distance further from the city and set up two camps facing each other. To connect the camps, they had to cut down Baza's entire orchard in the Vega, which took them seven weeks.[126] Isabella of Castile also arrived in the camp to show the defenders of Baza her army's confidence. Come winter, the huts built by the Christians in their two camps were washed away in a storm. The Castilians rebuilt them in stone. With neither Boabdil in Granada or El Zagal in Guadix coming to relieve him, and perhaps relying on what had been promised to him in 1485, Cidi Yahya Al Nayar surrendered Baza on December 4, 1489. Cidi Yahya al Nayar, Alcaide of Baza and Guadix and Infante of Almería, following his grandfather's vassalage to Juan II and his father's vassalage to Ferdinand, became Ferdinand's vassal as well.

On December 7, 1489, upon the surrender of Baza, Ferdinand the Catholic made a treaty with Cidi Yahya Al Nayar. Ferdinand wrote that from then on, the Nasrid nobleman would be treated like the "greatest knights of my kingdoms."

> First of all, that I recieve you as my vassal and under my protection, to you and your son and cousins and that I will give you and your son a salary in my house and I will send and treat you as a great knight of my realms, depending on how your persons and lineage merit, and I will defend you with all of my power against your enemies and enemies of your lands and vassals and if some of [your lands and vassals] were incorporated in the agreements with Muley Boabdil, King of Granada, or you will be compensated for them.[127]

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[125] Interestingly, Philip II held *cañas* at London in 1554 when he married Mary Tudor. Barbara Fuchs argues that this led to the "long-term European construction of an exotic Spain," and that when the kings of Spain appropriated these games they were expressing a form of "maurophilia." Barbara Fuchs, Exotic Nation: Maurphilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 89-90.

[126] David Nicolle, Granada 1492: The Twilight of Moorish Spain, 69.

[127] "Primeramente que yo os recivo por mi vasallo y debaxo de mi amparo avos e a vuestro hijo y sobrinos e que dare a vos e a vuestro. hijo acostamiento en mi casae vos mandare tratar y tratare como a los Grandes Caballeros de mis Reines segun que vuestras personas e linage merece e os defendere con todo mi poder de vuestros enemigos a vos e a vuestros lugares e vasallos e que si algunos dellos eran comprehendidos en los assientos hechos con Muley boabdili Rey de Granada los saccare de los dichos assientos o vos hare cumplida satisfaccion dellos," in "Apéndice V: Tratado de Don Fernando el Católico con Yahia Alnayar cuando la entrega de Baza, December 7, 1489," Alfonso Bustos y Bustos, Marqués de Corvera, *Guerra y Sitio de Baza en el siglo XV*,

In this passage we have evidence that Cidi Yahya's son, Alí Omar ibn Nazar, entered the household of Ferdinand the Catholic. Unlike the earlier agreement that was not enacted, this contract was fulfilled with the surrender of a city. Cidi Yahya Al Nayar accepted baptism and converted to Christianity at the surrender of Baza in 1489. By doing so, he replaced Boabdil as Ferdinand's true Nasrid ally. In the treaty document, Ferdinand described Cidi Yahya's conversion to Christianity:

> And that it has pleased God to call you and to give you the true knowledge, and the choice and determination that you have, to become a Christian and to serve me and help me with your men, it is necessary that you have in secret, to best serve God and me in the rest of the conquest, and in this manner for your part and so that your men of war not leave you or go to our enemies, and for the relief of this desire, you will later receive holy baptism in my room, secretly, in a manner such that the Moors do not know, until the entrance/conquest of Guadix is complete, and for this reason and to eliminate any problem, not publish this [information regarding your baptism].[128]

This treaty, and the accompanying fall of Baza, were key turning points in the Conquest of Granada. Ferdinand had not only gained a city, an ally, and a soul for Christendom, but he had also gained a spy. Ferdinand required that Cidi Yahya receive baptism in his own quarters, in secret, in order to "better serve God and me in the rest of this conquest!"[129] This subterfuge would allow Cidi Yahya to enter and subdue Guadix without causing alarm. Cidi Yahya had switched sides in the war, and he was about to carry out his new master's covert affairs. The fall of Baza was a key moment in the Conquest of Granada. The valley of the Almenzora and the mountains of Filabres were turned over next. Soon thereafter, the important coastal fortresses of Almuñecar and Salobreña also surrendered to Ferdinand.[130]

Estudio introductorio y edición facsimile por José Antonio García Luján (Granada: Casa Ducal de Pastrana, 2009), 62.

[128] "Yten que pues assido Dios servido de llamaros e os dar de si verdadero conocimiento a la boluntad de determinacion que teneis de ser cristiano e de mi servir e ayudar con vuestra gente lo haveis de tener en secrete por mas servir a Dios y a mi en lo Restante de la conquista en que desta manera sereis mas parte e por que vuestra gente de guerra no os dexe y se baya con nuestros enemigos e para Remedio desto queriendo bos luego Recivir el Santo baptismo lo recibireis en mi camara secretamente de manera que no lo sepan los moros basta estar hecha la entrega de guadix e lo que mas y obiere que conviene no publicallo para el dicho efecto," "Apéndice V: Tratado de Don Fernando el Católico con Yahia Alnayar cuando la entrega de Baza, December 7, 1489," Alfonso Bustos y Bustos, Marqués de Corvera, *Guerra y Sitio de Baza en el siglo XV*, Estudio introductorio y edición facsimile por José Antonio García Luján (Granada: Casa Ducal de Pastrana, 2009), 63-64.

[129] "por mas servir a Dios y a mi en lo Restante de la conquista" "Apéndice V: Tratado de Don Fernando el Católico con Yahia Alnayar cuando la entrega de Baza, December 7, 1489," Alfonso Bustos y Bustos, Marqués de Corvera, *Guerra y Sitio de Baza en el siglo XV*, 63-64.

[130] Camilo Álvarez de Morales, *Muley Hacén, El Zagal y Boabdil: Los Ultimos Reyes de Granada*, 122.

A short time after Yahya's treaty with Ferdinand was signed, Ferdinand and El Zagal rode on horseback peacefully into Almería, and El Zagal handed it over, with the promise that he would be lord of Andarax and would hold various small territories including the salt pans of la Mahala.[131] He surrendered Almería and Guadix soon after.[132] With very little hesitation, El Zagal then withdrew to North Africa. El Zagal surrendered because Cidi Yahya had the political and familial leverage to convince him. Not only was he an ally of El Zagal, he was also his brother-in-law. Cidi Yahya's sister Esquivila was married to El Zagal.[133] Cidi Yahya also had a second brother-in-law in a powerful position, Abulcasim Venegas, the *wazir* of El Zagal. Abulcasim Venegas was the son of Cetti Merien (sister of Yusuf IV) and Pedro Venegas. His sister, also named Cetti Merien, was the wife of Cidi Yahya. As a reward, after the surrender Cidi Yahya managed to get la Mahalá and other lands that had been promised to El Zagal for his brother-in-law, Abulcasim Venegas.[134] Cidi Yayha had the power to convince El Zagal to give up Almería, and he succeeded in doing so.

The conversion of Cidi Yahya Al Nayar helped Ferdinand by speeding up the conquest of Almería and Guadix. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) famously called Ferdinand the "greatest king in Christendom" for his ability to use his military strength to bring himself "honor…always in the name of religion." He pursued all of his wars under the same "cloak of piety."[135] The vassalage and conversion of Cidi Yahya allowed Ferdinand to hold yet another pawn in his hand if Boabdil, also ostensibly his vassal, proved difficult to control. As described above, he had promised Cidi Yahya, as early as 1485, that he would become the Duke of Gandía, a title he had already given to the son of an influential cardinal. Ferdinand did not keep this promise.[136]

Cidi Yahya converted to Christianity, changing his name to Don Pedro de Granada. Cidi Yahya's personal motivations in 1489 are unknown to us, but Ferdinand in 1485 believed that this conversion would be a return to Cidi Yahya's family's former Christian faith. His son, Alí Omar ibn Nazar, converted as well, being tutored by the archbishop of Toledo, Pedro González de Mendoza, on the order of the Catholic Kings. In 1491, Isabella gave him his own coat of

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[131] David Nicolle, Granada 1492: The Twilight of Moorish Spain, 69; Camilo Álvarez de Morales, *Muley Hacén, El Zagal y Boabdil: Los Ultimos Reyes de Granada*, 122.
[132] John Edwards, The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474-1520, 117.
[133] Medieval Spain: Conflict and Coexistence: Studies in Honor of Angus Mackay, Edited by Angus Mackay, Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 173; Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* 7 (1987): 62.
[134] Medieval Spain: Conflict and Coexistence: Studies in Honor of Angus Mackay, 173; Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada*,"* 62.
[135] Niccolo Machiavelli, The Prince, Translated by Daniel Donno (New York: Bantam Books, 1981, first published 1513), 77.
[136] Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," 65.

arms.[137] Alí Omar ibn Nazar changed his name to Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, taking the name Venegas from his mother, Cetti Merien Venegas, the daughter of a Nasrid princess and a Cordoban renegade. Interestingly, Cidi Yahya chose the name "Pedro" rather than the direct translation of his Arabic name, Yahya, which would be John, or "Juan."[138] Perhaps he chose this name to honor his wife's father, Pedro Venegas, who was born in Christian Córdoba. These Nasrid noblemen thus became Moriscos, Muslim converts to Christianity. It was a point of pride for Cidi Yahya's descendants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that his conversion brought him back to the Christianity of his wife's father's family.

Cidi Yahya's brother-in-law, Abulcasim Venegas, also made an agreement with the Catholic Kings, as their "vassal." However, it was not to serve them in war or diplomacy. It was a promise from Ferdinand that his goods were to be protected and he would be allowed to sell his properties in peace.[139] After he received this assurance, Abulcasim "el Viejo," an *alguacil* (tax collector or official), began to sell his goods as early as 1490. Abulcasim "el Viejo" then gave his nephew, also named Abulcasim Venegas, who was an *alcaide* (military leader and governor of a castle), the son of Moclis Venegas, the right to sell his goods. The young Abulcasim, "el mozo," "resident of Granada," then sold "all of his uncle's goods" to Lorenzo Venegas, "resident of Luque."[140] It is quite interesting that the patrimony of this family passed to a Venegas from Luque, since Luque was the ancestral home of the Córdoba Venegas and the place of origin of Pedro Venegas, the father of Cidi Yahya's wife Cetti Merien. This transaction of land could show an acknowledgement (in 1490, before the conquest was complete) that the Granada Venegas had been related to the Venegas of Córdoba.[141] After making these arrangements to sell his property, Abulcasim "el Viejo" and his family left Granada for North Africa. Like Abulcasim, another relative, Yuce Venegas, did not convert to Christianity at the time of the conquest; he died in Christian Granada as a Muslim. [142] The Venegas family included an extended network of

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[137] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, 19.

[138] N.I. Matar, Islam for Beginners (New York: Writers and Readers Publishing, 1992), 25.

[139] "Documento Num. I: Carta de seguro, otorgado por Fernando el Católico a favor del alcaide Abulcásim Venegas, el Viejo. Ojos de Huecar, a 3 de Junio de 1490," *Unos Documentos de 1490 sobre Abulcasim Venegas, Alguacil de Granada*, Edited by Antonio del Torre y del Cerro. Córdoba: Tipografía Artistica, 1933 (Trabajo publicado en el numero 38 (Enero a Marzo de 1933) del *Boletin de la Acadamia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba*).

[140] "Documento Numero II: Traslado, hecho en Córdoba, a 22 de Octubre de 1490, de un poder, otorgado en Granada, a 12 de Septiembre de 1490, por el alguacil Abulcásim, hijo de Reduan Venegas, a favor de su sobrino el alcaide Abulcásim, hijo de Moglis Venegas, para vender y disponer de sus bienes. Granada, 12 de Septiembre de 1490." *Unos Documentos de 1490 sobre Abulcasim Venegas, Alguacil de Granada*.

[141] A document at the Archivo Histórico Nacional Seccíon Nobleza in Toledo identifies a Lorenzo Venegas as a son or nephew of the Conde de Luque of Córdoba in 1511. "Escritura de partición y donación que hizo Egas Venegas de Córdoba, [V] señor de Luque, a favor de sus hijos y nietos, Egas Venegas, García Venegas, Lorenzo Venegas y Egas Venegas, de varios bienes raíces, cortijos, heredamientos y censos en Córdoba, Loja (Granada), Granada y Santa Fe (Granada)." Luque, C.116, D-47, 1511-1-17.

[142] L.P. Harvey, Islamic Spain, 1250-1500, 338-339, 246-247.

individuals, some of whom fled to North Africa and some of whom stayed in Granada, with varied social success.

A Nasrid source provides evidence that certain Muslims had fled to the camp of the Catholic Kings prior to Granada's fall. According to an anonymous Arabic chronicle of the fall of Granada, *Nubdhat al-'asr*, the people of Granada came to Boabdil to ask him to surrender to King Ferdinand because they were dying of starvation and unable to cultivate their land or receive food from elsewhere. They also said to him that things were so dire that some of their own had fled to the other side: "…many of our folk have fled to his camp, and they will act as guides to point out to him our vulnerable spots, and he will make use of them against us."[143]

After the fall of Baza and the surrender of El Zagal and his withdrawal to North Africa, there were a few more skirmishes between Boabdil's forces and the Christians, but in large part the conflict was reduced to a siege of the city of Granada. As the effects of the siege wore on, Boabdil sent his vizier to negotiate with Ferdinand at Santa Fe. After the treaties were signed, Don Guiterre de Cárdenas received the keys to the Alhambra from Boabdil in the Comares tower at dawn on January 2, 1492.[144] The last Sultan of Granada then left the city with his family. After only a few months away from Granada, Boabdil's wife died, and he buried her in Andarax, the small territory given to him by the Catholic Kings. Boabdil then left for North Africa like El Zagal had before him.[145]

Conclusion

Through the Infantes' de Almería's and the Granada Venegas's involvement in Iberian life and politics, Nasrid Granada lived on. It was not removed entirely. But rather, it flowered and faded away. An entire royal faction from Nasrid Granada entered Castilian society. The man whom some called the "third king of Granada" took his chances with the Catholic Kings rather than the rulers of North Africa.[146] Unlike his grandfather, Yusuf IV, who was both vassal to Castile and ruler of a Muslim state, and his father, Abencelim Abrahen, who joined in alliance against the Sultan, Muley Hacén, as Ferdinand's Muslim vassal, Cidi Yahya entered royal service as a Catholic. Ferdinand of Aragon was his godfather at a clandestine baptism. Ferdinand made him the *alguacil mayor* of Granada in 1492.[147] Through royal privilege, marriage, and military service, his family took up residence in the summer palace of the Nasrid Sultans, the Generalife, and his descendants became *Alcaides* of castles on the Granadan coast, once occupied by their Muslim ancestors. One of the threads that ties the early fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century is the relationship between this Nasrid faction and the crown of Castile. Nasrid Granada was the last phase in the history of Al-Andalus. By 1491, the sultanate had been reduced to only the city of Granada. With its fall in January 1492, the last toehold of Muslim

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[143] "*Nubdhat al-'asr,*" in Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources, 2nd Edition, Edited by Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 506.

[144] Rachel Arié, *El Reino Nasrí de Granada, 1232-1492* (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992),105.

[145] Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Testamento y Muerte de Don Pedro de Granada," 240.

[146] Manuel Espinar Moreno y Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," 37.

[147] Rachel Arié, *El Reino Nasrí de Granada, 1232-1492*, 108.

power in Spain was removed from the peninsula, and the history of Al-Andalus as an independent entity came to an end. Nasrid Granada was not erased. Descendants of its kings assimilated and continued to hold high social and military positions well into the seventeenth century. Thus, from 1431 to 1492, the family of Yusuf IV, the Infantes de Almería, had an unbroken relationship of vassalage with a Christian king. When Yahya changed his name, converted to Christianity, and become Don Pedro de Granada, he and his wife, Cetti Merien Venegas, founded a family that would play an important role in Christian Granada.

Chapter 2:
Religion, Politics and Urban Landscape:
Granada's New Morisco Elite and The Renaissance in Granada, 1492-1571

The Capilla Real

From their palace in Medina del Campo, in 1504, a few months before Isabella's death, Ferdinand and Isabella mandated that a royal chapel be built in Granada, to hold their tombs. This chapel, the Capilla Real, was to be constructed between the Great Mosque and the Islamic university, or Madraza. Enrique Egas was commissioned to build it in the Gothic style typical of the Catholic Kings' reign.[148] Decorating the chapel were paintings from Isabella's personal collection, which included Spanish, Italian, and Flemish artists, such as Juan de Flandes (1460-1519), Pedro Berruguete (ca. 1450–ca. 1500), Sandro Botticelli (1444/45–1510), Pietro Perugino (d. 1523), Dieric Bouts (d. 1475), and Hans Memling (d. 1494). In the late fifteenth century, as evidenced by Isabella's painting collection, and the marriages that Mary of Burgundy, Emperor Maximilian I and the Catholic Kings made for their children, cultural exchanges between the Low Countries, Spain and Italy were quite common and productive.[149] The medieval Muslim city of Granada was one place where these exchanges were brought to fruition.

This chapter will explain the various ways late medieval Gothic and Renaissance styles were imposed upon the landscape of Granada, adapting it to its new conqueror's tastes, and then will narrate the story of how Granada's Muslim population, in particular, its elites, like the Granada Venegas family, reacted to and participated in these changes. The Capilla Real is one of the best examples of the new architecture of early Christian Granada. The royal chapel today serves as a permanent reminder and remembrance of the Conquest of Granada, but also as a place of Christian worship. It is also a metaphor for the conquest as a Gothic church built on the foundations of part of the Great Mosque. The first phase of Granada's aesthetic conquest under Ferdinand and Isabella was Gothic and early Renaissance. Under Charles V's imperial Renaissance, architecture was built in the city following the ancient Roman colossal order of Vitruvius, Augustus's architect.

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[148] This information regarding the Catholic Kings' final wishes is preserved in documents on display to the public in the Capilla Real mausoleum and museum today. Before Ferdinand and Isabella conquered Granada, they had built another chapel that was meant to be their final resting place, also in honor of a military victory, this time over the Portuguese. This was San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, the former center of Visigothic Spain and the spiritual capital of Castile. San Juan de los Reyes was completed by Juan Guas, a Spanish-Flemish architect, between 1477-1504. Its walls are covered with Gothic baldachins and decorations including large symbols of the monarchs including coats of arms, arrows, lions, and their initials, F and Y. San Juan de los Reyes has some similarities, especially in wall decoration and royal coats of arms, with Kings College, Cambridge, whose distinctive fan vaults were also finished in the early years of the sixteenth century by the Tudors.

[149] It was also in the fifteenth century that Alfonso V of Aragon pursued an empire in Italy, through the inheritance of queen Joan II of Naples, and various battles with the French. Alfonso was a great patron of the arts in Naples.

The sculptor chosen to complete the tomb of Don Juan, in Avila,[150] and then that of his parents, Ferdinand and Isabella, in the Capilla Real, was Domenico Fancelli, a Florentine who had earlier been commissioned by the Conde de Tendilla to build the tomb of his brother, archbishop Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (d. 1505), in Sevilla's Cathedral. Fancelli completed the Catholic monarchs' tomb in 1517, but he died before finishing the second, that of Philip and Juana. Bartolomé Ordóñez, from Burgos, finished that sculpture.[151]

In the Capilla Real today, the bones of Philip I the Fair, Juana I, Prince Miguel, and Ferdinand and Isabella, all rest together, under their alabaster tombs, in rusted, iron caskets. They reside in a stone crypt at the foot of the stairway that leads to the altar, positioned some distance from where a relic, beneath the altar, would be placed. Their monumental tombs, in white alabaster, like mid-sized Roman sarcophagi, rise from the floor level in the center of the chapel. At the top of the two sarcophagi, the stone likenesses of the kings and queens rest on sumptuous alabaster pillows. Ferdinand, clothed in his battle armor, but half covered by a sheet, holds his sword. Around him, carved angels and bishops, philosophers and prophets, turn to face those who visit the sleeping kings. The tomb of Philip I and Juana I, next to that of the Catholic Kings, rises higher, giving precedence to the son and father of an emperor, and the mother of one. Commissioned in 1519, this monument has much larger statues reclining at each of its four corners, including an evangelist, and St. Jerome. Mythical one-footed creatures hold up the structure at its base with their feet. Classical details such as garlands, columns, arches and niches, are more pronounced, although the older tomb also contains classical elements. In the tomb of Charles V's parents, a Flemish prince and a Castilian queen, aesthetic traditions of the European Middle Ages—the sleeping king and queen in armor and robes, crowned with simple circlets—mix with the muscular, proportioned body of a Jerome or of a prophet, and the delicate marble columns of Renaissance art.[152] The architectural decorations of these tombs revive the style of large ancient sarcophagi which Italian humanists would have been familiar with. In these ancient tombs, the sculptures of the dead rest on top of a tall marble box, clothed in Roman dress, with no symbols of Christian kingship, scepter or sword in hand.[153]

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[150] Don Juan was a prince who had been heir to Castile and Aragon. Had Don Juan, the husband of Margaret of Austria and older brother of Juana of Castile lived, Charles V, the son of Juana, would never have inherited Castile. The tomb of Don Juan is described in Fernando Chueca, *Historia de la Arquitectura Occidental Renacimiento* (Madrid: Doscat, 2003), 172; Earl Rosenthal also notes the key role of the Mendoza and other noble families in sponsoring projects in the new style, in the early sixteenth century, Earl E. Rosenthal, The Palace of Charles V in Granada (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 239.

[151] Ordóñez had previously decorated the choir stalls in the Cathedral of Barcelona for Charles's first meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Spain in 1519.

[152] One of the observations often made by art historians is that the art and architecture of the early Spanish Renaissance focused heavily on imitating classical decorations and carvings, rather than the overall symmetry of a building, which was the priority of many Italian builders. Architects disagreed on what constituted building "a la romano," but they still sought to imitate the ancient past. Earl Rosenthal, "The Image of Roman Architecture in Renaissance Spain," *Gazzette de Beaux-Arts* 52 (1958): 341.

[153] In the Mediterranean world there were many examples of these ancient sarcophagi, and while some are in Italy, others are preserved today in the Istanbul Archeological Museums in Turkey, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri; Another early sixteenth century tomb with a mixture of late

At Ferdinand and Isabella's feet, beneath their two faithful lions, Santiago crushes the Moors with his horse. Above Santiago, a plaque reads:

> Overthrowers of the sect of Mohammed and extinguishers of the Obstinate heretic, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, man and wife of one mind called Catholic are closed in this marble tomb.[154]

Under the bed of Philip and Juana is a garland of flowers, with the flint and sparks of the distinctive cord of the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which Philip and his son Charles, as Dukes of Burgundy, were Sovereigns. At Philip and Juana's feet, under their lions, Charles V (and most likely, the cathedral chapter, after Juana's death in 1555), left a plaque for his parents. After listing their many earthly titles, it concludes: "What else? From their union, Charles V enlightened the world, and he erected this monument to his parents."[155] The scene chosen for the carving beneath Charles's inscription was of Christ being taken down from the cross. The two sarcophagi are very similar, but the messages they portray are not identical. The religious passion and confidence of Santiago Matamoros, and bishops on the Catholic Kings' tomb, have a different tenor than that of their daughter Juana and her consort. Just as aesthetics were changing by moving in a more classical direction, the political and religious environment of the early sixteenth century was becoming more complex, and the triumph of Catholicism, despite the conquest of Granada, was less certain. Charles V had a long road ahead of him, of war, conflict and disappointment, facing the French, the Turks, and the German Protestants. The choice of a dead Christ, rather than Santiago Matamoros for the carving beneath the inscription, hints at the difficulties and sacrifices that he was beginning to experience when he buried his father in Granada.[156]

While these tombs have a strong classical flair, only one generation previously, royal tombs were built in a far more pronounced Gothic style. Gil de Siloé carved a tomb for Juan II of Castile (d. 1454) and his wife, Isabella of Portugal, in 1486-99 at the monastery of Miraflores in Burgos, in the shape of an eight-pointed star. The king and queen repose under baldachins, like in a gallery of kings on a Gothic portal. However, like the later tombs in Granada, it has numerous standing figures, including virtues and evangelists.[157] The differences and similarities between the tomb of Juan II and that of his daughter Isabella, and her daughter Juana, illuminate

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medieval and Renaissance styles is that of the explorer Luís Vaz de Camões, described in A.R. Disney, A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire: From Beginnings to 1807, Vol.1 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

[154] "Mahometice secte prostratores et heretice pervicacie extinctores Fernandus Aragonum et Helisabetha Castelle vir et uxor unanimes catholici appelati marmor eo clauduntor hoc tumulo," Inscription, Capilla Real, Granada. For a detailed discussion of tomb inscriptions being a vehicle for the revival of ancient epigraphic traditions, see Manuel Ramírez Sánchez, "La tradición de la epigrafía antigua en las incripciones hispanas de los siglos XV y XVI," *Veleia* 29 (2012): 255-277.

[155] "Quid plura? / ex eoru(m) consortio mundo illuxit seren(issimus) imp(erator) Carolus V / qui p/garentibus suis hoc erexit Monumentum." Inscription, Capilla Real, Granada.

[156] Description of the Capilla Real in Granada from the author's own observation in Granada in June of 2013.

[157] John F. Moffitt, The Arts in Spain (London: Thames & Hudson World of Art, 2005), 79-80.

the pace of how styles changed and evolved in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. However, both Gothic and Renaissance aesthetics were foreign to the Muslim city of Nasrid Granada, which had experienced no Christian Middle Ages, and which had been a provincial city at most, in Roman times.[158]

The Spanish Renaissance in Politics and Architecture

While royal patronage was key for the spread and success of Renaissance aesthetics in Spain, there were other social groups that were also deeply invested in Spain's revival of Roman art, architecture and letters: in particular, the *caballeros*, who were knights and nobles, and the *letrados*, the educated lawyers and humanists.[159] One example of a *caballero* family who sponsored great works of art and architecture, and who were some of the earliest Castilians to do so, were the Mendoza family.[160] Between 1509 and 1512, Don Rodrigo Vivar y Mendoza built the Castillo de Calahorra in an isolated spot near Granada. It was the first major Renaissance palace-castle in Spain. Its design followed both defensive castle architecture in use since the 13th century, as well as newer designs from Lombardy. The exterior was that of a military castle, but the interior was dominated by a central courtyard with a two storied colonnade characterized by arches in classical proportions.[161] The Mendoza and other noble families built numerous palaces in Granada and elsewhere during the sixteenth century using the orders of architecture from classical antiquity, such as the Corinthian and the Ionic. One of the best examples of *letrado* Renaissance patronage was that of the secretary of Charles V, Francisco de los Cobos, who used his income to begin a monumental building project in his hometown of Úbeda, which is less than ninety miles from Granada, in 1536. Cobos contracted with Alonso Ruiz of Úbeda and the young Andrés de Vandelvira of Alcaraz to build him the chapel of San Salvador. They were to follow designs already begun by Diego de Siloé, working at the time on the Cathedral in Granada.[162] Cobos's chapel gave him and his wife a serene and "sumptuous" resting place, where solemnities mirroring those in the Capilla Real would be celebrated for them.[163] Cobos built his own palace close to the chapel. Nearby, Cobos's friend and client, or *criado*, Don Vázquez de Molina, built a palace, and Don Deán Ortega built an urban palace as well.[164] A jewel of the Renaissance in Andalucía, Ubeda's central square contains one of the largest concentrations of Renaissance palaces outside of Florence. Andrés de Vandelvira would go on to build the Cathedral in Jaén,

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[158] For a description of Roman Illiberi as a very small city, see Joaqúin Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada*, Edición Facsímil (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1988), 57.
[159] An excellent article on the supposed rivalry between letrados and caballeros is Luis X. Morera, "An Inherent Rivalry between 'Letrados and Caballeros?' Alonso de Cartagena, the Knightly Estate, and an Historical Problem," Mediterranean Studies 16 (2007): 67-93.
[160] "The Renaissance reached its fullest development in the mid-fifteenth century when the Mendoza as patrons and artists dominated Castilian cultural life to the same degree they dominated its political life." Helen Nader, The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 77.
[161] Rafael López Guzmán, *Los Palacios del Renacimiento* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2005), 11-13.
[162] Hayward Keniston, Francisco de los Cobos: Secretary of the Emperor Charles V (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960), 191.
[163] Hayward Keniston, Francisco de los Cobos: Secretary of the Emperor Charles V, 372.
[164] A *criado* is a person or servant dependent on a noble or patron.

and other monuments of the Vitruvian revival in Andalucía.[165] These included the Hospital de Santiago in Úbeda, commissioned by Don Diego de los Cobos (1562-1575), in such a style that it has been called the "Escorial of Andalucía."[166]

Vitruvius was the Roman Emperor Augustus's architect at the end of the first century, B.C.. He wrote the only surviving ancient treatise on architecture, called *De Architectura*. For Vitruvius, good architecture and good government went together. It was necessary for the Caesars to build in order to show their power.[167] Monarchs in early modern Europe, such as the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, Charles V, applied this principle to building projects in their realms. Vitruvius's works were consciously imitated and revived in various ways by the architects of Granada's Cathedral, of Charles V's palace in Granada, and of Philip II's Escorial palace near Madrid, as we will see later in this chapter.[168] While architecture demonstrated one side of this political Renaissance, histories written by Spanish courtiers, representing their rulers as Caesar or Augustus, provided another example of Spain's identification with ancient Rome.[169]

On the political level, Granada's Renaissance was a part of this Renaissance of Empire, which drew upon the intellectual and cultural traditions previously noted, but also had the concrete political agenda of reviving the ancient Roman Empire.[170] The Reconquista, by definition, was a war of conquest. When Ferdinand and Isabella conquered Granada, their place on the world stage rose substantially. The Renaissance project in Granada in the sixteenth century merged with crusading and Reconquista traditions as a part of a new imperial project, because to renew Roman and "Christian" Granada was to remove its Muslim Middle Ages from the historical record. It was the first major conquest of the expanding Spanish Empire, whose historians and humanists believed it would surpass Rome. The imposition of Christianity and classical, Vitruvian aesthetics on a Muslim capitol and its surrounding cities of Málaga, Ronda, Guadix, Baza, and Almería, whether built by monarchs, *caballeros* or *letrados*, was an obvious form of cultural imperialism.[171]

In early sixteenth century Spain, Italians, Spaniards, Flemings and others worked on

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[165] Andrés de Vandelvira owned "un Vitrubio en latín, un libro de Sebastiano Serlio colonense, otro libro de perspectiva de Sebastiano, y un libro comentado en lengua toscana, y otras obras pequeñas en romano." Pedro Galera Andreu, *Andrés de Vandelvira* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2000), 57.

[166] Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Historia de la Arquitectura Occidental Renacimiento* (Madrid: Doscat, 2003), 215.

[167] There were numerous manuscript and printed editions and translations made of Vitriuvius in the early modern period. One such example can be found in the Bancroft Library at the University of California-Berkeley, Vitruvius Pollio, *De Architectura* (Spanish), manuscript, Fernán Nuñez Collection.

[168] Earl E. Rosenthal, The Cathedral of Granada (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 167; Earl E. Rosenthal, The Palace of Charles V in Granada (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[169] Examples of sixteenth century historians who were champions of the growth of Spain's empire and of its identification with a revived Roman Empire were Florian de Ocampo and Antonio de Guevara.

[170] Thomas James Dandelet, The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[171] Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

numerous monumental and decorative projects. Not only did Ferdinand and Isabella favor Spanish, Flemish and Italian artists, they also hired Italian humanists to tutor their children, and they established schools for the education of both the Morisco population and the Christian immigrants to the city.[172] Thus, Spain already had a nascent Renaissance culture when Charles V became king in 1516, and the Italian Renaissance was not merely imported to Spain. The court of Charles V was international and cosmopolitan and filled with Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and many others who contributed to the revival of classical culture, politics and aesthetics in Spain.

There was also a literary Renaissance in the city, as we will read about in more detail in Chapter 3. The Granada Venegas were sponsors of a literary *tertulia*, which included Latin teachers and poets. One of these writers was Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. The Granada Venegas family was also closely associated with the Mendoza family, one of the major promoters of Renaissance culture in Spain in the fifteenth century.[173] Spain had a native literary Renaissance, yet it did interact a great deal with Italian models, especially in the realm of the Petrarchan poetry Spanish poets hoped to imitate, but also surpass.[174]

Christian Granada and the New Morisco Elite, 1492-1520

The ideology of the Spanish Renaissance was not only political, but also had a strong religious component.[175] The Christianization and Romanization of Granada's landscape was part of a desire to find an ancient origin for the city, which was ultimately demonstrated, at the end of the sixteenth century, in the enthusiasm with which Granada's citizens embraced the bones found on the Sacromonte hill as the relics of Granada's first bishop, San Cecilio, who they believed was martyred by the Romans.[176] But in 1492, Granada's Muslim population, including the collaborator elite, was forced to adapt to the new environment of Christian, Renaissance Granada.[177] For Don Pedro de Granada (Cidi Yahya Al Nayar), his wife Cetti Merien Venegas, and his son, Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, this period following the Conquest of Granada was critical for the success of the family's assimilation. Don Pedro had several portraits painted of him in this period, including one picture, hanging at the Casa de los Tiros museum today. Like other Renaissance portrait sitters, Don Pedro, with a breastplate on, and helmet at his side, with a staff and a sword at his hip, stands looking sidelong at his viewer, as a Christian gentleman. In another, somewhat less imposing portrait, below, Don Pedro is wearing a full suit of armor. At his feet is the head of a Muslim soldier. On his chest, the cross of the Order of Santiago is visible. In this picture, his new identity as a Christian crusader is quite pronounced. Don Pedro and his heirs needed to establish their social standing and property rights in this new Christian city and in

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[172] Helen Nader, The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 5.
[173] Helen Nader, The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550.
[174] For more on this, see Ignacio Navarrete, Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Spanish Renaissance (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).
[175] Some scholars would argue that the Renaissance in Spain was actually primarily religious, Francisco Javier Martínez Medina, *Cultura Religiosa en la Granada Renacentista y Barroca: Estudio Iconológico* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 145.
[176] For more on the Sacromonte finds, see Chapter 4.
[177] Enrique Soria Mesa uses the term "collaborator elite" to refer to the Granada Venegas, and others. See Enrique Soria Mesa, *Linajes Granadinos* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2008), 76.

the larger realm of Christian Castile. Not only did they need to show their Christianity and their loyal service, they also needed to maintain their hold on properties that had been passed down to Don Pedro's father from his father, Yusuf IV, Sultan of Granada. At the same time they needed to maintain their claims over properties and grants that had been offered them by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1485, and in 1489.

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As large property owners, the Granada Venegas, the Zegríes, the Hermes families and a few others were the exception to the rule in Granada. According to Ángel Galán Sánchez,

> The aim of the Castilians was that only the taxpayer population should remain in Granada: the Castilian state pursued consciously a colonial policy in which the Muslims, subject to a heavy tax burden, were only permitted to be, in Crown Secretary's Hernando

[178] This item is mislabeled in the Alhambra catalog. It is a portrait of Don Pedro de Granada (d. 1506) who was also known as Cidi Yahya, not Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, the first Marqués, (d. 1643). "Retrato de Sidi Yahya Al Nayar se bautizó como Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, I Marques de Campotéjar, nombre Cristiano, de la colección del Generalife del Museo de la casa de los tiros, siglo XVI, fotografía de una foto de un retrato al oleo sobre lienzo," Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, Colección fotográfica del Museo del Arte Hispano Musulmán, F007441.

de Zafra words, "farmers and artisans." However, as we shall see, the Crown's policies were only partially successful, since some of the aristocracy remained in the kingdom.[179]

Ferdinand and Isabella needed the new Christian elite to help rule their new city of Granada, and they dispensed numerous privileges in order to keep that elite loyal to them. In 1492, Ferdinand of Aragon gave Don Pedro de Granada the title of caballero or knight of Santiago, and made him Granada's first *alguacil mayor* (tax collector, an old Nasrid office) and *regidor* (a member of Granada's municipal governing council) and a member of the Catholic Kings' Council of War.[180]

The Granada Venegas also married well. Don Pedro de Granada's son, Alonso Venegas (formerly Alí Omar ibn Nazar) married Juana de Mendoza Ayala, the daughter of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, 2nd Señor de Cañete.[181] The Mendoza were some of the most powerful nobles in Granada during this period. Juana was the first cousin of the father of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and may have helped raise him after his mother died. Thus the Granada Venegas united with the Mendoza through marriage, and numerous members of their family, including Don Pedro de Granada (d.1506) and his great-grandson Alonso de Granada Venegas, had close relationships with the Mendoza.[182] The Granada Venegas also made alliances with other elite Moriscos in the first generation, but afterwards sought out marriages with old Christians, which differentiated them from other elite Moriscos.[183]

Ferdinand and Isabella set up a new governing apparatus for Christian Granada. They established control over the Nasrid palaces which they now claimed as crown property. They installed Don Iñigo López de Mendoza, as the commander of the Alhambra palace and fortress. He would remain in that position for 23 years, 1492-1513. He was later made the Marqués of Mondéjar for putting down a rebellion at Gibraltar. His son, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a writer, poet and friend of the Granada Venegas was born in the Alhambra in 1504.[184] The Catholic Kings also installed Juan de Hinestrosa, Master of the Order of Calatrava, Comendador of Herrera and Valdepeñas as the first alcaide of the Generalife palace and gardens.[185]

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[179] Ángel Galán Sánchez, "The Muslim Population of the Christian Kingdom of Granada: Urban Oligarchies and Rural communities," In Oligarchy and Patronage in Late Medieval Spanish Urban Society, Edited by Maria Asenjo Gonzalez (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 72.

[180] José Antonio García Luján and Ricardo Victor Vazquez Ruz, "Don Fernando Muley de Fez, una información genealógica (1596) del linaje Granada Venegas," *VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo: De Mudéjares a Moriscos: una conversion forzada, Teruel 15-17 Sept 1999* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2002), 730; Rachel Arié, *El Reino Nasrí, 1232-1492* (Madrid: Ediciones Mapfre, 1992), 108.

[181] José Antonio García Luján, The Generalife: Garden of Paradise (Granada: Copartgraf, 2007), 89; Geneall.net.

[182] Erica Spivakovsky, "Some Notes on the Relations between D. Diego Hurtato de Mendoza and D. Alonso de Granada Venegas," *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filiogia* XIV (1964): 221-222.

[183] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una gran familia: las elites moriscas del Reino de Granada," *Estudis* 35 (2009): 18.

[184] Erica Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), 5.

[185] José Antonio García Luján, The Generalife: Garden of Paradise, 21.

In addition to their major building project, the Capilla Real, which had required them to knock down part of the Great Mosque, the Catholic kings began the process of dismantling many of the buildings of Nasrid religious and cultural life. They knocked down various mosques, or consecrated them as churches. The Great Mosque's minaret was not destroyed until 1588, and so it remained a part of the landscape for most of the sixteenth century. The Catholic kings turned Muhammed V's *maristan* hospital and baths into a mint, the *Casa de la Moneda*, which it remained until the seventeenth century.[186] By repurposing such an important Nasrid building which had been erected by the Sultan, for the welfare of his people, the Catholic Kings showed the Moriscos that this new regime was to be permanent.

At the surrender of Granada in 1492, Ferdinand and Isabella made an agreement, known as the *Capitulares*, with the citizens of Granada. In this agreement, there were numerous provisions that protected the rights of Granada's citizens to practice Islam. However, in the same year, the Catholic Kings also gave the Jews of all their realms a choice to convert or leave, and this impacted the newly Christian Granada as well. The expulsion of the Jews emptied Granada's Realejo neighborhood of its population. More than 20,000 people left as a result of the expulsion order.[187] The rulers of Spain used mass expulsions as a political tool, which had both immediate and lasting consequences for the country.[188]

The Christianization of Granada and the First Revolt of the Alpujarras

In 1492, the population of Nasrid Granada was roughly fifty thousand. Many of these people fled the city when it fell to the Catholic Kings, but Christians then began to move to Granada from all over Castile. In 1561, at the time of the first royal census of the city, there were thirty thousand immigrants and fifteenth thousand Moriscos who reported their residence in Granada.[189] When the Christians arrived, it took some time for the enforcement of property laws to adapt to their presence. In 1498, the citizens of the city divided it into two residential zones, making the Albayzín hill the official Muslim zone of the city, the rest of the city became open for Christians to purchase property and settle in.[190] The Christian immigrants brought with them their new and different agricultural techniques and preferences for food and drink. In particular, they began to plant barley and millet on lands which had once produced vegetables and fruit for the Nasrids. There were frequent shortages and famines when the land was unable to comply. A

[186] The *maristan* deteriorated and was knocked down in 1843. Athena C. Syrakoy, "Health, Spirituality and Power in Medieval Iberia: The *maristan* and its role in Nasrid Granada," in Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: the Urban impact of Religion, State and Society (London: Routledge, 2007), 177.
[187] Joaqúin Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada*, 83.
[188] For an excellent new book on Morisco and Jewish experiences in Spain, including their expulsions, see James S. Amelang, Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).
[189] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old World Frontier City, 1492-1600 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 15.
[190] Ibid, 19.

few Muslims, however, continued the old agriculture. In general, fish was replaced by northern meats in the diets of the Granadan people.[191]

Increasingly, Granada was a frontier town with opportunities for social and economic mobility. Its population of both old Christians and Moriscos, from 1492-1569, was in constant flux. For instance, in the 1561 royal census, a cross section of five of Granada's parishes shows that of the 2,241 heads of households who claimed to have immigrated to Granada, 28.8 percent were widows, 11.2 percent were small shop owners and a further combined 14.5 percent worked in the silk and wool industry and other crafts. Others were public employees, in agriculture or husbandry, sold food or hides, worked as merchants or builders. These Castilians represent a broad mix of classes who immigrated to Granada.[192] This population composed a unique, spirited laity, which dominated the religious history of the city, by founding confraternities, endowing monasteries, and pursuing parish life.[193]

At the Council of Seville in 1478, the Catholic Kings had initiated Granada's Christianization by making Hernando de Talavera the first archbishop of Granada.[194] Archbishop Talavera was an irenic soul, who believed in preaching, rather than coercion, and used Arabic to communicate with the people. He commissioned a number of publications for the purpose of reaching the Morisco population with the Christian gospel, including a Spanish-Arabic grammar book, breviaries, missals and language tools. He used the power of the printing press to spread his religious message, before Desiderius Erasmus or Martin Luther did. Talavera's slow, compassionate and academic approach to conversion, followed one of the approaches towards Mudéjars which had been followed in the Middle Ages, though not by preachers like St. Vincent Ferrer. This approach is outlined in legal regulations from the *Siete partidas* of Alfonso X of Castile in the early fourteenth century:

> Christians should endeavor to covert the Moors by kind words, and not by compulsion. Christians should endeavor to convert the Moors by causing them to believe in our religion, and bring them into it by kind words and suitable discourses, and not by violence or compulsion; for if it should be the will of Our Lord to bring them into it and to make them believe by force, He can use compulsion against them if He so desires, since He has full power to do so; but He is not pleased with the service which men perform through fear, but with which they do voluntarily and without coercion, and as He does not wish to retrain them or to employ violence, we forbid anyone to do so for this purpose; and if the wish to become Christians should arise among them, we forbid anyone to refuse to assent to it, or oppose it in any way whatsoever. Whoever violates this law shall receive the penalty we mentioned in the preceding Title, which treats of

[191] Enrique Pareja López, Francisco Ortega Alba, Juan Sanz Sampelayo, Ignacio Henares Cuellar, and Antonio Sánchez Trigueros, *Granada, Tomo II, Provincia* (Granada: Instituto Provincial de Estudios y Promoción Cultural, 1981), 485.
[192] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old World Frontier City, 1492-1600, 26-27.
[193] Ibid, 7-8.
[194] Francisco Javier Martínez Medina, *Cultura Religiosa en la Granada Renacentista y Barroca: Estudio Iconológico*, 150-51.

> how Jews who interfere with, or kill those belonging to their religion who afterwards become Christians, shall be punished.[195]

The Christians set up printing presses and enacted educational reforms in their efforts to convert the Muslims of Granada. The first printers in Granada, Germans Johan Pegitzer and Meinhard Ungut, published Francisco Ximenés' *Vita Cristi* and Archbishop Talavera's *Breve y muy provechosa doctina christiana*, in 1496. In 1505, a member of the influential Mendoza family commissioned a copy of Juan de Mena's *Las Trecientas*, an important piece of Castilian literature, influenced by Dante. The sons of the humanist Antonio de Nebrija were also active printers in the city, and Andres de Burgos published three books of medicine in 1518-1519. Christianization and humanist printing went hand in hand, as many of the first printing projects in the city had a religious nature. Archbishop Talavera used the printing press to make Christian liturgies available in Arabic, and to help the Moriscos learn Castilian and vice versa. Ferdinand and Isabella were patrons of education in the city, establishing schools for Moriscos and Christian immigrants and hiring Italian humanists Pietro Martire d'Anghiera and Lucio Marineo Siculo to tutor their children.[196]

According to a Morisco leader reflecting back on his time with Talavera, the archbishop spoke to the people in Arabic and was loved by them. Francisco López Muley was with the archbishop when he was visiting a local village, and he describes the archbishop's actions in this way;

> Some words of Arabic were even spoken: when the archbishop said, "Dominus bobispon" (God be with you), people responded with, "Ybara figun." (May God bless you." I remember this as if it were yesterday, in the year 1502...the archbishop traveled through the Alpujarras and visited its most important towns and places, and in praying for rain during the time of drought, he would go out with his procession and people to pray for it...he ordered the New Christians to pray for rain in their own language, as they were accustomed to do so in Arabic. This occurred in the year 1506-1507.[197]

Muley then went on to argue that if the archbishop had allowed it, then the speaking of Arabic, in and of itself, could not be against the Christian faith, and thus should not be, in the year 1567, an object of royal condemnation. Muley himself had converted early, as one of the 600-650 "voluntary" baptisms, which included Muslim nobles and royal family members.[198] Within these

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[195] "The Legal Status of Jews and Muslims in Castile, *Siete partidas* (early fourteenth century)," Translated from Castilian by S.P. Scott, in Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim and Jewish Sources, 2nd Edition, Edited by Olivia Remie Constable (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 403.

[196] Norton, F.J, A Descriptive Catalog of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501-1520 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 128.

[197] Francisco Nuñez Muley, A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada, Edited and Translated by Vincent Barletta (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 80.

[198] Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Los bautismos de los Musulmanes Granadinos en 1500," in *VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo: De Mudéjares a Moriscos: una conversion forzada* (Teruel, 15-17 de septiembre 1999, Actas Vol.1, Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2002), 495.

can be listed the conversions of the Granada Venegas, whose quick adoption of Christianity aided in their assimilation into Granada's new elite.

Archbishop Talavera's strategy did not last long in Granada. Interestingly, it was Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, usually referred to as a leading Christian humanist because of his work in promoting the *studia humanitatis* and printing the Polyglot Bible in the University of Alcalá, who ended up curtailing Talavera's efforts and created an atmosphere of increased religious coercion in the city. Cisneros's tactics were not new, and followed coercive tools which also had their roots in the Middle Ages, namely in the preaching of St. Vincent Ferrer in the early late fourteenth century.[199]

Cisneros revoked the clause of the *Capitulares* which had protected the Elches, or the Christians who had moved to Nasrid Granada and converted to Islam. These he claimed were under his jurisdiction and needed to be reconciled to the church. In response to these and other laws passed against them, in December 1499, the Granadans revolted against Cisneros and the city's leadership. One of the leaders of this rebellion was a Morisco by the name of Ibrahim ibn Umayya, or Abrahem Aben Humeya. His family, under the Nasrids, had been the *alguacils* of a territory in the Alpujarras mountains, called Valor. This territory was one of the many given to Boabdil after the Conquest, but when Boabdil left for Morocco, the Umayyas took back the title. This man was ultimately named by the Moriscos as their new king, or emir. Abrahem Aben Humeya's claim to this title came not from the lineage of Nasrid kings, but from Córdoba— the Umayyad ruler of Córdoba, Abd-al Rahman III, who was named Caliph in 929.[200]

Don Iñigo López de Mendoza responded to the Morisco rebellion by going to the Albayzín neighborhood with his wife and children and leaving them there in a dramatic act of trust while he went to plead the citizens of Granada's case with the Catholic Kings. Through his intervention in the city, and the military actions of Ferdinand the Catholic and El Gran Capitán, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, the revolt was put down.[201] In the final days of the revolt, Abrahem Aben Humeya surrendered, and was baptized, near the date of July 30, 1500. He took the name of Hernando de Córdoba, a name not referring to where he lived, in the Alpujarras mountains of Granada, but his lineage of descent from the kings of Córdoba. Don Pedro de Granada, it should be noted, when he took his baptismal name several years earlier, did not call himself Don Pedro de Almería, the city where his family was from, but Don Pedro de Granada, in reference to his descent from the Nasrid kings of Granada. During the Alpujarras revolt, both Don Pedro de Granada and his son Don Alonso de Granada Venegas fought on the side of the crown and the Mendoza against Aben Humeya and other Moriscos, and helped to put down the revolt.[202] In this way they showed their loyalty to the Catholic Kings and the new society of Christian Granada.

After the revolt, Granada's Muslims were baptized en masse and they lost their legal status as Muslims living under Christian rule, Mudéjars, and became Christian converts, or

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[199] "Era, de Nuevo, el choque entre dos concepciones misionales classicas, la lenta (festina lente) y la compulsiva (compelle intrare), cuyos limites, por otra parte, no eran muy nitidos a veces." Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Los bautismos de los Musulmanes Granadinos en 1500," 488.
[200] Francisco José Cano Hila, "Apuntes Históricos sobre el linaje morisco de los Córdoba y Valor," FARUA 12 (2009): 3.
[201] Erica Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575, 20-22.
[202] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old World Frontier City, 42-43.

Moriscos. Records from these baptisms show that they changed their names. Mahomad, Ahmad, and Ali became Juan, Francisco, Alonso, Fernando, or Diego. Axa, Fatima, Omalfata and Marien became Leonor, María, Isabel, Catalina, or Juana. Some were also of African origin, who had names like Abuba, Mabuba, and Zomena before they converted.[203] In 1502, Isabella baptized the Mudéjars of Old Castile, New Castile, Extremadura, La Mancha and Murcia. Thus the only remaining legal Mudéjars were those living in Aragon and Valencia.[204]

One of the important questions for a study of the Granada Venegas in the early sixteenth century is whether or not they received the compensation they believed was promised them by the Catholic Kings. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Ferdinand promised Cidi Yahya during the conquest that he would be made a Duke, yet that title was given to an illegitimate son of the pope. The infantes de Almería were one of the most powerful families in the kingdom of Nasrid Granada. What rewards did they get from their conversion into royal servants? They became *vientecuatros*, city councilors, and they entered the military Order of Santiago. Significantly, for the story of the Granada Venegas's nearly one hundred and fifty year rise, Don Pedro de Granada was given the *señorio* of Campotéjar, such that he became a territorial lord. However, there are indications that Don Pedro's relationship with the crown was not always assured. During the first revolt of the Alpujarras, Don Pedro de Granada was ordered by the crown to give up a number of his territories, including those in the Taha de Marchena and Lúchar.[205] They were then given to Don Cardenas Guitierre, who apparently had been promised them in a grant from 1497. Other territories in the Taha Alboloduy were given to Don Sancho de Castilla, Duke of Gor. These disappointments led Don Pedro to retire to the Taha de Andarax, in Laujar.[206] It is worth noting that this was the same territory to which Boabdil was exiled, and it was where his wife Morayma died in 1493, after which he left for North Africa.[207] Don Pedro de Granada died in Andarax in 1506.[208]

Don Pedro de Granada had been born a nobleman in the kingdom of Nasrid Granada. Not only did he die in the same place as Boabdil's wife, but he was tied by blood to the highest echelons of Nasrid Granada. Don Pedro's sister, Esquivila Al Nayara, was married to El Zagal. El Zagal's brother, Muley Hacen, Sultan of Granada, had one son, Boabdil, with his first wife Ayxa. With his second, Zoraya (Isabel de Solis), he had two sons. Both converted to Christianity

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[203] Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Los bautismos de los Musulmanes Granadinos en 1500," in *VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo: De Mudéjares a Moriscos: una conversion forzada* (Teruel, 15-17 de septiembre 1999, Actas Vol.1, Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2002), 500.

[204] James B. Teuller, Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2002), 17-18. (Notebook IV, 2/10/14)

[205] A Taha is a piece of land.

[206] Cardenas y Vincent, v Espinar Moreno, Manuel and Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* 7 (1987): 76.

[207] Camilo Álvarez de Morales, *Muley Hacén, El Zagal y Boabdil: Los Ultimos Reyes de Granada* (Granada: Comares, 2000), 148.

[208] Erika Spivakovsky, "Some Notes on the Relations between D. Diego Hurtato de Mendoza and D. Alonso de Granada Venegas," *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filiogia* XIV (1964): 220.

at the conquest, and became Don Juan and Don Fernando de Granada. They were given the Taha de Orgiva and Jubiles by the Catholic Kings.[209] Don Pedro cemented his ties with his sister's nephews with his own second marriage. Don Pedro de Granada, Don Juan, and Don Fernando, all married Old Christian sisters, daughters of Don Juan de Sandoval, son of the Conde de Castro. Doña Elvira de Sandoval became Don Pedro's second wife.[210] This genealogy shows just how deeply Don Pedro's ties were to the former Sultans of Nasrid Granada, but also how he and the sons of El Zagal married Old Christians in an attempt to assimilate.

Remarkably, the family of Abrahen Aben Humeya was not expelled from Granada after the revolt. In fact, after the conversion of the former rebel leader, he kept his title as *alguacil* of Valor, in the Alpujarras, and even maintained a place in Granada's municipal council.[211] Don Pedro de Granada was also in this council. In the year 1500 he let his position of *alguacil mayor* and *vientecuatro* pass to his son, Alonso.[212] While these elite Moriscos were striking deals with the Catholic Kings, the vast majority of Granada's Moriscos were told to convert or to get out of Granada.

This was an important time for Europe's political and intellectual history. In 1500, the future emperor and king of Spain Charles V was born in Mechelen, and Erasmus published his adages. It was an important moment for Christian humanism, as Cisneros and Nebrija began their Polyglot Bible in Alcalá in 1502. Similarly, European aesthetics were experiencing a new diversity. Printed prayer books and books of hours are a genre in which we can clearly see the rise of a more classical aesthetic. Paris was the center of the trade in such books of hours. For example, this French prayer book, printed in 1503, has woodcuts with Gothic, pointed arches, and triumphal classical arches on facing pages. The book contains many examples of the new style alongside the old, or current style. The Gothic style on the left could also be considered Platteresque, because of its intricate ornamentation that is reminiscent of metalwork.

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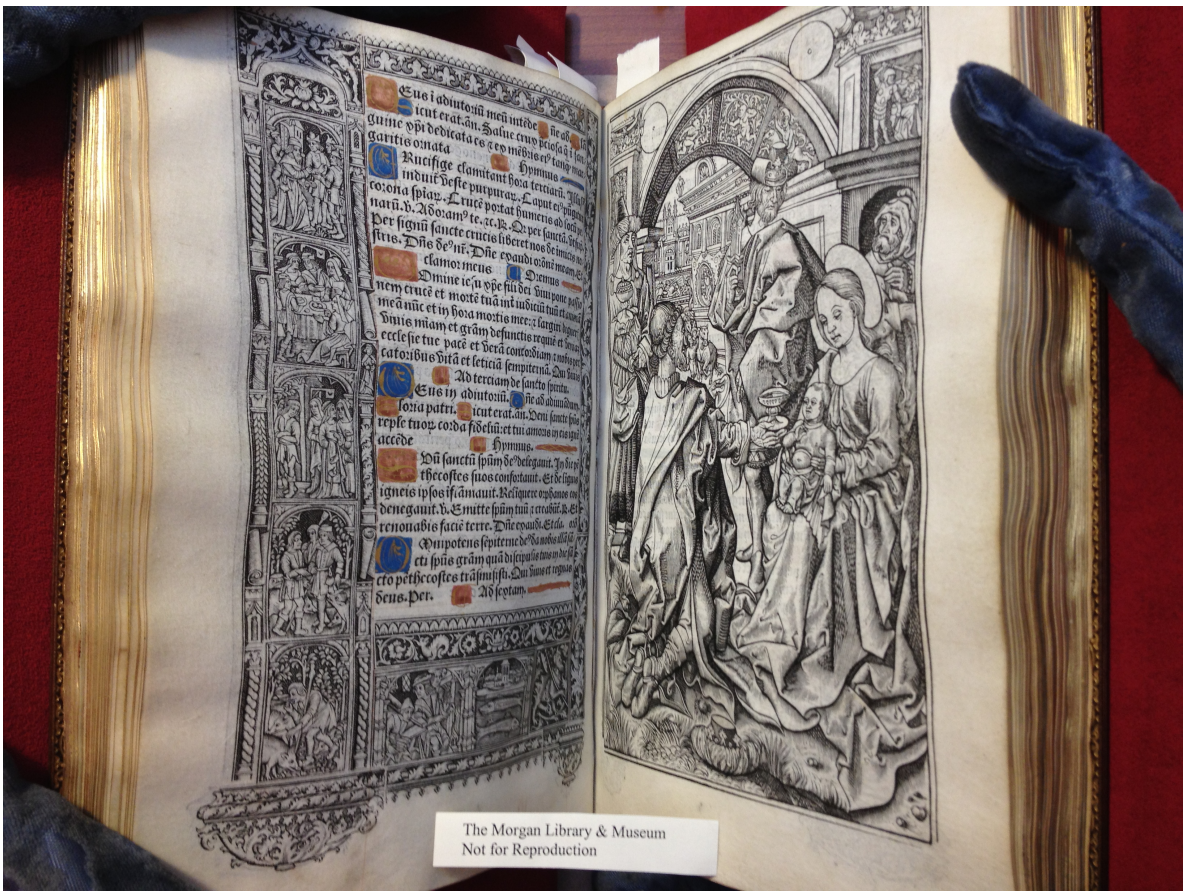
[209] Maria Angustias Moreno Olmedo, *Heraldica y Genealogía granadinas* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 88.

[210] See Appendix I to this dissertation, "Granada Venegas Family Tree."

[211] Francisco José Cano Hila, "Apuntes Históricos sobre el linaje morisco de los Córdoba y Valor," FARUA 12 (2009): 4.

[212] Cardenas y Vincent, v Espinar Moreno, Manuel and Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* 7 (1987): 75.



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In the same way as in this prayer book, the Cathedral of Granada began to rise alongside Enrique Egas's Gothic Capilla Real. Granada, like Paris, was being introduced to a new aesthetic, but was still employing the old. In comparison, some of the most beautiful Gothic churches in England were built in the sixteenth century under the Tudors. Spanish architecture was undergoing a transitional period, where Gothic, Platteresque, and Vitruvian revivals were employed in monumental constructions at the same time. For instance, Diego de Siloé constructed the "Portal de Perdón" for the Cathedral in Granada which is an elaborate example of the Platteresque style. This style was quite popular, and Francisco de los Cobos requested a similar decorative entrance to his chapel in Úbeda.[214]

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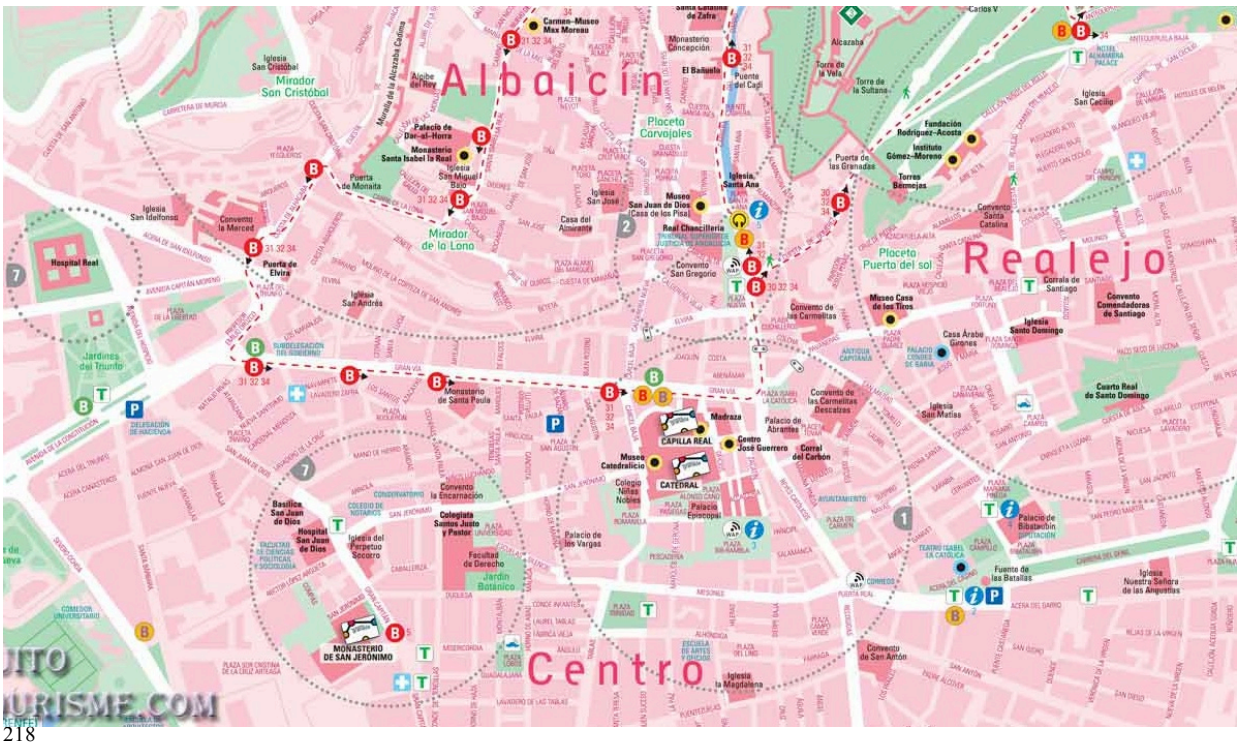
[213] *Horae ad usum Romanum, Ces presentes heures a lusage de Rome* (Paris: Par Jeha[n] Pychore et Remy de Laistre, 1503), 96 leaves. Record ID 10857 PML 583 Pierpont Morgan Library, photograph by author, July 5, 2013; See Earl Rosenthal, "The Image of Roman Architecture in Renaissance Spain," *Gazzette de Beaux-Arts* 52 (1958).

[214] Hayward Keniston, Francisco de los Cobos: Secretary of the Emperor Charles V (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960). It should be noted that some scholars emphasize the role of Muslim architecture in Spain's early Renaissance buildings. Mary Elizabeth Perry argues that they were drawn to the use of space in Islamic architecture, but that the Platteresque may have been influenced by Muslim botanical ornamentation. Mary Elizabeth Perry, The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Early Modern Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 25.

The Christians expanded and built up the city of Granada. Some of the first building projects began quite early. They included Ferdinand and Isabella's Capilla Real (1504), the Hospital Real (1511), and the monastery of San Jerónimo where El Gran Capitán, one of Ferdinand and Isabella's greatest generals, was eventually buried (1513). The royal hospital replaced the *maristan*, which they had turned into a mint. The widow of El Gran Capitán, who had fought in Italy and in the war for Granada, aided the expansion of the city by moving her entire retinue to the neighborhood surrounding her husband's chapel at San Jerónimo. Thus the Christians spread out from the Cathedral and the mercantile center at the Plaza de Bib Rambla, along the Calle de San Jerónimo to the Plaza de los Lobos. San Jerónimo was outside the city at the time. Today, in the 21st century, San Jerónimo is in the center of the city, a fact that underlines the much smaller boundaries of sixteenth century Granada.[215] From 1499-1515, the Plaza Nueva, one of Granada's central squares, was also greatly changed. The Mosque there became the Iglesia de Santa Ana and construction began on the Chancillería, Granada's important law court. The Chancillería was completed in 1587.[216] These construction projects did not just create new buildings. They also widened the squares and streets of Nasrid Granada, and changed the balance between public and private spaces. Similar projects took place in Almería, Málaga, and other former Nasrid cities in this period.[217] In the map below, the river Darro and the Real Chancillería can be seen to the left of the green Alhambra palace, and the square building of the Hospital Real is seen on the far left, and the Monasterio de San Jerónimo at the bottom left.

[215] Joaqúin Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada*, Edición Facsímil (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1988), 87.
[216] Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Granada: Historia y Cultura* (Granada: Disputación de Granada, 2011), 58.
[217] Bernard Vincent, "Espacio public y espacio privado en las ciudades andaluzas, Siglos XV y XVI," *El Río Morisco*, Translated by Antonio Luis Cortés Peña (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2006), Kindle Edition, location 1123 of 5824.



[218]

In Christian Granada, nobles, monarchs and other individuals all contributed to the new building program. They built many palaces near the Plaza Nueva, along the Darro river in the Albaycín, including the Casa de los Porras, the Casa de Castril, the Palacio de Agreda, the Casa de los Pisa, the Palacio de los Carvajales. In the Realejo neighborhood, examples include the Palacio de los Marqueses de Cartegena, the Casa de Padre Suarez, and the Casa de los Tiros, which was built by the Rengifo family and later inherited by the Granada Venegas. The Casa de los Tiros has some unique exterior decorations which will be discussed in Chapter 3. These were Renaissance palaces, with interior courtyards, two stories high, with slender columns surmounted by capitals of various classical orders, rather than with horseshoe arches and Nasrid capitals. Some of these new columns rested on simple wooden beams, others were a part of rounded arches. Many of these palaces also had a doorway surmounted by an arch, flanked by classical columns, heraldic symbols (which of course had been popular in the fifteenth century as well, most notably in cities such as Segovia), carved details, and possibly pyramids like those designed by Juan de Herrera, the architect of the Escorial. These palaces, unlike Charles V's, and many of Vandalvira's palaces in Úbeda, were quite plain on the outside, with the exception of their doorway, and did not have exterior symmetry. One example is the Palacio de los Córdoba, seen in the photo below.[219]

[218] http://www.andalousie-tourisme.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/carte-grenade-espagne.jpg Paquito Andalousie-Tourisme.com, accessed May 27, 2015.
[219] Author's photo, Palacio de los Córdoba, Granada, Spain, October 15, 2012.

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In the area between the San Jerónimo and the Cathedral, known as the Barrio de la Duquesa, nobles built the Palacio de los García de Ávila, the Palacio de los Vargas, the Palacio de los Beneroso, and the Palacio de los Marqúeses de Caicedo.[221]

To establish themselves in Christian Granada, the elite built palaces, and created alliances among themselves. One such early alliance was between the Mendoza family and the Granada Venegas. From 1492-1515, Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, the second Conde de Tendilla, known as El Gran Tendilla, was the highest-ranking military official in Granada, and commanded the

[220] Palacio de los Córdoba, Granada, Spain, photograph by author, October 15, 2012.
[221] For a detailed description and analysis of all of these noble palaces see Rafael López Guzmán, *Los Palacios del Renacimiento* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2005).

troops who lived in the Alhambra palace. In 1505, Tendilla wrote to Don Pedro de Granada from the Alhambra, calling him "Pariente, señor y amigo," kinsman, lord and friend. He wrote that he had heard of Don Pedro's illness, and that "certainly I desire (health) for you like a close relative," and that he was praying for him.[222] These men were friends and colleagues in the king's service. In 1505, Tendilla wrote a long letter to king Ferdinand, most of it concerning financial matters. In it, the noble general wrote to his king that if the king wished, he, Tendilla, would pay the salaries of various men in the king's service, *as he had last year*.[223] These men were stationed in various strategic locations. El Pequení was in Purchena, and Don Pedro de Granada and Don Miguel de León were in Andarax. Tendilla then listed the services that these men rendered the king, and what they were paid for it:

> The distributors and writers of the Arabic books were given board for copying the books nine times on eight rezmas of paper at a cost of five thousand two hundred *maravedís*. Don Pedro de Granada, Don Hernando Enrriquez, Pedro López, Don Miguel, and Don Andrés, the distributors of this service, were each paid a hundred ducats at by order of your highnesses. Eighty thousand maravedís were given to Benito de Bitoria, who took the aforementioned census for the Count, to Alvaro de Castillo for the archbishop, and to Juan de Narbáez for the corregidor, together with the *vientequatros* (city councilors). Hernando de la Muela Abendamón, *escribano* (notary) of Arabic, who had the charge of making and continuing the aforementioned books, was paid thirty ducats, which rises it to eleven thousand and two hundred and fifty *maravedís*.[224]

The Catholic Kings and their servants have a reputation for having burned most of the Arabic books they found in Granada besides a few medical texts.[225] However, this document shows that certain Moriscos were called on by Tendilla and the crown to make eight copies of an Arabic

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[222] *Epistolario del Conde de Tendilla (1504-1506)*, Edited by José Szmolka Clares, María Amparao Moreno Trujillo, María José Osorio Pérez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), 149.

[223] Emphasis added.

[224] "…Que se gastó en dar de comer a los repartydores y escriptores de libros de arávigo que se hizieron nueve vezes los libros con ocho rezmas de papel qye se gastaron cinco mill y dozientos maravedís…VMCC

Que dio a don Pedro de Granada y a don Herrnando Enrríquez y a Pedro López y a don Miguel y a don Andrés, repartydores del dicho servicio, por mandado de sus altezas, a cada uno cien ducados: CLXXXMD

Que se dio a Benito de Bitoria que hizo los dichos padrones por el dicho conde y a Alvaro del Castillo por el dicho arzobispo y a Juan de Narbáez por el dicho corregidor, juntamente con los dichos veintyquatros, ochenta mill maravedís….LXXXM

Que se dio a Herrnando de la Muela Abendamón, escribano de arávigo, que tuvo cargo de haser los dichos libros y continuar los trynta ducados que montan honze mill y dozientos y cinquenta maravedís…XIMCCL… XXVII de jullio 505." *Epistolario del Conde de Tendilla (1504-1506),* 435.

[225] J. Dalton, St. Johns, Norwich, "The Burning of Arabic MSS in Granada by Cardinal Ximenes," in Notes and Queries, (London, Saturday March 2, 1867), 169. nq.oxfordjournals.org

book.[226] Don Pedro de Granada, Cidi Yahya Al Nayar, descendant of Sultan Yusuf IV, was one of them.[227]

Don Pedro de Granada's last will and testament provides us with a lot of revealing information regarding his social, political, economic and religious assimilation.

> I, Don Pedro de Granada knight of the order of Santiago, citizen and *regidor* of the city of Granada. Being infirm of body but of sound mind, in my good senses and natural understanding that God our Lord he pleased to give me, and believing truly in the holy and true Trinity that is father and son and Holy Spirit that is three persons and one essence and fearing the death which is natural and from which no person can be excused. The major remedy which man can have is to have written and ordained at his post his last will and testament, therefore I give and understand that I make and ordain my testament for which, first of all, I give my soul to my Lord God who made it, and I believe by his precious blood that he gave for the redemption and at the same time I offer (my soul) to the most blessed Virgin Our Lady, who I have for advocate and to her He gave by his mercy to be the prayer and intercessor to her blessed son who I wish to pardon and have mercy on me. And also I offer my soul to the blessed St. Peter and St. Paul and St. Anthony and St. Francis, that they would pray to our Lord who I wish to pardon my sins and have mercy on me.[228]

The preamble to Don Pedro's will is standard in a number of ways. However, it is important to note that he starts with affirming two of the most important doctrinal hurdles to Catholicism for a Morisco. First, he affirmed the trinity, in three persons and one essence. Second, he affirmed the intercession of the Virgin Mary and the saints. He called on St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Anthony and St. Francis to pray for him.[229]

Don Pedro was buried in the Sagrario, the part of the Cathedral that was finished at this time, next to the Capilla Real and to the Cathedral which was under construction. This was a high-status resting place, given to him by Isabella herself.

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[226] For more on the role of Arabic in Spanish cultural history in the early modern period, among Renaissance humanists especially, see Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, Translated by Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[227] Erika Spivakovsky, "Some Notes on the Relations between D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and D. Alonso de Granada Venegas," *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filiogia* XIV (1964): 220.

[228] Apéndice VI, Part I, "Testmento de Don Pedro de Granada," Alfonso Bustos y Bustos, Marqués de Corvera, *Guerra y Sitio de Baza en el siglo XV*, Estudio introductorio y edición facsimile por José Antonio García Luján (Granada: Casa Ducal de Pastrana, 2009), 67.

[229] "Many Christian priests saw the veneration of the saints as the last hurdle for a complete acceptance of Catholicism because it was anathema in Islam." James B. Teuller, Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain, 37.

> First of all I decree that the day that it comes to pass that I die, that my body be taken to the city of Granada and be interred at the church of St. Mary of the O[230] in a chapel that the Queen Doña Isabel our lady of glorious memory who is in glory gave to me and the most reverend lord archbishop of Granada put aside for me and I decree that all of my servants and the priests of this town be in mourning, and also the people that Don Alonso de Granada Venegas my son, alguacil mayor of Granada shall order according to his will be in mourning, and that they accompany my body…[231]

In his will he asked that funds be given to numerous hospitals and charities for the poor. To each church that his funeral procession passed by, he would give thirty *maravedis* for its upkeep. He asked for a funeral mass to be paid for in the accustomed way for "persons of my quality," which, along with his burial in a side chapel given by Queen Isabella herself, shows his strong sense of noble identity. He asked for two *treintinarios* (funeral ceremonies lasting 30 days each) from the Cathedral, and two from his local priests in Andarax. Belief in purgatory was a sign he had accepted the Catholic orthodoxy of his day. The first lord of Campotéjar also gave "to the hermitage of San Pedro that is in area of the Castle of Campotéjar 200 *maravedis* for its repair."[232] He divided his goods among his family members. To his wife, Elvira Sandoval, he gave all of his personal goods and clothing and several territories in Campotéjar. To his son Alonso, however, he gave his "casas principales," armor, a horse, and a sword that had belonged to his ancestors, the Infantes de Almería.[233] "Casas principales" were the most important of the urban palaces the family owned, and it was common among Spanish noblemen to refer to them in this way.

Don Pedro had numerous people in his employ. His household had a paid *criado* (follower), named Rodrigo Pitel, an *escudero* (a squire, or herald), Juan de Vargas, whose salary he paid in his will. Don Pedro employed a *mayordomo*, (a butler, or steward), Diego González del Castillo, whose salary he let be according to the man's discretion, and gave him a horse. He paid his chaplain, Padre Juan Maldonado, with cash as well as a linen garment, and gave a dowry to a female servant, Isabel Villen. He requested that his slave Luís serve his wife for a year, and

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[230] This is the official name of the Sagrario, which was the parish church built next to the Capilla Real. Today, most of this structure is from the eighteenth century and it is attached to the Cathedral of Granada.

[231] "Primeramente mando que el dia que acaeciere que yo finare que mi cuerpo sea llevado a la Ciudad de Granada y sea enterado en la Iglesia de Santa Maria de la O. En una Capilla que la Reyna Doña Isabel nuestra Señora de gloriosa memoria que aya gloria me mando dar y el Rmo Señor Arzobispo de Granada la Señalo e mando qye se de luto a todos mis criados los quales y los Clerigos desta Villa y la mas gente que Don Alonso de Granada Venegas mi hijo Alguacil mayor de Granada ordenare su voluntad vayan con mi cuerpo e si acaeciere que no llegue tan presto lo ordene anada o mengue luego como llegare." Apéndice VI, Part I, "Testmento de Don Pedro de Granada," Alfonso Bustos y Bustos, Marqués de Corvera, *Guerra y Sitio de Baza en el siglo XV*, Estudio introductorio y edición facsimile por José Antonio García Luján (Granada: Casa Ducal de Pastrana, 2009), 68-69.

[232] Apéndice VI, Part I, "Testmento de Don Pedro de Granada," Alfonso Bustos y Bustos, Marqués de Corvera, *Guerra y Sitio de Baza en el siglo XV*, 69-70.

[233] This is a sword that the family passed down over many years and whose provenance has been wrongly attributed to Boabdil.

then be freed. He also included in the will Don Fernando de Granada, his cousin, the son of Muley Hacen who was also the brother in law of his second wife, Elvira.

However, at the end of his will, Don Pedro explained that properties owned by his father, a prince of Almería, had been taken away from him by the Catholic Kings. During the war, he had paid a lot of money to help the Christians fight against his fellow Nasrids. Now in the hour of his death, Don Pedro wrote that this was a great grievance to him and threatened the sustenance of his heirs. He wrote that he had asked the Queen personally, and so had the Archbishop and the Conde de Tendilla on his behalf. Unfortunately, Don Pedro ultimately had to leave it to his heirs to get back the territories they were owed from the crown.[234]

Despite losing these properties, Don Pedro was honored by the Catholic Kings with a secure position in the city of Granada, and his family was able to assimilate into its elite, as demonstrated by the marriage of his son to a Mendoza. Most Moriscos did not have this experience. After the first revolt of the Alpujarras, numerous laws were passed to attempt to keep the city of Granada in order. On July 29, 1513, Juana I of Castile (who technically ruled Castile

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[234] "Yten mando a Rodrigo Pitel mi criado quinientos mrs. Por buenos servicios que me ha hecho los quales se les den demas de su acostamiento. Yten mando a Juan de Vargas quininetos maravedis de mas de su acostamiento de Escudero.Yten mando a Diego Gonzalez del Castillo mi Mayordomo no se les toma mas cuenta de la que el diere con su juramento por lo que de el confio y se de demas de su acostamiento un cavallo el que pareciere a Don Alonso mi hijo. (Begin p.72) Yten mando al Padre Juan Maldonado mi Capellan le sea pagado su acostamiento y mas le den un vestido de paño. Yten mando a Isabel Villen donzella por lo que me a servido se le den quinientos maravedis para ayuda a su casamiento y si no quisiere quedar con la dicha Doña Alvira la lleven a casa de su padre. Yten mando se paguen los Mozos descuela y se le de luto como dicho es.Yten declaro deveme el Senor Pedro Bacan diez y siete mill mrs. Que le preste los nuebemill de ellos por haverme pagado la resta en la memoria de lo que gasto por me en cosas que yo le pedi por mrd. Que hiziese.Yten declaro tener en su poder el Senor Don Fernando de Granada mi sobrino dos Jaeces de plata esmaltados la espada de oro y balages que me ynvio a pedir prestado para una fiesta y los llevo Hernando de Guevara su criado y me dejo recaudo mando se cobren del escan para el dicho Don Alonso mi hijo.Yten dejo por me heredero principal al dicho Don Alonso mi hijo ratificando y apro-(begin p.73)Vando la donacion que le tengo fecha ante Juan de Salas escribano publico de Granada de mis casas principales que yo e tengo en la Ciudad de Granada y del heredamiento de dar a la biad y del derecho y acsion que tengo a las villas y lugares que hube y herede del Infante de Almería mi padre las quales Sus Altezas me mandaron renunciar y otros cargos que me tenian de gastos espensas que yo hize de mis bienes por servir a Su Altezas sustentando la gente en la guerra por doscientos mill mrs. Que nos dieron a my y al dicho Don Alonso mi hijo de Juro de por vida en lo qual se nos hizo grande agravio emengua para el sostenimiento de nuestros sucesores y asi lo he dicho a su Alteza por mi e por el Rmo Sr Arzobispo de Granada e por el Senor Conde de Tendilla y agora ambos a dos pido por mrd. A que lo digan a su Alteza que por descargo de su anima e por el mucho que yo y el dicho mi hizo servicio e ayuda con nuestras personas e vasallos e fazienda e lo much que mos prometio que nos haga enmienda de lo dicho.(Begin p. 74) Yten mando que a la Senora Doña de Mendoza mi nuera se le den tres piezas de plata las que ella quisiere e dellas haga a su voluntad." Apéndice VI, Part I, "Testamento de Don Pedro de Granada," Alfonso Bustos y Bustos, Marqués de Corvera, *Guerra y Sitio de Baza en el siglo XV*, Estudio introductorio y edición facsimile por José Antonio García Luján (Granada: Casa Ducal de Pastrana, 2009), 71-74.

jointly with her son Charles, who had not yet inherited Aragon from his grandfather Ferdinand) issued a command to her judges in Granada and across her realms. No one who had been recently converted was allowed to wear an *almalafa*, a garment that covered them from their shoulders to feet, or to cover their face. The first time a Morisca was caught wearing such clothing, she would be fined two thousand *maravedis*. The second time, she would pay a double price and would be given a hundred lashes with a whip. The third time a woman was caught wearing an *almalafa* and a veil, she would "pierda todos sus bienes;" she would lose everything she owned.[235]

Granada and the Renaissance under Charles V

While the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella had laid solid foundations for the Renaissance in Spain, the reign of Charles V dramatically advanced the Renaissance in his realms, on numerous levels including the intellectual, religious, artistic, and political. The year 1508 marked a significant development to the intellectual life of Spain, when San Ildefonso at the University of Alcalá opened its doors; this was the first university in Spain solely dedicated to the *studia humanitatis*, the humanist curriculum of grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy.[236] At the university, Hernan Nuñez taught Greek, Latin and Arabic. There he worked with cardinal Cisneros, and others, on the Polyglot Bible, an interlinear Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bible finished in 1517, and published in 1522, which was a major accomplishment of Spain's intellectual Renaissance, as well as its Catholic Reformation. In this same period, Desiderius Erasmus's ideas regarding interior piety and moral reform were quite popular in Spain. A number of the humanists in Charles V's service, such as the Valdés brothers, were influenced by Erasmus, and the emperor had himself been tutored by Erasmus. But the popularity of Erasmus in Spain was largely confined to the period prior to the central years of Luther's Reformation, because his ideas began to be associated with Luther's and condemned.[237]

Politically, the early sixteenth century was a transformative time, as Ferdinand of Aragon took Navarre in 1512, making Modern Spain territorially complete, uniting Castile, Aragon and Navarre under a single ruler for the first time since late antiquity. When young Charles took the

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[235] "Juana la loca, by order of Fernando, decrees that conversas in Granada shall not wear Moorish dress, July 29, 1513" Document from the Archivo Municipal de Granada, transcribed by Juan Facundo Riano y Montero, 19th century historian's notebook. Hispanic Society of America, 1241 Granada, B863, 13 recto and 13 verso.

[236] For a variety of views on Spain's intellectual Renaissance, see Ottavio di Camillo, "Spanish Humanism in the Fifteenth Century," (New Haven: Yale University, PhD dissertation, 1972); Marcel Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne; recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle* (Paris: E. Droz, 1937); Lu Ann Homza, Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Helen Nader, The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979); Luís Gil Fernández, *Panorama social del humanism Español, 1500-1800* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1981); Ángel Gómez Moreno, *España y la Italia de los humanistas* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1994); Domingo Yndurian, *Humanismo y Renacimiento en España* (Madrid: Catedra, 1994).

[237] The most powerful argument for this specific perspective is made by Marcel Bataillon, Érasme et l'Espagne; recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle (Paris: E. Droz, 1937). For a revision of his thesis, see Lu Ann Homza, Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

throne in 1516, he inherited Castile, Aragon and Navarre as well as Aragon's empire in the Mediterranean. The 1520s were a momentous decade for Charles V. In 1519, his grandfather Maximilian I died and he was in the position to take the Holy Roman Empire for himself, if only he could convince the German Electors. After a large bribe, they elected him over his rival, Francis I of France. While he was in Germany, the Comuneros revolt broke out in Spain, in part in response to Charles having left Spain in the care of his Burgundian advisors rather than Spanish nobles. In 1521 the Comuneros started to lose the war when the nobles entered in on the side of the crown. At the Battle of Villalar in 1521, the Comuneros were defeated and their leaders executed. Charles was presiding over the Diet of Worms in Germany at the time, but would later benefit from the stability in Castile caused by his nobles' actions on his behalf. The emperor's other major concern at this time was his conflict with Francis I over control of northern Italy and Milan. Northern Italy provided key mountain passes that would connect the Mediterranean with Charles's possessions in the Low Countries.

The 1520s were also an important decade for Christian humanism across Europe, following the publication of the Polyglot Bible in Spain. In 1523, Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples published the New Testament in French, and in 1524, Erasmus published the *Enchiridion*, the Manual of a Christian Soldier. Erasmus was one of many intellectuals whose work was popular in Spain in the 1520s. However, Spain needed to respond to the new status quo that had been created by the beginning of Luther's Reformation. In 1524, Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, Alumbrados, influenced by Erasmus, were arrested by the Inquisition. Certain individuals began to question what Erasmus had in common with the Alumbrados, and with a more foreign threat, Luther.

At the same time, in Granada, Charles V was concerned with the Christianization of his Morisco subjects. On April 9, 1524, Charles V authorized Lorenzo Galíndez de Carbajal to investigate Granada's silk industry.[238] Over the course of the sixteenth century, the silk industry became more and more associated with the Moriscos and their non-compliance with Christian rules of dress and behavior.[239] Ferdinand the Catholic had allowed Muslims to live legally in Aragon as Mudéjars, but the fact that Mudéjars were forcibly converted in the Germanías rebellion of 1520-22, led Charles V to reconsider his grandfather's policy. On November 25, 1525, Charles V made it illegal for Mudéjars (Muslims living under Christian rule) to live in the crown of Aragon, and required them to convert or leave. He also declared the forced conversions and baptisms which took place during the Germanías revolt to be valid. Thus, as of 1525, there were no longer any Muslims living legally on the peninsula, and the Mudéjars who stayed were legally considered Moriscos—Christians.[240]

Charles V was pursuing numerous projects in this decade. On March 10, 1525, Charles V received word that his troops in Northern Italy had triumphed at the Battle of Pavia, and that they

[238] Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, from Burgos 9 April 1524, "Authorizing Dr. Lorenzo Galindez de Carbajal to investigate the silk industry in Granada," The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Literary and Historical Manuscripts, 130268.

[239] By the seventeenth century, this industry that had flourished for centuries and brought much wealth to Nasrid Granada, had collapsed.

[240] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old World Frontier City, 7.

had captured Francis I, the King of France.[241] Francis was taken by troops under the command of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. He was taken back to Madrid under guard, arriving in Spain on the 21 of June.[242] Charles spent October and November in Toledo and Aranjuez. He spent the first part of 1526 in Toledo, and then in March, he married Isabel de Portugal in Sevilla. There he added an elegant second story to a patio of the Alcazar palace, which blended Roman style columns in with its existing architecture. Charles V arrived in Granada on June 5, 1526, and resided there with his new bride for almost a year. While the emperor was in the former Nasrid city, Granada became the center of his empire. Ambassadors who traveled with his itinerant court were able to see Granada for the first time, and frequently wrote some of the most eloquent descriptions of the city and court.

Venetian Ambassador, Andrea Navagero provides us, in his letters, with a description of how the Catholic Kings changed the city. He was a guest in Granada from the 28th of May to the 7th of December, 1526, at the same time as the emperor. In particular, he describes the area in which the new Spanish residents of the city lived:

> The part of the city that is on the plain has good houses, and is where the Spaniards, from various places, live, that have come there after the conquest: they have in this area a main street fairly wide and very long, that they call the street of "Elvira," the name that the gate which lies at the end of the street also has. The name, "Elvira" is a corruption of the word "Illiberis," for that was what the ancient city was called, whose ruins are seen a league from Granada.[243]

The use of the name Roman name Elvira is important for numerous reasons. The Elvira gate that Navagero describes had been built in the 11th century by the Zirids, and is still in the city today.[244] The Roman names for the town and the region were in use by the various Muslim

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[241] Vicente de Cadenas y Vicent, *Diario del Emperador Carlos V: Itinerarios, permanencias, despacho, sucesos y efemérides relevantes de su vida* (Madrid: Hidalgúia, Instituto Salazar y Castro, 1992), 164.

[242] Ibid, 166.

[243] Author's translation; Andrea Navagero, in Jesus Luque Moreno, *Granada en Siglo XVI: Juan de Vilches y otros testimonios de la época* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994), 233.

[244] J. F. P. Hopkins writes in the Encyclopedia of Islam, that Ilbira or Elvira was the Roman town that was one of the first settlements in the area of Granada. "The Iliberri/Ilbīra/Granada question has been much discussed and may be summarized as follows: The Roman town of Iliberri occupied part of the present site of Granada. The Arab governors of the region at first resided there, Arabicizing the name into Ilbīra, but about 130/747 founded, 12 km north-west of modern Granada, a new capital which was called Ḳasṭalla, Ḳasṭīla, or Ḳasṭīliya. This however soon became known by the name of its predecessor, Elvira. The original Elvira continued to be populated, largely by Jews and Christians, but in time came to be known as Granata/Gharnāṭa. In 401/1010, during the Berber insurrection, new Elvira was sacked by the Ṣanhādja troops of Zāwī b. Zīrī and the inhabitants emigrated to Granada. In 403/1012 Zāwī declared his independence and made Granada his capital. Henceforward Elvira declined though there was still a fortress there as late as 891/1486. The ruins are still visible and the name survives in the Sierra de Elvira and the Puerta de Elvira at Granada. The name Ilbīra as that of the region of which the capital was Granada continued in use long after the decline of Elvira town." Hopkins, J.F.P. "Ilbīra, Sp.

groups who lived in the area. However, this is not the reason that Navagero, a Venetian, steeped in Renaissance culture, gives for the use of the name. For him, it is called Elvira because the ruins of Elvira are nearby, not because that name had been in continuous use by Muslims. Although we do not currently have evidence that the Catholic Kings revived the name from disuse, we do know that many Christian immigrants chose to settle in this area of the city, rather than others, such as the old Jewish quarter, the Realejo—perhaps because it seemed the most Roman, and least Islamic to them. According to Francisco Nuñez Muley, a Morisco writing in 1567, the word Elvira was used to refer to the city.

> And when the Muslim king would leave on some voyage with his trumpets [añafiles] and zambra instruments, and arriving on the bridge at the river Darro and needing to pass through the Albayzín, all of the musicians would fall silent until the king passed the entrance to Elvira. This is because in the Albayzín there were judges and religious teachers who claimed to be good Muslims who were extended the courtesy of not having the zambra played while they were present.[245]

If the trumpets were quiet in the Albayzín, and loud again after the "king passed the entrance to Elvira," Muley is referring to the Elvira gate that served as an exit from the city.

Navagero observes that not only did the Christians move to the area of Granada that had an ancient Roman street name, and gate, but they also modified the urban landscape of Granada. He describes a number of new constructions, such as the monastery, Santa Isabel, which Queen Isabella had built in the Alcazaba, the fortress section of the Alhambra palace, which at the time of his visit housed a group of nuns. According to Navagero, the cathedral was under construction in 1526, and it "would be very large."[246] At this time, they had completed the adjacent Capilla Real, which contained the tombs of Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as altars and artworks of great beauty. Many talented artists who came to Granada lived in a artist's enclave in the Calle Elvira. Included in this group were Enrique Egas, Felipe de Vigarny, Diego de Siloé, Alonso Berruguete, Juan Gil de Ontarñon, and Alonso Cano, many of whom took part in the design and construction of Granada's Cathedral.[247]

The Cathedral in Granada is one of the most important pieces of evidence for an architectural Renaissance there. It began as a Gothic structure in the plans of its original architect, Enrique Egas. However, after the death of Egas, Diego de Siloé, perhaps the most important of this group of Granadan artists, was commissioned to build a church in a Roman style by the new archbishop of Granada, Pedro Ramírez de Alva. In 1528, he drew up new designs for the

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Elvira." Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition. Edited by: P. Bearman; , Th. Bianquis; , C.E. Bosworth; , E. van Donzel; and W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2011. Brill Online. University of California Berkeley. 09 November 2011 <http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-3530>

[245] Francisco Nuñez Muley, A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada, Edited and Translated by Vincent Barletta (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 78.

[246] Andrea Navagero, in Jesus Luque Moreno, *Granada en Siglo XVI: Juan de Vilches y otros testimonios de la época* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994), 234.

[247] Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Granada: Historia y Cultura* (Granada: Disputación de Granada, 2011), 58.

building which included a series of triumphal arches around the altar. The designs were inspired in part by the church of the holy Sepulcher, built by Constantine in the fourth century. This building was even more important now that Charles V had decided he wanted to be buried there. The time in Charles's reign that Siloé drafted this proposal was a very positive one for Charles V, between his honeymoon with his wife in Granada, his victory over Francis I at Pavia, and his imperial coronation at Bologna in 1530. Charles V, as the new Constantine, was the patron of a new Holy Sepulcher, which was a memorial to the Conquest of Granada, and a royal mausoleum.[248]

Along with the Cathedral, one of the largest monuments showing a revival of classical aesthetics and tastes in Granada is the Palace of Charles V, a unique, Italian style palazzo, with a central, circular patio, which was built on the Alhambra hill, next to the Muslim palaces. According to Earl E. Rosenthal, this palazzo "embodies a fully developed statement of that *idea imperial*."[249] Meant to be a royal residence, the design of the building was influenced by Charles's own travels in Italy, and by those of the governor of the Alhambra, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza.[250] Pedro Machuca, the architect, may also have used examples from Vitruvius's books on Roman architecture, as he had studied in Rome among some of the most important artists of the sixteenth century, including Bramante and Michelangelo.[251]

[248] Earl E. Rosenthal, The Cathedral of Granada (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 167.
[249] Earl E. Rosenthal, The Palace of Charles V in Granada (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 264.
[250] Earl E. Rosenthal, The Palace of Charles V in Granada, 5.
[251] Thomas J. Dandelet, The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 101.


252

The visual landscape of Granada and the Alhambra were greatly transformed during the reign of Charles V. He commissioned the Puerta de las Granadas, a the triumphal arch designed by Pedro Machuca on the path to the Alhambra. Charles V built triumphal arches throughout his realms, including the Arco di Triunfo, in Porta Napoli, Italy (1548), La Porta Nuova, in Palermo, Sicily (1535), and the Puerta Nueva de Biscara in Toledo, Spain, (1559). Charles was also the patron of a particular parish in Granada, the parish of San Matías. Charles V had been born on St. Matthias day in 1500, and he named the church the "Iglesia Imperial de San Matías." This church was built as a Gothic structure, but with a portal in the Renaissance style of Diego de Siloé. The emperor and his wife also worshiped in the Sagrario, which was the first part of the Cathedral to be finished, alongside the Capilla Real, on the grounds of the Great Mosque.[253]

The Granada Venegas were involved with the building of churches and chapels in Granada, as part of their new religious and political identity. Starting with Don Pedro de Granada, they were buried in a side chapel of the Sagrario, due to a privilege from Queen Isabella.[254] Since Yusuf IV had deeded to Don Pedro's father the family's silk shops in the Zacatín, which is next

[252] Palacio de Carlos V, Granada, Spain, photograph by author, June 7, 2013.
[253] "Route of the Emperor Charles V," Turismo ciudad de Granada, Ayuntamiento, granadatur.com.
[254] Bernard Vincent, *El Río Morisco*, Translated by Antonio Luis Cortes Peña (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2006), Kindle Edition, Location 5435.

to the Cathedral and the Sagrario, it is only logical that they may have attended mass there.[255] There are also indications that the Granada Venegas lived in the Albayzín, in the parish of San Miguel, and this may have been their first home in Granada.[256] As of 1535 the Granada Venegas became the guardians of the Generalife palace in the Alhambra, which tied them to one of the most important Nasrid landmarks, and they also took over the Casa de los Tiros in the same year, a house located near Charles V's Iglesia Imperial and the parish of Santa Escolástica.[257] These parishes are spread out across Granada. There is also evidence that Don Pedro de Granada personally helped to consecrate Granada's San Juan de los Reyes.[258] The lack of any single parish identity for the Granada Venegas shows how active they were in the building of churches in Christian Granada—this flexibility and extended patronage made them similar to other Christian elites in this period. They had ties to some of the most prestigious churches in the city—the Sagrario, and to the emperor's Iglesia Imperial.[259]

Charles V was also the patron of the Hospital Real, and dedicated it before leaving the city in 1526. The Hospital Real was one of the largest scale Renaissance buildings in the city, with numerous courtyards containing tall, Vitruvian arches. During his reign the monastery of La Cartuja, outside the walls, (1519), the Cathedral (1522), and the Convento de la Merced (1530) were begun. In 1545, the confraternity of the Virgin de las Angustias, the eventual patron of Granada, was founded, and the area along the Genil and Darro rivers was developed into neighborhoods.[260] Smaller works, as well as monumental structures such as the Palacio de Carlos

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[255] "Abencelim Abraham Elnayar and Hamet Abenjami Elnayar, princes of Granada, and Iquivila Nayara, princess of Granada, children of Yusuf Abenhamet, king of Granada, agree to partition of his estate," 19th century copy is stamped red morocco with gold tooled borders and spine; glazed marble end papers, note in hand of Penney, CL on stub before f.1 received 1/12/40, gift of mrs. J. Riano y Gayangos. Text translated from Arabic, is contained in MS notebook of Riano y Montero, Juan Facundo (1829-1901), along with other transcr. From docs and Arabic MSS, extracts from early printed books, copies of arabic inscrip. From Seville and Granada, tracings and photographs of coins and art objects, etc.," Hispanic Society of America, 1241 Granada, 1474, B863

[256] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, Translated by Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 75.

[257] According to José Antonio García Luján, they were members of the Santa Escolástica parish. La Casa de los Tiros.

[258] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, 75; Henry Charles Lea asserts this in The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1901), 24.

[259] Due to the difficulties accessing parish records in Granada, and the fact that some parish records, like those of Santa Escolástica, no longer exist, I have not been able to verify that the Granada Venegas baptized their children in any of these parishes. It is well-known that nobles in early modern Spain often attended and supported more than one parish. James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[260] Joaqúin Bosque Maurel, *Geografía Urbana de Granada*, 87.

V and the Cathedral of Granada, all brought a classical style and the stamp of Charles V—Caesar and Holy Roman Emperor, to Granada.

Granada's status as a new Christian city was a novel thing for European travelers to grapple with. In the view of Venetian ambassador, Andrea Navagero, the people who came were not always good for the city, whether they be "suspicious people" or inquisitors. Navagero writes:

> When the Catholic King conquered the kingdom he promised the Moriscos that the Inquisition would not enter the city, and the day before my departure (6 December, 1526) the inquisitors arrived. This could easily ruin the city, if they proceed severely against the Moriscos; and besides, because of the privilege of not having the Inquisition in Granada for 40 years, many suspicious people from all parts have fled to Granada in order to live securely, and this will hurt greatly the beauty and development of the city because they (the Moriscos) have built beautiful houses and are very rich merchants, and if they do not come any more, and if what they already have is destroyed, everything will rapidly disintegrate.[261]

The stability of early Christian Granada rested on a number of tenuous conditions, and Charles soon had to address some of the problems he found there. In 1526, Charles V was met by a delegation of Morisco elites. They claimed that they had been mistreated by Old Christian immigrants to the city, including judges and priests, and they asked for his aid. In this delegation, were city regidors Don Fernando Venegas, Don Miguel de Aragón and Don Diego López Benajara.[262] In response, Charles set up a commission to investigate their claims. He appointed to it Gaspar de Ávalos, bishop of Guadix, and the Franciscan, Fray Antonio de Guevara, who had been the Inquisitor of Valencia in 1525. [263]

Antonio de Guevara, only a few short years later in 1528, became the author of The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius, which he dedicated to Charles V. In it he included numerous forged letters of Marcus Aurelius, and claimed they came from the library of Lorenzo the Magnificent in Florence. This work had many translations and editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and as it argued for Charles to imitate the emperor-philosopher Marcus Aurelius, it was an important intellectual work of Spain's Renaissance of Empire.[264] It is significant that this courtier first cut his teeth in a commission on the Morisco problem.

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[261] Author's translation; Andrea Navagero, in Jesus Luque Moreno, *Granada en Siglo XVI: Juan de Vilches y otros testimonios de la época* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994), 237.

[262] Don Fernando Venegas' exact identity is not known, but as he was understood to be related to the kings of Granada, he could have been Don Fernando de Granada, the son of Muley Hacen with Zoraya, or another relation of Cettimerien Venegas.

[263] Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *La convivencia negada: Historia de los Moriscos del Reino de Granada* (Granada: Lavela, 2007), 283; In this same year, 1526, Charles V ordered that all of the humanist Peter Martyrs letters and papers be handed over to his chronicler, Antonio de Guevara. Hayward Keniston, Francisco de los Cobos: Secretary of the Emperor Charles V (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960), 276.

[264] Thus, Antonio de Guevara, imperial humanist, in his early career, played a practical role in helping his king rule Christian Granada. Thomas J. Dandelet, The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe, 88-92.

Charles V needed a steady flow of cash to pay his armies due to his wars in Italy against the French and his struggles with the German princes. When the Moriscos offered to pay him to suspend the laws against them, he took their offer. On November 7, 1526, Charles V suspended the regulations of Ferdinand and Isabella that had prohibited the Arabic language, dress, and dance, in return for 80,000 ducados. He suspended the laws for 40 years.[265] Charles V had only recently expelled the Mudéjars from Aragon after the Germanías Revolt. Thus, the Moriscos of Granada used the emperor's presence in the city as an opportunity to plead their case. Their successful negotiation with Charles was a key event in the history of Christian Granada. It allowed Moriscos to live in relative peace, without being confronted by laws against their culture and language. However, it was not a complete reprieve. Charles V still ordered that the Inquisition set up a branch in the city. Thus the Moriscos were subject to the same religious laws other Christians were—but not laws that targeted them alone.

In 1526 during Charles and his wife's stay in the city, humanists and courtiers made Granada their home, including Peter Martyr, who died there.[266] As another part of his Renaissance agenda, Charles V founded the Colegio de San Fernando to educate the Morisco students who assisted in worship at the Capilla Real.[267] The schools that Charles founded became the University of Granada with the charter of Pope Clement VII in 1531. The university was founded to be a similar institution to the Universidad de Salamanca, or the Universitá di Bologna where the most important faculties were theology and law. It was not an institution dedicated only to the *studia humanitatis* or the study of ancient languages like the Universidad de Alcalá.[268] Rather, the subjects of study were grammar, logic, philosophy, theology, canon law and "casos de conciencia." It was staffed by chaplains from the Capilla Real, which shows that the crown had dedicated its resources to the university's success.[269]

In the treaty of Madrid, signed in 1526, Francis I of France, in return for his freedom, promised to relinquish his claims in Italy, to marry Charles's sister, and to give Charles the territories lost by his great-grandfather Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in 1477. Charles V was enjoying his honeymoon in Granada and was confident of Francis's word. Unfortunately for Charles, Francis reneged on his agreement and claimed he had signed the treaty under duress. He then formed the League of Cognac against Charles, along with Pope Clement VII, and Henry

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[265] Enrique Pareja López, Francisco Ortega Alba, Juan Sanz Sampelayo, Ignacio Henares Cuellar, Antonio Sánchez Trigueros, *Granada Tomo II, Provincia* (Granada: Instituto Provincial de Estudios y Promoción Cultural, 1981), 488.

[266] Juan Antonio Vilar Sanchez describes this in his *1526: Boda y luna de miel del emperador Carlos V* (2000). Other books written for Charles's 500th birthday, including *Granada, la Ciudad Carolina y la Universidad* (2000) and *Carlos V y la Alhambra* (2000) also describe this important time in the life of the city; At that time, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was in Rome, learning Avrerroes with Nifo. He then moved to Siena and studied under the name of Andrea. Erica Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575, 42.

[267] Joaquín Bosque Maurel, *Granada: Historia y Cultura*, 57.

[268] Maria del Carmen Calero Palacios, "La enseñanza en Granada: Tradición y innovación," *Clasicismo y Humanismo en el Renacimiento Granadino* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), 44-45.

[269] "Capitulo de una provision de Carlos V sobre que se hiciese en la ciudad de Granada un studio en que se leyera Gramática, Lógica, Filosofía, Teología, Cánones y Casos de conciencia," Archivo General de Simancas, CRC, 5, 6.

VIII of England, who soon thereafter, sought to annul his marriage to Charles's aunt, Catherine of Aragon. In 1527, Charles's troops sacked Rome and he was faced with a public relations nightmare. Thankfully the birth of his son Philip II provided a welcome distraction from his troubles.

In these years the Granada Venegas were making progress in their rise in Granadan society. In 1535, their fortunes improved dramatically when Don Pedro de Granada Venegas y Mendoza, heir to Don Alonso Granada Venegas and his wife Juana de Mendoza y Ayala, married Gil Vázquez Rengifo's daughter, Doña María Rengifo de Avila. Don Gil Vázquez Rengifo was commander of Montiel, knight of Santiago and a member of the royal court, who had immigrated to Granada with the Catholic Kings. His father, Don Juan Vázquez Rengifo, had been the commander of Almarza, and had fought for the Catholic Kings at the siege of Málaga, dying in the Vega of Granada.[270] Rengifo had built the Casa de los Tiros, in the Realejo district of the city, away from the Cathedral, at the foot of Alhambra. Charles V made him *alcaide* of the Generalife palaces in 1525. This position was almost equivalent in significance and power to that of the Mendoza in the Alhambra. He was the other of the crown's servants authorized to occupy and command the former Nasrid palaces, legally considered military castles. This title, of guardian of the Generalife, passed to the Granada Venegas family after this marriage.[271] Besides the conversion of Don Pedro de Granada, this marriage was the most important event in the early history of the Granada Venegas family. Through it they became far more influential and powerful in Granada than they had been before.

During the middle years of Charles V's rule, from the 1530s to 50s, Granada's bishops were largely absentee, and lacked the drive of the first, Hernando Talavera (1493-1507) for converting the Moriscos. A strong ecclesiastical leader did not return to Granada until Pedro Guerrero (1546-1576) in 1546, though he was busy at the Council of Trent and often traveling.[272] Between 1527 and the 1550s, the Moriscos of Granada were left alone more than they had been by Ferdinand and Isabella, though they were under the Spanish Inquisition's jurisdiction as baptized Christians.

In general, Charles's reign gave Granada's Moriscos a reprieve. Many aspects of their day-to-day life would change for them after the death of the emperor. On the third of October, 1558, the council, justice, *vientequatros*, and other rulers of Granada received a royal *cedula* from Charles's daughter Juana. That on September 21, 1558, between two and three in the morning, the Emperor Charles V died. She ordered that in Granada "the honors and other demonstrations of mourning that in such cases is customary and that they do, that in this they have much pleasure and service."[273]

Ottomans and Moriscos

The emperor had spent years dealing with many wars across Europe, including with the French, who wished to enforce their claims in Italy, with the German Protestant princes, and with the Ottoman Turks who were moving into Eastern Europe and the Habsburg patrimonial lands.

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[270] José Antonio García Luján, The Casa de los Tiros in Granada, 13.
[271] José Antonio García Luján, The Generalife: Garden of Paradise, 24-25.
[272] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old World Frontier City, 1492-1600.
[273] "Cedula Real de la princesa en la que comunica la muerte de Carlos V, 1558," Archivo Histórico Municipal de Granada, C.019306458, 1 recto.

In 1526 they took Budapest and killed the king of Hungary and Bohemia at the Battle of Mohacs, leading to a struggle for power led by the Habsburgs. By 1529 the Turks arrived at the gates of Vienna, but were repulsed a short distance, where the battle lines then remained for many decades. The Turks were also expanding their empire in the Mediterranean. Venice, which had held sway over many of the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages, began to see its commercial empire rolled back. The Venetians lost Crete, and finally, all of their bases on the Peloponnese. In 1551, Tripoli, guarded by the knights of St. John, fell to the Turks.[274]

When Philip II came to the Spanish throne, he was faced with an expanding and powerful Ottoman threat. In 1560, Philip's navy lost the Battle of Djerba, and in 1561, the Turks blockaded Naples. In 1564, the Turks besieged Malta, but Philip's navy and the Knights of Malta defended it successfully. In the 1560s, it became obvious to Philip II that the Turks could not be given any room to maneuver. The Turks, in the guise of their North African corsair allies, had begun to attack the coast of southern Spain.[275] The Granada Venegas family provides us with evidence of the Barbary pirates' raiding parties. In 1567, Don Alonso, along with Francisco Arias de Mencilla, wrote to the King as *procuradores*, or judges. They wrote that the "kingdom was in much danger because it is so close to the coast and the sea and to Barbary as there are so many Moors there who are so armed, and the unfaithful have further power as well." Don Alonso and Don Francisco indicated also that it was hard to maintain their own forces on the coast due to the roughness of the terrain, and the lack of funds to pay their troops.[276] Philip II was very concerned that the Moriscos who had remained Muslim, or who were unhappy under Spanish authority, would become a fifth column, opening the gates of cities and castles to the invading Turks.

However, he did not address this problem by making sure the Moriscos were happy with Spanish rule, rather, he did so by showing Spanish might. Leading up to this crisis were economic problems as well. From 1550 onwards, American silver and gold entering the market caused problems for the silk market in Granada, and merchants were forced to lower their prices.[277] In both 1561 and 1564, Philip raised taxes, which led to a further depression in

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[274] Daniel Goffman, The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 137-158.

[275] Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Vol.II, Translated by Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper Collins, 1973), 993.

[276] "Y ten que por el peligro queste Reyno tiene ansi por estar tan cercano a la costa de la mar y berberia como por los muchos moros que nella ay y tan armadas como como por la fuerca que tienen los ynfieles demas. Fe catolica y las pocas Galeras que ay para defense dellos estan tan apergas como es notorio suplicara su mag. Sea servido de maridrs pone mas recado enel y en su costa proveyndo Gente y artilleria municion coms mandrills pagar y situar en partes donde ensaya dilacion la paga puesta la tierra tan esteril no se puede nsustenter a un pagando les tpo emos se les den sus pagas (1 Verso)," "Capitulos que los procuradores Francisco Arias de Mansilla y Alonso de Granada Venegas chan de suplicar el Rey, 1567" Archivo Histórico Municipal de Granada, Administración Personal, C.01923.0022.

[277] Enrique Pareja López, Francisco Ortega Alba, Juan Sanz Sampelayo, Ignacio Henares Cuellar, Antonio Sánchez Trigueros, *Granada Tomo II, Provincia* (Granada: Instituto Provincial de Estudios y Promoción Cultural, 1981), 488; Other markets may also have been replacing Granada's silk market in this period, including that of Naples, where noble families like the

Granada's silk trade. In 1565, Philip and his religious advisors decided to take aim at aspects of Morisco culture which were not in compliance with Christian practice, chipping away at his father's moratorium.[278] These laws included a stipulation that Morisco women give birth where there was an old Christian midwife, and that women were prohibited from using Morisco midwives, because they were thought to be practicing superstition. Islamic medicine was not held in high esteem in this period.[279] In 1566, Charles's forty-year moratorium ended. Philip II then re-enforced the full body of Morisco laws. These prohibited speaking Arabic, wearing the veil, dancing the *zambra,* and other practices which were considered Muslim. Philip then ruled that any contract made in Arabic was not legally binding. In 1567, he prohibited the wearing of silk, and all children had to be registered and placed in a Christian school.[280]

In this very same decade, the 1560s, Philip II was also dealing with a crisis in another of his realms, the Low Countries. In 1566, the so called "Iconoclastic Fury" hit the Netherlands, and Philip was faced with challenges from Calvinists as well as from dissatisfied Catholic nobility, who missed Charles V, their duke, and did not approve of how Philip II had reorganized their bishoprics. In 1567, Philip sent the Duke of Alba to the Netherlands to "prune the vineyard" of the rebelling noblemen. Unfortunately, Philip was prevented from going to the Netherlands to deal with this situation personally when his son Don Carlos attempted to kill the Duke of Alba and join the rebels himself, leading to a succession crisis. Philip had his son arrested, and Don Carlos soon died in captivity.

Thus Philip's actions against the Moriscos of Granada occurred in the context of numerous crises. In 1568, the Turks seized Minorca and hit the coastline near Granada with a raiding party. Philip and his council thought their worst fears had come true, and that the Moriscos would join with the Turks against them. Philip's decision to enforce the laws against Granada's Moriscos that his father had suspended cannot simply be explained by Philip's more radical and religious character. The choice was both religious and political in nature, and was responding to the national threat posed by the Ottoman Turks. [281] Philip was facing a great deal of political unrest and needed to keep the peace in Castile. It is true, however, that these actions came on the heels of Philip having issued the new Index of Prohibited books, as well as after the final sessions of the Council of Trent, which did not allow for compromise with the Protestants. In 1564, The Tridentine Index of Prohibited Books was published by Pius IV in Rome. In 1565, a jubilee indulgence from Rome was suppressed by the Spanish Inquisition because they did not feel it was strict enough against the keeping of prohibited books, which reveals that even stricter censorship existed in Spain that in Rome itself.[282] The English king Henry VIII had published

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Colonna joined forces with the Genoese, namely the Doria, who were given land in Naples by the crown, to market Neopolitan silk.

[278] Mary Elizabeth Perry, The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of early modern Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 94-95.

[279] Mary Elizabeth Perry, Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 28.

[280] Mary Elizabeth Perry, The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of early modern Spain, 94-95.

[281] See Erica Spivakovsky for an interpretation of Philip as a radical, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970).

[282] Henry C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition in Spain, Vol.3, (1906), 525.

indexes as well, but Spain under Philip II was still a place of censorship. Philip's actions against the Moriscos were both political and religious in character.[283]

The Second Alpujarras Revolt, 1568-1571

The first Alpujarras revolt took place from 1499-1500 as an early response to Ferdinand and Isabella's anti-Morisco laws, whereas the second occurred when Philip II re-enforced them. In both revolts, the Córdoba y Valor family fought on the side of the rebels, and the Granada Venegas family, on the side of the crown. In this way, the suppression of the Alpujarras revolts were not just Spanish colonial enterprises or Christianization campaigns, but the revolts themselves were a continuation of the civil strife between elites which dominated Nasrid Granada in the fifteenth century.

The second rebellion, like the first, was centered in the villages of the Alpujarras mountains which surround Granada. In 1568, Don Alonso de Granada Venegas traveled to Madrid in hopes that his words might sway the king to lessen the laws against the Moriscos. He failed in this task.[284] We also have evidence that he informed the crown, from Granada, on how the laws were working. He "wrote to the king in the spring of 1568 that women were going about without veils, just as they were leaving open the doors of their houses on Fridays and festival days, as they had been instructed."[285] Don Alonso fought on the side of the crown in this war, but he also tried to help some of his fellow Moriscos. He promised villagers in the name of the king that if they surrendered to him, they would be treated well. However, Phillip II sent a deportation order to this town regardless of Don Alonso's promises.[286] In December of 1568, one of the leaders of the revolt, Fárax aben Fárax, led a group of men through the streets of Granada calling on their fellow Moriscos to join them. When doors remained locked to them, they escaped back to the mountains, where there was far more support for a revolt.[287]

After the nightly raid into Granada, Don Fernando de Valor, also known as Don Hernando de Córdoba y Valor, a member of Granada's twenty-four councilmen, emerged as the new leader of the revolt in the mountains, and took the name Aben Humeya.[288] This was the great-grandson of the Abrahem Aben Humeya who had led the first revolt of the Alpujarras, and

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[283] For classic interpretations of Philip II having a religious and persecutory character, see Charles H. Lea, and for Erasmus in Spain, see Marcel Bataillon. For the "closing" of Spain, see John H. Elliott.

[284] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, Translated by Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 78.

[285] Marmol Carvajal, Historia del Rebelión, cited in Mary Elizabeth Perry, The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Early Modern Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 96.

[286] Erica Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575, 390-393.

[287] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 44.

[288] Erica Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575, 376; Francisco José Cano Hila, "Apuntes Históricos sobre el linaje morisco de los Córdoba y Valor," FARUA 12 (2009): 14.

like his ancestor, claimed descent from the caliphs of Córdoba.[289] Ultimately, Aben Humeya was killed by his own people, and the 182 villages which had taken part in the revolt were subdued by the armies of the Capitan general, Iñigo López de Mendoza, the Marquis of Mondéjar.[290]

In the second revolt of the Alpujarras, not only did Morisco fight against Morisco, but the Christian nobles leading the king's forces were also beset with rivalries between the Marqués of Mondéjar, Don Juan de Austria, and the Marqués of Vélez. The Mendoza family, which held the Captaincy general in the Alhambra, had been a stabilizing force between the Moriscos and the crown, but "Don Iñigo López de Mendoza, fourth Count of Tendilla, who had taken over the Captaincy-general in 1543 on the appointment of his father, the second Marquis of Mondéjar, to the viceroyalty of Navarre, found himself beset by enemies both in Andalucía and at court."[291] Despite his good relationship with Cobos's *criado* Juan Vázquez de Molina, Don Iñigo was not able to swing opinion in his favor, and the Marqúes of los Vélez, his rival, rose above him in standing at court.[292] Since the Mendoza had acted as protectors of the Moriscos for some time, the shift in this political balance weakened their position.[293]

But the Christian nobility were still more united than the Moriscos, who were not able to come together as a united force, and suffered from rivalries and assassinations. Interestingly, Aben Humeya did spend some time in the house of Pedro de Granada Venegas before he left for the Alpujarras mountains. Despite this brief encounter, which we know very little about, the Granada Venegas decided to put down, rather than join the revolt, and thus they never gave a royal Nasrid mandate to the conflict.[294] For a European dynastic analogue to Aben Humeya's claim, it would be as if the Tudors of England had been conquered by a foreign power, and a distant relation of Richard the Lionhearted led a rebellion to restore English rule. A more recent Tudor claimant would have provided far more legitimacy, and perhaps power, to the revolt.

There was one other family line who could have given a royal Nasrid legitimacy to the revolt, and that was the line of Boabdil's half brothers. At the Conquest of Granada, the sons of Muley Hacen by Zoraya, a Christian captive, had converted to Christianity. They then traveled with Ferdinand and Isabella to Valladolid. Their names were Don Hernando de Granada and Don Juan de Granada. When Cetti Merien, the wife of Don Pedro de Granada (Cidi Yahya Al Nayar) died, he re-married a daughter of Juan de Sandoval. Don Hernando and Don Juan de Granada married the other two Sandoval sisters. Both the Granada Venegas, and these two Infantes of Granada named themselves, as Christians, after their claim to the throne of Granada. Don Juan's second son, Don Geronimo Bernardino, inherited his father's title. He had two sons with his wife Doña Cecilia de Mendoza, Don Juan and Don Hernando de Granada Mendoza. Don Juan de

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[289] Francisco José Cano Hila, "Apuntes Históricos sobre el linaje morisco de los Córdoba y Valor," FARUA 12 (2009): 14.
[290] Erica Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575, 377, 387.
[291] John H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716 (London: Penguin Books, 1963 and 2002), 237.
[292] Interestingly, Cobos and Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza also had a good relationship. It was Cobos who secured for Don Diego the position of Charles V's ambassador to Rome. Hayward Keniston, Francisco de los Cobos: Secretary of the Emperor Charles V (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960), 297.
[293] John H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716, 237.
[294] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, 82-83.

Granada Mendoza was a soldier serving in the Spanish army in Italy at the time of the Second revolt of the Alpujarras. When he heard, he tried to get to Granada to lead the rebellion. He and his brother Hernando failed at this task and ultimately were incarcerated in Milan, and later in Galicia where they lived out their days.[295]

In 1569 Philip II sent his half-brother Don Juan de Austria to Granada to address the conflict. In an important meeting of April 22, 1569, Don Juan met with the leaders of Granada to discuss what should be done. Two factions emerged—one, led by the Duke of Sesa and the Chancery president Pedro de Deza, argued that the Moriscos should be expelled from the city. Opposing them were the archbishop of Granada, Pedro Guerrero and the Captain general, Iñigo López de Mendoza, who believed expelling the Moriscos was not only morally wrong, but unwise, as it would have vast economic consequences. Deza's faction won out, however, and Don Juan wrote to his brother asking for the order of expulsion.[296]

One of the most important contemporary accounts of the Second Alpujarras Revolt is the work of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Diego provides a noble's perspective, but a noble whose family had been part of the project to Christianize Granada from the beginning, and who was a cousin of the Doña Ceclia de Mendoza who married Don Geronimo Bernardino de Granada. He was closely related to the Marqués of Mondéjar, one of the most important players in the conflict. Diego was also closely tied to the Granada Venegas family, and it is possible that he actually wrote his *Guerras Civiles* from a small building in the grounds of the Generalife, thus as a guest of the Granada Venegas family, rather than a guest of his own Mendoza relations in the Alhambra.[297] When Diego wrote his history of the War in Granada in 1571, he included a description of the newly conquered Granada. There, he wrote, the Catholic Kings, bishop Talavera, and his father Iñigo met to discuss their victory. They described their task as "para fundar una republica nueva," to found a new republic.[298] To do so, they put the administration of the city in the hands of the educated men, the *letrados*, whom Diego describes as "neither great nor small."[299]

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[295]Valerino Sánchez Ramos, "Un Rey para los Moriscos: El Infante Don Juan de Granada," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14-15 (1997-1998): 285-315.

[296] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600, 182.

[297] Erica Spivakovsky, "Some Notes on the Relations between D. Diego Hurtato de Mendoza and D. Alonso de Granada Venegas," *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filiogia*, XIV: (1964).

[298] Depictions of classical imagery and a return to Christianity for a city were not unique to Granada. In "Wielding the Colossus: Forging Identity in Early Modern Seville," Stephanie Stillo examines Juan de Mal Lara's depiction of Philip II's entry into the city in 1570, where he is compared to Hercules. At Cities in History: Urban Identities Reconsidered, Fordham University, Conference, Sept. 17, 2011.

[299] Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *La Guerra de Granada*, 1600, Hernán Nuñez Collection, UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library. (unpaginated). Charles V continued this practice when he and his councilor Tavera reformed the Spanish judiciary throughout the 1520s Aurelio Espinosa, The Empire of the Cities: Emperor Charles V, the Communero Revolt, and the Transformation of the Spanish System (Brill, 2009); According some scholars, judicial procedure emerged in Spain, in the sixteenth century, out of the ideal of a good, honest judge, appointed by the king, reflecting and imposing his justice. The *letrado* (the educated lawyer), and the notary were the scribes and the judge's helpers, and they were integral to the development of Spain's judicial process. María

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza sheds more light on what opportunities the Granada Venegas may have had to join the rebels. In his account, Alonso de Granada Venegas was sent a letter by the rebels. He then went straight with the unopened letter to the city council, and opened it in front of all present. In the letter, the rebels offered him the crown of Almería, which was his by birthright, and asked him to lead the Moriscos in hopes of establishing an independent kingdom in his family's ancestral lands. Once he had recovered from the shock, he publicly refused this offer, in order to remain loyal to the Spanish crown. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza may have included this story because it showed his friend Alonso in a positive light.[300] However, for the history, and even for the mythmaking and self-fashioning of the Granada Venegas, this was a turning point. Had they sided against the rebels, their rise in Castilian society would most likely have ended there, as that of the Córdoba y Valor family did, or in exile in Galicia, like the descendants of Muley Hacen and Zoraya.[301].

By the 1560s, the Granada Venegas were third generation Moriscos, and their Christian faith may have been sincere, as many converts were by that generation.[302] We do not have personal letters or documents which reveal Don Alonso's state of mind at this time, but the mere fact that he refused the crown of Almería, which was his by right, shows that he was committed to his place in Christian Spain, and that if he had any hope for advancement, it was there rather than in a possibly successful Morisco state. There were some negative consequences of this choice, however. Once the Granada Venegas were fighting for the crown, and Alonso was leading troops alongside the Mendoza and Don Juan de Austria, other Moriscos targeted his lands for attack. The damages to the Granada Venegas's lands caused a loss of more than three thousand ducats in annual rents.[303]

Ginés Pérez de Hita, a Morisco, also wrote a two-part history of the "Civil Wars of Granada" at the end of the sixteenth century. The first part dealt with the last years of Nasrid Granada, and with the conquest. The second part dealt with the 1568 revolt. In the first part of

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Amparo Moreno Trujillo, Juan María de la Obra Sierra, y María José Osorio Pérez, *El notariado andaluz: Institución, práctica notarial y archivos, siglo XVI* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2011); For more on the rise of Spain's letrados, see Richard L. Kagan, Students and Society in Early Modern Spain (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

[300] This incident from Diego Hurtado's account is cited in Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, 79; Erica Spivakovsky, "Some Notes on the Relations between D. Diego Hurtato de Mendoza and D. Alonso de Granada Venegas," *Archivum: Revista de la Facultad de Filiogia* XIV: (1964), 213; Erica Spivakovsky also addresses the fact that Marmol, another chronicler of the Guerra, plagiarized from Mendoza extensively, but misattributed this incident to another Alonso. Erika Spivakovsky, "Which Don Alonso Venegas? Two Episodes from the 'Guerra de Granada' and the 'Historia del Rebelion,'" Renaissance News 17, 3 (Autumn, 1964): 193-196.

[301] Francisco José Cano Hila, "Apuntes Históricos sobre el linaje morisco de los Córdoba y Valor," FARUA 12 (2009): 27; Valerino Sánchez Ramos, "Un Rey para los Moriscos: El Infante Don Juan de Granada," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14-15 (1997-1998): 285-315.

[302] Enrique Soria Mesa, "De la conquista a la asimilación: La integración de la Aristocracia nazarí en la oligarquía granadina, siglos XV-XVII," 4.

[303] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old World Frontier City, 1492-1600, 43.

Hita's *Guerras Civiles de Granada* (1595), he lists the most important *caballeros* of Nasrid Granada and their city of origin. He includes in this list, the "Vanegas, de Fez," claiming that they originated in Morocco.[304] This is interesting because it denies the connection of the family to the Christian Venegas of Córdoba. The Venegas figure prominently in the *Guerras Civiles*, as members of the Nasrid elite. In this volume, Hita includes an episode in the fifteenth century in which the various noble families of Nasrid Granada are discussing how much they should mourn for their kinsman Albayados who died in battle. Albayados converted to Christianity before he died. The noble families disagree on how he should be mourned. Some felt that he should not be mourned, and others felt that only God knew his heart. The Venegas argued that he should be mourned. The most important thing to the Venegas was that this knight remained "bueno." The religion he ascribed to was less important.[305] Pérez de Hita published the first part of the *Guerras Civiles* in 1595. At this time, the Venegas family was reaching its pinnacle of power, aiming at entrance to the military order of Alcántara and a noble title. It's possible that they were actually his subject.

At the end of the first part of the *Guerras Civiles*, Hita explained what happened to certain Moorish families after the fall of Granada.

> All of the Alabeces, and Gazules and Venegas and Aldoradines, became Christians, and the King gave them great favors, especially to Malique Alabez, who called himself Don Juan Avez, and the same King himself was his godfather, and of Aldoradín, whom he called by his own name, Fernando Aldoradín. The King decreed that if any Zegries remained, that they not live in Granada, because of the evil that they did to the Abencerrajes and the queen sultana. All of the Gomeles went to Africa, and the little king (Boabdil) with them, who did not want to stay in Spain…and the Moors of those parts killed him, because he lost Granada.[306]

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[304] Gínes Perez de Hita, *Guerras Civiles de Granada: Primera Parte*, Edited by Shasta M. Bryant (Newark, Deleware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2000 (first published 1595)), 22.

[305] "Los Vanegas decían que no les importaba aquello, que todavia era bueno, que sus deudos y amigos hiciesen señal de alguna tristeza, asi por lo uno como por lo otro. Los caballeros Zegríes decian que, pues Albayados se había tornado Cristiano, que no holgaría Mahoma que por él sentimiento se hiciese, que esto era guarder derechamente el rito de Alcorán. Los caballeros Abencerrajes decían que el bien que se ha de hacer, se había de hacer por amor de Alá, y que si Albayados se había tornado Cristiano en el tiempo de morir, que secreto solo Dios lo sabía, y que para él lo dejasen, y que no pore so se dejase de hacer sentimiento por él." Gínes Perez de Hita, *Guerras Civiles de Granada: Primera Parte*, 135.

[306] "Todos los Alabeces, y Gazules, y Vanegas, y Aldoradines, se tornaron cristianos, y el rey les hizo grandes mercedes, especialmente al Malique Alabez, que se llamó don Juan Avez, y el mismo rey fue compadre suyo, y de Aldoradín, al cual llamó de su proprio nombre Fernando Aldoradín, El rey mandó que si quedaban Zegríes, que no viviesen en Granada, por la maldad que hicieron contra los Abencerrajes y la reina sultana. Los Gomeles todos se pasaron en Africa, y el rey Chico con ellos, que no quiso estar en España, aunque le habían dado a Purchena en que viviese, y en Africa le mataron los moros de aquellos partes, porque perdió a Granada," Gínes Perez de Hita, *Guerras Civiles de Granada: Primera Parte*, 288.

The Venegas became Christians along with other important Nasrid families, and they were given favors by Ferdinand the Catholic.

> King Fernando gave to the Venegas knights great favors and privileges, such as, that they were able to carry arms, and in the same way to the Alabeces and Aldoradines, knowing how much they had done in his service, and because they gave them the land.[307]

The Venegas sacrificed their land holdings for the crown, and expected loyalty and patronage in return. Hita may have been referring to this relationship as it developed in his own period, after the second Alpujarras revolt. Their actions in this conflict were an important step in their successful assimilation.[308]

During this second war in the Alpujarras, Philip II's beloved wife, Elizabeth, died from complications of a miscarriage. His troops were stretched between Granada and the Netherlands, but they succeeded in putting down the two-year guerrilla war which was the Alpujarras revolt. Perhaps if the Granada Venegas had entered the war against him, providing military strategy, prestige, and royal Nasrid lineage to the conflict, Philip would have had a much more difficult task. This was the most trying time of Philip II's reign, such that he considered abdicating in 1569.[309] However, once the rebellion in Granada was put down, Philip could concentrate on other issues. As the Moriscos were resettled in Castile, the Duke of Alba tried to tax the Netherlands to sustain his army, leading to a national uprising. In the same year, 1571, Philip and the Holy League won a great victory against the Turks at the naval battle of Lepanto. Philip's half brother Don Juan de Austria played an important military role in both putting down the Alpujarras Revolt, and defeating the Turks at Lepanto.

When Philip II de-populated Granada and sent its Moriscos to live in various towns and cities in Castile, he fundamentally altered the city, and the rest of Castile.[310] In some instances, the Granadinos who arrived in certain towns were able to teach the old Moriscos who were already there about their ancestral religion. "In Cuenca, in 1570, the Granadinos were teaching

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[307] "El rey don Fernando les hizo a los caballeros Vanegas grandes Mercedes y priviligios, que pudiesen llevar armas, y así mismo a los Alabeces y Aldoradines, sabiendo cuánto ellos hicieron en su servicio, y porque se les diese la tierra," Gínes Perez de Hita, *Guerras Civiles de Granada: Primera Parte*, 288-289.

[308] "Es, pues, evidente que en el momento del estallido de 1568 la élite que sobrevivió a la caída del reino nazarí tenía indisolublemente unido su destino al de la Corona castellana, gracias a una complicada serie de intereses económicos, sociales e incluso culturales. Como auténticas familias de la nobleza urbana de Castilla, sobre todo los Granada Venegas y los Zegríes, casi han olvidado sus orígenes musulmanes." Enrique Soria Mesa, "De la conquista a la asimilación: La integración de la Aristocracia nazarí en la oligarquía granadina, siglos XV-XVII," 4.

[309] Geoffrey Parker, The Grand Strategy of Philip II (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 44-45; Philip also wrote to the Duke of Alba in that year that he was feeling depressed. "porque a la verdad estoy muy cansado y quebrantado y sin ningún contentamiento de nada…" Archivo de la Casa de Alba. "Philip to Alba," Escorial, 14 April 1569, holograph, AA caja 6, no. 75: With thanks to David Lagomarsino, Dartmouth College, for the reference.

[310] See Juan Jesús Bravo Caro, *Felipe II y la repoblación del Reino de Granada: La Taha de Comares* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995).

the native Moriscos Arabic to better study the Koran."[311] This attempt to force Moriscos to assimilate into Old Castile created a problem for his son Philip III, whose advisors, many of whom were experts on the Moriscos of Valencia, fundamentally misunderstood the differences between the diverse Morisco groups. Philip III ultimately decided to expel all Moriscos from his realms in 1609.

Were the two Morisco expulsions successful? The records of Granada's Inquisition provide evidence for the presence of Moriscos in Granada after the first expulsion from Granada to Castile in 1571. Between 1560-1615, Granada's tribunal had 252 Judaizers, which was the most of any tribunal in Castile and Aragon, and 1,190 Moriscos, which was the most in Castile, and 3rd overall to Valencia and to Zaragoza in Aragon. From 1615-1700, Granada had 291 Judaizers, more than any tribunal in Aragon but less than in Galicia, and 152 Moriscos, which was less than Murcia in Castile, and less than Sicily, Valencia, and Majorca in Aragon. Judging from these numbers, the Morisco expulsion from Granada to the rest of Castile after the second Alpujarras revolt had far less affect than the 1609 expulsion from the peninsula. There may have been Moriscos in Granada between 1560 and 1615, but after that, there were very few. However, Granada had a busy tribunal in general. It had the largest number of cases in all of Castile 3,010, in the first period, and in the second, had 1,147, which was also the largest for any tribunal in Castile.[312]

The Granada Venegas escaped the expulsion of Moriscos from Granada both because of their loyal service and because they were considered "Old Christians." In 1571 a decree was made that the Moriscos who had converted before the Conquest of Granada were considered Old Christians, whereas those who converted between the Conquest and the forced conversions were not.[313] To be an Old Christian was both a religious and a social designation. As the Granada Venegas and other elite Moriscos took part in public Christian devotion, their struggle to be accepted into Spanish life took place in the area of social standing, power, and reputation.[314]

Conclusion

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the fate of the Granada Venegas family was closely tied to that of the powerful Mendoza family. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Don Alonso de Granada Venegas had grown up together. But even when the power of the Mendoza began to wane during the Alpujarras revolt, the Granada Venegas were able to weather the storm. They did not join with the rebels against the crown, even when they had a dynastic right to do so, and other elite Moriscos with royal blood had rebelled. Rather, as we will see in Chapters 3 and 4, they fought for recognition and for status within Spanish society, reflective of their loyalty. To do this, the Granada Venegas would promote Renaissance culture, fight on the battlefield for Spain, and ultimately move to serve at the royal court. Unlike the Córdoba y Valor family, who

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[311] James B. Teuller, Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain, 28.
[312] The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods, Edited by Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi in Association with Charles Ariel (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), 118-119.
[313] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, 66-67.
[314] Ibid, 72-73.

had fought in two rebellions to try to win back Granada, the Granada Venegas tied their fortunes to Habsburg, Christian Spain, and became its loyal warriors and servants.

In 1571, at the time of the Morisco expulsion from Granada, the Cathedral was rising in the city, but the Great Mosque's minaret was still intact. The Palace of Charles V was also slowly rising on the Alhambra hill. There were numerous buildings under construction that projected the aesthetics of the Renaissance of Empire into the city—part of a new Christian Roman Empire. The streets were being widened also, to create open public spaces fitting for a Christian city.[315] The Granada Venegas, as municipal and military leaders, participated in the Renaissance in Granada in both politics and aesthetics. They sponsored a circle of writers and poets, which as we will see in the next chapter, included numerous important figures of the Spanish Renaissance, some of whom were also active promoters of chivalric culture. By serving as patrons, town councilors, and as soldiers guarding Granada's coasts, the Granada Venegas had integrated themselves into Granada's new Christian elite.

[315] Bernard Vincent, "Espacio public y espacio privado en las ciudades andaluzas, Siglos XV y XVI," *El Río Morisco*, Translated by Antonio Luis Cortés Peña (Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2006), Kindle Edition, location 1123 of 5824.

Chapter 3:
Culture and Society:
The Renaissance *Tertulia* and Chivalric Ambitions of the Granada Venegas

The Granada Venegas were heirs to the Nasrid Sultans, who had been major patrons of poetry. Muhammed II (r. 1273-1302) had founded the Nasrid Chancellery, whose members, calligraphers, secretaries and poets, had composed poetic *quasidas* in honor of various important events in the Nasrid court, such as births, deaths, battles, and the end of the period of Ramadan. The mural poet, the artist who decorated the walls of the Alhambra with Arabic script, and the poet himself, were sometimes the same person. Much of the poetry that was inscribed on the walls of the Alhambra palace in Granada in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was poetry of a political and courtly nature, praising the Sultan's "noble lineage and moral attributes, radiance and magnaminity, together with his virtues as a builder and the insuperable nature of his architecture."[316] The most frequent phrase in the various inscriptions is the Nasrid motto, that there is no conqueror but God. At times, the poems speak in the first person feminine, as the words of the palace room or *mirador* herself, explaining how her own beauty reflects the virtues of the Sultan. Groups of poets were key members of the Nasrid court. In early modern Europe, there were also numerous circles of poets and writers who met under the auspices of a patron. These were called literary *tertulias*.[317] The Granada Venegas, heirs to the Nasrid Sultans and contributors to Renaissance culture in Granada, held a literary *tertulia* in their home. Some of the poets in this group, such as Hernando de Acuña, produced poems praising his king and emperor, Charles V, thus continuing the political emphasis of the Nasrid poetic tradition. This group was active in the 1560s but suspended its meetings when Alonso de Granada Venegas went to war for King Philip II, to put down the Alpujarras revolt.[318]

In the sixteenth century, Granada was the site of one of Spain's two major law courts—the other was in Valladolid. These were called the *Reales Chancillerías*.[319] People came from all over Andalucía to plead their cases in Granada's law court, and it was a vital center of jobs and patronage for young *letrados* and humanists. Granada also had a busy tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition, which also needed lawyers and notaries. In the 1550s and 60s, Philip II began to use these law courts to re-enforce the laws of his great-grandparents against certain Morisco cultural practices such as speaking Arabic and dancing the *zambra*, a typical Nasrid dance. Ironically, this increase in restrictions against Islamic traditions and the Alpujarras revolt were the political and religious context for a cultural exchange and flowering that took place under the auspices of

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[316] Ibn al-Jayyab (1274-1349), Ibn al-Khatib (1313-1374), and Ibn Zamrak (1333-1393) were some of the most significant Alhambra mural poets, and court poets of the Nasrids. José Miguel Puerta Vílchez, Reading the Alhambra: A Visual Guide to the Alhambra through its Inscriptions (Granada: The Alhambra and the Generalife Trust, 2011), 16-17.

[317] For more on literary *tertulias*, see José Sánchez, *Academias literarias del Siglo de Oro español,* Vol. 48, (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1961); Willard F. King, "The Academies and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Literature," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America (1960): 367-376.

[318] Rafael López Guzmán, *Los Palacios del Renacimiento* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2005), 82.

[319] Aurelio Espinosa, The Empire of the Cities: Emperor Charles V, the Comunero Revolt, and the Transformation of the Spanish System (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

the Granada Venegas family.[320] The *tertulia's* ties to the law courts, the archbishop and the cathedral chapter, and their advancement of the cultural and intellectual aesthetics of the Spanish Renaissance aided in the assimilation of this elite Morisco family.

Renaissance vs. Chivalric Culture: The *Tertulia* of the Granada Venegas

The Granada Venegas, aspiring noblemen, employed both the strategies and aesthetics of a culture of Roman revival, as well as those of a traditional noble warrior elite. Both helped them in their ultimate goal of joining the highest ranks of the Spanish nobility. The Granada Venegas family sponsored big, significant texts, which created a triumphal narrative of Spanish history. While they already had power and influence in Granada, through this *tertulia* the Granada Venegas were also staking claim to a place of importance at the royal court. In this literary *tertulia*, both Renaissance and Chivalric culture were created. Its members wrote a variety of works, including Latin sonnets, Latin epics and vernacular translations of chivalric romances. I am using a distinction between Renaissance and Chivalric culture in this chapter, not because I believe these are bounded categories, but rather because our periodization of medieval and modern Europe often treats them as such, and shows Renaissance culture superseding or replacing the Chivalric.[321] Yet Chivalric culture coexisted with Renaissance culture in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, as can be seen in the proclivities and concerns of Spain's nobility.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, sixteenth century Granada was a place of innovative cultural production. Granada had a Renaissance both in Vitruvian architecture and in Latin and vernacular letters. Charles V made Granada the cultural center of his Empire for nearly a year in the 1520s. It received travelers and ambassadors from across Europe, and became a truly international city. During Charles's stay in the city, one of the most important travelers to Granada, the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero, had a conversation with Juan Boscán, while walking in the gardens of the Generalife. It was an important moment in Spanish literary history. In this conversation, Navagero asked Boscán why sonnets and certain types of ballads, which were used by the best Italian authors, were not attempted in Spanish. The Italian then urged Boscán to take the task upon himself, to bring those Italian techniques to Spanish poetry.

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[320] Robert S. López explores this problem in his famous article. He argues "there is no heap of riches and no depth of poverty that will automatically insure or forbid artistic achievement. Intellectual developments must be traced primarily to intellectual roots. But that does not at all mean that they are independent of economic conditions." Robert S. López, "Hard Times and Investment in Culture," in The Renaissance: Six Essays (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1953), 43.

[321] The two historians who have contributed most to a popular conception of this periodization are Jacob Burckhardt (1850) and Johan Huizinga (1924). Huizinga's Waning of the Middle Ages used a life cycle imagery for periodization which allowed the Renaissance to be viewed as the Springtime. But according to Huizinga, this Spring garden also had old growth. "Classicism did not come as a sudden revelation, it grew up among the luxuriant vegetation of medieval thought." Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, Translated by F. Hopman (New York: St. Martins' Press, 1924), 297; For more on these questions see Randolph Starn, "The Early Modern Muddle," Journal of Early Modern History, Vol.6 Issue 3 (2002): 296-307; William J. Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," American Historical Review, Vol.84, No.1 (1979): 1-15.

Boscán did so, and another famous Golden Age poet, Garcilaso de la Vega (1501-1536) soon followed.[322] This was one of the most direct transmissions of literary culture from Italy to Spain and it took place in Granada. Within a decade, the Granada Venegas would be the new caretakers of the gardens and palaces where Navagero and Boscán had walked.

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the younger son of the governor of the Alhambra in Granada, and the writer of *Las Guerras de Granada*, advanced the revival of classical culture in Spain. He served as Charles V's ambassador to the papacy and to Venice, and he amassed a book collection that was one of the largest of his day. It contained manuscripts he had received from Cardinal Bessarion that had come from Mt. Athos in Greece. In the late 1560s and early 70s, Don Diego and his library were in Granada, and he may have even lived in a dwelling in the Generalife gardens.[323] Don Diego's library ultimately reached a size of over 1000 volumes, not including multiple copies.[324] Although he was the most famous, he was not the only book collector in Granada. According to Juan Martínez Ruiz, in the sixteenth century, citizens' libraries contained works of classical humanity—philology, Greek literature, Latin literature, as well as works that celebrate the "the exaltation of the human spirit," works of mystical theology, some works influenced by fourteenth century Franciscan theologian William of Ockham, and by certain heterodox ideas.[325]

The Literary *Tertulia* of the Granada Venegas

Don Alonso de Granada Venegas and his wife Doña María Manrique de Mendoza were patrons and promoters of a literary circle, which met in the late sixteenth century between 1550 and 1570. Their *tertulia* continued, less regularly, in the seventeenth century under Don Pedro de Granada Venegas (d.1643).[326] The Granada Venegas were patrons[327] of the poet Juan Latino,

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[322] Letter from Juan Boscán to the Duquesa de Soma, "…me dijo por qué no probaba en lengua castellana sonetos y otras clases de trovas usadas por los buenos autores de Italia: y solamente me lo dijo así livianamente, más aún, me rogó que lo hiciese…" cited in Álvaro Salvador, *Guía literaria de la ciudad de Granada, itinerarios árabe y renacentista* (Granada: La Vela, 2007), 102-104.

[323] Erika Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 170), 378-380.

[324] Anthony Hobson, Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, their Books and Bindings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 200.

[325] Juan Martínez Ruiz, "El Humanismo en las Bibliotecas Granadinas," *Clasicismo y Humanismo en el Renacimiento Granadino* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), 102; For the importance of William of Ockham to Reformation thought, see Steven Ozment, Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

[326] José González Vázquez, "La Academia Granada-Venegas en la Granada del siglo XVI y comienzos del XVII," in *Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas, Marqueses de Campotéjar*, Edited by José Antonio García Luján (Huescar, 2010), 415.

[327] According to some scholars of literature, patrons may be considered co-authors of the works they sponsor. Ignacio López Alemany, *Ilusión áulica e imaginación en El Cortesano de Luis Milán, North Carolina Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Department of Romance Languages, 2013).

Gregorio Silvestre, Hernando de Acuña, Gaspar de Baeza, and others. These men were musicians, soldiers, translators, lawyers, and Latinists.[328] Their association with the Granada Venegas was mutually beneficial. In the descriptions of their works that follow, we will see expressions of Renaissance culture, Chivalric culture, and an engagement with the high politics of early modern Spain.

Juan Latino

Of all of the members of this *tertulia*, Juan Latino (1518?-c.1594) has been most celebrated for his Latinity. His work has recently drawn a great deal of interest from scholars.[329] Juan Latino was an African, born a slave in the household of the Duke of Sessa, in 1518. He was an extraordinary man, the "first poet from sub-Saharan Africa to publish a book of poems in a European language."[330] Due to his masterwork, an over 1,700 line epic poem in Latin, the *Austrias Carmen* (1573) Juan Latino is the member of the Granada Venegas's *tertulia* who made it most clearly a Renaissance writers' group. Through the *Austrias Carmen* Latino connected the local history of Granada, and the suppression of the Morisco revolt of the Alpujarras, to a world event, the Catholic victory over the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. In this poem, Don Juan de Austria, military leader and natural son of Charles V, emerges as both European hero and as a local hero for Granada. Latino's patron, the Duke of Sessa, was one of Don Juan de Austria's retainers, which allowed Juan Latino an audience with the general.[331] By the time the Battle of Lepanto took place, Latino was no longer a slave, and worked as a prominent Latin teacher in Granada.[332] After Don Juan subdued the Morisco rebellion in Granada and made a strong personal impression on Juan Latino, Don Juan was sent by his half-brother Philip II to lead the Holy League of the papal forces, the Spanish and the Venetians against the Turks.

Juan Latino addressed his poem to a figure well known in Granada, Pedro de Deza, the president of Granada's chancery court during the Alpujarras Revolt. Deza, like Don Juan de Austria, was both a Granadan official and an international one. He was a priest and a bishop, who later became a cardinal. He was extremely wealthy, and ultimately bought a palace in Rome, which became known as the Palazzo Borghese. Deza's name is the first word of Juan Latino's poem:

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[328] A. Katie Harris, From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 48-50.

[329] The Battle of Lepanto, Edited and Translated by Elizabeth R. Wright, Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemons (Cambridge: I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard University Press, 2014), 428; Elizabeth Wright, The Epic of Juan Latino: Dilemmas of Race and Religion in Renaissance Spain, forthcoming 2016.

[330] "Juan Latino," The Battle of Lepanto, Edited and Translated by Elizabeth R. Wright, Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemons (Cambridge: I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard University Press, 2014), 428.

[331] Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Maria Wolff, "An Overview of Sources on the Life and Work of Juan Latino, the 'Ethiopian Humanist,'" Research in African Literatures Vol. 29, No.4 (Winter, 1998): 22.

[332] Elizabeth Wright, "Narrating the Ineffable Lepanto: The Austrias Carmen of Joannes Latinus (Juan Latino)," Hispanic Review (Winter, 2009): 73.

> Deza, dignified by your service and marked by your ancestral piety, on whom nature generously bestowed all the gifts of mind and soul; renowned official and leader of the royal chancery: destiny sent you to Granada to administer civil law, to watch over the kingdom and its people, and to grant equal privileges to its cities. You are revered on our shores as the nation's emissary, a kindly father to soldiers, protector of the virtuous, skilled commander, and world-renowned guardian of Baetis. Known by your people as an expert in wartime laws, nurturing faith made you the defender of our nation and the safeguard of our kingdom. Virtue, knowing what is right, put you in command of the royal garrison so that your boundless piety and sharp mind would guard our soldiers and protect our oppressed citizens, the itself, and your laws, Philip, from the enemy. Ever watchful, you knew how to anticipate all manner of dangers: the deceit of the infidels, the betrayal of the Moors, their ruses and tricks, artifices masked as truth—all parts of their age-old conspiracy to destroy the pious.[333]

Latino framed his discussion of the second revolt of the Alpujarras as a religious conflict, and a battle against rebellious heretics. The poem speaks to Deza and his attempts to convert the Moriscos:

> Your mind's eye, great prince, was able to discern the plot then still buried deep in the minds of the Moors. With your steadfast bravery, you bore the burden of war during the recent Morisco uprising and avoided any harm to the kingdom, keeping the people and city safe from disturbance. You received Philip's brother as your guest as he set out for war; your palace of government feasted him with royal luxury and sumptuous banquets, and your generous staff supported his large entourage with food and ready supplies. Listen now to the deeds of your John as he set sail…[334]

Latino could have addressed only Philip II, or even Don Juan de Austria in this poem. Instead, he chose a local patron to praise and to tell of glorious deeds. Thus, this epic poem is grounded in context of sixteenth century Granada as well as that of the Holy League's famous sea battle.

> Granada watched as the rebellious Moriscos—a notorious race of evil heretics—were expelled, and their entire caste was wiped out or driven from the city, as King Philip exacted his just punishment for the uprising. On your orders, Deza, as you burned with your unwavering faith in Christ's blessed name, the Christian people banished this nefarious race from the city, and marvel that fate defeated those wicked leaders who set out to burn our city and its fortress and massacre all the Christians within.[335]

In this section, Latino described the Moriscos as a notorious race, and evil heretics, who were being justly punished for their rebellion. It did not have the nuance of Don Deigo Hurtado de

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[333] "The Song of John of Austria," Translated from Latin by Elizabeth R. Wright, Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemons, The Battle of Lepanto, Edited and Translated by Elizabeth R. Wright, Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemons (Cambridge: I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard University Press, 2014), 288-289.
[334] "The Song of John of Austria," The Battle of Lepanto, 288-291.
[335] Ibid, 292-293.

Mendoza's treatment of the conflict, which was more sympathetic towards the Moriscos, instead, Latino came out very strongly in support of state power against dangerous and murderous rebels.

> The city of Granada then resolves to give thanks to God in the temples: the archbishop Pedro Guerrero—renowned throughout the world for his morals, way of life, and doctrine—joins the grateful men in song, as he leads the ceremonial processions and chants, and leads the people of Christ in unceasing prayer at the altars. His great faith and holy meditation kept the people from danger with the rule of prayer. While the bishop cleanses the city from the heathen stain, the holy sanctuaries, and the temples of the living God built on ancient rock, he invokes Christ's divine presence and exhorts the people to live devoutly.[336]

In this section, Latino called the Moriscos "gentes," heathens. Later in the poem, when the pope in Rome hears of the victory, Latino included similar passages praising the pope for his care for his people, his prayers and his holiness. Latino also wrote that the "temples of the living God," in Granada, were "built on ancient rock." Granada was an ancient Roman city, with deep Christian roots, according to this point of view.[337] The churches of Granada were at this very time being built upon mosques. Thus Latino wrote to praise and justify the war in Granada, conflating it together with the victory at Lepanto.

The poem contains many stanzas describing the power and might of the fleet commanded by Don Juan de Austria. Latino praised him for his likeness to his father Charles, and his loyalty to his brother Philip. Peppered throughout, are illusions and comparisons to ancient battles, and Roman histories and legends. However, the Spanish, Latino says, surpass the Romans. As Don Juan trusts in Christ, his victory, in Latino's description, is already assured. When the admiral of the Turkish fleet was killed, and his sons looked on in mourning, and were captured by the Spanish, fame abandoned the Turks, who were deceived as to their own strength. Latino made no mention of their piety, only their doomed confidence.

> When victory was assured, Don Juan himself addressed the Granadan prelate:
> Just then, Deza, John turned to the leaders: 'What,' he asks, 'would our Deza do now in the city, were he the first to know that the Spaniards are victorious? He would run joyfully to greet us; he would praise to heaven my successes and the name of my brother Philip, clearly delighted in his whole expression. 'Even now you will have the power to capture Byzantium and Christ's tomb for your brother,' he would prophesy in song, to incite my noble heart with encouraging words. If by chance he learned that success had come to me in battle, no one would rejoice more gladly than he.[338]

Latino used this rhetorical device, the invocation of Deza, to praise Don Juan and his deeds. However, Latino did not stop there. At the most dramatic moment in this Mediterranean conflict,

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[336] "The Song of John of Austria," The Battle of Lepanto, 292-293.
[337] The idea of restoring Granada as a Christian city is also an important theme in the history of the discovery of the lead books and martyrs' bones in Granada. See A. Katie Harris, From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).
[338] "The Song of John of Austria," The Battle of Lepanto, 374-377.

he put a paragraph of praise for Granada's local magistrate in the mouth of the victorious admiral, the emperor's son.

> He (Deza) is a faithful servant of the king, ever at the ready for Philip. His is the best proof of a mind born for royal affairs: 'I drove out the heretics and the crimes of Muhammad's sect, as I rushed to cut away the wound that could not be healed from healthy places and towns purged of the plague; I isolated the evil removed from the city of Granada. I drove the Moriscos after they suffered punishment and the rebellious citizens to the king's walls of Castile, forcing those dangerous people to inhabit distant, hostile lands. I do all these things by order of Philip in his temperance.' (He (Don Juan) was celebrating and praising the triumphs you accomplished, Deza, insisting that even the Romans had not overcome such obstacles.)[339]

In this way, Latino tied the defeat of the Moriscos in Granada, to the defeat of the Turks in the waters of Actium. Furthermore, Deza, in his war against the Moriscos, has surpassed the Romans.

> What if Deza had seen these battles we fought with God as our guide? Our allied fleet defying the Parthians, destroying the hostile enemy? Their proud galleys and shattered prows? The Turks shattered at sea? Spaniards celebrating Philip's naval victory? What if he had been the commander (Deza is from a wellborn family) and seen the Pasha's headless body, the vanquished Tyrant, captive Turks, and galleys seized from the enemy. How he would have wished to be right at the forefront of the danger with me!' The Austrian spoke his friend's name to the fleet commanders with his whole heart: to the Venetian and the Italian captains, man by man, John relates many things about Deza just as he, according to his custom, praises leaders and royal ministers.[340]

The attention Latino gave to the President of Granada's chancery court, at this key moment in the history of Lepanto, is extraordinary. It imbues his poem with the local politics of Granada. After Don Juan won the great battle, and Latino compared to his father Charles multiple times, as nearly the emperor's reincarnation, and his brother's loyal servant, Latino turned his gaze to the celebrations which took place in Granada to honor this great Christian victory.

> Granada spreads news of the commander's deeds through the crossroads, as the people rejoice in their homes, the priests in their temples; young boys and chaste girls celebrate the victor. Through the whole city, you could see them rejoicing and singing of the readied battle lines and mighty fleets, of the wars won by the Austrian's leadership, worthy of being reported the world over.[341]

Don Juan de Austria, who spent his childhood under a pseudonym at his father's side in his monastic retirement in Extremadura, seems to have gained a new hometown, grateful Granada.

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[339] "The Song of John of Austria," The Battle of Lepanto,, 376-377.
[340] Ibid, 376-377.
[341] Ibid, 400-401.

In this poem, an international event, the Battle of Lepanto, is brought home, and contextualized within the previous civil war in Granada. Don Juan de Austria, true son of Charles V, is the hero, with a path opened in front of him to re-take the Holy Sepulcher itself. He is also made Granada's local hero, and loyal follower of Granada's current hardliner against heresy and Moriscos, Deza. It is possible that the notoriety he gained from Latino's poem, along with his work in Granada, propelled Deza forward in his career. In the 1580s, he became a cardinal, participating in the papal conclaves until that of 1592, he also became the Inquisitor General of Rome's Inquisition, and died at the rank of cardinal-bishop.[342]

In the sections of the poem that relate back to the War in the Alpujarras, Latino compared the Castilians to Romans, and the Moriscos, whom he called "dangerous people," to barbarians.[343] Although the poem contains many words of Christian piety and is written to a Catholic priest, Latino, by using the form of a Latin epic and comparing the Castilians to the Romans, subsumed the project of the final conquest of Granada and expulsion of the Moriscos into an imperial Renaissance project. The fact that this poem, which compared Moriscos to barbarians, was written under their auspices and influence, helped to deepen the Granada Venegas's assimilation into the Spanish elite, and their social and ideological distance from ordinary Moriscos.

Gregorio Silvestre and Gaspar de Baeza

Juan Latino became a famous poet, and was a Latin teacher to many of Granada's youth, but his African race still made his social rise a challenge. He attended the *tertulia* with Gregorio Silvestre, but that did not stop Silvestre from treating him differently:

> One day Gregorio Silvestre, speaking to a group of friends, addressed all except Latino. When Latino complained about being ignored, Silvestre explained, "I thought you were the shadow of one of these other gentlemen." The fact of Latino's blackness was never a neutral factor in his life, making his description of himself as "el negro Juan Latino," a declaration of pride and difference, despite his seemingly assimilated status within Granada society.[344]

Gregorio Silvestre was born in Portugal on December 30, 1520. His father, Juan Rodriquez, served the empress Isabella, the wife of Charles V. An accomplished poet and musician, Gregorio became the organist of Granada's cathedral in October of 1541, with an annual salary of 500,000 *maravedis*.[345] According to Antonio Marin Ocete, "the coming of Gregorio Silvestre to Granada was just as decisive to his artistic formation as it was for the city in the first part of

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[342] "Pedro de Deza," in "The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church," web resource created by Salvador Miranda, Florida International University Library. http://www2.fiu.edu/~mirandas/bios1578.htm#Deza

[343] "The Song of John of Austria," The Battle of Lepanto, 376-377.

[344] Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Maria Wolff, "An Overview of the Sources on the Life and Work of Juan Latino, the 'Ethiopian Humanist," Research in African Literatures Vol. 29, No.4 (Winter, 1998): 22.

[345] Antonio Marin Ocete, *Gregorio Silvestre: Estudios biográfico critico* (Granada: Publicaciones de la Facultad de Letras, 1939), 24.

the sixteenth century."[346] In Silvestre, the Granada Venegas were investing in Granada's musical production and adding another dimension to their patronage and support of Christian culture.

While we know from various sources that Gaspar de Baeza, a lawyer in Granada's chancery court, and Gregorio Silvestre, and organist and a poet, were in the Granada Venegas's *tertulia*,[347] we also have evidence in the printing record itself that the two of them collaborated on a literary project in Granada. This project was Gaspar de Baeza's translation of Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* which he called the *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos, illustres en valor de Guerra* and published in Granada in 1568. Gregorio Silvestre's poems were added to the text and attributed to him.[348]

The choice of Giovio's book by Gaspar de Baeza and Gregorio Silvestre to translate and emend is revealing. Paolo Giovio (b.1486) was an Italian humanist who served as the personal physician to Pope Clement VII. He was with Pope Clement when the Spanish and German troops in Charles V's imperial army sacked Rome in 1527, and he had to hide for his life with the pope in the Castel St. Angelo. When he was able to leave the castle, Giovio fled to the island of Ischia, where Vittoria Colonna hosted him. He wrote a number of his works in the aftermath of the dramatic and tragic sack of Rome.[349] Giovio's politics were largely pro-imperial, though he did voice concern for the independence of the Italian states. Giovio was an historian who wrote at the same time as the famous Florentine historian, Francesco Guicciardini, but unlike Guicciardini, who wrote in Italian, Giovio wrote in Latin. His famous history *Historiarum sui temporis* came out in two volumes in 1550 and 1551.[350] Giovio knew some of the major figures of the Italian Renaissance personally, but he also gathered a variety of primary sources that he used to write about them.[351]

In the prologue to his translation of Giovio's contemporary history,[352] Baeza wrote that "within all of the genres of letters, none is as lovely (*agradable*) or pleasing (*suave*) as history,"

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[346] Author's translation. Antonio Marin Ocete, *Gregorio Silvestre: Estudios biográfico critico* (Granada: Publicaciones de la Facultad de Letras, 1939), 26.

[347] A. Katie Harris, From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 48-50.

[348] *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos, illustres en valor de Guerra, q estan al vivo pintados en el Museo de Paolo Iovio, es autor el mismo Paolo Iovio, y traduxolo de Latin en Castellano el licenciado Gaspar de Baeza, dirigido a la Catholica y Real magestad del Rey don Philippe II nuestro senor* (Granada, En casa de Hugo de Mena, 1568).

[349] "Introduction," in Paolo Giovio: Notable Men and Women of our Time, Edited and Translated by Kenneth Gouwens (Cambridge, MA: I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard University Press, 2013), xi. This citation is of the new English translation of the dialogues Giovio wrote after the Sack of Rome. Though similar in content, discussing some of the greatest military and intellectual figures of the day, the dialogues are a separate work from the *Elogia*.

[350] T.C. Price Zimmerman, Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth Century Italy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), Appendix Three.

[351] Ibid.

[352] The General history of all that happened in the world in those fifty years to our time: in which are written particularly all of the victories and successes which the most victorious Emperor Charles V had, from when he began to reign in Spain, until he captured the Duke of Saxony, or Baeza called the book the *Historia general de todas las cosas succedidas en el mundo en estos cincuenta anos de nuestro tiempo: en la qual se escriven particularmente todas las victorias y*

and praised Giovio as one of the best historians of his time. Furthermore, Baeza wrote that it was extremely important to preserve the books about great deeds and great men—that Philip II, even with his great learning, prudence, and lineage, needed to be guided by the letters and the virtue of the past, especially of past emperors. Baeza stressed that the Roman Emperor Alexandro Severo only sent men well acquainted with history to negotiate a truce.[353] According to Baeza, even a Turkish ruler,

> Mahomet, lord of the Turks, while being a barbarian, with great concern made a translation into Turkish of the history of all of the kings and brave captains, in order to learn the strategies and perfect exercise of military power, and to see his glory celebrated in these books, to illuminate with his example and to extend the fame of his name.[354]

Thus both commissioning and reading books of history should be the task of kings and rulers. Moreover, not just the writing of history, but the translation and abridgement of history was an honored task. "The legal expert, Modestino shortened the history of the first book of the Aeneid…Alciato, with the highest degree in law illustrated the histories of Cornelius Tacitus….Cicero translated a book of Plato."[355] To Baeza, even St. Jerome was an historian.

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succedos que el invictissimo Emperador Don Carlos huvo, dende que comenzo a Reynar en Espana, hasta que prendio el Duque de Saxonia (1568). This is referring to the Protestant Duke Charles captured at the Battle of Muhlberg in 1547.

[353] "Fue siempre costumbre de los camosos Reyes, y insignes y principals varones, cuyo nombre hizieron eterno los grades ingenious, tener por cosa conviniente y dignissima de su grandeza, favorescer a los hombres estudiosos, y guarder y coservar sus libros, como la cosa mas util, mas suave, y mas principal, de quatas en esta nuestra vida mortal ay despues de la vertud. Y pues, V. M. en nobleza de esclarescido linage, grandeza de animo, prudencia, y admirable valor, constancia, fe, gravedad, y en amar unicamente la justicia, y ser presidio y amparo de las letras y de la virtud, yguala la Gloria de los antiguos emperadores, reciba debaxo de su protecio y amparo estas eternas historias de Paulo Iovio dedicadas a su Illustre nombre." *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos, illustres en valor de Guerra, q estan al vivo pintados en el Museo de Paolo Iovio, es autor el mismo Paolo Iovio, y traduxolo de Latin en Castellano el licenciado Gaspar de Baeza, dirigido a la Catholica y Real magestad del Rey don Philippe II nuestro senor* (Granada, En casa de Hugo de Mena, 1568), Prologue, recto.

[354] "Mahometo señor de los Turcos con ser un barbaro hizo con gran cuyado trasladar en lengua Turquesa las historias de todos los Reyes y capitanes valerosos, para aprender ardides y el perfecto exercicio de la milicia, y para viendo su gloria celebrada en aquellos libros, encenderse con su exemplo a estender la fama de su nombre. La historia de mas de mostrar nos la vanidad de este mundo y sus mudancas, nos representa delante de los ojos los consejos y successos de tantos principes y capitanes, y assi nos es un dechado utilissimo para que los descendientes tomemos exemplo en cabeca agena, y sepamos lo que se deve huyr, y lo que se deve seguir, assi en tiempo de Guerra como la paz," *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos,* Prologue, verso.

[355] "El jurisculto Modestino abrevio la historia del primero libro de la Eneida de Virgilio. Celio Antipatro Iuriscosulto escrivio largamente historia. Alciato varo doctissimo en derechos illustro las historias de Cornelio Tacito. Zazio jurisconsulto escrivio sobre las epistolas de Cicero. Plutarcho Philosopho, escrivio divinamente historia. El sancto Hieronymo escrivio historia de

"Cardenal Pietro Bembo, Erasmus, Angelo Policiano, Theodoro Gaza, and many other men of high erudition and eternal memory, translated Latin into the vernacular."[356] Baeza includes in this list, four of the most important humanists and philologists of the European Renaissance, including Erasmus, who was supposedly dangerously out of fashion in Spain by the time of Baeza's writing.[357] Baeza praises the task of translation, in some places describing it as nearly the same as "writing history" itself.[358]

Paolo Giovio not only produced printed works about history and the men who make history, but he also imagined a way of remembering them that was both visual and literary. This was the portrait museum he wished to build at near his home in Lake Como. He actively looked for donors for this project, but unfortunately was unable to bring it to fruition. According to Giovio's recent biographer, T.C. Price Zimmerman, this idea of pairing Renaissance portraiture with a traditional European literary genre, the "lives of illustrious men," was Giovio's most important cultural contribution.[359] Giovio's book representing this vision, the *Elogia*, the same that was translated by Gaspar de Baeza, was published in 1551. It contained portraits and descriptions of men ranging from Romulus to Charlemagne to Francesco Sforza.

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varones illustres. La historia del Rey don Juan escrivio el doctor Carvajal. Ternan otros por occupacion muy humilde, traduzir, para me no ay nada que no sea demasiado. Traduzio Ciceron un libro de Platon." *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos,* Prologue, verso.

[356] "Ternan otros por occupacion muy humilde, traduzir, para me no ay nada que no sea demasiado. Traduzio Ciceron un libro de Platon. Traduzio muchas cosas san Hieronymo, y en a q tiempo la legua Griega era mas vulgar en Roma q oy lo es la Castellana en Valencia. Traduzio de latin en lengua vulgar el doctissimo Cardenal Petro Bembo, traduziero Erasmo, Angelo Policiano, Theodoro Gaza, y otros muchos varones de summa erudicion y nombre eterno." *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos,* Prologue, verso.

[357] For the popularity and later condemnation of Erasmus in Spain, see Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo xvi* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1950); For an updated view, building on the work of P. Oskar Kristeller, see Lu Ann Homza, Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

[358] "Y si esto no basta, contra todo oppogo el illustre nombre de V. M. aquien como a defensor de las letras, Amador de toda occupacio honesta, dotato de valor illustre y virtud excellente determine dirigir estas historias, para q ellas fuessen illustradas, y yo si lo mereciere cotado entre tantos como recibe lustre y honrra de ser criados y servidores de essa casa de V. M. Cuya muy illustre persona guarde nuestro señor con acrecentamiento de mayor estado. En Toledo treinta de Mayo de mill y quinientos y sesenta y un años." *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos*, Prologue, verso; According to one scholar, Baeza was "a noted lawyer, a less successful poet, a good translator, and at the end of his life, a disgraced suicide." Antonio Marin Ocete, *Gregorio Silvestre: Estudios biográfico critico* (Granada: Publicaciones de la Facultad de Letras, 1939), 46; For more on the art of history writing in early modern Europe, See Anthony Grafton, "The Identities of History in Early Modern Europe: Prelude to a Study of the Artes Historiae," in Historia: Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe, Edited by Gianna Pomata (Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2005).

[359] T.C. Price Zimmerman, Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth Century Italy, 159.

This genre, the "lives of illustrious men," or the *De Viris Illustribus,* began in Antiquity with Plutarch and Polybius, and was taken up by St. Jerome in the fifth century, who, instead of listing Caesars, included the apostles and bishops who followed them, starting with St. Peter.[360] St. Isidore of Seville wrote another version in the seventh century, adding 33 more men.[361] In the ninth century, Carolingian historian Notker the Stammerer wrote another version, including in it the contemporary teacher Alcuin.[362] In the fourteenth century, Francesco Petrarca famously wrote another version of the *De Viris Illustribus*. Thus, Giovio's sixteenth century book followed ancient, medieval, and Renaissance precedent, but its addition of portraits with almost every entry, and its vast size and scope, covering men from across time and space, from Antiquity to the sixteenth century, and from across the Mediterranean, including Turkish corsairs and Sultans, connected it to both the Renaissance cult of personality, and the high politics of sixteenth century Europe. Not only this, but Giovio actually wrote two works. One on men of war, and the other on men of letters, though the volume on the men of letters was published later.[363] The volume chosen by Baeza and Silvestre was the first volume, on the men of war.

In the hands of the translator Gaspar de Baeza, and poet, Gregorio Silvestre, Giovio's book became an even stronger panegyric to Charles V and his empire. Baeza inserted Gregorio Silvestre's poems on Charles and his grandfather Ferdinand of Aragon into his translation.[364] Silvestre's poem about Charles V was written in the voice of the emperor:

> With high majesty
> And great happiness
> To my kingdom, they submitted
> And in the holy faith instructed
> Widening Christianity
> The emperor Caesar Augustus
> Did not exceed my state
> Nor my government or reign
> Before me was inferior

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[360] St. Jerome, On Illustrious Men/*De Viris Illustribus*, Translated by Thomas P. Halton (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999).

[361] Statistic from Owen M. Phelan, The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism and the Imperium Christianum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 271; Isidore of Seville, *El "De Viris Illustribus" de Isidore de Sevilla,* Edited by Carmen Codoñer Merino (Salamanca, 1964).

[362] Owen M. Phelan, The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism and the Imperium Christianum (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 271.

[363] The Bancroft Library at the University of California-Berkeley has one such combined volume with both the men of war and the men of letters. *Pavli Iovii novo comensis episcopi nucerini Elogi viroum bellica virtute illustrium, septem libris iam ab autoria comprhenda, et nunc ex eius dem musaeo ad vivum expressis imagines exornata, Petri Pernae typographi, Basil opera ac studio, MDXCVI,* 1596.

[364] *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos, illustres en valor de Guerra, q estan al vivo pintados en el Museo de Paolo Iovio, es autor el mismo Paolo Iovio, y traduxolo de Latin en Castellano el licenciado Gaspar de Baeza, dirigido a la Catholica y Real magestad del Rey don Philippe II nuestro senor* (Granada, En casa de Hugo de Mena, 1568), 130v-131r.

There was no captain named
Of my endeavor and great prowess.[365]

After declaring that Caesar Augustus had not exceeded the size of his empire, Charles then recounted his many victories against the French, the Turks, and the German Protestants, pointing out that the troublesome Saxons had never been conquered by the Romans.

Both Silvestre and Baeza acknowledged their debt to Giovio. At the end of his poem, in the voice of Charles V, Silvestre compared Giovio to Homer:

Together with my great luck
What Giovio understood
To sublimate my part
His pen made me strong
Against the river of forgetting
Against the power of death
We can well bestow
And even we may prefer
Those two to those two without compare
I to Caesar in the work
And Giovio to Homer in the writing.[366]

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[365] "Con altiva magestad
Y suma felicidad
A mi Reyno sometidos
Y en la Sancta fe instruydos
Ensanche la Christiandad.
No excedio el Emperador
Cesar Augusto mi estado
Ni mi govierno y reynado
Antes me fue inferior
No uvo capitan nombrado
De mi esfuerzo y gran valor."
Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos, illustres en valor de Guerra, q estan al vivo pintados en el Museo de Paolo Iovio, es autor el mismo Paolo Iovio, y traduxolo de Latin en Castellano el licenciado Gaspar de Baeza, dirigido a la Catholica y Real magestad del Rey don Philippe II nuestro senor (Granada, En casa de Hugo de Mena, 1568), 208v.

[366] "Juntose a mi buena suerte
Aver el Iovio entendido
En sublimar mi partido
Su pluma me hizo fuerte
Contra el rio del olvido
Contra el poder de la muerte
Bien podemos conferir
Y aun podemos preferir
Los dos a los dos sin par
Yo a Cesar en el obrar

In his prologue, Baeza referred to Giovio's vision that that these small descriptions of illustrious men of war, showing "the changing nature of fortune and the inconstancy of human affairs," were meant to serve as captions under their portraits, as if in a museum, which was a cue to their readers, because they did not include many portraits as Giovio did in his original.[367]

The Granada Venegas's *tertulia*, through Paolo Giovio, Gaspar de Baeza and Gregorio Silvestre, can also be connected, in both content and structure, to one of the most important works of Spanish literature of all time, Miguel de Cervantes' Don Quixote (1605). The arms vs. letters debate was key to Giovio's works as well as Cervantes', as Giovio completed *Elogia* praising men of war and men of learning, and the characters of his dialogues also debated this theme, and it was also the topic of one of Don Quixote's famous speeches.[368] While Cervantes (1547-1616) was writing after the *tertulia* was most active in Granada, he may have met Gregorio Silvestre (d.1569) and read his works, and some have argued that the two men were even friends.[369]

As Giovio wrote his histories over the course of his life, and at times was seeking lost volumes or sections, and Baeza was aware of these problems when he translated him, Susan Byrne argues that "the historian (Giovio) and the translator (Baeza) gave a Spaniard named Miguel de Cervantes a narrative nudge in the direction his first modern novel was to take."[370] While some medieval writers, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth (d.1155), also employed the literary device of a lost history, translated anew,[371] Byrne's claims for Giovio's, Silvestre's and Baeza's influence on Cervantes raises the Granada Venegas's *tertulia* to an even higher place in the history of early modern Spanish literary culture.

Iovio a Homero en escrivir."
Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos, illustres en valor de Guerra, q estan al vivo pintados en el Museo de Paolo Iovio, es autor el mismo Paolo Iovio, y traduxolo de Latin en Castellano el licenciado Gaspar de Baeza, dirigido a la Catholica y Real magestad del Rey don Philippe II nuestro senor (Granada, En casa de Hugo de Mena, 1568), 209r.

[367] *Elogios o vidas breves de los cavalleros antiguos y modernos, illustres en valor de Guerra, q estan al vivo pintados en el Museo de Paolo Iovio, es autor el mismo Paolo Iovio, y traduxolo de Latin en Castellano el licenciado Gaspar de Baeza, dirigido a la Catholica y Real magestad del Rey don Philippe II nuestro senor* (Granada, En casa de Hugo de Mena, 1568), prologue unpaginated, page after the title page.

[368] Part 1, Chapter 38, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, The Ingenious Hidalgo: Don Quixote de la Mancha, Translated by John Rutherford (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 356-359.

[369] Susan Byrne, "Cervantes and the Histories of Paolo Giovio: Translators and Truths," Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America 29, 2 (Fall 2009): 185.

[370] Ibid, 199.

[371] "At the time when I was giving a good deal of attention to such matters, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, a man skilled in the art of public speaking and well-informed about the history of foreign countries, presented me with a certain very ancient book written in the British language (early Welsh). This book, attractively composed to form a consecutive and orderly narrative, set out all the deeds of those men, from Brutus, the first King of the Britons, down to Cadwaller, the son of Cadwallo. At Walter's request I have taken the trouble to translate the book into Latin…" Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain, translated by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1966), 51.

Hernando de Acuña

Gaspar de Baeza translated an important Renaissance Latin work into Spanish. The next poet we will discuss brought Burgundian, French, and Chivalric culture into the Granada Venegas's *tertulia*. Hernando de Acuña (1520-1580) stood at the crux of the Renaissance and Chivalric culture represented in the Granada Venegas's *tertulia*. He was a member of the minor nobility. His poetry, which we will discuss, focused on the image of Charles V as Caesar, and was thus part of Spain's revival of ancient Roman culture. Furthermore, like Gaspar de Baeza, Acuña was a translator. Acuña translated a chivalric romance and *ars moriendi* treatise on commission from Charles V—connecting the Granada *tertulia* to not only the royal court, but to the culture of Valois Burgundy, where the romance originated. Acuña was also a knight, which means he not only participated in Chivalric literary culture but he lived out some of his ideals on the battlefield. The ability of the Spanish nobility to excel in both arms and letters was significant cultural ideal during the sixteenth century, when the Granada Venegas were assimilating into Spanish society. Acuña's life, as the king's courtier, knight, and poet, is crucial for our understanding of the significance of the Granada Venegas's literary t*ertulia*, and for our understanding of noble identity in this period more generally.

Hernando de Acuña and The Last World Emperor

In Hernando de Acuña's most famous poem, "Sonnet to the king our Lord," he expresses some of the key ideas of the Imperial Renaissance in Spain, the first idea being that they were on the brink of a golden age.[372] In this golden age, Christendom would be ruled by a single shepherd, "un pastor solo." One monarch, one empire, and one sword—"un monarca, un imperio, y una espada."[373] Acuña's lyric poetry and Latino's epic poetry, which we have already discussed, share some of these imperial themes.[374]

Many humanists and historians serving the Emperor Charles invoked the Roman Empire as a key political model. Mercurino Gattinara, the Piedmontese statesman who served Charles V as chancellor until his death in 1530 was greatly influenced by Dante's *De Monarchia*, and had high hopes for his king. Following the imperial election of Charles in 1519, Gattinara wrote to him that "God has set you on the path towards a world monarchy."[375] Almost a decade later, Courtier Antonio de Guevara, in his *Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius* (1528), used forged letters from the pagan emperor Marcus Aurelius to urge Charles to military action and stoic resolve.[376] Though the desire to revive the Roman Empire was a key part of the Imperial Renaissance, the

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[372] "Ya se acerca, señor, o es ya llegada, la edad gloriosa…" Ricardo Padrón, "The Blood of Martyrs Is the Seed of the Monarchy: Empire, Utopia, and the Faith in Lope's Triunfo de la fee en los reynos de Japón," Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 36,3 (Fall, 2006): 1.
[373] Ibid, 1-2.
[374] For this argument, see Christopher Maurer, "Un monarca, un imperio y una espada: Juan Latino y el soneto de Hernando de Acuña sobre Lepanto," Hispanic Review 61 (1993): 35-51.
[375] H. Koenigsberger, "The Empire of Charles V in Europe," in The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol.II The Reformation, 1520-1559, Edited by G.R. Elton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 308. For more on Gattinara, see John M. Headley, The Emperor and his Chancellor: A Study of the Imperial Chancellery under Gattinara (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
[376] Thomas J. Dandelet, The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 88-89.

concept of the last world emperor, the single rule of a Christian emperor, has a long history, tracing many centuries earlier than Dante, Gattinara, Acuña or Latino. The legend of the last world emperor dated from interpretations of the book of Revelation, which were made at the court of the emperor Constantine in the fourth century such as the Tiburtine Sibyl. According to Mary Tanner, in the legend of the last world emperor:

> …the Kingdom of God, which was foreshadowed in Revelation, will come when the Last World Emperor has defeated the heretic. After this, the emperor will go to Jerusalem and recover the Holy Sepulcher. When this is accomplished, he will put off his diadem, lay aside his whole imperial garb, and render the empire to Christ. This event will usher in the thousand years in which Satan is bound. At the end of this time, divine forces shall defeat the Antichrist in a final battle; then will occur the Parousia.[377]

Another important articulation of this millenarian myth was made by Pseudo Methodius in his Apocalypse, in the late seventh century. According to Pseudo Methodius, at the end of days,

> the king of the Romans will take his wreath and place it on the cross and spread out his hands to heaven and deliver the kingdom of the Christians to God, even the Father. And the cross will be taken up to heaven along with the wreath of the king…As soon as the cross is lifted up to heaven, the king of the Romans will surrender his spirit; then all rule and authority will be abolished.[378]

This text was wrongly attributed to St. Methodius, who died in 311 AD. Instead, the Pseudo-Methodius who wrote it was a Christian responding to the seventh century establishment of the first Islamic caliphate—thus the author's overwhelming concern with the "sons of Ishmael." With only a cursory look at Titian's painting, "*La Gloria*," now hanging in the Prado in Madrid, one can clearly see Charles's crown cast aside at his feat, as he kneels to worship the Trinity.[379] In Habsburg Spain, this millenarian myth was a large part of the image of the monarchy. Hernando de Acuña helped to continue it.

Burgundian Chivalric Imagination and Christian Piety

Long before he became both king of Spain, Holy Roman Emperor and sovereign of an empire on which the sun never set, Charles was already the subject of millenarian hopes. In 1500, when he was born to Philip and Mary, Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, the people of Burgundy had lofty dreams for their little duke. On the day of his baptism, Margaret of York carried the infant Charles in a solemn procession on a raised wooden platform above the throng. She carried him to the cathedral under forty triumphal arches, covered with candles. The arches were decorated with sayings and stories that expressed hope for Charles's future reign. The inscription on one of the arches prophesied that "a blazing light will now rise up over the whole world, and

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[377] Mary Tanner, The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 121.
[378] An Alexandrian World Chronicle, Edited and Translated by Benjamin Garstad (Cambridge: Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, Harvard University Press, 2012), 65.
[379] Tiziano Vecelli, "La Gloria," Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain.

will rise up over us. It made the times of our fathers rich in offspring, but it will now give us peace."[380]

When Luigi Marliano created the Plus Oultre device, or motto, *plus oultre*, meaning "more beyond," for the teenage Charles at the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1516, he was hinting at a sort of herculean daring that was to come.[381] Charles grew up steeped in Burgundian court culture. When Charles's great-great-grandfather Philip the Good founded the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1429, its stated goal was to march in crusade against the Turks and re-take the Holy Sepulcher. The chancellor of the chivalric order wrote,

> In the fifth Monarchy the world will end. Then one shepherd will reign over the fold, which is the Church, of which Christ is the shepherd. And all will begin and end with the Romans whose rule was consecrated by Christ on earth.[382]

Hernando de Acuña's dreams for Charles V, which were written when his empire stretched from Seville to Tenochtitlan and from Ghent to Sicily, were not new, but rather expanded on Burgundian millenarian feelings and legends of the last world emperor.

From the end of the fifteenth century to the late sixteenth century, European elites participated in two dominant cultural and religious movements, the Renaissance and Reformation. They built palaces imitating Roman architecture, wrote epic and lyric poetry imitating Roman styles, and they emulated Roman political models, both Republican and Imperial. In the Low Countries, the Brethren of the Common life and other groups encouraged restraint and interiority in lay piety, which were the early stages of what became the reforms and goals of Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), which were initially quite popular in Spain as well.[383] These ideas had some similarities, as well as some major differences with the Protestant Reformers who came after him. Some of the concerns of the Brethren of the Common life, such as the cultivation of an interior piety, can also be seen in the poetry of the Burgundian Low Countries a few years earlier.

Older cultural forms were still being produced alongside the new Renaissance ones.[384] Chivalric romances, which had flourished in the courts of northern France in the twelfth century, were still quite popular in Europe. To the Arthurian romances of Chrétien de Troyes were added the fourteenth century English Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Thomas Malory's late fifteenth

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[380] Rolf Strom-Olsen, "Dynastic Ritual and Politics in Early Modern Burgundy: the Baptism of Charles V," Past and Present 175 (2002): 57.

[381] Earl Rosenthal, "The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 36 (1973): 198-230.

[382] Mary Tanner, The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 150.

[383] See Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España: estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo xvi* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1950).

[384] "Classicism did not come as a sudden revelation, it grew up among the luxuriant vegetation of medieval thought. Humanism was a form before it was an inspiration. On the other hand, the characteristic modes of thought of the Middle Ages did not die out til long after the Renaissance." Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, Translated by F. Hopman (New York: St. Martins' Press, 1924), 297.

century compendium, *Le Morte d'Arthur*, and Martorell's Catalan chivalric romance, *Tirant lo Blanc*, published in Valencia in 1490.[385] In 1483, a courtier at the home of the Burgundian Dukes, Olivier de la Marche, wrote a chivalric romance about a knight on a journey called *Le Chevalier Deliberé*. At the end of this journey, the knight faced death, and had to examine his conscience. This work was part chivalric literature, and part didactic *ars moriendi* treatise—an interior piety typical of the Low Countries in this period. La Marche was a native of the Franche-Comté who served as a chronicler under Dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Good (d. 1467), Charles the Bold, Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian I, and Philip the Fair, and was one of the most influential writers at their court. He died at the ripe age of eighty in 1502, when the future Emperor and Duke of Burgundy, Charles V, was two years old.

Le Chevalier Deliberé was very appealing to the young emperor and was one of his favorite books, if not his favorite. The book is associated with the literary *tertulia* of the Granada Venegas because Hernando de Acuña, a member of the *tertulia*, was asked by the emperor to translate it. When Charles V was a young boy in the Low Countries, he did not master Greek or Latin, but he devoured *Le Chevalier Deliberé*.[386] Young Charles translated the book from his native French into Castilian.[387] Years later, in 1551, the emperor hired Hernando de Acuña to make a professional translation to be published. As he approached his own death, Charles asked for a copy of Acuña's work to be delivered to him in his retirement at Yuste.[388] Thus, *Le Chevalier Deliberé,* a vernacular chivalric romance and allegorical poem about preparing to die, was a permanent fixture in the Emperor's life.

We have evidence for the commission of Acuña to translate *Le Chevalier* as well as for the existence of a translation produced by the emperor himself, from a letter that the emperor's secretary wrote to another courtier in 1551: "This book, translated by our Caesar in his free time, was delivered to Hernando de Acuña, custodian of Saxony, in order that he adopt it into the Hispanic meter, which he has done magnificently."[389]According to Secretary Van Male, the

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[385] Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, Translated by Burton Raffel (New York: Penguin Signet Classics, 1970); Sir Thomas Malory's Le Morte d'Arthur: A New Translation based on the Winchester Manuscript, Translated by Dorsey Armstrong (West Lafayette, IN: Parlor Press, 2009); Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, Tirant lo Blanc, Translated by David H. Rosenthal (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

[386] Royall Tyler, The Emperor Charles the Fifth (Fair Lawn, NJ: Essential Books, Inc., 1956), 28-29.

[387] Wim Blockmans, The Emperor Charles V, 1500-1558, Translated by Isola van den Hoven-Vardon (London: Arnold Publishers, 2002), 16.

[388] Royall Tyler, The Emperor Charles the Fifth, 29.

[389] "Este libro, traducido por el mismo César en sus ratos del ocio, fue entregado a Fernando de Acuña, custodio de Sajonia, para que lo adaptarse al metro hispano, lo cual hizo magnificamente; al Emperador, no hay duda, se debe el trabajo original de la traducción pues e(n)tendió, admirablemente no solo la lengua, sino también la poesía y la significación de las palabras; y lo que es exesiva modestia por su parte, no permitió que se escribiera alabanza alguna de su merito, ni siquiera en el proemio, por mas que yo se la rogara y le advirtiera de la grave injuria, tanto para con tan honestísmo que hacer como para con su siglo. Seguramente tendré que cuidar de la impresión, porque quiere que el libro se divulgue a mi costa con la concesión, sin duda, de un priviliegio muy atractivo, cosa que, de verdad, yo nunca deseé, sobre todo porque veía que los presuntuosos españoles comentaban de forma desproporcionada la utilidad y los beneficios del

emperor was being very bashful about the amount of work he had put into his translation, which he then sent to Acuña to use. The content and context of the original romance is relevant to a chapter on the literary *tertulia* of the Granada Venegas because it reveals the interconnectedness of European literary culture and politics in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Olivier de La Marche completed his original French poem, *Le Chevalier Deliberé*, in 1483. It was a depressing time for La Marche, and for other courtiers in Burgundy. His duke, Charles the Bold, had recently died at the Battle of Nancy in 1477. Soon afterwards, Charles's daughter Mary, who had succeeded him as duchess, died in 1482 in a hunting accident. Thus, La Marche's duke at the time of his writing was the child Philip, and the duchy was being governed by Mary's spouse, the German Maximilian (d. 1519), the son of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III.

Maximilian was not popular, and the people rose in revolt several times during the minority of his son Philip. Though Maximilian may not have gotten along with the Burgundian nobility, Maximilian shared with them his love for chivalric poetry. A short time after La Marche wrote *Le Chevalier*, Maximilian completed a three-volume autobiographical poetic romance on his father Frederick's and his own life. In one of these volumes, the *Theuerdank*, Maximilian narrated the many trials he faced when he set off on his quest to win his bride, the Duchess Mary.[390] Maximilian met his grandson, Charles, several times at the palace of his daughter Margaret of Austria in Mechelen. A taste for chivalric romance was something the two Habsburgs shared.[391]

La Marche's earlier poem had a number of things in common with the Emperor Maximilian's. It is a quest narrative, ending in death, written in the manner of a fifteenth century Burgundian *Pilgrim's Progress* or Arthurian romance. *Le Chevalier Deliberé* is also a straightforward allegory. All the characters and locations are named according to the characteristic the author wishes to attribute them. *Le Chevalier Deliberé*, in both its chivalric and religious themes, was relevant to early modern court life as much as it was to the earlier Burgundian court.

La Marche's poem begins with a conversation the author, a knight, has with "Thought," who urges him to consider his life. He is getting old, and it is the "autumn of both my life and the year."[392] "Thought" shows him barren trees with no fruit or leaves, and tells him that he also has

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libro; hasta el extremo de que Luis de Avila no vacilase al decir al César que lo podría sac(c)ar facilmente quinientos coronas del asunto. Entonces el César, que lo trató estando yo ausente, dijo: Muy bien, que el fruto de esto revierta en Guillermo, ya que ha su dado tanto en esa obra." "William Van Male to Señor de Praet, Augsburg, January 13, 1551," cited in Nieves Baranada y Victor Infante, *Un libro para el Emperador: El Caballero Determinado, Olivier de la Marche, traducido del Frances por Hernando de Acuña* (Barcelona: Claudio Bornat, 1565, Toledo: Antonio Pareja, 2000), 23.

[390] Kaiser Maximilian I, *Die Abenteuer des Ritters*, The Adventures of the Knight Theuerdank, Complete coloured facsimile of the 1517 edition, (Cologne, Germany: Taschen, 2003).

[391] "This hero-worship of the declining Middle Ages finds its literary expression of the biography of the perfect knight." Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, Translated by F. Hopman (New York: St. Martins' Press, 1924), 62.

[392] "ainsi qu'a l'arriere saison tant de mes jours que de l'annee." This seasonal metaphor is what Johan Huizinga uses throughout his Waning of the Middle Ages. An excellent interlinear edition Edited of *Le Chevalier* by Carleton W. Carroll is now available, and a modern translation has

"wasted the springtime of your childhood, and your youth as well." She explains that the author needs to set out to meet the twin champions of death, "Accident and Debility."[393] So, the author sets out on a quest, on his horse called "Desire," with his lance of "Adventure" and his sword of "Courage," to find this tournament of death.[394] After his first fight, against a knight named "Quarreller," the knight is saved, and then abandoned, by a damsel named "Youth." He then happened upon a hermit, like many knights in Arthurian legends before him.[395] This hermit's name was "Understanding," and he gave the knight good lodging and worshiped with him. The hermit shows the knight his relic collection, filled with the weapons used by "Accident," such as the plow used to kill Abel, the pillar of Sampson, and the shirt worn by Hercules when he died.[396] The relic lists include objects from the lives of biblical figures, those from Greek and Roman mythology and history, as well as Arthurian legend. Caesar, Hector, Alexander, Pompey, Hannibal, Tristan, King Arthur and Sir Gawain all have relics there.

After his time with the hermit, "Understanding," the knight fought "Age" on the field of "Time." "Age" struck him with the sword of "Many Years" and broke his lance of "Good Government," and defeated him, stealing his shield of "Hope."[397] The knight was now the

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been made from the original French. (The Elizabethan English translation and interpretation by Lewes Lewkenor (1594) was made from Acuña's Spanish, not from La Marche's French original). Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* (The Resolute Knight Translated by Lois Hawley Wilson and Carleton W.Carroll, Edited by Carleton W. Carroll (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 54-55.

[393] This Burgundian writer was the Amé de Montgesoie, who wrote "Le Pas de la Mort." Johan Huizinga examined sources just like this one by and Montgesoie and Olivier de la Marche, in his Waning of the Middle Ages, and he took his seasonal and life cycle metaphors from them.

[394] These are "Vouloir," "Aventurer" and "Couriage" according to La Marche, "Willing," "Venture" and "Courage" according to Wilson and Carroll,62-63; and "Querer," "Aventura" and "Coraje" according to Acuña, 18. Lewkenor's Elizabethan version calls the horse "Desire." The Resolved Gentleman, Translated out of Spanishe into Englyshe by Lewes Lewkenor, Esquir (Imprinted at London by Richard Watkins, 1594), 3.

[395] Chrétien de Troyes employed hermits often in his romances, and they served the role of a knight's conscience, confessor, doctor or guide, and often helped him prepare for death. Some knights dedicated their lives to God and died as hermits. In The Knight with the Lion (12th Century), Yvain is given bread by an old hermit during his time of madness. Chretien de Troyes, Arthurian Romances, Translated by William Kibler (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 331; In The Death of King Arthur (13th century), Lancelot and his kinsman Bors end their lives as hermits. Anonymous, The Death of King Arthur, Translated by James Cable (London: Penguin Books, 1971), 231-235; Written in Valencia, shortly after La Marche wrote *Le Chevalier*, in 1490, Tirant lo Blanc begins with Tirant meeting a hermit who goes on to tell him about his life, "Here the first part of Tirant's book begins, recounting certain noble exploits of Count William of Warwick in his saintly later days," Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc*, Translated by David H. Rosenthal (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 3;

[396] Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* (The Resolute Knight) Translated by Lois Hawley Wilson and Carleton W.Carroll, Edited by Carleton W. Carroll (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 90-93

[397] The translations chosen here are Lewkenor's. These are "Surfeit of Days," and "Authority" in the modern translation. Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* (The Resolute Knight)

prisoner of "Age." "Age," rather than telling him to go and present himself to King Arthur, as he might have done in one of Chrétien's romances, instead tells his prisoner what he must do, as he journeys on. The knight is to avoid both the "Land of Love" and the "Vale of Marriage," the dances, the courts of princes, tournaments and games. Rather, he is to meditate always on his coming match with death. The knight does this when he arrives at a beautiful manor called "Study," and has a conversation about death with a woman named "Fresh Memory."[398] When the knight asks her if he could ever best the twin champions of death, she responds by opening a door and showing him a plain stretching out in front of him.[399]

This plain contained a vast graveyard, covered with the tombs of all those killed by "Accident" and "Debility" since Antiquity. La Marche's massive list includes Holy Roman Emperors, Richard III of England, the Duke of Savoy, Duke Louis of Bourbon, knights of Calatrava, Templars, popes, the Bastard of Burgundy, two Dukes of Milan, the King of Naples, Alvaro de la Luna, Giles of Brittany, King Ladislaus of Hungary, a man La Marche calls "my lord," Jacques de Lalain, and many others.[400] This long list of famous names from across Christendom is one aspect which makes La Marche's original romance more than just Burgundian literature, but European. By showing him this graveyard, Memory answers the knight's earlier question definitively: no man has ever conquered "Debility" and "Accident" at the tournament of death.

After his visit to the graveyard, the knight tells "Memory" he is ready, and she leads him towards the tournament, which he has been seeking. This is where La Marche connects his knight's quest to the history of the House of Burgundy, for at the tournament, the knight, watching sadly from the sidelines, would see his Dukes face off against the two champions of Atropos, "Debility" and "Accident." Atropos, the Greek fate whose job it was to cut the cord of life, was wearing a mantle of worms and dirt, "holding a javelin of Defiance." She watched the tourney from above, on a high platform. First, Duke Philip the Good set his lance against the champion, "Debility," who came at him with a weapon of "Consummation."[401] After Philip was killed, his son Duke Charles the Bold faced off against "Accident."

> High endeavor had given him his lance,
> Great heart his sword:
> The armorer was named Mastery.
> His dagger was called Nobility,
> In order to be the army's victor.
> When I had looked him over,
> I could find no fault

Translated by Lois Hawley Wilson and Carleton W.Carroll, Edited by Carleton W. Carroll (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 116-119.

[398] Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* (The Resolute Knight), 120-123.

[399] Ibid, 166-167.

[400] In Don Hernando de Acuña's later version, the Spanish poet skips from La Marche's line 164, to line 207, and does not include the description of the cemetery and the names of the dead. Rather, he summarizes briefly the types of people buried here. *Un libro para el Emperador: El Caballero Determinado, Olivier de la Marche, traducido del Frances por Hernando de Acuña* (Barcelona: Claudio Bornat, 1565, Toledo: Antonio Pareja, 2000); Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* (The Resolute Knight), lines 164-207.

[401] Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* (The Resolute Knight), 206-211.

Other than an excess of valor.[402]

After Charles had lost three horses, the Duke fought "Accident" on foot, until he was felled by a great blow with the "mace of Malevolence."[403] After the death of Charles the Bold, the knight also witnessed the death of Charles's daughter, Mary of Burgundy, killed by "Accident." Seeing his duke and duchess killed was deeply painful for the knight. The knight writes,

That for me there is fierce sorrow
In seeing laid out in the ground
Those three to whom I owe
Love, faith, homage, duty.

In these words of the knight, we can hear Olivier de la Marche, poet and courtier who had faithfully served generations of dukes, and was now witnessing the end of a dynasty. The knight, having watched his dukes die on the field, decided it was time to fight Accident himself, and stepped forward to take the champion on. However, stopped by "Delay," the herald of "Memory," he left the tournament grounds. With Memory and the hermit "Understanding," he mentally and spiritually prepared himself for death.[404]

This last section of *Le Chevalier Deliberé* is filled with advice for the Christian on preparing to die. It is not only an allegory and a moral tale—it is a memorial to the house of Burgundy and its allies. The early modern Spanish and English versions of *Le Chevalier* made it a memorial for the Habsburgs and Tudors as well. They both added knights to the lists at the tournament. In Hernando de Acuña's version, printed in 1565, he adds Isabel la Catolica, Philip I, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor.[405]

In 1594, Elizabethan courtier Lewes Lewkenor published a translation of *El Caballero Determinado*, called The Resolved Gentleman.[406] Lewkenor included the Habsburg jousters from Acuña's version, and added Henry VIII. The book ends with Elizabeth I alive and well. Lewkenor does not include the long section at the end of the poem where La Marche's knight prepares for death. Instead, Lewkenor discusses the real-world military victories, defeats and fragile health of his subjects.[407] Lewkenor connected a Protestant monarch's life to the history of Valois Burgundy and Hapsburg Spain. This tournament of death is a tournament every monarch

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[402] Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* (The Resolute Knight), 220-221.
[403] Charles the Bold was killed at the Battle of Nancy, fighting the French, in 1477. His body was found near a large river he had tried to cross, with a large head wound. Richard Vaughan, Valois Burgundy (London: Archon Books, 1975), 225-226.
[404] Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* (The Resolute Knight), Translated by Lois Hawley Wilson and Carleton W.Carroll, Edited by Carleton W. Carroll (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 242-289.
[405] *El Caballero Determinado, Olivier de la Marche, traducido del Frances por Hernando de Acuña* (Barcelona: Claudio Bornat, 1565, Toledo: Antonio Pareja, 2000), 78-94.
[406] Marco Nievergelt, "Catholic Loyalism, service and carreerism: Lewes Lewkenor's quest for favor," Renaissance Studies 24,4 (2009): 536-558.
[407] Lewes Lewkenor, "The Resolved Gentleman, Translated out of the Spanishe into Englyshe, by Lewes Lewkenor Esquir, Nel piu bel vedere, Circo." (London: Richard Watkins, 1594), 71r-73v.

in Christendom must face. Lewkenor was a Catholic who had attempted to serve in the Spanish army, before he was prevented by injury. His version of *Le Chevalier* had a strong anti-courtly dimension, and criticized the marriage politics around Elizabeth. He hoped to serve his queen and to connect her story to that of continental, Catholic powers, but he also wanted recognition for his and other Catholics' loyal service.[408] Acuña's work was only one of many books, like the *Sinners' Guyde* by Fray Luis de Granada (1504-1588), which were popular among English Catholic courtiers and *émigrés*.[409]

Stephen Bateman also made a Protestant English version of *Le Chevalier*, and unlike Lewes Lewkenor, who was a Catholic, Bateman did not acknowledge either La Marche or Acuña but published a new version as his own, called A Travayled Pilgrime (1569). One of the things he changed was to take the twin champions of death, Accident and Debility, and make them inner vices, and to make the relics into sermon exempla.[410] Remarkably, *Le Chevalier* was such a universal story that even a Protestant English courtier was able to tweak it to make it relevant to his own context.

Thus, La Marche's poem, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* provides a cultural bridge from Valois Burgundy to Tudor England and to Habsburg Spain. In his introduction to *El Caballero Determinado*, Acuña referred to La Marche as "un caballero muy honrado, y de gran experiencia no menos en letras que en armas." He was a very honored knight with great experience, no less in letters than in arms.[411] I believe this sentence of admiration for La Marche is also key to understanding Acuña himself. Acuña was a knight and a poet, a courtier and a translator. Whether a nobleman should both carry arms and be well versed in letters was a major debate of the day, which the fictional knight Don Quixote later discussed at length (1605).[412]

The Granada Venegas family were the patrons of Acuña, and they were also closely tied, in marriage and in friendship to the Mendoza family, a family Helen Nader has argued were some of the most important patrons of the early Spanish *caballero* Renaissance.[413] Despite the rise of a new educated lawyer class, the *letrados*,[414] this warrior elite continued to lead Spanish

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[408] Marco Nievergelt, "Catholic Loyalism, service and carreerism: Lewes Lewkenor's quest for favor," Renaissance Studies 24,4 (2009):538, 545.

[409] Fray Luis de Granada, The sinners guyde: a worke containing the whole regiment of a Christian life, devided into two books: wherein sinners are reclaimed from the bypath of vice and destruction, and brought unto the high-way of everlasting happinesse. Compiled in the Spanish tongue, by the learned and reverend divine, F. Lewes of Granada. Since translated into Latine, Italian and French. And nowe perused, and digested into English by Francis Meres, Maister of Artes, and student in divinitie," (London: James Roberts, 1598).

[410] Stephanie Moore, "Burgundian Memory in English Translation," Paper presented at the Renaissance Society of America Annual Conference, Berlin, March 26, 2015.

[411] Baranda, Nieves y Victor Infantes, *Un libro para el Emperador, El Caballero Determinado, Olivier de la Marche, Traducido del Frances por Hernando de Acuña* (Barcelona: Claudio Pornat, 1565. Toledo: Antonio Pareja, 2000), 7.

[412] Part 1, Chapter 38, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, The Ingenious Hidalgo: Don Quixote de la Mancha, Translated by John Rutherford (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 356-359.

[413] Helen Nader, The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979).

[414] See Richard L. Kagan, Students and Society in Early Modern Spain (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

Renaissance culture in the sixteenth century. Considering this, the Granada Venegas's involvement in literary patronage in the sixteenth century is a logical occurrence. They were assimilating into a Spanish military elite with a penchant for innovation in art. Their literary *tertulia* included a cross section of many of the important cultural movements and trends of their day, including the imperial ambitions in Acuña's and Juan Latino's poetry, and Chivalric culture and lay piety in La Marche's poetry and Acuña's translations.

Hernando de Acuña, and his relationship to Jerónimo de Urrea, and Garcilaso de la Vega

Jerónimo Urrea, another Spanish courtier, made a competing version of *Le Chevalier Deliberé*. His was in a different poetic meter. Urrea was not a member of the Granada Venegas's *tertulia*, and he was not commissioned by the king, but he still vied with Acuña for success in the book market and at court. According to Leah Middlebrook, Acuña's eight-syllable line appealed more to the Emperor's earlier Burgundian tastes, but Urrea's later version, an eleven syllable line, was attempting to fit in with the newer Italianate style of Boscán.[415] In style, Urrea was using Italian models, but in content, he added an interesting chivalric episode, where Charles V fights the champions of death with all his might at the tournament and gives them a much harder time at beating him than did his grandfather Charles the Bold.[416] These details show even more clearly how late fifteenth century works like *Le Chevalier* were re-used, re-purposed and re-interpreted by Renaissance authors in a new political context, rather than being rejected or ignored by them because of their romantic or religious content. This chivalric quest and treatise on preparing to die remained an appealing book and model for writers at the courts of early modern Europe.

Acuña competed with Urrea as well as with the memory of the famous poet, Garcilaso de la Vega, who had died when he was a boy.[417] In "*A un buen caballero y mal poeta: la lira de Garcilaso, contrahecha,"* to a good courtier and bad poet: the stanzas of Garcilaso, deformed, Acuña parodies and plays with Garcilaso's poem, "*Oda ad Florem Gnidi,"* Ode to the Flower of Nido. In the poem Acuña also criticizes Urrea, calling his work "bad poetry." Leah Middlebrook argues that Acuña, Urrea, Garcilaso and others contributed to a debate on the nature and worth of Spanish lyric poetry at the court of Charles V.[418] The invocation of such a famous poet such as Garcilaso was a clever idea—so clever in fact, however, that it seemed wise for someone to make a forgery of a Latin epigram praising Acuña which they attributed to Garcilaso:

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[415] Leah Middlebrook, "Early Modern Spanish Poetry beyond Lyric," a paper work shopped at the Northwest Hispanists Working Group, May 2014. A version of this paper was also presented at the Renaissance Society of America's annual meeting in Berlin, in March 2015, at the panel I have organized, "Translations of Burgundy: Olivier de la Marche in the Sixteenth Century"; In her book, Imperial Lyric: New Poetry and New Subjects in Early Modern Spain (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2009), Middlebrook introduces the idea of a "courtierization" of the military elite.

[416] Fernando Checa, "Carolus: An Image of Renaissance Europe during the first half of the Sixteenth Century," in Carolus (Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), 17.

[417] Acuña's wife published his poetry posthumously in 1591, though it may have been circulated far earlier. Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Don Hernando de Acuña: Noticias biograficas* (Valladolid: Biblioteca stadium, 1913), 10.

[418] Leah Middlebrook, "Early Modern Spanish Poetry beyond Lyric," 5 and 12.

> Oh, Fernando! While you sing for the kings, while you sing the great ancestors of our Caesar and those bright deeds of the captains, while you evoke the towns subdued under the Spanish lance, the men have turned out amazed, the gods themselves have been amazed. And Caliope [the muse of literature], raising her head from the summit of the sacred [Mt.] Pindo, with sweet words, has said: Bravo, boy! You have encircled your temples with the double crown of laurel: because it is to you alone that already the new glory of Mars, now the god Bacchus, Pheobus Apollo, and the slight choirs of nymphs and of the Muses concede you this: that to the kings that you have celebrated in your divine poem, and connected with them, to you, that you sing the deeds of arms with your curved lyre, after death, often read, [your poem] will praise and celebrate posterity. And be that no black night fades your eternity.[419]

Garcilaso died in 1536, when Acuña was only 16, which makes the possibility Garcilaso wrote the poem rather slim. However, the Pseudo-Garcilaso's poem gives to Acuña a double crown of laurel—one given by Mars for his service in war, and the other by the Muses for his poetic art. By bestowing upon him a double laurel, of mastery in both arms and letters, Pseudo-Garcilaso hoped to show that Acuña was more versatile and accomplished than his illustrious forebear, Francesco Petrarch, who had been given the single laurel of poetry in Rome in 1341. As a writer of sonnets as well as a translator of chivalric romance, Acuña is the best example of a writer from the Granada Venegas's literary *tertulia* who produced and exemplified, for both royal and noble patrons, both the admiration for classical Antiquity as well as the values of a traditional warrior elite, weaned on chivalric romance.

Luis Barahona de Soto

Acuña was not the only member of the *tertulia* to contribute to Chivalric culture. Acuña's friend,[420] Luis Barahona de Soto (1548-1595), a poet and a physician, wrote a mythical genealogy for the Dukes of Osuna, called *Las lagrimas de Angelica*, modeled after the famous poem, *Orlando Furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto (1516), a vernacular poem that combined tropes and characters of chivalric romance with newer literary forms and political and moral concerns, and is one of the major works of Italian Renaissance literature, which inspired and provided models for countless others such as Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and the opening lines of the *Lusaids*, by Luís Vaz de Camões.[421]

Like Gaspar de Baeza and Gregorio Silvestre, Soto also provides us with literary evidence for the existence of this *tertulia*. In his Eclogue, *Juntaron su Ganado en la ribera*, Soto created numerous characters, which, according to literary scholar, Rodriguez Marin, actually

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[419] Translation from Spanish to English is author's own. Translation from Latin to Spanish is from Baranda, Nieves y Victor Infantes, *Un libro para el Emperador, El Caballero Determinado, Olivier de la Marche, Traducido del Frances por Hernando de Acuña*, (Barcelona: Claudio Pornat, 1565. Toledo: Antonio Pareja, 2000), 60.

[420] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodriguez Mediano, *Un Oriente Español: Los Moriscos en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2010), 99-101.

[421] Charles S. Ross, "Introduction," Ludovico Ariosto: Orlando Furioso, a New Verse Translation, Translated by David R. Slavitt, (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).

represent members of the Granada *tertulia*. For example, Pilas is Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, Damón is Hernando de Acuña, Lauso is Barahona de Soto, and Tirsa is the deceased wife of Don Alonso, Doña Maria Manrique de Mendoza.[422] Some scholars also believe that Soto may also have been the author of the anonymous *Origen de la Casa de Granada*, a history of the Granada Venegas family, which will be discussed in Chapter 4. This was a piece of self-fashioning which helped the Granada Venegas claim the sort of antiquity which would most benefit them in their quest to join military orders and other highly selective organizations.

Hernando de Acuña in Tournaments and War

Hernando de Acuña, like the real Garcilaso de la Vega, but unlike the other members of the Granada Venegas' *tertulia*, was a military man, a "poet-soldier,"[423] who had served both Charles V and Philip II in battle in Italy and France. At the age of 17, in 1537, Acuña was fighting the French in Piedmont when his brother, an infantry captain was killed, in the service of the Spanish governor of Milan, Don Alonso de Avalos.[424] On his travels in Sicily, Acuña also met Luis de Marmol Carvajal, a chronicler who wrote one of the other major accounts of the Revolt in the Alpujarras.[425] Acuña was a soldier, and also a courtier, who took part in tournaments.

Acuña was listed as a knight in the tournament games held by the prince Philip during his grand tour of his father's realms in the 1540s. He was joined in the games by many other nobles and by several elite Moriscos, including two brothers who were the grand- nephews of Boabdil. In 1541, Don Juan de Granada y Sandoval, and Don Bernandino de Granada y Sandoval, petitioned the Council of Orders in order to be given the habit of Santiago.[426] Their names were then listed in a book of the knights that entered the Order. Don Juan participated as one of Philip II's twenty-three knights, clad in white, in the royal tournament on foot, held on 4 January, 1548 in Milan. A year later, also in Milan, on the king's day in early January 1549, he performed in the *juego de cañas* wearing white and brown, in the first squadron led by the admiral of Castile.[427] His brother Don Bernardino de Granada was also recorded in a list of the "Army of the West" that took part in the Battle and the Tournament of in the "Sandy Field" near Brussels on 1 April, 1549. On that same day, Hernando de Acuña fought in the Army of the East, which took part in the battle and tournament in the "Sandy Field" near Brussels, along with Bernandino de Granada.[428] Don Bernardino de Granada also took part in the "Joust in the Square" on 5 May

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[422] Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Don Hernando de Acuña: Noticias Biográficas* (Valladolid: Bibiloteca Studium, 1988), 96-98.
[423] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodriguez Mediano, *Un Oriente Español: Los Moriscos en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2010), 99-101.
[424] Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Don Hernando de Acuña: Noticias biograficas* (Valladolid: Biblioteca stadium, 1913), 37-39.
[425] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodriguez Mediano, *Un Oriente Español: Los Moriscos en tiempos de Contrarreforma*, 100.
[426] OM Caballeros Santiago, Exp. 3611 and 3612, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
[427] Braden Frieder, Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 16th Century Essays and Studies, 2008), 188-189.
[428] Braden Frieder, Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court, 191-193.

1549, where he wore black and white, and joined "the second band of Spanish adventurers, jousting in quadrille." Thus, the two elite Morisco brothers, Juan and Bernardino, were a part of the young prince's retinue and took part in his chivalric games, games that contained elements from earlier Nasrid games.[429] As we saw in Chapter 2, the sons of Don Bernardino de Granada, Juan and Hernando, ultimately tried to join the Alpujarras Revolt against the crown, and failed.[430]

Under the Banner of Christ

Hernando de Acuña's translation work, poetry, and military service were part of his persona as a loyal royal servant. Hernando de Acuña's poem, the "Sonnet to the King our Lord," not only describes Charles like a last world emperor, but also says that he has been chosen by God and has been given the standard of Christ. "To whom Christ gives his standard," will gain oceans and the land.[431] Christ's standard, or Christ's battle flag, was a common concept in medieval and early modern Europe, originating from Constantine's vision on the field of battle that in the sign of the cross he would conquer, continued by twelfth and thirteenth century rulers, "taking the cross" on their chests before they left Europe for a crusade in the Holy Land. However, in the sixteenth century, when the Spanish spread Catholicism to the new world, and when Protestants and Catholics started to meet on the battlefield, this concept took on further complexity.

St. Ignatius of Loyola, a contemporary of Acuña, used similar visual imagery to that in Acuña's poem, in his Spiritual Exercises, which were studied in a month long spiritual retreat. On the fourth day of the second week of this month, Ignatius exhorts his spiritual son to meditate on "two standards: the one of Christ, our Commander-in-chief and Lord; and the other of Lucifer, mortal enemy of our human nature." Ignatius exhorts his follower to imagine Christ and Lucifer facing each other across a battlefield. Both wish all men to come under their battle flags, standards, or "banderas." In Ignatius's treatment, the battle flag itself, the Standard of Christ, becomes a devotional object, or icon, to meditate upon. To join Christ was to come under his flag. Ignatius then asks his follower to pray to "Nuestra Señora" that she would ask her son to allow him under his flag, and then pray to the Father for the same purpose, to join the fight against Lucifer.[432]

In *Le Chevalier Deliberé*, implements of war left over from the death of champions are referred to as relics, which is interesting, because only a small number of the champions mentioned were considered saints at all.[433] The relic collection of the hermit contains objects like

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[429] Braden Frieder, Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court, 191-194.

[430] Valerino Sánchez Ramos, "Un Rey para los Moriscos: El Infante Don Juan de Granada," *Sharq al-Andalus* 14-15 (1997-1998): 285-315.

[431] "que a quien ha dado Cristo su estandarte," Ricardo Padrón, "The Blood of Martyrs Is the Seed of the Monarchy: Empire, Utopia, and the Faith in Lope's Triunfo de la fee en los reynos de Japón," Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 36,3 (Fall, 2006):1-2.

[432] The Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola, Translated by Anthony Motola (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 75-77.

[433] "A relic was a physical memorial of a saint, a very holy deceased person with special influence in heaven. Relics were most often bones, but they could also be hair, teeth, clothing, objects the saint had used, or objects the saint touched. They could even be objects that had come

the sword used to kill Pompey and the "barbarous steel two-handed sword" that Mordred used to kill King Arthur. The hermit and the knight meditated on these relics.[434] When La Marche conflated Christian relic or bone with legendary weapon, he was only doing what his patrons, the Burgundian Dukes had done in real life. Burgundian relic inventories reveal that they owned "the sword of St. George," a boar's fang, and the psalter of St. Louis.[435]

There is a term for a protective or sacred image or object, carried into battle or used to protect a city gate—a *Palladium*. The word comes from the small wooden statue of Pallas Athena carrying a spear that supposedly fell from the sky at Troy.[436] La Marche refers to Mary of Burgundy as the Duchy's *Palladium*. As the duchess died,

> Cruel and wicked Accident
> By his wanton murder
> Stole away the Palladium,
> The fortune, the blessing
> Under which Burgundy had lived.
> That name is over and done
> With the death of the noble lady.
> I pray that God may have her soul.
> She was our Troilus
> By whom Troy was comforted,
> Who sustained the Trojans
> In courage and in strength
> For a long time after Hector;
> For if she had remained with us,
> We could have endured
> Whatever might come to us.[437]

Lewes Lewkenor, in the final lines of his version, the Resolved Gentleman, makes Elizabeth I the Palladium of the English people:

> That which I can do, is to pray unto the everliving Righteousnesse, that as he hath, with admirable goodlinesse, made her shine in giftes both of body and minde, above all the Princes of her time, so he will preserve her unto us many, long, and flowering yeeres: For

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into contact with the saint's tomb, near the original relics," Ruth A. Johnston, All Things Medieval: An Encyclopedia of the Medieval World (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011), 605.

[434] Olivier de la Marche, *Le Chevalier Deliberé* (The Resolute Knight),Translated by Lois Hawley Wilson and Carleton W.Carroll, Edited by Carleton W. Carroll (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 91, 97, 99.

[435] Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, Translated by F. Hopman (New York: St. Martins' Press, 1924), 61-62.

[436] Andreas Hartmann, "Palladion, Palladium," in The Encyclopedia of Ancient History (Wiley Online Library: John Wiley and Sons, 2012).

[437] Olivier de la Marche, Le Chevalier Deliberé (The Resolute Knight), Translated by Lois Hawley Wilson and Carleton W.Carroll, Edited by Carleton W. Carroll (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 236-239.

> so long as we shall enjoy this our precious and sacred *Palladium*, we shall need to feare neither the force of fierce threatening *Agamemnon*, nor the wiles of fals undermining *Sinon*.[438]

La Marche's poem had a number of elements which appealed to both its Spanish and English translators, and the metaphor of a Duchess or Queen as the *Palladium* of the people was one of them.

The *Tertulia* of the Granada Venegas

The *tertulia* of the Granada Venegas included a diverse group of men. They were poets, translators, warriors, organists, lawyers, courtiers, and leaders of Granada's municipal government. Juan Latino, in his song of Don Juan of Austria, celebrated the battle of Lepanto as a victory for Spain and for Christendom, and skillfully tied it with the recent triumph of Christianity over crypto-Islam in the Alpujarras revolt in Granada. Hernando de Acuña, in his translation work, tied the history of the Spanish Habsburgs to that of Valois Burgundy, and made a French chivalric romance available to a Spanish audience. In his poetry, Acuña contributed to the Habsburg myth of the last world emperor, and celebrated the power of empire. As a knight, Acuña gained such honor that a Pseudo-Garcilaso wrote he had a double laurel, of arms and letters. Two men who were linked to Acuña and to the *tertulia* wrote chronicles of the war in the Alpujarras, Luís de Marmol Carvajal, and Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Gregorio Silvestre, being the organist of Granada's cathedral, would have been one of the more well-known, or at least well-heard, artists in the city. These men were not mere local elites, but created cultural products for royal and national consumption.

The Casa de los Tiros

Where did this group of writers meet? The literary *tertulia* may have met in a number of palaces owned by the Granada Venegas—the rooms on the high hill of the Generalife, in their Nasrid palaces there, in one of their houses in the Albayzín, or in the urban palace which is still associated with the family today, the Casa de los Tiros. Considering the proximity of the Casa to the Cathedral, the law courts, the offices of the twenty-four city council members, or *vientecuatros,* and other centers of power, it is very likely that that the *tertulia* of the late sixteenth century met there. The Casa de los Tiros was built by Gil Vázquez Rengifo, whose daughter married Don Pedro de Granada Venegas y Mendoza in 1535, leading to the Casa de los Tiros coming into their possession, and to them becoming the guardians of the Generalife.

[438] Lewes Lewkenor, "The Resolved Gentleman, Translated out of the Spanishe into Englyshe, by Lewes Lewkenor Esquir, Nel piu bel vedere, Circo." (London: Richard Watkins, 1594), 73r.

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Decorative elements in the Casa de los Tiros speak to the identity of its inhabitants as both loyal warriors and connoisseurs of classical culture. Inside the Casa de los Tiros, in the *Cuarta Dorada*, seen above, Spain's military heroes, kings and historical figures were celebrated on the ornately carved ceiling. This room also had frescoes on its walls. The ceiling included the carved faces, many in helmets, of the Roman Emperor Trajan, "español," Recared, as well as Ruy Diaz (El Cid), Alfonso, king of Castile, who conquered Toledo, Fernando III, Isabel la Catolica, Ferdinand of Aragon, well as likenesses of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, Charles V, and his wife Isabel de Portugal, El Gran Capitán, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Iñigo

[439] Cuarta Dorada, Casa de los Tiros, Granada, Spain, photograph by author, September 18, 2012.

López de Mendoza, and Juan Vazquez Rengifo, the builder of the house.[440] These leaders and heroes were the fighters of the Reconquista, and the ancestors and the creators of a united Spanish state.On the facade of the Casa de los Tiros was an array of carved figures including Jason, Hector, Mercury, Hercules, and Theseus—mythical warriors from Greek and Latin antiquity.[441] They have breastplates and skirts in an antique style, though the little statues' proportions and helmets make them look more like knights than muscular Romans. Of these figures, Hector was one who had often been included in list of the "Nine Worthies," starting in the fourteenth century—a list also including Caesar, Alexander, Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeas, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Boullion.[442] However, in the case of the Casa de los Tiros, the five figures chosen were all from Greek or Roman myth, and did not mix with Biblical or chivalric heroes.[443] The house was guarded by figures of classical myth, like Hercules, and decorated the heroes of Castilian political life. Much like the lists of the dead in La Marche's *Le Chevalier*, the decorations of the Casa de los Tiros celebrated and remembered a heroic and political past. The Casa de los Tiros, with its decorations and literary *tertulia*, was thus a visual reminder and literary argument for the nobility of the Granada Venegas family, who had both married into the old Christian elite and also been granted the titles of hidalgos and lords by Ferdinand and Isabella.

Chivalric Ambitions: Fights over Precedence and Status

Specifically, the Granada Venegas entered the lower ranks of the Christian elites when they were recognized as *hidalgos* by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1502. Many Moriscos and old Christians were given *hidalguías* by Ferdinand and Isabella to recognize their service in the Conquest.[444] However, having that status recognized afterwards became an ongoing negotiation

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[440] "Iconografía de la Casa de los Tiros," in Rafael López Guzmán, *Los Palacios del Renacimiento* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2005), 123-131.

[441] Ibid.

[442] Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, Translated by F. Hopman (New York: St. Martins' Press, 1924), 60-61.

[443] "El grupo de heroes citados en este cámara (emperadores, reyes, caballeros y un reducido número de mujeres), ataviados a lo romana o pertrechados con sus armaduras, forman, según expresan sus textos, una genealogía, no tanto por sus alianzas de sangre, como por su contribución a la formacion de un estado confessional y territorial unico." Display text regarding the Cuarta Dorada, Museo Casa de los Tiros, Granada, Spain.

[444] "At the same time or immediately afterwards [the conquest], most of these people received graces of nobility (hidalguías). In this way, they were assimilated into the lesser nobility of Castile, an important group in the city's government, as shown in the records of the General Archive of Simancas. However, the concession of public employments was not limited to these *regidores.* Coming mainly from the same families, more than two dozen Moriscos in the main cities of the kingdom were awarded positions as public notaries. In some cases the appointees were children who were of course unable to perform this occupation. The research of Amalia García Pedraza on the city of Granada has demonstrated that the Moriscos preferred to refer their contracts and cases to notaries from their own community." ´Angel Galán Sánchez, "The Muslim Population of the Christian Kingdom of Granada: Urban Oligarchies and Rural communities," In Oligarchy and Patronage in Late Medieval Spanish Urban Society, Edited by Maria Asenjo Gonzalez, (Brepols, 2009), 82.

with the city. As Michael J. Crawford has recently shown, a royal privilege was no guarantee for recognition at a municipal level.[445] Castilian cities often had a fiscal motivation to maintain their tax base and refuse another grant of *hidalguía* which would grant an individual tax exempt status. When a person's *hidalguía* was not recognized by their city, they could appeal to the Chancery court in Valladolid or in Granada, or they could resort to violence in order to have their honor respected and affirmed.[446]

In early modern cities, elites had numerous opportunities to show off their power and position, and be recognized by others in the town. Rituals like baptisms or religious processions established relationships and cemented power relations between families and individuals.[447] It was in these public processions and religious events that power dynamics and social status were displayed and recognized. One of the most important religious rituals in late medieval and early modern Europe was the Corpus Christi procession. This feast developed in Liége in the mid thirteenth century and was celebrated widely in Europe by the early fourteenth.[448] In 1433, at the council of Basle, the same council where Alonso de Cartagena circulated a Latin copy of Leonardo Bruni's Nichomachean Ethics, pope Eugenius IV issued the bull *Excellentissimus*, doubling earlier indulgences given to those participating in the Corpus Christi procession, adding to the feast's popularity in Spain.[449] This summer feast-day included adoration of the Eucharist,

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[445] "…Without periodic efforts to maintain one's status through royal service and formal recognition of that status, an individual's and a family's hidalguía could be denigrated or ignored by local authorities. Those who wanted to avoid the loss of their status had to actively maintain it and engage in preemptive efforts to secure evidence to support their claims." Michael J. Crawford, The Fight for Status and Privilege in Late Medieval and Early Modern Castile, 1465-1598 (Penn State University Press, 2014), 39.

[446] In his investigations of a small town outside of Toledo, Scott K. Taylor has shown that dueling and violent confrontations took place among the ordinary citizens of the town, many of which were over reputation and insult. However, his evidence reveals that the automatic recourse to violence which was attached to issues of honor in the "honor plays" of the period, was exaggerated, and that disputes were sometimes settled though the courts, or through one party withdrawing from the conflict. Scott K. Taylor, Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); For an example of how being accused of being a Morisco was a slight to someone's honor, see William F. Connell, "A 'Morisco' Assassin in the Cathedral of Mexico City: Identity, Civility and Honor in the Seventeenth Century." The Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History, 11, no. 1 (Spring 2010).

[447] For a detailed description of these sorts of civic and religious rituals, see Richard Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[448] Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 5.

[449] Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, 211; Ottavio di Camillo has also shown how a different sort of court, a religious council at Basel, 1434-1439, played a role in the development of the Spanish Renaissance. Alonso de Cartagena circulated a Latin copy of Leonardo Bruni's *Nichomachean Ethics* among the churchmen present. As they had been in the earlier Middle Ages, church councils created another form of court culture, where clients gathered around pope, bishop, or ambassador as their patron. In this case, they were debating Aristotle and contributing to the development of Spanish and Italian humanism. Ottavio di Camillo, "Fifteenth-Century Spanish Humanism: Thirty-five Years Later," *La Corónica* 39.1 (Fall 2010): 21.

the preaching of public sermons, and processions, which in some instances encompassed an entire town or city, where the Eucharist would be carried to the city gate and other landmarks, and to the housebound sick for a blessing. By the end of the fourteenth century it was secular rather than religious authorities who controlled and choreographed the day's events.[450] According to Miri Rubin,

> First, the symbolic meaning of Eucharistic practices, and the Eucharistic public procession, attracted those whose claims to power and privilege could be re-expressed, and celebrated on this special event. Second, as the event developed, and impinged upon political relations, law and order, a controlling and regulating function was required from the town officials…[451]

The Corpus Christi was one of the many Catholic feasts and holidays introduced to Granada by the Catholic Kings and their successors. During the feast day, a mechanical dragon called a *tarasca* was carried through the streets, sometimes carrying a woman representing the whore of Babylon, or a man representing Muhammad. There were dances and theatrical productions. Behind the floats, marched the twenty-four municipal councilors, members of confraternities and guilds, as well as clergy, and canons carrying incense, followed by the consecrated host in a monstrance or large reliquary.[452] Granada's cathedral had founded a confraternity as early as the 1520s, most parishes had a Eucharistic confraternity by mid-century, and all had them by 1600.[453] Apparently, however, there was tension between the municipal government of Granada and the cathedral chapter regarding the order of individuals and groups in the procession, as well as whether the cathedral chapter would perform their duties for the feast unpaid.[454]

For the Granada Venegas, the feast of Corpus Christi was an important time for them to be recognized as part of Granada's Christian elite. In 1537, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas wrote to the Emperor Charles V, who was at the Cortes of Valladolid. In his letter, he and Don Diego de Santillan requested certain places in line, one on the right and one on the left, in the Corpus Christi procession, as well as other municipal processions.[455] The fact that this concern was worth writing to the emperor about, underlines that to Don Pedro, matters of precedence and public displays of honor had real worth and consequences.

On June 16, 1588, a dramatic event occurred, in the context of yet another Corpus Christi celebration. The Granada Venegas had decorated the Casa de los Tiros with flags and banners, but not all old Christians admired what they put on these banners. According to a chronicler writing at the time,

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[450] Miri Rubin, Corpus Christi, 247-248.
[451] Ibid, 259.
[452] Teofilo F. Ruiz, A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 280.
[453] David Coleman, Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old World Frontier City, 1492-1600 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 116.
[454] Ibid, 117.
[455] This small document is preserved in the municipal archive in Granada. "Capitulo que los procuradores D. Diego de Santillan y D. Pedro de Granada Venegas han de suplicar a S.M. en las Cortes de Valladolid, 1537," Archivo Histórico Municipal de Granada, Caja 1923, pieza 9.

> As is custom, a royal representative was inspecting the streets (in this case it was the Licenciate Don García de Mendrano, a member of his Majesty's council and magistrate to this Royal Chancellery). On the street of the jail, he saw canopies hanging in front of the dwelling of Don Pedro de Granada y Venegas, on whose sides were the coats of arms and coronets of this royal house. The magistrate ordered that they be taken down, and at this, Don Alonso de Venegas de Granada and all his sons and many gentlemen, clients and friends were so enraged that they would have killed the magistrate. After officers of the court and other people had pacified them, that very day Don Alonso went to the bishop to complain to His Majesty of this offense against his nobility and his blood, [recalling] the many honors and favors and privileges that he had received from the Catholic Monarchs and the Emperor Charles V, who used to write to the grandfather of this noble gentleman and call him cousin.[456]

This incident tells us a number of important things about the Granada Venegas family in Granada in 1588. First, the heir to the family and his sons were living in the Casa de los Tiros, down in the city, rather than in the Generalife, or in the Albayzin. Secondly, the proximity of the jail and city authorities to the Casa de los Tiros at this time is notable. Today, in the twenty-first century, the Casa de los Tiros is two doors down from the Real Chancillería's archive, and there is another building, right across the street, that has been used by local militia. This proximity was the same in 1588. Thirdly, we find a *licenciado*, an educated man, working for the royal chancery courts, who takes issue with the decorations the Granada Venegas had put on their house for Corpus Christi. These decorations included a crown on their coat of arms. In 1503, the Granada Venegas had received a royal privilege from the Catholic kings in order to display their royal Nasrid lineage,, in the form of a crown on their coat of arms.[457] In 1588, they were exercising that right. Fourthly, we learn that the Granada Venegas, like many other nobles and *hidalgos* in early modern Spain, were prepared to defend their honor with arms and violence. Fifthly, we find that once challenged, Don Alonso de Granada Venegas went right to the bishop to defend his rights. He was a powerful man, unafraid of either a minor magistrate or the bishop.[458] Initially, he filed a lawsuit, and the city ruled against him. The case went all the way to the Council of Castile. There, his claim was upheld, and the magistrate was condemned.[459] Philip

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[456] F. Henríquez de la Jorquera, *Annales de Granada: Descripción del Reino y ciudad de Granada, Crónica de la Reconquista (1482-1492)*, ed. A. Martin Ocete, (Granada, 1987), 525 and 531, Cited in Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, 81.

[457] José Antonio García Luján, The Casa de los Tiros, 28.

[458] F. Henríquez de la Jorquera, *Annales de Granada: Descripción del Reino y ciudad de Granada, Crónica de la Reconquista (1482-1492)*, Edited by A. Martin Ocete, (Granada, 1987), 525 and 531, Cited in Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain:Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, Translated by Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 81.

[459] José Antonio García Luján notes that the first lawsuit was lost at the municipal level. The Casa de los Tiros in Granada (Granada, 2006), 29.

II then gave him the habit of the Order of Santiago, in return for his trouble.[460] Don Alonso's great grandfather, Don Pedro de Granada, had received the habit of Santiago for his service in the Conquest of Granada. Now it was given at the conclusion of a lawsuit ruling in the family's favor, in recognition of their lineage and service. This incident with the royal flags took place two decades after the second revolt of the Alpujarras, which Alonso's grandfather had helped put down, along with the Mendoza family and Don Juan de Austria. His family had weathered the storm and were still living in Granada, despite the fact that after the revolt, Philip II had expelled most of Granada's Moriscos out into the rest of Castile, hoping they would assimilate there. It is significant that the lawsuit was lost at the municipal level in Granada but won on the royal level, which may signify a growing dissonance between the Granada Venegas and other powers in Granada, leading them eventually to also establish themselves in Madrid, where they served in the royal household

In 1591, another incident occurred in a church, in which the Granada Venegas fought for their privileges and status. Don Alonso Venegas de Alarcón was the first cousin of Don Alonso de Granada Venegas. He was also the grandson of the first Don Alonso, who had been born in Nasrid Granada. Don Alonso Venegas de Alarcón, his son, his slaves and his retainers, became involved in a fight with Hernando Jiménez de Arteaga Carvajal, over seating during mass, in the church of the Hospital del Corpus. After this, Hernando Jiménez filed a lawsuit against Don Alonso, accusing him of "creating a scandal."[461]

These three incidents—Don Pedro de Granada Venegas's request to the king for a particular spot in the Corpus Christi parade in 1537, the controversy over his son's royal arms displayed during the Corpus Christi celebrations in 1588, and the fight between a Venegas cousin and another nobleman over seats in Mass in 1591—all took place in the context of public Catholic ritual and devotion. For the Granada Venegas, proving their Christianity was deeply connected to proving their royal lineage and nobility, as well as their social standing in the city of Granada. These were not separate spheres. Rather, their success depended on others accepting this holistic picture of a powerful, Catholic, noble family with royal Nasrid lineage.

Thus, the history of the *limpieze de sangre*, or purity of the blood laws, in Spain is deeply tied to the overall history of its nobility. The Granada Venegas, being Moriscos, had a challenging road ahead of them to confront the greater intensity of the *limpieza de sangre* laws in the second half of the sixteenth century.[462] Ultimately, the clearest way that a family could have

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[460] F. Henríquez de la Jorquera, *Annales de Granada: Descripción del Reino y ciudad de Granada, Crónica de la Reconquista (1482-1492)*, ed. A. Martin Ocete, (Granada, 1987), 525 and 531, Cited in Mercedes García-Arenal, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain:Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, 81.

[461] "Causa criminal de Hernando Jiménez de Arteaga Carvajal, hijodalgo, cristiano viejo, vecino de Granada, contra Alonso Venegas de Alarcón, su hijo García, sus criados y esclavos, sobre que cuando estaba oyendo misa, en la iglesia del Hospital del Corpus, entró don Alonso y porque no le hizo sitio lo hirió y formó un escándalo en la iglesia. Era el día de San Felipe y Santiago, mayo 22 1591." Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, Granada, A-14-74, L-128-74.

[462] Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Inception of *Limpieza de Sangre* (Purity of Blood) and its impact in Medieval and Golden Age Spain," in Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Vol. 46: Marginal Voices: Studies in Converso Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain, Edited by Amy I. Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 26.

their purity and status recognized, was to be granted admission to a military order, such as the Order of Santiago, Calatrava or Alcantara. In Chapter 4, we will discuss the history of the military orders in more detail, and discuss a particular case, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas's suit to join Alcántara, from 1607. Proving their dedication to the Christian religion would be key the Granada Venegas family's successful assimilation into Castilian society.

Conclusion

In the *tertulia* of the Granada Venegas, ideas were exchanged, and many important issues of the day were discussed, including the arms vs. letters debate. Both Renaissance and Chivalric culture was created and consumed.[463] Patronizing this *tertulia* gave the Granada Venegas another vehicle of assimilation into the Spanish elite, and into noble culture more generally. Gaspar de Baeza's translation of Paolo Giovio brought an Italian Renaissance work to the group, as Hernando de Acuña's translation of a chivalric romance exposed it to French Burgundian culture. Acuña's lyric poetry and Latino's epic poem both praised the kings of Spain as they were Caesars. This literary culture may have even provided some social and ideological support for Don Pedro de Granada Venegas (d.1643) because he used the historical and literary sources from his Renaissance library in his application to the Order of Alcántara in 1607.[464]

The Granada Venegas, like one of the poets they patronized, Hernando de Acuña, served the crown with both arms and letters. They, like Maximilian I (d. 1519) and Charles V (d.1558), appreciated the cultural ideal of the Christian knight. The next chapter will explain how the Granada Venegas embraced a military and chivalric identity as a part of their quest for social advancement, as applicants to join Spain's military orders. The concerns of this *tertulia* were not merely local, and so the Granada Venegas were already oriented towards politics outside of Granada. After Philip II moved his court to Madrid in 1561, and the Alpujarras revolt deeply affected the city of Granada in 1569, and Don Alonso de Granada Venegas took a position with the Order of Santiago in Valladolid, the family turned their sights to the north. The family moved to Madrid in the early seventeenth century in order to pursue favors from the king and from the council of the military orders.

[463] The concept of the consumption of Renaissance culture is taken from Lisa Jardine, Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance (London: Papermac, 1997).

[464] See Chapter 5 for a further discussion of Don Pedro's library. Maria del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, José Antonio García Luján, "Las lecturas de Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, 1 Marqúes de Campotéjar (1559-1643)" HID 35 (2008): 149-189.

Chapter 4:
Becoming a Knight:
Knighthood, the Military Orders and the Purity of the Blood

> "Just as you can tell the New Christians by their sanbenitos [penitential garb] so you can now tell them by the crosses of the orders of chivalry." -An opponent of *converso* Francisco Castellanos, 1644[465]

The Granada Venegas family moved to Madrid at the beginning of the seventeenth century in order to pursue royal favor and social advancement. As an additional part of this agenda, in 1607, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas applied to join the Order of Alcántara. At the heart of this process was the *prueba* document, or application, that this chapter will contextualize within the history of the *limpieza de sangre* or "purity of blood" legislation, the Spanish military orders, and the history of chivalric culture more generally in the late medieval and early modern periods.[466] This application document is over three hundred pages long and has multiple sections, including Don Pedro's letters to the king and the council as well as recommendation letters from theologians and powerful friends. It constitutes one of the most revealing sources that we have for understanding the debate and contestation that surrounded how elite Moriscos attempted to assimilate into the highest level of the ruling class.

Service of the Granada Venegas to the Realm

Before Don Pedro de Granada Venegas ever applied to join the Order of Alcántara, he and his family had served the crown in various military endeavors. From the first Don Pedro's role in helping the Nasrids surrender the kingdom of Granada, to the participation of the Granada Venegas in Charles V's and Philip II's wars, it is clear that these knights of Santiago and knight of Alcántara were, literally, knights who took up the sword for their sovereign.[467] Alí Omar Ben

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[465] "AHN Santiago 1,720 Juan de Castellanos de Orozco, 1644," cited in James Casey, Family and Community in early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 46.

[466] Don Pedro's application is housed today at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, along with all of the other applications to the military orders.

[467] These are the entries for the Granada Venegas in books of those who wore the habits of Alcántara and of Santiago, *Índice de Pruebas de los Caballeros que han vestido el hábito de Calatrava, Alcántara y Montesa desde el siglo XVI hasta la fecha,* Edited by D. Vicente Vignau y Ballester and D. Francisco R. de Uhagón (Madrid: Impresor de Cámara de su Majestad, 1903);
Order of Alcantara:
"Granada Venegas y Manrique de Mendoza, Rengifo y Mendoza, Pedro de. Granada, 1607, 655." (p.237)
Indice de Pruebas de los Caballeros que han vestido el habito de Santiago, desde el año 1501 hasta la fecha, Edited y D. Vicente Vignau y Bllester, y D. Francisco R. de Uhagón (Madrid: Impresor de Cámara de su Majestad, 1901);
Order of Santiago:
"Venegas y Mendoza, Pero. Vientecuatro de Granada, Granada, 1537." (p.370)
"Venegas de Granada y Vázquez Rengifo, Alonso. Granada, 1589. Este pretendiente fue dispensado por el Capítulo general de 1573, en virtud del cédula que presentó en el consejo, por

Nazar/Don Alonso de Granada Venegas (1467-1534), fought for Ferdinand in the battles for Adra and la Torre del Romani during the Conquest of Granada.[468] He fought in the battle of Rosellón (1503), which was one of the battles between the Spanish and the French over control of Naples, and he also fought alongside archbishop Ximénes de Cisneros in the capture of the city of Oran (1509), leading him to be called "el Valeroso," the brave. He led both cavalry and infantry for several years, especially in Motril.[469] His son Don Pedro de Granada Venegas y Mendoza (1502-1565), fought at the battles of Tunis (1535), Perpignan (1542) and St. Quentin (1557), and he was awarded a habit of Santiago in 1537.[470]

Don Alonso de Granada Venegas Rengifo (d. 1611), as discussed in Chapter 2, served in the cavalry and fought for the crown in the second revolt of the Alpujarras (1569-1571).[471] He was made a knight of Santiago in 1569.[472] Don Alonso served as an administrator for the Order of Santiago from 1592-1597 when he held the position of governor in the province of Castilla la Mancha y Ribera del Tajo, which belonged to Santiago. During his time there he dealt with challenges to his authority from the town council of Ocaña.[473] His son Don Pedro de Granada Venegas (1559-1643) was the governor of the Generalife palaces, and the fifth lord of the villas

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ser descendiente de moros nobles por la línea paterna masculine. Así consta de la aprobación de su pruebas, en 9 de Agosto de 1589." (p.370)
"Venegas Girón, Egas. Licenciado, oidor de la Real Audiencia de Valladolid. Granada, 1600." (p.370)
"Granada Venegas y Ochoa, Juan Francisco de. Madrid, 1609." (p.152)
"Granada y Alarcón de la Cueva, Pedro Francisco de. Granada, 1624." (p.152)
"Granada Venegas y Ruiz, Diego de. Granada, 1724." (p. 152).

[468] José Antonio García Luján, The Casa de los Tiros de Granada (Granada, 2006), 17-19; See Appendix I, "Granada Venegas Family Tree."

[469] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010), 19-20.

[470] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," 22.

[471] José Antonio García Luján, The Casa de los Tiros de Granada,17-19; See Appendix 1, "Granada Venegas Family Tree."

[472] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, 24; This source lists the date of Don Alonso's entrance to the Order of Santiago as 1589 rather than 1569. "Venegas de Granada y Vázquez Rengifo, Alonso. Granada, 1589. Este pretendiente fue dispensado por el Capítulo general de 1573, en virtud del cédula que presentó en el consejo, por ser descendiente de moros nobles por la línea paterna masculine. Así consta de la aprobación de su pruebas, en 9 de Agosto de 1589." *Indice de Pruebas de los Caballeros que han vestido el habito de Santiago, desde el año 1501 hasta la fecha*, Edited y D. Vicente Vignau y Bllester, y D. Francisco R. de Uhagón (Madrid: Impresor de Cámara de su Majestad, 1901), 370.

[473] Carmen González Peinado, "El inicio del juicio de residencia a don Alonso de Granada Venegas (Ocaña, Toledo, 1597): algunas notas sobre su procedimiento," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma Serie IV, Historia Moderna*, 23, 2010: 42-57.

of Campotéjar and Jayena. He served in the royal household from childhood. First, he served the fourth wife of Philip II. Then, as a young man, he was one of the companions of Philip III. When the English attacked, he defended the coastal castle of Salobreña. Philip II made him the *alcaide* of this fortress in 1594. He defended the fortress of Almuñecar as well and was given its command in 1596."[474] Before he sought entrance to the Order of Alcántara, Don Pedro had commanded men and defended castles for his king.

With the military service of the Granada Venegas in mind, it is worth remembering the example of the Moorish guard that served the king of Castile in the fifteenth century. Some remained Mudéjars, or Muslims living under Christian rule (a possibility only open to them before the forced conversions of the sixteenth century) but others converted, and married their children to old Christian families, leading to successful assimilation by the fourth generation.[475]

> These men served as cavalry, scouts, and spies for Castile. Their success was due to their fluid relations with the court elite, in a cultural environment that was greatly influenced by the taste for Mudejar aesthetics and where Christians and Muslims had many customs in common. But the main reason why these processes occurred is simply that the members of the Moorish guard became necessary at a particular moment in time, and performed an important function within the framework of domestic Castilian in-fighting. Without their training as highly skilled horsemen, and their polished courtly manners, they would never have been able to make the switch from one side of the geographical, religious, and social frontier to the other with such ease.[476]

The need for a special cavalry with the ability to blend into the Muslim frontier as spies, or serve the crown in battles of the Reconquista is, as Ana Echevarría argues, a product of specific historical circumstances which ended after the frontier moved from Granada to North Africa. However, I would argue that the Granada Venegas provide an example of how the Castilian strategy to convert elite and royal Muslims and recruit them into their royal service continued in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The shared chivalric culture between elite warriors did not end when there ceased to be a frontier between Castile and Granada, but continued between certain elite Moriscos, like the Granada Venegas, and elite old Christian contemporaries, like the Mendoza. The Granada Venegas fought at Tunis and St. Quentin, and they expected certain privileges based on this service, and on their nobility and royal blood, as Don Pedro's *prueba* application reveals. In some ways their story is very similar to that of elite Muslims who served in the Moorish guard in the early fifteenth century and assimilated into the Castilian military. Like the Moorish guard, however, the Granada Venegas were an exception to the rule in the

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[474] M. Angustias Moreno Olmedo, *Heráldica y genealogía granadinas* (Granada: Estudios Historicos Chronica Nova, 1989), 90.

[475] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 202.

[476] The quote continues, "The combination of all these factors was unusual, and because it depended so much on historical circumstance, it could never last for very long. This is why it was so difficult for there to be continuity in the phenomenon of the Moorish guard, although its legacy and influence can be seen in some of the vicissitudes of the conversion process of the Mudejars and attempts to assimilate Moriscos during the 16th and 17th centuries."Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467, 208-209.

overall experience of Moriscos, as most non-elite Muslims did not assimilate into Spanish society.[477]

The Granada Venegas not only served the crown in war, but they held positions of political power. The Granada Venegas were among a group of Morisco "collaborators" who received offices as rewards, very early on in Christian Granada, from 1499-1501. Don Alonso de Granada Venegas became a *regidor/vientecuatro*, or city-councilman of Granada on December 28, 1499. His father Don Pedro de Granada (d. 1506) became a *regidor* on June 20, 1500. Don Alonso de Granada Venegas was made an *alguacil* of Granada on October 20, 1501.[478] The Granada Venegas then controlled two seats in the council of twenty-four *regidores*, not one. One office was passed down from Don Alonso de Granada Venegas to Don García Venegas to Don Alonso Venegas de Alarcón (1562). The other office was passed from Don Pedro de Granada to his grandson Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, then to Don Alonso de Granada Venegas (1565), his oldest son and heir.[479] Having two seats in one family was a statement to the Granada Venegas's power and influence in Granada. In addition to holding a seat on the city council, Don Pedro de Granada (d. 1506) was also a member of the royal council and the *alguacil mayor* (chief constable) of Granada. His grandson Don Pedro de Granada Venegas y Mendoza held these offices and was also the *alcaide* (governor) of the Generalife palace in the Alhambra, a position he inherited from his father-in-law Don Gil Vázquez Rengifo in 1535. His son Alonso de Granada Venegas y Rengifo continued to hold his father's position in the Generalife, was *regidor* (alderman), *alguacil mayor* of the Real Chancillería law court, and served as a governor of lands in Castile for the Order of Santiago, as we have seen.[480]

Military service often went hand in hand with governance. Yuen-Gen Liang has suggested that family networks were integral to Spanish imperial expansion and administration in the early modern period.[481] In his study of the Fernández de Córdoba family, he describes how they served as governors of Oran and Navarre for multiple generations. The houses of Comares and Alcaudete pursued military service and political office. They had less wealth than their cousin houses of Aguilar and Cabra, who sought favor at the court of the king.[482] To give one example, Martin de Córdoba served as the viceroy of Navarre before he became a member of the Council of Military Orders.[483] Though not as deeply involved in the Spanish Empire as far afield as the Fernández de Córdoba were, the Granada Venegas were a part of the "collaborator elite" who governed Granada during its first century as a Christian city, and held a position, that of the

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[477] Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *La convivencia negada: Historia de los Moriscos del Reino de Granada* (Granada: Lavela, 2007).
[478] Enrique Soria Mesa, "De la Conquista a la asimilación: la integración de la Aristocracia Nazarí en la Oligarquía Granadina, Siglos XV-XVII," Conference paper, Proyección histórica de España en sus tres culturas, Medina del Campo, 15-18 Abril, 1991, 8.
[479] Enrique Soria Mesa, "De la Conquista a la asimilación: la integración de la Aristocracia Nazarí en la Oligarquía Granadina, Siglos XV-XVII," Conference paper, Proyección histórica de España en sus tres culturas, Medina del Campo, 15-18 Abril, 1991, 9.
[480] José Antonio García Luján, The Casa de los Tiros de Granada, (Granada, 2006), 17-19.
[481] Yuen-Gen Liang, Family and Empire: The Férnandez de Córdoba and the Spanish Realm (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 3.
[482] Ibid, 25.
[483] Ibid, 13.

alcaides of the Generalife, which put them on par with the powerful Mendoza family which governed the Alhambra.[484]

Spanish Military Orders

The military orders, of which the Granada Venegas were to become a part were founded in the context of the Crusades. Monastic, military and chivalric orders were tangible and powerful organizations with leaders and men, with a medieval history that is important to keep in mind for the story of the Granada Venegas. The international Order of the Temple and the Knights of St. John, the Hospitallers, arrived on the Iberian peninsula in the twelfth century. In 1131, the Count of Barcelona gave the Templars a castle at Grañena to defend, and the Templars were named by Alfonso I of Aragon as one of his three heirs.[485] By the mid twelfth century both orders were actively fighting the Reconquista on the peninsula. When the international orders, with operations across the Mediterranean, could not handle all the military threats they faced, the Spanish military orders were founded.

In Castile, the Order of Calatrava was founded in 1158, when the Templars were unable to hold the castle of Calatrava and new knights were brought in to form a new organization. In the kingdom of León, the Order of Santiago was founded in 1170, and the Order of Alcántara in 1176.[486] These Spanish orders, including Alcántara and Santiago, remained in existence into the modern period. In Aragon, several orders were founded as well, such as Montjoy (1173) and Santa María de España, whose particular role was to fight at sea near Gibraltar.[487] In 1193, Montjoy merged with the Templars, and Santa María de España merged with Santiago in 1280 when Santiago suffered a huge defeat at Moclin and need a new master. Although the master of Montjoy did serve in the Holy Land, in general, the Spanish military orders did not operate there, but fought Muslim armies on the Iberian peninsula.[488]

These Spanish military orders, like the Templars, were hybrids between monastic orders and small armies.[489] The orders of Calatrava and Alcántara had been nominally tied to the rule of St. Bernard and the house of Cîteaux since their founding and were supposed to be orders of celibate warrior monks. Santiago, on the other hand, which was under the Augustinian rule, had received a dispensation to accept married brothers very early on in its history.[490] A bull of confirmation given to the order of Santiago in 1175 by Pope Alexander III allowed the knights to marry,[491] and it made a distinction between lay and clerical members of the order.[492] Knights

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[484] Enrique Soria Mesa has referred to both the Granada Venegas and other elite Moriscos as the "collaborator elite." Enrique Soria Mesa, "Los Moriscos que se quedaron: La permanencia de la población de origen islámico en la España Moderna," *Vinculos de Historia* No.1 (2012): 205-230.
[485] Alan Forey, The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the early Fourteenth Centuries (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 23.
[486] Ibid, 24-28.
[487] Ibid, 28.
[488] Ibid, 30-32.
[489] For a general discussion of the connections between war and monasticism, see Katherine Allen Smith, War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2011).
[490] Maurice Keen, Chivalry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 181.
[491] The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St. James, 1170-1493, Edited by Enrique Gallego Blanco (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 5.

from the military orders served as key personnel in medieval armies. Along with nobles and vassals of the king, bishops, abbots, and cities, the orders also provided knights. For instance, in 1246, the master of Santiago agreed "to provide Baldwin II of Constantinople with 1,500 men that included 300 knights, but not all were members of the Order." When the orders worked together, they were a formidable military power. This was increasingly frequent in the thirteenth century.[493] In the thirteenth century, the Christian kings and the military orders gained their greatest triumphs, including the conquests of the Muslim states of Córdoba (1236), Sevilla (1248), and Cadiz (1262). In this period it became mandatory for applicants to prove they had four noble grandparents to enter the orders.[494]

The orders were major territorial, economic, and political powers in medieval Castile. Rulers also became jealous of their political and economic strength, as it grew through their involvement in ranching, olive cultivation and the wool trade. In addition to fighting against Muslim armies, the orders also began to participate in wars with other Christians and amongst themselves. In 1283, after the Sicilian Vespers, in which the Aragoense had intervened against France, the king of Aragon put the Templars and Hospitallers on high alert against a possible French invasion or attack.[495] Another Aragonese king used them against Castile in the early fourteenth century. It was in these years that the military orders, especially the Templars, faced their strongest royal opposition. Ultimately, the Templars were violently suppressed and dissolved by the king of France in 1307.[496]

Orders founded by Monarchs and Nobles

The first royal and noble orders of chivalry were established in the fourteenth century, after the Templars were suppressed and there ceased to be regular Crusades to the Holy Land, though the Reconquista had not yet ended. The first royal order was the Orden de la Banda, or Order of the Sash, established by Alfonso XI of Castile in 1330.[497] The imagery of this order,

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[492] Alan Forey, The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the early Fourteenth Centuries, 175.
[493] "In 1222 the masters of Calatrava and Santiago concluded a pact of brotherhood, stipulating that their knights would march together, fight side-by-side under one commander, and share booty equally. Three years later, the masters of Calatrava, Santiago, the Temple, and the Hospital in León and Castile pledged concerted action in battle. In 1239 the masters of Calatrava and Santiago confirmed all previous agreements between their Orders, and four years later they again emphasized the need for cooperation under a single commander." Joseph F. O'Callaghan, Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 128.
[494] Desmond Seward, The Monks of War: The Military Orders (London: The Folio Society, 2002). The connection with nobility will be explored further in Chapter 5.
[495] The Sicilian Vespers (1282) was a successful rebellion of the Sicilian people against French rule on the island, leading to Aragonese intervention. Alan Forey, The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries, 221.
[496] Alan Forey, The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries, 225.
[497] For a very interesting and detailed discussion of the foundation and significance of the Order of the Sash, see Jesús D. Rodriguez Velasco, Order and Chivalry: Knighthood and Citizenship in Late Medieval Castile (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

including a wooden statue of Santiago played a large role in the king's 1332 coronation.[498] The second, and most successful of these royal chivalric orders was the Order of the Garter, established by Edward III of England in 1348, which is still in existence today. The third royal order was the Order of the Star, established by King Jean of France in 1351. The members of the Order of the Star and the Order of the Garter were the most elite knights of the Hundred Years War (1337-1453). Within the founding myths of these royal orders was a desire to revive a chivalry which had been lost. For the French, this need was quite a practical one. French armies had been losing battle after battle to the English, and so Jean II founded the Order of the Star to inspire his remaining knights to uphold high standards, and revive their flagging spirits. Had it not been wiped out in another disastrous battle at Poitiers in 1356, the Order of the Star would have been home to between one eighth and one fifth of all French knights.[499] The Order of the Golden Fleece, established by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy in 1430,[500] was a model for many of the other orders. It was continued by the Valois Dukes' Spanish successors. It played a central part in Spanish Hapsburg history, and also sought to revive a lost crusading spirit of chivalry.

Spain's military orders were centers of power and prestige. Mastership of one of Spain's orders was a high military honor, but it also included great revenues from land and taxes, material benefits, administrative responsibility, feudal obligation and privilege. Nobles and kings sought the masterships for their sons in the same way that they sought rich benefices in the church for them. One of the reasons for this was the fact that during the Reconquista, the orders conquered territory and were allowed to remain on it, or were granted rights over it by the king, such that in Andalucía especially, the orders controlled similar sized territories to Castilian dukes or counts.

In 1406, Henry III of Castile died and was succeeded by his son Juan II. There was a period of relative peace under Juan II's regents, Henry's brother, Ferdinand (of Antequera and I of Aragon), and Henry's wife Catherine of Lancaster. In 1408, the master of Alcántara also died. Ferdinand then set out to make his young son Sancho the master of the order. When the master of Santiago died in 1409, Ferdinand maneuvered in favor of his son Henry receiving that title as well. Both sons were still minors, leaving Ferdinand of Antequera firmly in control of the orders and their revenues.[501] Thus, more than 50 years before Ferdinand the Catholic became sovereign

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[498] Alfonso XI's Order of the Sash played a role in his 1332 coronation and knighting when, according to an article by R.M. Rodríquez Porto, he "received the *espaldarazo*, a ritual sword blow, from a wooden image of the Apostle Saint James, patron of Castile, complete with articulated joints in order to facilitate movement. Subsequently, he placed the royal crown on his own head, refusing clerical interference and, thus, suggesting that his royal legitimacy resided more in his military prowess than in any sanction offered by the church. Furthermore, the chronicles suggest that this auspicious occasion also witnessed the foundation of the Order of the Scarf [Sash], initially conceived as a sort of praetorian guard for the king." R.M. Rodríguez Porto, "Courtliness and its *Trjuamanes*: Manufacturing Chivalric Imagery across the Castilian-Grenadine Frontier" in Medieval Encounters 14 (2008): 238.

[499] Geoffroi de Charny, A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry, Introduction by Richard W. Kaeuper, Translated by Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 11-12.

[500] Maurice Keen, Chivalry, 179.

[501] "A compliment to this policy was the concession of the grand master of Santiago to collect the Mesta's taxes and the *servicio y montazgo* taxes, to be turned over to the Crown. As Vicens

of the three military orders, his grandfather Ferdinand of Antequera had secured the masterships for his sons, cousins of the titular king of Castile, Juan II. Later, Pope Calixtus III declared in a papal bull that Juan II's successor, Henry IV, would have the mastership of the Order of Santiago for fifteen years, and the Order of Alcántara for ten years. The crown competed with the high nobility over control of these orders in the fifteenth century.[502] The military orders had provided an alternative and a complement to royal power, but ultimately their military strength and even their sheep herders were brought under royal control.[503]

The process of the royal takeover of these orders did not begin with Ferdinand the Catholic, but Ferdinand completed this process. In 1487, after the death of García López de Padilla, master of Calatrava, and in 1493, after the death of Alonso de Cardénas, Ferdinand took over their *mayorazgos*, or inherited titles and estates, with an approval from the Borgia Pope Alexander VI. In 1494, Ferdinand forced the master of Alcántara to abdicate, and brought the three orders under his command.[504] This was a major change from the orders' independent yet negotiated relationship with the crown from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Now the king had the right to appoint knights and commanders. He could choose from among his nobility and their sons for membership in Santiago, including heads of families, since Santiago was able to take married men into its ranks.[505]

According to many medievalists, the periodization of chivalry ends when the Middle Ages end, in 1500, or even earlier. The military orders which rose in the twelfth century, including the Templars and the Hospitallers, were founded for the purpose of defeating and driving out Muslims from the Holy Land. By the fall of Acre in 1291, the possibility of these orders re-taking Jerusalem was slim, and by 1307 the Templars had been suppressed. Thus the time actively spent on their founding mission spanned approximately two hundred years. The military orders, together with the Spanish orders, began to fight in wars against their fellow Christians.[506] Rulers founded orders in the fourteenth century in an attempt at revival and control, and as the medieval and early modern state developed, the international and monastic fighting orders were then domesticated by the crown. The Orders had played a large role in fighting and winning the Reconquista—and a key symbolic role in its celebration. For instance, it was the master of Calatrava, Diego García de Castilo, who raised the Christian flag above the Alhambra at the surrender of Granada on January 2, 1492.[507] Thus, they were a large part of the formation of the early modern Spanish state. Ultimately, the rise of the modern state killed the

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Vives points out, this put an enormous fortune in the Infante's hands." Juan Torres Fontes, "The Regency of Don Ferdinand of Antequera," in Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369-1516: Essays and Extracts by Historians of Spain, Edited by Roger Highfield, Translated by Frances M. López-Morillas (New York: Harper and Row Publishrs, 1972), 126.

[502] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 63.

[503] For primary sources on the Order of Alcántara's early history, see *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Orden de Alcántara (1157?-1494): De los Orígines a 1494*, Edited by Bonifacio Palacios Martín (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 2000).

[504] Desmond Seward, The Monks of War: The Military Orders, 147.

[505] Maurice Keen, Chivalry, 180.

[506] Alan Forey, The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the early Fourteenth Centuries, 239-240.

[507] Richard Barber, The Knight and Chivalry (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2000), 326.

independence of the knights and their sacrifice began to be channeled towards national goals—for instance, the famous sixteenth century French chevalier Bayard's battle cry was "France! France!"[508] These early modern states had war budgets the size of which made it impossible for nobles to have enough men and arms to compete. For instance, a knight might still be required to supply his own armor and charger, but not his own cannon—the cannons belonged to his prince.[509] Other causes for the end of the cultural ideals of chivalry include Reformation doctrines disputing the role of penance or good works in salvation, famous peace-making humanists, such as Desiderius Erasmus and Thomas More who criticized war, and a revolution in military technology and strategy.[510]

These narratives of change and decline are interesting and powerful. Yet, it is also important to point out that the historians of chivalry cited here are by training, medievalists. For example, Desmond Seward argues that after Charles V became sovereign of the three Spanish orders in the early sixteenth century, "the Iberian military vocation was dead, but remained a splendid ghost for many years" and that "the orders began their long decline…"[511]A history of chivalry in early modern Europe and early modern Spain from the perspective of an early modernist is yet to be written. Decline and revival narratives are inscribed into chivalry's very nature, and we should be cautious of them.

Close attention to the military orders in the early modern period reveals that they and their members remained powerful players politically, militarily and economically. In 1500, the Spanish military orders were not "splendid ghosts," but rich landholders. Calatrava had fifty-one commanderies, sixteen priories, and sixty-four villages, with a total income of 40-50,000 ducats and a total population of 200,000 people. Santiago had ninety-four commanderies with an income of 60,000 ducats and Alcántara had thirty-eight commanderies and 45,000 ducats in income.[512] The Orders were a part of the religious tax system, and their wealth would be absorbed into the budget of early modern Spain by Charles V. While they ceased to be independent military and political powers, the military orders were still a part of an active system of honors, rewards and privileges which permeated the patronage networks of early modern Spain. Famously, the painter Velázquez was given a habit by the crown as a favor in return for using his artistic talents for his king.

The Spanish military orders, as rich were economically more significant than the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece, though both types of orders were places of the king's patronage. The Order of the Golden Fleece, of which Charles V was sovereign of due to his title as Duke of Burgundy, was an important vehicle for creating a cultural and political unity among the nobility in his empire, as it had been for the diverse cities and territories of the Valois Dukes.[513] While Charles eventually used the Golden Fleece adeptly, in comparison, his son

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[508] Richard W. Kaeuper, Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 214.
[509] Maurice Keen, Chivalry, 241.
[510] Richard W. Kaeuper, Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry, 194-224.
[511] Desmond Seward, The Monks of War: The Military Orders, 148; Richard Barber agrees with Seward that the orders became a "large footnote to the pages of Spanish history." Richard Barber, The Knight and Chivalry (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2000), 327.
[512] Desmond Seward, The Monks of War: The Military Orders, 147.
[513] D'Aarcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, "The Order of the Golden Fleece and the Creation of Burgundian National Identity," in The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National

Philip neglected the order.[514] After 1525, while some of the royal orders had consolidated together or been replaced, Many of Europe's states had functioning royal orders, such as Order of the Garter (England), the Collar (Savoy), the Golden Fleece (Burgundian and Habsburg lands) and St. Michael (France). These orders helped to promote loyalty to the king and to maintain a chivalric ethos among the nobility.[515] In the early years of Charles V's reign, he needed the nobilities of Spain and Burgundy to be united as one, and the Golden Fleece was one of the vehicles he used to unite them. Just as the Burgundian romance *Le Chevalier Deliberé* and its translations were relevant to Spain's culture in the sixteenth century, the Order of the Golden Fleece was relevant its society and politics.

One of the grievances of the Castilian Comuneros, in their 1520-21 revolt, was that important offices were being given to Burgundian courtiers rather than Spaniards by their new king and the Duke of Burgundy, Charles. Ultimately, these concerns were addressed after the Spanish nobility put down this revolt. When Charles returned from Flanders in 1522, he aimed to reform the Spanish system by rewarding a few of those who remained loyal, but also giving more positions to properly trained Spanish lawyers.[516] Charles held his second meeting of the Golden Fleece in Tournai on December 5, 1531. New Spanish knights were added to the Order, including the Viceroy of Valencia, the Duke of Frias, the Duke of Albuquerque, and Francisco de Zuñiga, count of Miranda. In addition, prominent Burgundians, Germans, Italians, and even James V of Scotland were added.[517] Controlling a patronage system through the Order of the Golden Fleece and other outlets, Charles addressed some of the problems inherent in the composite nature of his empire.

Charles added to the Spanish conciliar system founded by his grandparents, Ferdinand and Isabella, creating a total of six judicial councils of state—of Castile, of Aragon, of the Inquisition, of the Indies, and of the order of Santiago, and a council for the orders of Alcántara and Calatrava—and two non-judicial councils of State and War, and of Finance, which included the council of the Crusade.[518] Thus the orders, rather than being governed by the Cistercian monastic house at Cîteaux, by an independent grand master, or personally by a monarch such as Ferdinand of Aragon, were placed under two councils of state. In this new bureaucratic context, Charles V became the hereditary grand master and appropriated the incomes of the three orders.

Consciousness, 1364-1565, Edited by D'Aarcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton and Jan R. Veenstra (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 27.

[514] Griffin Girrard Jones, "The Order of the Golden Fleece: Form, Function, and Evolution, 1430-1555" (PhD Dissertation, Texas Christian University, 1988), 135.

[515] D'Aarcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520 (Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 1987), 499.

[516] Aurelio Espinosa argues that "no longer a patron-client organization (or appointment based on loyalty rather than merit), the royal administration devoted itself to management; hence the fundamental qualification of functionaries was a law degree." Aurelio Espinosa, The Empire of the Cities: Emperor Charles V, the Communero Revolt, and the Transformation of the Spanish System , Edited by Andrew Colin Gow, (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 138-139.

[517] Griffin Girrard Jones, "The Order of the Golden Fleece: Form, Function, and Evolution, 1430-1555" (Diss., Texas Christian University, 1988), 126.

[518] Aurelio Espinosa, The Empire of the Cities: Emperor Charles V, the Communero Revolt, and the Transformation of the Spanish System, 138-139.

In 1527, Charles pledged the revenues he received as master of the orders to pay back loans to the German Fugger banking house.[519]

The Spanish military orders, though now governed by the king and a royal council, were still religious organizations. Thus, when the Castilian Assembly of the Clergy met periodically with the king to determine the size of the subsidy they would pay him, the abbeys, dioceses, and military orders were all called upon to pay a share of the subsidy.[520] Though men sent by 33 Cathedral chapters represented all religious organizations at the assembly, they did not always see eye to eye or agree on the size of the subsidy.[521] In 1592, to address this problem, the military orders sued to be allowed to participate in the deliberations of the Assembly.[522]

The Knights' Wars in Germany

In the early 1520s, while in the Holy Roman Empire pursuing the imperial title, young Charles dealt with numerous challenges throughout his realms, including the Comuneros Revolt in Spain, and peasants' revolts and knights' revolts in the German lands. Although outside the overall scope of this dissertation, the knights' wars in Germany provide important insight to how Charles V, both king of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, understood knighthood and governed the military orders. The German knight, Ulrich von Hutten explained in 1518 the struggles that he and other knights faced:

> Most of us are, moreover, in a position of dependence on some prince to whom our hope of safety is attached. Left to ourselves we would be at everyone's mercy, but under princely protection we still live in constant apprehension. Indeed, whenever I leave my house I face danger. If I fall into the hands of those who are at war with my overlord, they seize me and carry me away. If my luck is bad I lose half my patrimony in ransom…no wonder we must spend large sums on horses and arms and employ retainers at great expense to ourselves. I cannot travel a mile from my house without putting on armor. I dare not even go hunting or fishing except clad in iron…every quarrel must be approached with caution, for if I respond aggressively to a wrong done to one of my men, I may find myself embroiled in war while submission or concessions lay me open to extortion and a thousand new injuries springing from the first. And, remember, these quarrels arise not among foreign rivals but among neighbors, relatives, and even brothers.[523]

Hutten's comments regarding the danger and conflict inherent in a German knight's life are illustrative of the instability in the German lands at this time. In 1522-23, "free imperial knights" from Franconia and Swabia rose up against their princes, in a conflict known as the knights'

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[519] Desmond Seward, The Monks of War: The Military Orders, 148.
[520] Sean T. Perrone, Charles V and the Castilian Assembly of the Clergy: Negotiations for the Ecclesiastical Subsidy (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 39.
[521] Ibid, 16.
[522] Ibid, 17.
[523] "The Life of a German Knight as seen by Ulrich von Hutten (1518)," in Manifestations of Discontent in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation , Edited and Translated by Gerald Strauss (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1971), 193-194.

revolt.[524] The noble knights were being edged out of their primary place in German armies by mercenaries and pikemen and out of political power by the princes. The knights attacked the city of Trier but failed to take it, and the territorial principalities put down the revolt.[525] The social and economic effects of the Italian wars also created instability in the empire at this time.[526] Ulrich von Hutten was both an important ideological and military participant in the knights' revolt, and he shared some common ideology with Martin Luther.[527]

Soon after the failed knights' revolt, in 1523, Albert of Brandenburg-Ansbach, the grand master of the Order of Teutonic knights, who controlled Prussia, a territory along the Baltic Sea, was swayed by several sermons of the reformer Osiander he heard at the Diet of Nuremberg, and then chose to meet with Martin Luther himself. In 1525, the grand master converted to a reformed faith and renounced his vows as a warrior-monk. He then made his territory a duchy, and took an oath of homage to the king of Poland. A year later, he took a wife, a daughter of the Lutheran king of Denmark. As Duke, he continued to advance the cause of the Reformation.[528]

Although the later 1520s were a more positive time for Charles V, with his victories in Italy and his marriage to Isabella of Portugal, it is possible that Charles V's concern regarding the warrior monks becoming laymen in the German lands, as well as his struggle to defeat the German Protestant princes, influenced his decision to work with the papacy to make a major change to the Orders of Alcántara and Calatrava, to avoid any similar problem in Spain. In 1540, Pope Paul III issued a papal bull reorganizing the order of Alcántara. With this bull, he gave the same privileges to the Cistercian order of Alcántara that had already been given to the Augustinian Order of Santiago—married knights, fathers of families, were now allowed to enter Alcántara.[529] This action helped to ensure Charles's hold on his Spanish orders—since he could appoint heads of powerful families to more positions where they would not be inclined to rebel. 1540-41 also marked an important dispute between Charles V, the pope, and the Castilian Assembly of the Clergy. It is important to see the changes to Alcántara in this overall context. If there were more laymen in the orders, Charles would have greater sway over them when it came time to negotiate with the papacy.

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[524] "Knights' Revolt," The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation, Vol. 2, Edited by Hans J. Hillerbrand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 378-379.
[525] Ibid.
[526] Thomas A. Brady, Communities, Politics and Reformation in Early Modern Europe (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 329.
[527] Two years earlier, in 1520, in his "Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality as to the Amelioration of the State of Christendom," Martin Luther wrote, referring to the mendicants, that "the pope must be forbidden to institute, or set his seal on, any more of these Orders. Indeed, he must be ordered to dissolve some, to force them to reduce their numbers. For faith in Christ, which alone is the supreme good, and which exists apart from any of the Orders, suffers no small danger. The many different works and customs may easily lead men rather to rely on these works and customs than to care for faith."Martin Luther, Martin Luther: Selections from his Writings, Edited and with an Introduction by John Dillenberger (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1961), 446.
[528] "Prussia," The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation, Vol. 3, Edited by Hans J. Hillerbrand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 360-361.
[529] *Difiniciones de la Orden y cavalleria de Alcantara con la historia y origen della* (Madrid: D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1663), 343.

Chivalric Ideology

Knighthood has a military and political history, but it also has an important cultural, ideological and religious history, which is relevant to Don Pedro's Alcántara application. The Spanish military orders were founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, during the age of the Crusades against Muslim powers in the Holy Land. In the same period, lay knights also began to develop an ideology of chivalry, which included religious values. According to Richard W. Kaeuper, the religious ideology of chivalry in the Middle Ages had several components. First, knights believed their suffering on the battlefield was meritorious for their salvation, serving as penance.[530] Even when they were not fighting "Saracens," or Christians who were "worse than Saracens," they considered fighting loyally for their lord to be meritorious.[531] Secondly, as military heroes and suffering servants, knights emulated and imitated Christ, especially according to the soteriology of St. Anselm and others.[532] The Christ-knight concept became especially popular as Cistercian spirituality developed in the twelfth century. Many of St. Bernard of Clairvaux's monks had been knights before they took their vows, steeped in the culture of courtly love in Northern France, which was exemplified by the romances and poetry of Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France. The chivalric values of Bernard and the young knights who joined him not only influenced a new type of monastic spirituality, distinct from the Benedictine monasticism of Cluny, but Bernard was also a spokesman and advocate for the new military orders—particularly, the first major military order which took part in the Crusades, that of the Templars.[533]

In general, views of knighthood and ideals of knighthood were expressed in three types of sources—the writings of clerics (early members of crusading orders can be included in this), the writings of secular knights and noblemen, such as manuals of chivalry, and imaginative literature and chivalric romance, written by a variety of authors. Occasionally, these sources agreed upon which characteristics were most important for the ideal knight, such as his prowess and skill in battle and his loyalty to his lord. In other instances, the sources strongly disagreed. For instance, a cleric might emphasize the role of the knight on crusade, or to defend the weak and the widow, or his obligation to remain chaste. Courtier type behavior—playing at dice, and eating fine food and drink with kings—was often discouraged. Fourteenth century French nobleman Geoffroi de Charny, in particular, discouraged knights from excessive ease or pleasure.[534] Among lay knights the concept that there was a general "order of knighthood" also developed—that in society there was the order of marriage, the order of the priesthood, and the order of knighthood, which was the "most rigorous order of all."[535] Some clerical authors, such as the Castilian, Alonso de Cartagena, went so far in the moral precepts as to discourage

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[530] Richard W. Kaeuper, Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 95.
[531] Ibid, 107.
[532] Ibid, 116-118.
[533] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber ad milites Templi: De laude novae militae,* The ORB, Online Reference Book for Medieval Sudies, copyright 1996, accessed June 27, 2015. http://www.the-orb.net/encyclop/religion/monastic/bernard.html
[534] Geoffroi de Charny, A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry, Introduction by Richard W. Kaeuper, Translated by Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).
[535] Ibid, 95.

jousting.[536] For a complete history of chivalry, all three of these types of authors, secular knights and noblemen, clerical authors, and the writers of chivalric romance, need to be consulted.[537]

In the early seventeenth century, while Don Pedro de Granada Venegas was applying to join the Order of Alcántara, one of Spain's most famous literary works dealing with chivalric culture, Don Quixote (1605), was published. In Miguel de Cervantes' novel, the title character goes mad from reading too many chivalric romances and knightly manuals and believes himself to be a knight errant. While Cervantes made fun of chivalry on one hand, he also made Don Quixote a mouthpiece of earnest chivalric ideals, and in certain moments, some important social criticism. One of the most important of these chivalric ideals was that the knight was a defender and bringer of justice. Referring to himself and to other knights, Don Quixote said, "we are ministers of God on earth, the arms through which his justice is executed here."[538]

A medieval handbook of chivalry by Ramon Llull had also viewed chivalry as "justice's" recourse against falsehood:

> There was once no charity, loyalty, justice or truth in the world. Enmity, disloyalty, injustice and falsehood came into being, and because of this there was error and confusion amongst the people of God, who were created so that God be loved, known, honored, served, and feared by man. In the beginning, when contempt for justice had come into the world because of the diminution of charity, justice sought to recover its honor by means of fear.[539]

Justice needed an enforcer to help it recover its honor. In that sentence alone, so much of chivalry is explained—both its police-like aspect and concern for reputation, as well as the desire to revive a golden age. Llull wrote that the "nobility of [a knight's] courage and his good breeding must be of one accord and in concert with the beginning of Chivalry."[540] Courage and good breeding—here we have two pre-requisites for entrance to military orders and the nobility in early modern Europe, blood and service.

Lope de Vega (1562-1635), the prolific Golden Age playwright, also emphasized the need for justice, but in his case, true justice came from the king, and the knights of the military orders were the villains. In *Fuenteovejuna*, which Lope published as a part of his *Docena Parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* (1619), set in the late fifteenth century, the protagonist, a local lord, is also a commander of the Order of Calatrava. He had taken part in the Castilian

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[536] Noel Fallows, "Just say no? Alonso de Cartagena, el doctrinal de los caballeros, and Spain's most noble pastime," Studies on Medieval Spanish Literature in Honor of Charles F. Fraker, Edited by Mercedes Vaquero and Alan Deyermond (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995), 129-141.

[537] See Sidney Painter's excellent introduction to this subject where he explains how these three types of sources should be used by historians. Sidney Painter, French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Medieval France (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940).

[538] Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha, Translated with an Introduction by John Rutherford, (Penguin Classics, Kindle Edition), Chapter XIII, Part I, 97.

[539] Ramon Llull, The Book of the Order of Chivalry, Translated by Noel Fallows (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2013), 40.

[540] Ibid, 40.

civil wars on the side of Afonso of Portugal and Juana la Beltraneja against Ferdinand and Isabella. The commander oppressed his village, Fuenteovejuna, and raped its women. The people rose against him and killed him. Once the Catholic Kings learned of his crimes, after an investigation, they protected the villagers and restored the king's justice to the city. Famously, when the people were asked who had killed the commander, they said "Fuenteovejuna." In this, as in others of Lope's plays, the crown serves as defender of the common people against the nobility and the military orders—and this extends the crown's jurisdiction and power.[541] In this way, the military orders continued to be relevant in Spanish politics and literary culture in the seventeenth century, even as villains. Like Don Quixote's suit of armor, rusty, but recognizable, this overbearing commander of Calatrava was a literary character that people in the early seventeenth century could understand, though his villainous nature made him an easy target for royal propaganda. Don Pedro de Granada Venegas applied to join the Order of Alcántara (1607) just a few years before Lope's play was published. To do so, he went through the Council of Orders, under the crown's authority.

Limpieza de Sangre

Along with the history of the military orders and their knights, and chivalric culture, debates over *limpieza de sangre*, or "purity of the blood" laws also provide an ideological and social context for Don Pedro's application to join the military order. Purity of the blood law also had its opponents, as is obvious in this brief chronological description of its history. Some of the earliest anti-*converso* legislation was written by the Visigoths in the seventh century who mandated "there would be no contact between Jews converted to Christianity and those who are still practicing Judaism in order to ensure that the former are not corrupted because of such contact."[542] Alfonso X of Castile reversed this in his thirteenth-century *Siete Partidas*, which protected *conversos'* legal rights after their conversions to Christianity.[543] According to Albert L. Sicroff, the origins of *limpieza* legislation were after the forced conversions of Jews in 1391, when Old Christians began to observe *judeo-conversos* taking over positions of power in the church, government, and economy.[544] In 1416, the bishop of Cuenca prevented judeo-conversos from joining a college at the University of Salamanca.[545] However, in 1434-9, the council of Basel had agreed with Alfonso X, and unanimously declared that Jews and Christians were equal after baptism:

> For the members of the family of God and the saints become citizens by the grace of baptism, and it is much more worthy to be regenerated in the spirit to be born in the flesh,

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[541] Lope de Vega: Five Plays, Translated by Jill Booty (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961).
[542] Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Inception of *Limpieza de Sangre* (Purity of Blood) and its impact in Medieval and Golden Age Spain," in Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Vol. 46: Marginal Voices: Studies in Converso Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain, Edited by Amy I. Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 21.
[543] Robert A. Maryks, The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and the Purity of the Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 21-22.
[544] Albert A. Sicroff, *Los Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre*, Translated by Mauro Armiño (Madrid: Taurus, 1985), 116.
[545] Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Inception of *Limpieza de Sangre* (Purity of Blood) and its impact in Medieval and Golden Age Spain," 27.

> we stipulate by this decree that the [converted Jews] of the cities and places, where they are regenerated by holy baptism, must enjoy the same privileges, exemptions, and liberties that other [Christians] receive based on their birth and origin alone.[546]

Alonso of Cartagena (1384-1456), the son of the former Rabbi of Burgos, who was at the council as an emissary of Juan II, agreed. According to Cartagena in his *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae* (1449-50),

> The sanctification of Israel would really come in the form not of division but of unification, so that both the descendants of Jacob by flesh and the rest would unite under one king and one pastor, that is Christ, in order to form one people only, one lineage only, and one flock only.[547]

But in 1449, anti-*converso* legislation was famously passed in Toledo, reversing the *Siete Partidas*, to Cartagena's opposition.[548]

Conversos were quite successful in the first half of the sixteenth century, and many became clerics, royal counselors and members of the Inquisition. In the early 1540s, *conversos* were given another context in which to show their Christian religious fervor—the Jesuit Order. The Society of Jesus included many *conversos* in its early years, and a number of *conversos* were close associates of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Ignatius famously spoke of how he wished he had been born of Jewish descent, that he might share his heritage with the patriarchs and apostles.[549] However, these sorts of successes did not go unnoticed by old Christians. Even among the early Jesuits, promising *conversos* were told to serve in Rome, rather than stay in Spain, where their lineage caused them more problems.[550] Soon, in Toledo, the anti-*converso* arguments from 1449 were revived. In 1547, the archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martínez Silíceo, a man born in lowly circumstances but with old Christian blood, questioned the appointment of Fernando Jiménez to the cathedral chapter, dissenting against the powerful aristocratic families of Toledo who usually won the most lucrative posts in the church. He rejected Jiménez because Jiménez was the son of a *converso*. Archbishop Silíceo then "forced through the chapter a statute of *limpieza* making purity of ancestry an essential condition for all future dignitaries and prebends."[551] Pope Paul IV agreed with Silíceo, and abrogated the fifteenth century papal bull by Nicholas V that had protected the *conversos*.[552] In the case of the Jesuits, "the death of Superior General Francisco de Borja in 1572 marks a turning point in the history of *converso* Jesuits, whose influence—after

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[546] Robert A. Maryks, The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and the Purity of the Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 4.
[547] It is interesting that this language had also been used by Dante Alighieri and later by Mercurino Gattinara to flatter Charles V and expand upon his ideology of *monarchia*; Quoted in Robert A. Maryks, The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews, 17.
[548] Robert A. Maryks, The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews, 21-22.
[549] These instances were recorded by a *converso* Jesuit, and should also be juxtaposed with another instance in which Ignatius supposedly expressed his old Christian, "Basque pride." Robert A. Maryks, The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews, 42-48.
[550] Ibid, 80.
[551] John H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716 (London: Penguin Books, 1963 and 2002), 222.
[552] Robert A. Maryks, The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews, 38-39.

thirty years of holding high posts of responsibility in the Jesuit administration—began to fade."[553] A faction of Jesuits began to purge *conversos* from positions from power. The General Chapter published decrees against *conversos* in 1593 and 1608, though at this same time there were Jesuits who lobbied against the *limpieza* statutes.[554]

John H. Elliott and other historians have argued that the poor, the minor nobility and *hidalgos* used the *limpieza* statutes as a form of class warfare against the aristocracy, who had intermarried with wealthy *converso* and Jewish and even Muslim families on the frontier, for centuries.[555] As the *judeo-conversos* and Moriscos were already under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, these *limpieza* statutes served as yet another hindrance for conversos to achieve social status and prestige. The *limpieza* statutes allowed social mobility for the old Christian minor nobility and laborers, but were a check on the rise of university-educated *conversos*, and the high nobility. From the perspective of the high nobility, bishop Silíceo's actions were an affront. Initially, Philip II had rejected Siliceo's statutes, but over time he began to encourage purity of the blood laws, such as those in four cathedral chapters in the territory of Granada, established in 1554.[556] Cardinal Mendoza, in 1560, wrote a work called The Blot on Spain, or *El Tizon de España*, after his two nephews were denied habits of military orders, arguing that all nobility in Spain had this mixed heritage, and thus these laws were aimed directly at the nobility.[557]

Limpieza de sangre laws affected more than just religious and military positions. They also affected tax law. In 1552, Charles V prohibited the sale of *hidalguía*, the status of hidalgo, which would make a person tax exempt in their city, to "anybody guilty of public infamy, to sons of clerics, descendants of unpardoned comuneros, or to anyone with any trace of heretical or Jewish blood." This did not mean however that these people did not succeed—in 1559 some lawyers of Granada's chancery court, hidalgos, were shown to be *conversos*.[558] Becoming a knight of Alcántara also required one to meet the *limpieza* standards established by the order. Much of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas's application to join this order was focused on defending his *limpieza*.[559]

The Order of Alcántara in the Seventeenth Century

A question prompted by Don Pedro's extensive application to the Order of Alcántara is why did joining an order such as Alcántara in the early seventeenth century carry such prestige and require such thoroughness? The Order of Alcántara had stringent requirements for all who wished to enter it, some of which followed these *limpieza de sangre* statues. In the 1480s, the

[553] Robert A. Maryks, The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews, 117.
[554] Ibid, 159.
[555] John H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716, 223.
[556] Henry Kamen, Philip of Spain (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 83-84.
[557] *El Tizón de España. Discurso de algunos linajes de Castilla, Aragón, Portugal y Navarra sacados de la relación que el Cardenal Arzobispo de Burgos don Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla dió a la Magestad de Phelipe Segundo en razón de haberle negado dos mercedes de hábitos para sus sobrinos*. B.N.M. MSS 3229 cited in Armando Maurico Escobar Olmedo's modern edition, El Tizón de la Nobleza de España, (Mexico, 1999).
[558] Michael J. Crawford, The Fight for Status and Privilege in Late Medieval and Early Modern Castile, 1465-1598 (Penn State University Press, University Park, PA: 2014), 130.
[559] John H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716, 223-224.

Orders of Calatrava and Alcántara forbade *conversos* from entering them.[560] In their *Difiniciones de la Orden y cavalleria de Alcantara con la historia y origen della* (published in 1663 but containing earlier decrees), the Order of Alcántara laid out the qualities required of its applicants for its two groups, *freyles*, the monks and priests of the order, and *caballeros*, the noble, lay knights. In order for a man to enter the order as a *freyle,* he needed to be "an honest person, of good reputation, know how to read well, how to sing plainsong, [and] to be a competent grammarian."[561] He had to be at least eighteen years of age, be virtuous, and follow good customs. The friars had to be of good stock. The order explained,

> Also, we want that he have purity of lineage: for this we mandate that the friars that want to receive the habit of our order, when they say this, that they are advised that they must be hidalgos, [*hombres hijosdalgo de padres*], in the way and law of Spain, old Christians from both father and mother, if it is found that they have a mix of converts or Jews or Moors or heretics, or that they were penitents of the Inquisition for matters of faith, to the fourth generation, although they have made profession, they will be expelled from the order.[562]

The order needed to be their primary vocation. *Letrados* and *licenciados* who studied theology or canon law, if they were old Christians and had no suspicious mix of blood in them, could be admitted, but friars were not allowed to pursue further education after taking the habit, but rather had to remain in the convent with the other friars to "serve God and the Order."[563]

In order to become a *caballero* of Alcántara, as Don Pedro de Granada Venegas hoped to be, it was necessary to fulfill some of the same qualities as the friars. A knight had to be a hidalgo and have no mix of convert, Moorish, heretic or Jewish blood in him. He had to have

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[560] Interestingly, the Order of Santiago, which the Granada Venegas had joined in the early sixteenth century, did not have purity of the blood requirements until 1555. Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Inception of *Limpieza de Sangre* (Purity of Blood) and its impact in Medieval and Golden Age Spain," in Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Vol. 46: Marginal Voices: Studies in Converso Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain, Edited by Amy I. Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 30.

[561] *Difiniciones de la Orden y cavalleria de Alcantara con la historia y origen della* (Madrid: D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1663), 59.

[562] "también queremos que aya limpieza de linage: por ende mandamos que los freyles que quieren de receber el habito de nuestra Orden, quando se lo dieren, sean avisados que deben ser hombres hijosdalgo de padres, a modo y fuero de España, Christianos viejos de padre y madre, y si hallaren que tienen mezcla de converso o Iudios o moros o hereges, ni tapoco de penitenciados por el Santo Oficio por cosas de Fé, hasta la quarta generacion, aunque ayan hecho profession, que seran hechados de la Orden." *Difiniciones de la Orden y cavalleria de Alcantara con la historia y origen della* (Madrid: D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1663), 59.

[563] *Difiniciones de la Orden y cavalleria de Alcantara con la historia y origen della* (Madrid: D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1663), 60.

"old lineage of Christians, noble from father and mother, grandfathers of both parts, and of name and arms: and there can be no public reputation contrary to this."[564]

Along with purity of blood, the knights had to come from families with "purity of office." The order stipulated that a man could not enter the order if "he or his father are or were merchants, landlords, money-changers, that live, or have lived in those offices, or if he or his father were profiteers, or usurers, or ministers in these offices."[565] The prohibition against merchants entering the order is not surprising, as merchants were often the objects of condemnation by clerics in the medieval and early modern periods.[566] What is most surprising is that the office of landlord is condemned—an office which a nobleman with property could possibly fill. But no, Alcántara wished its knights to not have received money for services in the Spanish economy, including rents.

Other jobs which knights of Alcántara and their fathers could not have held were "mechanical offices," "vile or unseemly offices," or "an office where one worked with one's hands in any way." Knights, nor their fathers, could not have ever been "public notaries," nor could they have sold goods at a store. It was important that they have good reputations and to not have been implicated in any crime. Their parents had to be legitimate, children of a legitimate marriage, or made legitimate by the second marriage.[567] In these requirements, *limpieza de sangr*e is a very common theme. Those with *converso*, Jewish, heretic, or Moorish blood were excluded from the Order of Alcántara, according to its statutes. How then, could Don Pedro de Granada Venegas have hoped to join the order, being a Morisco, descended from the Nasrid sultans?

The *Prueba* of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas

In 1607, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas submitted a *prueba*, or application, to the Council of Orders, requesting entrance into the prestigious military Order of Alcántara. It includes dozens of separate manuscripts, in many different hands. The only document in the file that is not a manuscript is a printed document detailing the opinions of 24 theologians on whether Don Pedro's Moorish blood should prevent him from entering the order.[568] Applications

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[564] "mas que sea de linage antigua de Christianos, noble de padre y madre, abuelos de entrambas partes, y de nombre y armas: que no sea la fama publica en contrario."*Difiniciones de la Orden y cavalleria de Alcantara con la historia y origen della* (Madrid: D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1663), 138.

[565] "y que el ni su padre no sean, ni ayan sido mercaderes, arrendadores, o cambiadores, que vivan, o ayan vivido de los tales oficios, y que no aya sido ellos ni sus padres logreros, ni vsurarrios, ni ministros de los tales en los mesmos oficios." *Difiniciones de la Orden y cavalleria de Alcantara con la historia y origen della* (Madrid: D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1663), 138.

[566] This sermon exempla from the fourteenth century is a good example of common negative views of merchants: "The three kinds of human that God made are clerics, knights, and workers; but the fourth kind was thought up by the devil, namely the townsmen and the usurers who are not clerics because they do not know letters, are not knights because they do not know how to bear arms, and are not workers because they do not engage in human labor and the devil works them." Richard W. Kaeuper, Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry, 162-164.

[567] *Difiniciones de la Orden y cavalleria de Alcantara con la historia y origen della* (Madrid: D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1663), 139.

[568] This document, Don Pedro's Alcántara application, is currently preserved in microfilm at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. The manuscript is not made available to researchers, only

to enter the military orders included two general sections. First were the documents submitted by the applicant on his own behalf. Second were the documents gathered by investigators. A successful application also included the document that issues the habit to the applicant in the name of the king.

Between 1600-1699, 1,247 habits of Alcántara were dispersed by the Council of Orders. This is a far smaller number than Calatrava, 2,072, and Santiago, 6,167.[569] Between 1600-1610, 96 habits of Alcántara were given out, whereas 100 of Calatrava and 255 of Santiago were given. In the year Don Pedro received the habit of Alcántara, 1607, 11 other habits of Alcántara were given, 7 of Calatrava and 18 of Santiago, with 37 habits dispensed in total.[570] In 1622, there was a sharp increase in the number of habits given per year—132 were given. Totals of over 100 habits awarded per year continued largely unabated until the end of the seventeenth century. Thus, when Don Pedro received his habit, it was a rarer favor than it would become later. This trend is consistent with what many historians call the seventeenth century "inflation of honors," in which cash-strapped monarchs sold offices to any who were able to pay.[571]

Within the *prueba* are numerous documents that begin with the phrase "I, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, say that…" and end with his signature. Although we cannot be positive Don Pedro wrote these with his own hand rather than dictating them to a notary, I will be referring to them as Don Pedro's letters in this chapter because they are begun and signed in his name, and in the same hand. In one of his letters, Don Pedro introduced three documents that he hoped the Council of Orders would read for his case. First, was the will of his great great-grandfather Don Pedro de Granada, or Cidi Yahya Al Nayar; secondly, an agreement between Don Pedro and the Catholic Kings regarding land; and thirdly the contract between Yusuf IV of Granada and Juan II of Castile (1431). He also used two royal chronicles: the chronicle of Juan II, and Marmol's chronicle of the conquest of Granada and first revolt of the Alpujarras. All of these documents dealt with the fifteenth century history of his house. Don Pedro did not downplay his royal Nasrid heritage in order to show his Christianity. Rather, he embraced it, in order to argue for the privileges that were owed him because of it. He writes:

> [to a] Very powerful Lord. I, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, for greater clarity, regarding the ancestry of Don Pedro de Granada, the first of his house, I present these three documents which are the original will of Don Pedro, where folio two, second page refers to the law that applies to the villas and vassals that belonged to the prince of Almería his father. The information that was made by the mandate of the Catholic kings in the year 1491 in September in order to ratify that the Taha [piece of land], called Marchena belonged to Don Pedro. The villa, he possessed and inherited before his conversion, as he was the son of the prince Celin, his father and grandson of the king

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the microfilm. I am citing the printed microfilm using my own page numbering, 1-337 in my PDF document, rather than following the manuscript by recto and verso. "Granada Venegas, Pedro de, Granada, 1607," Pruebas de Caballeros, Ordenes Militares Alcántara, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Microfilm 665.

[569] Elena Postigo Castellanos, *Honor y Privilegio en la Corona de Castilla: El Consejo de Ordenes y los Caballeros de Hábito en el siglo XVII* (Soria: Junta de Castilla y Leon, 1988), 200.

[570] Ibid, 198.

[571] Jonathan Dewald, The European Nobility, 1400-1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 27.

> Yusef, his grandfather…the partition that was made between the three princes, father and uncles of Don Pedro…in which are included the houses of the old mayorazgo and other goods that today Don Alonso [Pedro's son] possesses as his successor.[572]

This will, describing the partition of Yusuf IV's lands between his three children, was examined in Chapter 1. Don Pedro was referring to a real historical document in his application, which was available in Arabic as late as the nineteenth century, when a Spanish scholar translated it.

> The contract that was made between the king Don Juan II and Yusuf IV, grandfather of Don Pedro de Granada, the first, who was in the pay of the realm in Almeria and with the help of the said lord king Don Juan. The realm of Granada is referred to in the said document. They descend by lineage and royal blood from the Kings that recently possessed that kingdom. It is in the said document in the second folio, which is the position that is taken from the archive of Simancas. The other presents the same information—the chronicle of the lord king don Juan II, in which Jusuf is referred to as the prince of Almería, in order to cover the said kingdom and mentions the same contract that is the first in the first chapter, 2005, fol. 147, page 2a, and in the chapter 218 fol. 157. page 2a. and in chapter.220. fol. 153.[573]

After these documents, Don Pedro says that "as well, for the same effect I present the history of Marmol, of the Rebellion of Granada, where in his first book, in the sixteenth chapter that deals with the siege of Baza…"[574] At the time of his death in 1643, Don Pedro owned two copies of

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[572]"Muy poderoso señor, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas digo q para mayor claridad de la acendencia de don Pedro de Granada el primero de su casa. Presento Estes tres escrituras q son El testamento original del dicho don P donde Afolio dos. Plana segunda refiere el derecho q la pertenencia a las villas y (vasallas) q fueron del infante de Almeria su padre. La informacion q se hizo por mandad de Los ss(res) Reyes Catolicos el ano de mil y quatrocientos y noventa y uno por setiembre paradificar q la taha de Marchena pertenencia al dicho don Pedro . Para villa posiedo y heredado antes de suconversion como hijo del Infante Celin su padre y como nieto del Rey Jucef su abuelo cuya fue primero lo qual por mueso número del testigos cristianos y moros y mas claro por la particion q se hiso entre los tres infantes, padre y tios del dicho don P q esta alfojas (agosta) ocho. De la en q estan inclusas las casas de mayoratgo antiguo y otros bienes q oy posee don Alonso su padre como su sucesor." "Granada Venegas, Pedro de, Granada, 1607," Pruebas de Caballeros, Ordenes Militares Alcántara, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Microfilm 655, PDF, 314-315.

[573] The text in full reads: "Q es la postura (la qual, crossed out) se saco del archivo de Simancas Otro si hago presentacion para el dicho efeto de la coronica del dicho señor Rey don Juan El Segundo en q refiere como Jucef infante de Almeria sevrico a valer del favor del d Rey don Ju. Para cobrar el dicho Reyno y hasse mencion del dicho contrato q estalhuno en ls cap. docientos y cinco. fo. 147. Plana 2a, y en el capitulo docientos y deciocho fo. 157. Plana 2a. Y en el cap. 220. fol. 153, "Granada Venegas, Pedro de, Granada, 1607," Pruebas de Caballeros, Ordenes Militares Alcántara, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Microfilm 665, 314-315.

[574] Asimismo para el dicho efeto presento la historia de Marmol de la Rebelion de Granada donde en el libro primero enel capitulo deciseis q trata de la entriega de Baza afojas (agosta.) decinueve. Refiere q don P de Granada fue hijo del infant Celin y nieto del Rey Jucef de Granada.

Marmol's chronicle, as well as two copies of the chronicle of Juan II. His book collecting may have been a form of research—research that aided him in this 1607 application.[575]

Don Pedro's Enemies

It was common in Spanish judicial procedure for individuals to be allowed to list their personal enemies, in order to cast doubt on any testimony they may have given—the Spanish Inquisition allowed this, as did seemingly the Council of Orders.[576] Towards the beginning of his *preub*a, Don Pedro includes a list of "the people that are hateful and suspicious about information concerning his habit of the military orders and the reasons why he should or should not have it."[577] The first person Don Pedro mentions is "the university educated (*licenciado*) Don García de Mendrano of the council of your majesty, Alcalde of Granada and greatest enemy of my father," Don Alonso de Granada Venegas.[578] The story of Don García de Mendrano was in the end of Chapter 3, when, at the Corpus Christi celebration in 1588, Don García ordered men to take down the "canopies hanging in front of the dwelling of Don Pedro de Granada y Venegas, on whose sides were the coats of arms and coronets of this royal house." This caused an incident with Don Alonso and his men.[579] However, Don Alonso later won his case against the magistrate, and was given a habit of Santiago in compensation. This event created a precedent for Don Pedro to follow by appealing to the crown in his *prueba* to allow him to join the Order of Alcántara. He

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A Vuestra Alteza pido y suppl(ico) aya para presentados las dichas tres escrituras y dos chronicas en las partes referidas y mande q sacandose un traslado de las escrituras y de los dichos capitulos. Se me buelvan y para ello uga y juro en forma q son vertas, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas," "Granada Venegas, Pedro de, Granada, 1607," Pruebas de Caballeros, Ordenes Militares Alcántara, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Microfilm 665, 314-315

[575] Maria de Carmen Álvarez Márquez and José Antonio García Luján, "Las Lecturas de Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, I Marqués de Campotéjar (1559-1643)," HID 35 (2008): 160-163; Some of these documents have survived in private hands, some at the Casa de los Tiros, the house of the Granada Venegas in Granada, now a municipal museum, José Antonio García Luján, *Documentos de la Casa de Granada: Linaje Granada Venegas, Marqueses de Campotéjar* (Huéscar: Asocación Regadas, 2010).

[576] A person arrested by the Spanish Inquisition was allowed to reject certain witnesses against him in the *proceso de tachas*. He had to imagine who his enemies were because he did not know the names of the witnesses testifying. If any of the real witnesses names matched with those he gave, they would be rejected by the tribunal. Joseph Pérez, The Spanish Inquisition: A History, Translated by Janet Lloyd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 146.

[577] "las personas q son odiosas y sospechosas para la informacion de mi avito y las causas porque," "Granada Venegas, Pedro de, Granada, 1607," Pruebas de Caballeros, Ordenes Militares Alcántara, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Microfilm 665, 20.

[578] "el licenciado don García de Mendrano del cons.o de V. Al(teza) siendo Alcalde de Granada y enemigo capital de me padre." (Footnote, AHN prueba PDF 20).

[579] F. Henríquez de la Jorquera, *Anales de Granada: Descripción del Reino y ciudad de Granada, Crónica de la Reconquista (1482-1492), sucesos de los años 1588-1646*, Edited by A Marín Ocete (Granada, 1934); facsimile Edited by and with preface by P. Gan Giménez (Granada, 1987), 525 and 531 cited in and Translated by, Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, Translated by Consuelo López-Morillas, (Leiden, Brill: 2013), 81-82.

had to prove that any besmirchment on his honor was undeserved, and that he had the right to be ranked with the highest nobility in Spain. It also shows clearly how the crown gave out membership in the military orders to placate angry nobles.

Don García de Mendrano was not only a town magistrate and a *licenciado*, but he was also an historian of the military orders. In 1603, he published a book on the Order of Santiago, *La regla y establecimiento de la Cavallería de Santiago*. It seems Don Pedro hedged his bets—rather than apply to Santiago where Don García had membership and influence, he applied to Alcántara and then listed Don García as an enemy whose testimony against him should be discounted. Don García de Mendrano's book on the order of Santiago was among the books Don Pedro owned at his death.[580]

Recommendation Letters: The Opinions of 24 Theologians

One of the richest sources within Don Pedro's application is a collection of or *Pareceres*, or opinions, of 24 theologians, stating whether they believe Don Pedro should be allowed to enter the order. They give numerous religious, social and political justifications for why Don Pedro's application should be accepted. The opinions were gathered from 24 local theologians in Valladolid over the course of a month in 1602. In this period, the royal court was also in the city.[581] The first opinion, that of Augustin Antolínez, was recorded on October 26, 1602. Thirteen of the opinions were recorded after November 17, 1602, and the last, that of Francisco de Villafane, was signed on November 25. The later opinions refer to those who wrote before them, sometimes by name. Therefore, it is clear that the document was passed from man to man, and each added his opinion after reading those before him, and that the *Pareceres* document was originally a manuscript which was sent to print and added to the *prueba* after it was complete.

The document begins with a prologue where Don Pedro explains his service and qualifications for being granted the habit of Alcántara:

> The case and opinions of twenty-four theologians, doctors and masters in sacred theology, and readers in theology, about the office of the habit of Alcántara that your Majesty should give the favor [*merced*] to Pedro de Granada Venegas. Case: Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, having served your Majesty for more than twenty eight years in your royal house, for six years as a page in the service of the queen Doña Ana our lady, who is in glory, and in the battles in Portugal, and in Salobreña, and Almuñecar, and in other occasions, in which he risked his life, and property.[582]

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[580] María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, José Antonio García Luján, "Las Lecturas de Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, I Marqués de Campotéjar (1559-1643)," HID 35 (2008): 176.

[581] John H. Elliott, Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500-1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 261.

[582] In this section, I am using my transcription of the twenty-four theologians *Pareceres* from the Royal Academia de Historia. It is the same printed document as that contained in the Alcántara *prueba* from the Archivo Historico Nacional--I have examined the two printed documents, to verify this. The reason I am using the Real Academia de la Historia (RAH) document is that the RAH document is a clear photograph of the printed book, but the AHN document is a PDF of a print-out of a microfilm of a printed page and so the AHN image is of low quality. "*EL CASO Y PARECERES de veinte y quatro Teologos, Doctores y Maestros en santa Teologia, y Lectores della, sobre el despacho del habito de Alcantara, que su Magestad hizo merced a don Pedro de*

Next, Don Pedro directly asked for the habit of Alcántara. Remarkably, he also included an extra request—the habit of Santiago, which had belonged to his father and grandfather. "Among other things, I ask your Majesty that you give me the favor [merced] of the habit of Santiago, and that your Majesty be served to give me the favor of that of Alcántara."[583] According to *Las Leyes de todos los reynos de Castilla abreviadas y reduzidas* (1540), a compilation of laws written by the jurist Hugo de Celso, it was not right for a knight to have two military habits: "Knighthood cannot be given more than one time to one man: the third law of the fourth title of the *Primera Partida* [law of Alfonso X, 13th century]."[584]

After stating his desire, Don Pedro elaborated on the genealogy of his family, explaining the various services his ancestors had given to the crown. In a moment, we will examine this genealogy. However, it is important to initially consider the concept of *merced*, or favor, which Don Pedro asks for. What is *merced*? *Merced* comes from the Latin word *merces, mercedis*, meaning bribe, pay, salary, reward, rent, or price. According to the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, *merced* means an award given for work, a gift or appointment given by kings or lords to their subjects, or a benefice. It also means a courtesy title given out of respect. *Merced* also means mercy, or forgiveness. Although Philip III and his councils probably received many such requests for *mercedes*, such as a position at court for a son or permissions for certain activities, forgiveness of a debt or of a past wrong, the request of a *merced* for a habit in a military order has a unique significance when one considers certain aspects of traditional chivalric ideology, such as the idea that a knight's sacrifice on a battlefield could serve as his penance.[585] In one sense *merced* is grace, in another, it is merited favor which one requests based on their former service.

> After asking for the *mercedes* of the habits, Don Pedro started the genealogy:
> Don Pedro is the son of Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, knight of the habit of Santiago, and of Doña Maria Monique his wife, and Don Alonso gave in the War of Granada

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Granada Venegas, CASO Aviendo Don Pedro de Granada Venegas servido a su Magestad mas de veinte y ocho años en su Real casa, los siete siendo menino de la Reina doña Ana nuestra señora, que santa Gloria haya, y en las jornadas de Portugal, y en Salobreña, Almuñecar, y otras ocasiones, en que ha gastado su vida, y mucha hazienda. Entre otras cosas, sublico a su Magestad le hiziesse merced del habito de Santiago, y su Magestad fue servido de hacerle merced del de Alcantara," Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 272r.

[583] *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 272r.

[584] "Cavalleria no se puede dar mas de una vez a un home: ley treze titulo quarto en la primera partida," *Las Leyes de todos los reynos de Castilla abreviadas y reduzidas en forma de repositorio decisive por la orden del A.B.C. por Hugo de Celso egregio doctor in utroqzjure Dirigidas al reveredissimo in Christo padre y principe illustrissimo don Juan de Tavera, Cardenal de España, Arzobispo de Toledo, primado de las Españas, gran chanciller, inquisidor mayor y governador destos reynos*, 1540, Folio I xiiii, with thanks to Matthew Michel for the reference.

[585] Richard W. Kaeuper, Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry, 95.

> notable service to God and your Majesty, until he brought to an end [the war] by his own hand, as referred to in the chronicle by Marmol.[586]

This is a mighty claim, that Don Alonso brought the war to an end by his own hand. As we saw in Chapter 2, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza recounted an episode where Don Alonso was offered the role of leading the revolt, as the king of Almería, a title his by right, and he refused. This episode could be a basis for this claim, as well as the fact that Don Alonso, working on behalf of the king, pacified many villages in the Alpujarras and promised them the king's protection. These same people were later expelled to the rest of Castile.

> Don Pedro is the grandson of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, knight of the habit of Santiago, and Doña Maria Rengifo de Avila his wife, and the said Don Pedro served the Emperor our lord in the campaign of Tunis, according to a royal writ of his Majesty, of the appeal that he made for it, and Donegas his second brother, was also of the habit of Santiago, and friar Felipe of the Colegio de San Gregorio.[587]

This Don Pedro had married the daughter of Gil Vázquez Rengifo in 1535, thus bringing the Casa de los Tiros and the guardianship of the Generalife into the Granada Venegas' possession.

> Don Pedro is the great-grandson of Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, knight of the habit of Santiago, and of Doña Juana de Mendoza, lady of the Catholic Queen, and the said Alonso was captain of the sea and coast of Granada, in the conquest of which he gave great services to God and to the lords the Catholic Kings, he won the victory of the Vega [fertile countryside] of Granada, and he conquered the tower of the Romans and six battle flags, according to the writ [cedula] of the Catholic Kings, given in the Vega, and referred to by Fernando de Zafra: He won the victory of Adra, according to another writ of the lord Kings, given in Zaragoza, he scattered the King of Algiers, in the sea, and he burned the Carraca Negrona, and he gave notable service in the year 1522 in the matter of the Comuneros [revolt], for which the Emperor our lord wrote his thanks from Bornis, in a letter referred to by Francisco de los Cobos. He was the colonel of the people of

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[586] "Don Pedro es hijo de Don Alonso de Granad a Venegas, caballero del habito de Santiago, y de doña Maria Manrique su mujer, y el dicho don Alonso hizo en la Guerra de Granada notables servicios a Dios a su Magestad, hasta acabar por su mano el rendimiento, como lo refiere la Coronica de Marmol." *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*. Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 272r.

[587] "Es nieto de Don Pedro de Granada Venegas caballero del habito de Santiago, y de doña Maria Renxifo de Avila su mujer, y el dicho don Pedro sirvio al Emperador nuestro señor en la jornada de Tunez, como parece por una cedula de su Magestad, del llamamiento que le hizo para ella, y Donegas su hermano Segundo, fue tambien del habito de Santiago, y fray Felipe del Colegio de San Gregorio." *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 272r-272v.

> Granada in the conquest of Oran, as referred to in the Chronicle of Alvar Gomez de Castro, and he was in the campaign of Penon, according to the Chronicle of Salazar.[588]

In my research on the Granada Venegas, this source, the preamble to the twenty-four theologians' opinions, is the only place I have found reference to the role of the Granada Venegas family in helping put down the revolt of the Comuneros, and it cites Francisco de los Cobos as its source. Granada was not involved in the revolt like the cities of central Castile, but for a Morisco family, if they did side against the cities, this choice was very wise. The nobility gained much from their loyalty to Charles V in the revolt.

> Don Pedro is great-great grandson of Don Pedro de Granada, knight of the habit of Santiago, and Doña Maria de Venegas his wife: he was descended from the Kings of Granada and Aragon, as referred to in the Chronicle of Marmol, in the [triumphal] entry into Granada. Some years before, moved by the grace of God our Lord, converted his faith to our holy Catholic faith, and with all of his will and service people, he helped the Catholic Kings in the war, until he entered [with them] into Granada, in which he was a great part: The Catholic Kings promised him villas and vassals, and afterwards they ordered him to renounce his privileges [juros] for his life. They made him their first [alguazil mayor] in Granada and they gave him three marked privileges. First, that neither he nor his descendants would pay [alcavala] in Spain. Second, they have the power to give writs of arms, offensive and defensive, which are confirmed by the king. And the third, to have his house strong and well guarded: and in all things the kings say these things, that they give because of the great and loyal services that the Granada Venegas have done for them.[589]

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[588] "Es bisnieto de Don Alonso de Granada Venegas caballero del habito de Santiago, y de doña Juana de Mendoza, dama de la señora Reina Catolica, ye el dicho don Alonso fue Capitan de la mar y costa de Granada, en cuya conquista hizo grades servicios a Dios, y a los señores Reyes Catolicos, gano la victoria de la Vega de Granada, y tomo la torre romani, y siete vanderas, como parece por cedula de los señores Reyes Catolicos, dada en la Vega, y refrendada de Fernando de Zafra: Gano la victoria de Adra, como parece por otra cedula de los señores Reyes, dada en Zaragoza, vecio al Rey de Argel, en la mar, y quemo la Carraca Negrona, y hizo notables servicios el año de viente y dos en lo de las comunidades, de que el Emperador nuestro señor le escribio las gracias desde Bornis, por carta refrendada de Francisco de los Cobos. Fue por Coronel de la gente de Granada a la conquista de Oran, como lo refiere la Coronic de Alvar Gomez de Castro, fue a la jornada del Penon, como lo refiere la Coronica de Salazar," *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

[589] "Es rebisnieto de Don Pedro de Granada caballero del habito de Santiago, y doña Maria de Venegas su mujer: el cual, siedo decendiente de los Reyes de Granada, y Aragon, como lo refiere la Coronica de Marmol, en la entrega de Granada, algunos años antes, movido por gracia de Dios nuestro Señor, fe covirtio a nuestra santa Fe Catolica, y con toda su parcialidad y gete servicio, y ayudo a los señores Reyes Catolicos en la Guerra, hasta que en Granada se entrego, en que fue gran parte: Prometieron le los señores Reyes Catolicos, villas y vassallos, y despues se las mandarin renunciar por juros de por vida, hizieronle su primer alguazil mayor de Granada, y le

The prologue then continued to explain that the statutes of the Order of Alcántara in the first chapter, title 53, folio 103, excluded anyone who is not a hidalgo, who has a mixture of Jew, heretic or Moor in them, and is not of old Christian stock. To counter this, the document gives examples of famous marriages between Christian kings and Muslims, such as the King of France marrying "Galiana, daughter of the Moorish King of Toledo, as referred to in the General Chronicle of Castile" or the Alonso who conquered Toledo marrying Zaida, the daughter of the King of Seville, who had a son, Sancho.[590] Thus the pre-amble set up the question that the

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concedieron tres señalados privilegios. El uno, que el ni sus decendientes, no pagassen alcavala en España. Otro, de poder dar cedulas de armas, ofensivas, y devensivas, que estan confirmados por su Magestad. Y otro, de que fuesse su casa fuerte y guardada: y en todos dicen los señores Reyes, que se los conceden por los muchos Buenos y leales servicios que les hizo," *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 272 v-273r.

[590] "El estatuto de la Orden de Alcantara, en el cap I. de tit. 53. A fol.103. excluye del habito de Alcantara al que no fuere noble hijo Dalgo, a fuero de España, sin tener parte, ni mezcla de converso, Moro, hereje, ni Judio, ni villano, mas que sea de linaje antiguo de Cristianos. (backwards P with two slashes). Y en el interrogatorio, que esta a fol. 115. Aprieta esto mas y, dice, que no tenga las dichas mezclas en ningun grado por remote que sea: y para obviar que con mala voluntad, o entendimiento no se pudiesse poner por obstaculo tomando literalmente este estatuto, que para diferentes fines y persona se hizo, don Pedro suplico a su Magestad, que pues constándole su descedencia, y del estatuto de la dicha Orden, le hijo merced del habito della, por saber que por su nobleza y antigüedad no le comprehendia: que mandasse al capitulo de la dicha Orden lo declarasse assi, como también el capitulo de la Orden de Santiago lo declaro quando su padre tomo aquel habito, después de estar reducido al mismo termino que el de Alcantara. (P symbol). Y entre otras razones que alego para la excepción devida a este caso, fue el casamiento del señor Rey don Ramiro de Leon, con doña Hortiga, hija del Rey Abohacen del Agarave, como lo escribe el Conde don Pedro, y el casamiento del Rey de Francia con Galiana, hija del Rey Moro de Toledo, como lo refiere la Coronica general de España, y el casamiento del señor Rey don Alonso, que gano a Toledo, con doña Zaida, hija del Rey de Sevilla, de quien tuvo por hijo al Infante don Sancho, como refieren todas las Coronicas de Castilla, y la decedencia de otras grandes casas de señores de estos Reynos de Castilla, Aragon, Valencia y Portugal, que tienen decedencia de Reyes y caballeros Moros, que son tan sabidas, assi por Coronicas, como porque por su mucha grandeza y calidad, son notorias, y que todos los que dellas proceden, tienen hoy el habito de Alcantara, y de todas las demás Ordenes, y cosas de limpieza del Reino, que es consequencia expressa de este caso: lo cual pareciendo necesario, se dira en particular, hasta los que hoy vive con los cuales, si se hubiera de entender literalmente, el estatuto les comprehendia en la palabra que dice, por lo remoto y apartado que sea: el cual en personas de tanta calidad jamas se han tenido por comprehendidas en el dicho estatuto, que para otras tan diferentes, se instituyo. Y su Majestad les mando se lo consultasen, teniendo consideración a lo que el capitulo de la Orden de Santiago acordó cuando don Alonso padre de don Pedro tomo aquel habito. Y presupuesto este caso se pregunta lo que los Difinidores de esta Orden, y consejeros de las Ordenes y otros ministros deben hacer en el en conciencia." in *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del*

twenty-four theologians would seek to solve—whether or not the aforementioned *limpieza de sangre* law excluding those with Moorish blood applied to Don Pedro de Granada Venegas. If it did not apply, he was eligible to enter the Order of Alcántara.

Of the theologians who wrote recommendations for Don Pedro, 17 out of 24 were Masters in theology, 5 out of 24 were Doctors in theology, and of the remaining two, one was a canon and a professor, a member of Valladolid's Inquisition, and the other was a friar and a lecturer in theology. Three of the theologians were Inquisitors, and four were Jesuits. The first theologians to comment, who thus most influenced the course of the document, were an Augustinian friar, and several Jesuits and Inquisitors. All four Jesuits commented early in the document.

Many of the theologians were authors, missionaries, or polemicists. Augustin Antolínez, an Augustinian monk, the first theologian, in 1613 published a biography of Clare of Montefalcro, entitled *Historia de Santa Clara de Montefalco de la Orden de S. Augustin*. It is possible that the second author, Gerónimo de Acosta, traveled to the new world as a missionary. In one source he is mentioned as a lieutenant and a bodyguard for Jesuits in 1613.[591] Gerónimo de Tiedra, Dominican friar, served as the archbishop of Charcas, in Mexico, 1616-1630.[592]

Most importantly, two eminent theologians, Antonio de Padilla and Diego Nuño, who had been on either side of a famous theological controversy only eight years earlier in 1594, agreed together in 1602 in favor of Don Pedro's right to enter the Order of Alcántara. Antonio de Padilla, described as "tan eminente como es notorio," so eminent as is well known, by the 24 theologians document, a Jesuit, had fought with Diego Nuño, a Dominican, in a theological debate between the Jesuit and Dominican orders called the *De Auxiliis* controversy.

The *De Auxiliis* controversy, in general, was over the conflict between free will and predestination. More specifically, the debate dealt with the question of how "efficacious" God's grace was. To the Dominicans, it was very efficacious, for God moved in a man's heart, the man's will was compelled and he responded. He therefore performed the good work, or converted. To the Jesuits, God knew in advance what sort of grace a man would respond to, and thus gave it—leading to the man choosing to convert or perform the good work. The Dominicans accused the Jesuits of Pelagianism, and the Jesuits accused the Dominicans of denying free will and of Calvinism. In 1594, Pope Clement VIII prohibited Padilla and Nuño from publishing or debating further, and he and his council took on the debate in the early seventeenth century, ultimately not deciding which position of the two, if any, was orthodox.[593]

The 24 theologians overwhelmingly supported Don Pedro's application to join Alcántara, but they did so for a number of different reasons. According to the first theologian, Augustin Antolinez, Don Pedro should be allowed to enter and the damage done to his honor should be

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hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 273r-273v.

[591] The History of the Triumphs of our Holy Faith Amongst the Most Barbarous and Fierce Peoples of the New World by Andrés Pérez de Ribas, 1645, Translated by Daniel T. Reff, Mauren Ahern, and Richard K Danford (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1999), 571.

[592] "Don Fray Gerónimo de Tiedra," in The Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies by Colonel Don Antonio de Alcedo, 1789, Translated by G.A. Thompson, Esq. (London: J. Carpenter, 1812), 470.

[593] Antonio Astrain, "Congregatio de Auxiliis," The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 4. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908) http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04238a.htm.

repaired. The second theologian, friar Francisco de Castroverde, writes that "the tenor of the statute speaks to only those that descend from ordinary Moors, and whose blood is not ennobled with such a generous descent, as is that from the line of kings…"[594] Royal blood trumped Moorish blood. Many historians of Jewish history and the history of the Moriscos in Spain have pointed out the connection between religion and ethnicity which was made in this period. A person had Jewish blood or Moorish blood which made them susceptible to backsliding, for instance. However, in this case, religion was inherited through blood, but so were nobility and royalty. The Spanish ruling class did not refuse all Moriscos. There were exceptions being made. The exception for the Granada Venegas should undermine the idea, which perhaps forms part of the Black Legend, that rabid anti-Muslim sentiment was applied to all. It also re-enforces a fifteenth century sentiment that there was such thing as a "noble Moor," like the subject of the ballad "*Abenamar, Abenamar*," who was Yusuf IV, the ancestor of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas.

The third and fourth theologians agreed with the second and first. The fifth theologian, friar and Inquisitor Gerónimo de Tiedra, wrote that Don Pedro should be accepted, "because having such great nobility, as he does, from Royal Blood, [no defautoriza] the religion of nobles, before honor, and here follows that it is not the same, nor could the statute want to exclude those so noble as these."[595] The sixth theologian, Diego Nuño, friar, Master of theology and Inquisitor, emphasized that Don Pedro was not covered in the *limpieza* statue, and furthermore,

> the definers of the order, and its counselors, are obligated to admit Don Pedro in order to take the habit, under pain of mortal sin, and their obligation to restore the damage which the delay did to his ancient nobility, and the services he has given to God and to the Christian Religion…[596]

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[594] Parecer Francisco de Castroverde, "el tenor del estatuto habla con solos los q descienden de Moros ordenarios, y cuya sangre no se ennoblesca con tan generosa descendencia, como es la del linage de los Reyes…" *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 273v.

[595] Parecer Gerónimo de Tiedra, "…por que siendo su nobleza tan grande, como lo es, de Sangre Real, no defautoriza a la Religion de nobles, antes la honra, y de aqui se sigue, no es verisimil, quisiesse el estatuto excluyr a los tales tan nobles." *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 275v (the page numbering in the original document stops, but I am continuing it).

[596] Parecer Diego Nuño, "los difinidores de la orden, y consejeros dellas, esta obligados a admitirle para que tome el habito, so pena de pecado mortal, y obligacion a restuyr los daños que de la dilacion se le siguieron por su Antigua nobleza, y servicios hechos a Dios y a la Religion Christiana…" *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*," Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 276r.

The restoration of honor is a large theme in the *Pareceres*, and it was also an important issue for many Spaniards at the time.[597] The next theologian continued in this same vein, that under pain of mortal sin, the members of the council of orders needed to give Don Pedro the habit. This theologian, Juan Negron, Master and professor of theology, emphasized that for one hundred and twenty years, the Granada Venegas family had been allowed entrance to other orders, to colleges and to offices in the Inquisition, as have other "Moorish princes."[598] Thus, there was precedent for elite Moriscos and this family in particular to be a part of Spain's elite. The statues did not apply. The eighth theologian, the only theologian with an appointment outside of Valladolid and the royal court, from Cuenca, Pedro Gonzales de Castillo, responded with a more spiritual reason for Don Pedro being ineligible:

> Because the military orders were instituted in order to extend and amplify the Christian religion: and if its statutes excluded knights and noble persons, converted from being Gentiles to the Catholic Faith, the goal is not achieved, but is diverted, because it could discourage those who have nobility from converting and from receiving our sacred religion, seeing that they do not come [to it as] nobles with old Christianity.[599]

There will be fewer noble converts if this statue is followed. Castillo then explains that nobility is inherently part of someone's human nature—which grace cannot destroy but only enhance:

> This is not right, because grace does not destroy nature, but before it perfects it: and the Christian religion does not diminish nobility, but before it increases it, improves it, and raises its qualities. And over nobility religion appears so well, as like enamel over gold.[600]

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[597] For further information see William F. Connell, "A 'Morisco' Assassin in the Cathedral of Mexico City: Identity, Civility and Honor in the Seventeenth Century." The Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History, 11, no. 1 (Spring 2010) and Scott K. Taylor, Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

[598] Parecer Juan Negron, "Y en España ay y a avido muchos habitos de todas las ordenes militares, cuyos ascendientes tocan la misma ascendencia en Cavalleros y Principes Moros…" *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 276v.

[599] Parecer Pedro Gonzales de Castillo, "Porque las Ordenes militares se instituyeron para dilatar y amplificar la religion Christiana: y si sus estatutos excluyera a los cavalleros y personas nobles, convertidas de la Gentilidad a la Fe Catholica, no se consiguiera este fin, antes se desviara, pues fuera desanimar a los que tienen nobleza para que no se convertiessen, ni recibiessen nuestra sagrada Religion, viendo que no los tratava como a las demas personas nobles de Christianidad antigua." *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 277r.

[600] "Lo qual no es justo, pues la gracia no destruye la naturaleza, sino antes la perficiona: y la Religion Christiana no disminuye la nobleza, sino antes la acrescienta, y mejora, y sube de quilates. Y sobre la nobleza parece la Religion tan bien, como el esmalte sobre el oro," *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della,*

This understanding of nobility as inherent to a person, but religion and grace as something changeable, is quite interesting, in the context of a social mobility story such as that of the Granada Venegas. They were already of royal and noble blood—now in a new religious context they claimed their old rights.

In the opinion of Jesuit and Doctor of Theology Antonio de Padilla, not allowing Don Pedro into the Order would be wrong for a multitude of reasons:

> In the case of this knight, to exclude him and his family from the Order of Alcántara, without legitimate cause, and there is no legitimate cause, would be against charity, because to exclude them from the temporal and spiritual gifts that the order has brought forth for those that merit them, it would be against justice, because it would deprive them of the honor and authority derived from their nobility, and put a large mark on their nobility unjustly. It would be against the Catholic faith, because it would put up an obstacle to the conversion of infidels, if the nobility that sons of Kings and Princes inherited from their birth, they had to give up in order to be Christians, and in particular this would be against the good of the order of Alcántara and would take away its power to be honored and enriched by the nobility, valor and Christianity which has been proven by this entire lineage [Granada Venegas]. Also, this exclusion would be completely against its original justification, and furthermore against the intention and law of the Lawgiver…[601]

According to Padilla, not only would the rejection of Don Pedro from Alcántara be against charity, justice, the Catholic faith, and the good of the order itself, it would be against the law of Christ:

> And it cannot be said that it would be a just cause to exclude these knights with the lineage of Moors: because for the reason of lineage, or nation, precisely no one may be excluded, nor may they be held incapable of similar honors, because this is not permitted

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sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas," Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 277v.

[601] "Y tal es el caso presente deste caballero, porq el excluyr a el y a su familia de la Orden de Alcantara, sin causa legitima, que no la ay, como se dira, seria contra Caridad: porque seria excluyrlos de los bienes temporales y espirituales que esta Orden tiene expuestos, para los que los merecieren. Seria contra justicia, porque esprivarlos de l honra y autoridad devida a su nobleza, y poner una gran nota en ella injustamente. Seria contra la religion catolica, porque seria poner un gran estorvo a la conversion de los infieles, si la nobleza que hijos de Reyes y Principes heredaron por su nacimiento, la huviessen de perder por ser Christianos: y aun en particular contra el bien de la misma orden de Alcantara inhabitarla, para no se poder honrar y edificar con la nobleza, valor y Christianidad tan provada, y aprovada de todo este linage: y ansi esta exclusion seria llanamenta contra la justificacion que la le pretende, y por el consiguente contra la intencio de la ley, y del Legislador…" *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

under the common nature of all things, nor by Christian charity and law of Christ: *Apud que non est distincio Iudei & Graeti.*[602]

Padilla quotes the Apostle Paul in Romans 10:12, that in Christ there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, and that no one of any lineage should be excluded from the faith or from any honors. These generous views towards *conversos* follow those of Alonso de Cartagena (1384-1456), though the Jesuit theologian does not mention him. The authorities Padilla cites in his opinion are Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Paul's letter to the Romans. Other authorities cited by the theologians include St. Luke, and St. Augustine. In general, the twenty-four theologians emphasize that Don Pedro is descended from Nasrid royalty, and that he is a sincere Christian. His royal blood should trump his Moorish blood and he should be allowed entrance to the elite order. Nobility is a quality that religion cannot change—and what Alcántara is honoring in its new members is their nobility.

Although the full *prueba* was produced for a specific purpose—to convince the Council of Orders to let Don Pedro into the Order of Alcántara—the 24 theologians' document may have been written with a larger audience in mind, the royal court and Madrid. The *Pareceres* is the only printed document within the Alcántara application. It was produced in 1602, before the final decision on Don Pedro's habit was made in 1607. There are other extant copies of this document in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, and in the archive of the Real Chancillería in Granada.[603] The twenty-four theologians' opinions therefore may have circulated as a printed book at court to help Don Pedro in his overall quest for favor and acceptance, which continued for more than three decades after he applied to Alcántara, as we will see in Chapter 5.

Furthermore, in 1607 an even more extensive version of this document was produced, the *Pareceres* of fifty theologians.[604] The existence of this second version, containing fifty theologians' letters, and the opinions of two lawyers, reveals that Don Pedro may have been constantly producing materials to send to the Council of Orders and to show to others at court, to

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[602] "Y no se puede dezir que sea justa casa de esta exclusion el descender estos cavalleros de linage de moros: porque por razon de linage, o nacion, precisamente no puede nadie ser excluydo, ni tenido por incapaz de semejantes honras, porque no lo permite la comun naturaleza de todos, ni lo permite la caridad Christiana, y ley de Christo: Apud que non est distinctio Iudei et Graeti…" *El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas*, Undated, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 278v.

[603] In addition to the copy of this document included in the *prueba* itself, a second copy is also preserved separately at the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid; a third copy is in Granada, at the archive of the Real Chancillería, "Expediente de Pedro de Granada Venegas el caso y pareceres de vienticuatro teologos sobre el despacho del habito de Alcantara que su magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas impreso informaciones de juristas, anonimo y el licenciado perlaez de meres (manuscritos)," Real Chancillería de Granada. Caja 5434, Pieza 019, Fecha Inicio, 1603.

[604] *El caso y paraceres de cinquenta teologos, doctors y maestros en Santa Teologia y lectores della y dos alegaciones de derecho del licenciado Pelaez de Mieres y del licenciado Gonzalo de Berrio, sobre el despacho del Abito de Alcántara que tiene cedula de merced don Pedro de Granada Venegas,* by Don Pedro de Granada Venegas and Peláez de Mieres, Melchor and Berrio, Gonzálo de, 1607, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

help him win his military habit, prove his *limpieza*, and buttress his reputation, and it also reveals that he may have faced some serious opposition.

The twenty-fifth theologian to comment on Don Pedro's case, and thus the first of the second group, was Padre Francisco Suárez.[605] Suárez, a Jesuit, was one of the most important theologians and scholastic thinkers of his generation. Suárez also spoke out during the *De Auxiliis* controversy[606] which two members of the twenty-four theologians, Jesuit Antonio de Padilla and Dominican Diego Nuño had also been a part of. Suárez added his voice to the many recommendations before him, saying that the statute against descendants of Moors entering the order did not apply to Don Pedro, and he should be allowed to enter Alcántara.

Suárez wrote that there were two types of nobility, one granted through lineage and blood and the other through religious sincerity. "We might call one civil nobility and the other theological, or one natural and the other supernatural, one of blood and the other by grace or faith."[607] Moors might have the first, but not the second, and poor Christians might have the second without the first. In his opinion, Don Pedro had both. Key to Suárez's argument is the voluntary conversion of Don Pedro de Granada, Don Pedro's great-great grandfather.

> …voluntarily taking embracing our faith, Don Pedro de Granada, the first of those knights that converted [to our faith]; not forced by the victories the Catholic Kings had in the Conquest of Granada, but years before the conquest, moved by the grace of God he converted, taking with him all of his supporters/partiality to the Christian faith and to the service of the Catholic Kings.[608]

This voluntary conversion was then followed by Don Pedro's perseverance in the faith, his Christian zeal and his service to the Catholic Kings in "defense and propagation of our faith."[609] His great-great grandson did claim descent from the kings of Granada, he did not deny it. Thus, the statute excluding "descendants of Moors," needed to be addressed. Suárez argues,

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[605] This citation is actually from yet another copy of the theologians' *Pareceres*, which included 49 opinions rather than the 50 of the Biblioteca Nacional copy. The author of this article states that there is a copy "in the library of the Duke of Gor in Granada, un cuaderno de 59 folios." José Antonio de Aldama, "Un parecer de Suárez sobre un estatuto de la Orden militar de Alcántara," *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 11 (1948): 271.

[606] José Antonio de Aldama, "Dos pareceres inéditos del P. Suárez sobre la gracia eficaz," *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 11 (1948): 226-70.

[607] Ibid, 276.

[608] "…voluntariamente abrazo nuestra sancta fe, Don Pedro de Granada, el primero destos cavalleros que a ella se convirtio; pues no forzado de las victorias que los Reyes Catolicos tubieron en la toma de Granada, sino años antes que la lomasen, movido de la gracia de Dios se convirtio, trayendo consigo toda su parcialidad a la fe christiana y al servicio de los Reyes Catolicos." Suárez's opinion is printed in full in José Antonio de Aldama, "Un parecer de Suárez sobre un estatuto de la Orden militar de Alcántara," *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 11 (1948): 279.

[609] José Antonio de Aldama, "Un parecer de Suárez sobre un estatuto de la Orden militar de Alcántara," *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 11 (1948): 279.

> In this case, the place where the law applies well, because the statute speaks in general terms, "descendants of Moors"; and this descent is so special, for being so noble and from royal blood as to be such that, in Christianity and zeal for the faith it is not the same, nor would it be just to include [Don Pedro's descent] in such broad terms.[610]

Custom rather than the letter of the law should be applied in this case, and Don Pedro should be allowed by the king and his council to enter the Order of Alcántara.

Suárez wrote his opinion from Valladolid, in 1603. However, Suárez was not just one of the many theologians that Don Pedro had consulted, he was also a neighbor of the Granada Venegas family, for his family owned the home next door to the Granada Venegas's Casa de los Tiros in the Realejo neighborhood in Granada. The two buildings share a wall.[611] Suárez was born in this home in Granada in 1548, and his father, Gaspar Suárez de Toledo was a judge in the Real Chancillería court in Granada. While Suárez's career as a Jesuit and theologian took him to Segovia, Ávila, and Valladolid, he would have known the Granada Venegas's family, and their reputation, since childhood.

The Expulsion of the Moriscos

The decade in which Don Pedro made this application to Alcántara was an important one for the history of all of Spain's Moriscos. It was in this very decade, the first decade of the seventeenth century, that discussions of policy at the royal court of Philip III led the king to choose to expel the Moriscos from his realms in 1609. This population of more than 100,000 Moriscos, as they fled to Africa, France and Italy not only lost property, but suffered injury or death.[612] Much scholarly attention has been given recently to the expulsion and to the debates and political circumstances which surrounded it.[613] One such circumstance was the twelve-year truce that Philip III made with the Dutch in 1609. The subsequent expulsion of the Moriscos was meant to serve as a triumph, to offset this defeat for Spanish prestige in the Low Countries. Antonio Feros has recently argued that the expulsion came not only out of this unique political situation, but also out of a long-term ideological debate from the time of Philip II over the place

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[610] "El qual a este caso se aplica muy bien, porque el estatuto habla por palabras generals "descendientes de moros"; y esta descendencia es tan special, assi por ser tan noble y de sangre real como por ser tan ille, en christianidad y zelo de la fe que no es verisimil, ni fuera justo comprehenderse en palabras tan generals." José Antonio de Aldama, "Un parecer de Suárez sobre un estatuto de la Orden militar de Alcántara," *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 11 (1948): 283.

[611] Rafael López Guzmán, *Los Palacios del Renacimiento* (Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2005), 70-71.

[612] See Bernard Vincent for details about the Morisco Expulsion, Bernard Vincent, "The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion: A Quantitative Study," in The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora, Edited by Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 23 and 31.

[613] *La Expulsión de los Moriscos*, Edited by Antonio Moliner Prada (Barcelona: Nabla Ediciones, 2009); The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora, Edited by Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014); See also the classic by Julio Caro Baroja, *Los Moriscos del Reino de Granada: Ensayo de Historia Social* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Politicos, 1957)

of Moriscos in Spanish society, about whether they would ever truly convert, and whether they would welcome the Turks into Spanish ports.[614] Some of the same theologians who were a part of the *De Auxiliis* controversy also gave their opinion on the expulsion, and a rivalry between Dominicans and Jesuits, as well as a new devotion to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, were also a part of the political and religious milieu of the court of Philip III at the time the expulsion decision was made.[615]

There was a strong faction that opposed expulsion. Along with the fifty theologians who wrote that Don Pedro, a descendant of Nasrid kings, needed to be accepted into the Order of Alcántara as a Christian nobleman, there were also prominent theologians who wrote against the Morisco expulsion. Of them, the most prominent were the Bishop of Segorbe, Don Feliciano de Figueroa, Ignacio de las Casas, who himself was a Morisco, and a Jesuit, and Pedro de Valencia, who was an historian, and a chronicler of the Indies and of Castile. Pedro de Valencia wrote against the expulsion in the *Tratado acerca de los Moriscos* (1605), urging Philip III to act as a good shepherd for his people, even for the Moriscos.[616]

A debate took place in the highest circles of Spanish society, and elite Morisco Don Pedro de Granada Venegas (d.1643) was a part of it. He was not one of the thousands of Moriscos expelled from the peninsula, but instead, was an elite outlier who navigated these difficult times by creating legal documents, submitting applications, and soliciting recommendations from highly ranked clerics. One of the best arguments Don Pedro had was to identify himself with the Spanish nobility. In another of his letters in the *prueba*, Don Pedro wrote that for a *converso*, "faith opened the door" to favor and promotion.

> …faith opened the door. It is well known that for similar descendants it was never closed. And if the statute had been there, they would not today be able to obtain any of the habits in the orders, that [the statute] excluded the general nobility of the whole world, and so many nobles of such rank in these realms, with whom are honored the military orders, as it says in their statutes, in times past and present, that they contain descendants of Princes that were converted, or their sons were converted, to our Holy Catholic Faith.[617]

In this Don Pedro makes the same argument as Mendoza in The Blot on Spain. If all who married *conversos*, Jews, or Muslims at any time in their history were excluded, the entire Spanish nobility would be excluded from the military orders.[618]

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[614] Antonio Feros, "Rhetorics of the Expulsion," in The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora, Edited by Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 60-61.

[615] Paolo Broggio, "The Religious Orders and the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Doctrinal Controversies and Hispano-Papal Relations," in The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora, Edited by Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 60-101.

[616] Grace Magnier, Pedro de Valencia and the Catholic Apologists of the Expulsion of the Moriscos: Visions of Christianity and Kingship (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 12 and 17.

[617] "Granada Venegas, Pedro de, Granada, 1607," Pruebas de Caballeros, Ordenes Militares Alcántara, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Microfilm 655, PDF, 205.

[618] *El Tizón de España. Discurso de algunos linajes de Castilla, Aragón, Portugal y Navarra sacados de la relación que el Cardenal Arzobispo de Burgos don Francisco de Mendoza y*

In his Alcántara application Don Pedro is participating in an early modern Spanish discussion and debate regarding *limpieza de sangre*. However, his position in this debate is not to reject the premise that one's blood and lineage should be pure—he does not argue against the ideologies of his day. Rather, to enter the elite he argues that his blood as a Nasrid prince, as the descendant of Yusuf IV, Sultan of Granada, makes him royal. Being of royal lineage puts him above any common Morisco. In this sense, Muslim Spain, Al-Andalus, rather than being seen as an "other," is absorbed into the Spanish Ancien Régime. Royal blood and noble blood are able to trump Morisco blood, even in a time of *limpieza de sangre*—these traditional values of respect for lineage and royalty enable a religious minority to successfully assimilate into the early modern Spanish elite.

El Origen de la Casa de Granada

In addition to the Alcántara application and its recommendation letters, the family commissioned another work called the *Origen de la Casa de Granada*, which portrayed the family in a positive light. This document, preserved at the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid, has no author or specific date, but archivists have identified it as from the seventeenth century. It is most likely from the lifetime of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas (d. 1643). Interestingly, the genealogy from the 24 theologians' *Pareceres* goes only as far back as Don Pedro de Granada, or Cidi Yahya Al Nayar (d.1506) who converted to Christianity in 1489. However, in the *Origen*, a longer noble Christian ancestry is emphasized. According to the *Origen,* Pedro Venegas, an eight-year-old son of the Conde de Luque, of Córdoba, was captured by the Nasrids in the early fifteenth century and taken to Granada where he was taught Islam. He would marry Cettimerien, the daughter of a Nasrid Sultan, and be the father of Abulcasim Venegas, Ridwan Venegas, and of Cettimerien Venegas who married Cidi Yahya Al Nayar. According to the *Origen*:

> The princess Cettimerien, who married Pedro Venegas for love, son of the lord of Luque [a Christian lord from Córdoba] who at eight years of age was brought to Granada. Having taken the law of the Moors, they called him Gilayre which means el Tornadizo [the Renegade]. He grew up serving the king in the Alhambra, and made love with this princess in a tower of the Alhambra, the one next to the tower called the *tocas de sus damas* [*tocador de la reina*]. And with Cettimerien being pregnant, [Muhammed] "the Left-handed proceeded to the penalty of death. But for the many services that this gentleman had done to the King of Granada, they were banished to the fortress of Alhama where they spent much time. There, they [Pedro and Cettimerien] had children, Abulcasim Venegas who went on to be Aguazil mayor of Granada, and Reduan Venegas who was Capitan General in the war, who took prisoner the Conde de Zifuentes, which Hernando de Pulgar y Zurita refers to in his annals. Furthermore, [Pedro and Cettimerien] they had a daughter named Cetimerien Venegas who married Cidi Yahya Al Nayar, son of Abenzelin, the prince of Almería...[619]

Bobadilla dió a la Magestad de Phelipe Segundo en razón de haberle negado dos mercedes de hábitos para sus sobrinos, B.N.M. MSS 3229 cited in Armando Maurico Escobar Olmedo's modern edition, El Tizón de la Nobleza de España, (Mexico, 1999).

[619] "…ynfanta Cetimerien que casso por amore con Pedro Venegas hijo del Señor de Luque de ocho anos lo llembaron a Granada y haviendo tomado la ley de los moros le llamaban Gilayre que entre los moros quiere decir el Tornadizo. Crese serviendo al Rey en el Alambra y tubo

Re-asserting a Christian origin for the Granada Venegas was even more important in the early seventeenth century, in order to combat the most stringent adherents of the purity of blood laws.[620] The *Origen* is important as a piece of the Granada Venegas family's self-fashioning.[621] However, it is also significant for the history of the Moriscos, and of Nasrid Granada, because it is a reinterpretation of the Nasrid past. Like al-Maqqari, North African Muslim historian of the seventeenth century, the Granada Venegas wrote a history of a dynasty that no longer existed, but this time from the perspective of a *converso* courtier with royal Nasrid blood.[622]

Medievalist Charity Urbanski writes, "Commissioning a history, especially the history of one's lineage, is an act of power."[623] History writing played an important political and cultural role at the early modern Spanish court, especially as some authors consciously imitated Roman models.[624] Historians were courtiers, and they adapted to the different desires of their patrons, Charles V, or Philip II. Richard Kagan has argued that Philip cared more about telling the history of Spain, whereas Charles about his lineage and life.[625] Michael Gonzales argues that non-official histories were also significant at the Habsburg court. Especially in the early seventeenth century, these non-official histories looked back to the reign of Philip II and asked where Spain had mis-stepped, and whether these mistakes had led to some of the crises it experienced in the seventeenth century. Thus these histories, with large print runs, in the context of the war with the Dutch, the Thirty Years War, and various crises, specific and general, were a part of a larger

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amore con esta ynfanta la qual hechava por una torre de la Alhambra una lado de la tocas de sus damas y estando preñada del Izquriendo Proceder al castigo de muerte por los muchos servizios que este cavallero havia hecho al Rey de Granada los hecharon desterrados a la fortaleza de Alhama donde estubieron mucho Ipo(fish) yalli tuberion por hijos a Abulcaci Venegas que despues Vino a ser Alguazil mayor de Granada y Reduan Venegas que fue Capitan General de la guerra cuyo prissionero fue el Conde dezifuentes como lo refieren Hernando de Pulgar y zurita en sus anales tubieron mas una hija que se llama Cetimerien Venegas que casso con Cidi Haya Hiaya Hijo de Abenzelin el ynfante de Almeria…" *Origen de la Casa de Granada*, Anonymous, 17th century, Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, 13r-13v.

[620] For a detailed discussion of this episode, see Chapter 1.

[621] For a thorough introduction to Renaissance self-fashioning, see Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[622] Ahmet Muhammed al-Maqquari, History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain, Translated by Pascual de Gayangos (London: The Oriental Translation Fund, 1843).

[623] Charity Urbanski, Writing History for the King: Henry II and the Politics of Vernacular Historiography (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 7.

[624] For more on this topic, see Richard L. Kagan, Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), and Thomas James Dandelet, The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 140-141.

[625] Clio and the Crown, 93; Dandelet argues that this new history was viewed as free from the lies of romance, The Renaissance of Empire, 140.

dialogue regarding Spain's decline and the end to her golden age. They were political tools, with a wide audience.[626]

Creating family histories was common among the high nobility and monarchs of the early modern period. Charles V's grandfather Maximilian commissioned an elaborate family tree in the early sixteenth century.[627] Some of these histories traced lineages back to the Trojans, to the patriarchs, or to Noah.[628] According to one of the most prolific historians of Granada and of the Spanish elite, Enrique Soría Mesa,

> The enormous state edifice of the Spanish Monarchy did not suffer, certainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for this circumstance, rather it was reinforced by the integration into its bosom of new social groups, of thousands of families that with a change of status joined the old order.[629]

In this way, social change and assimilation of minorities occurs through a very conservative process—the creation of a family history—and also through a Renaissance phenomenon—a search for antiquity, in which the creation of family genealogies and histories played an important role.[630] Don Pedro, like other applicants, included numerous family trees in his *prueba*

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[626] Michael Andrew Gonzales, "The Shaping of Empire: History Writing and Imperial Identity in Early Modern Spain," PhD Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 2013.

[627] Marie Tanner, The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

[628] Roberto Bizzocchi, *Genealogie incredibili: Scritti di storia nell'Europa moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995); For more on the connections between universal histories and genealogies and the development of the historical method, see Anthony Grafton, Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

[629] "El enorme edificio estatal de la Monarquía Hispánica no sufrió, desde luego en los siglos XVI y XVII, por esta circunstancia, sino que se vio reforzado por la integración en su seno de forma continua de nuevos grupos sociales, de miles de familias que a cambio de un estatus privilegiado apoyaban el Viejo orden," Enrique Soria Mesa, "Genealogía y Poder: Invención de la memoria y acsenso social en la España Moderna," *Estudis* 30 (2004): 21-55; Mercedes García-Arenal agrees "Así, a partir de mediados del siglo XVI la producción de obras genealógicas adquiere en todo el país una importancia desorbitada. La obsesión genealógica es singularmente aguda en Granada pues los miembros de la nobleza mora participan plenamente de ella." Mercedes García-Arenal, "El Entorno de los Plomos: Historiografía y Linaje," *Al-Qantara* XXIV, 2 (2003): 311.

[630] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Genealogía y Poder: Invención de la memoria y acsenso social en la España Moderna," *Estudis* 30 (2004): 21-55. And in this fascinating game, genealogy played a key role. A source of social legitimization, it was converted into the weapon of the powerful in order to establish their position in the bosom of the state, but above all it was an instrument without equal for hiding the progress of those recently arrived, of all of them to accomplish their integration into the top of the system. The family trees were vital for transforming mere lies into a global strategy which fully achieved their objective, "Se logró unir realidad y deseo, movimiento social y ansia de eternidad. Y en este fascinante juego desempeño un papel clave la Genealogía. Fuente de legitimación social, se convertió en el arma de los poderosos para fundamentar su posición en el seno del estado, pero sobre todo fue un instrument sin igual para

application. The *Origen* is also a part of this genealogical genre.[631] According to Enrique Soria Mesa, the Granada Venegas' *Origen* was actually a forgery.[632] One of Soria Mesa's largest pieces of evidence for this conclusion is that the *Origen* gives a new reason for Cidi Yahya's conversion to Christianity at the fall of Baza (1489)—that an apparition of St. Peter convinced the Muslim noble to convert to Christianity. According to the *Origen*:

> And some say that he saw a cross resplendently in the sky, and that he had a vision of the saint with some keys in his hand, that they judged for this he was St. Peter, and that he had admonished him with his words to give the keys of the city [Baza] to the lord Catholic king and to become a Christian."[633]

Thus, according to the *Origen*, Don Pedro de Granada had his own Constantine moment, as it were. Soria Mesa writes that this is "the recreation of a mythic past, in which historical falsification goes hand in hand with the desires of social homogenization."[634]

The Lead Books and Relics of Granada and the Sacromonte

In 1595, Don Alonso Venegas de Alarcón welcomed some men into his home who were carrying something strange, lead books they had found in a hillside outside Granada.[635] "Treasure hunters" had uncovered these books, along with charred human bones. What were these books? They were the second strange discovery to be recently found in Granada. On March 19, 1588, in the midst of construction for Granada's new Cathedral, the old minaret was knocked down, the Torre Turpiana. In this tower, worker Francisco Cano discovered a small box, which contained some curious items, "a folded parchment, a triangular piece of delicate fabric, a small

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esconder la progresión de los recién llegados, de todos aquellos que acababan de intregarse en la cúspide del sistema. Los árboles genealógicos resultaron vitals para transformer las meras mentiras en una estrategia global que consiguió plenamente sus efectos."

[631] As was "Noticias genealógicas de la Casa de Granada Venegas, por Don Diego de Benegas." Manuscrita de letra de siglo XVII. Sección General, RAH, Madrid.

[632] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una Version Genealógica del Ansia Integradora de la ´Elite morisca: *El Origen de la Casa de Granada,*" *Sharq al-Andalus* (1995): 213-221.

[633] "Y unos dizen que vio una cruz muy resplandeziente en el aire y que la tenía una visión de un santo con unas llaves en la mano, que juzgaron por esto ser san Pedro y que le avía amonestado en su lengua entregase las llaves de la çiudad al señor Rey Católico y se hiziese cristiano" *Origen*, f.25, cited in Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una Version Genealógica del Ansia Integradora de la ´Elite morisca: *El Origen de la Casa de Granada,*" *Sharq al-Andalus* (1995): 220.

[634] "Concretamente, me refiero a la recreación de un pasado mítico en donde la falsificación histórica va de la mano de los deseos de homologación social. Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una Version Genealógica del Ansia Integradora de la ´Elite morisca: *El Origen de la Casa de Granada," Sharq al-Andalus* (1995): 214.

[635] The fact that the books were brought to Don Alonso is cited in Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, Translated by Consuelo López-Morillas, (Leiden, Brill: 2013), 91.

bone, and some blue-black dust or sand, all wrapped within a piece of rough cloth."[636] He and the others took it to the archbishop. These discoveries began a very interesting phase in the history of Granada, which would bring two Moriscos into the spotlight, as translators of these lead books, which were in Arabic. Now it was up to the archbishop to try and understand what had been found.[637]

The lead books or *plomos* from the Sacromonte hillside were connected to those of the tower Turpiana in that San Caecelius, the supposed first Christian bishop of Granada, was mentioned in the Sacromonte books as the man who signed the translation of St. John found in the tower.[638] The Virgin Mary figured prominently in the lead books. One of the books included questions asked of her, another was called "Book of the mysterious signs that the Holy Virgin Mary saw, by God's grace, the night of her spiritual discourse with him." Santiago also appeared in the books. The books created an origin story for Christianity in Spain which was not Latin, but Arabic. For instance, they declared that "the Arabs are among the most excellent of peoples, and their language is among the most excellent of languages. God chose them to support his religious law in the end times, after they had been his great enemies."[639] These *plomos*, after being interpreted by Arabic experts and the archbishop in Granada were later declared by the Vatican to be forgeries. However, the Vatican affirmed that the bones found on the hillside were those of San Caecelius, the first bishop of Granada, who supposedly died during Nero's persecutions. However, to the local citizens of Granada, it did not matter that the *plomos* were declared forgeries, because they had already justified Christian rule in the city.[640]

Like the Granada Venegas family, the city of Granada also had reasons to promote a certain version of its past. The people of Granada would have an opportunity at the end of the sixteenth century to re-evaluate it. These artifacts seemed to prove there had been Christians in Granada who perished at the hands of the Romans. Granadans, and their seventeenth century historians, believed that the *plomos* and the relics of the Sacromonte revealed a first century Christian past for Granada. Not only was this part of the Renaissance in Granada but also it meant that the Christians' presence there was not an imposition but rather a reestablishment of Christian rule.[641] The bones in the Sacromonte gave Granada its Roman martyrs and a claim to legitimacy as a Christian city. Thus, the interpretation of the lead books was a retrospective

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[636] A. Katie Harris, From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 1-2.

[637] For a detailed account to the challenges of relic authentication in early modern Spain, see Katrina Olds, "The Ambiguities of the Holy: Authenticating Relics in Seventeenth Century Spain," Renaissance Quarterly, 58, No.1 (Spring 2012): 135-184.

[638] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, Translated by Consuelo López-Morillas, (Leiden, Brill: 2013), 23.

[639] Translation by Mercedes García-Arenal. Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, 23-25.

[640] A. Katie Harris, From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain.

[641] For more on this topic see Sacred History: Uses of the Christian Past in the Renaissance World, Edited by Katherine Van Liere, Simon Ditchfield, and Howard Louthan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Renaissance project—legitimizing current rule based on ancient precedent. In literal terms, the Christian residents of Granada also replaced the Morisco residents. In 1569, after their rebellion, the Moriscos of Granada had been expelled and forcibly resettled in other areas of Andalusia. The Granada Venegas had been very loyal to the crown in helping to put down the Alpujarras revolt, and so they did not lose their good reputation despite this episode.[642]

The Testimony of Don Fernando Muley de Fez

The *prueba* and the *Origen* that were a part of the Granada Venegas's self-fashioning and self-promotion were meant to promote the careers of their authors; much like job applications are meant to today. It is therefore significant when we find outside verification and corroboration of some of the claims made in these self-promotional sources. In 1596, at the very end of the sixteenth century, investigators researching the claims of the Granada Venegas family found Don Fernando Muley de Fez, a ninety-two year old man, native of Granada, and asked him what he knew of the Granada Venegas family. This remarkable old Morisco was able to recall that this family descended from the kings of Granada, and from the lords of Luque, near Córdoba, confirming some of the Granada Venegas's major genealogical claims.[643] Thus the Granada Venegas not only convinced those who were currently in power, but their identity was also fixed in the memories of their fellow Granadans.

Knights in the Royal Household

Don Pedro de Granada Venegas had a clear goal in mind when he applied to join the Order of Alcántara, and that was to be rewarded for his service with prestige and influence. In the *Difiniciones de la Orden de Alcántara* (1663), we learn that Philip III held a general chapter of the Order of Alcántara in 1600 at the Jieronymite convent in Madrid.[644] In the *Difiniciones* there is a list of the knights of Alcántara who participated in this meeting with Philip III, which includes commanders of the order, who had responsibilities to guard its territories and castles, as well as knights who were members of the royal household. Consider the first knights listed, and their positions at court:

> Friar Don Henrique de Guzman, *clavero* of the order (key holder, person responsible for defense), gentleman of the king's chamber; university graduate friar Don Nicolas Barrantes Arias, prior of the convent of Alcántara, chaplain of his Majesty; the university graduate friar Don Francisco Bezerra, head priest of the order; the university graduate friar Don Alonso Flores prior of Magazela; Friar Don Juan de Acuña commander of las

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[642] However, the early seventeenth century was when the Granada Venegas began to transition to being based in Madrid rather than Granada. The fact that the books were brought to Don Alonso is cited in Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, Translated by Consuelo López-Morillas, (Leiden, Brill: 2013), 91.

[643] José Antonio García Luján and Ricardo Victor Vazquez Ruz, "Don Fernando Muley de Fez, una información genealógica (1596) del linaje Granada Venegas," *VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: De mudejares a moriscos: una conversion forzada, Teruel 15-17 Sept 1999* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 2002), 730.

[644] *Difiniciones de la Orden de Alcántara con la historia y origen della* (Madrid: D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1663), 31-33.

> Eljes; Friar Garcilopez de Chaves, commander of Villasbuenas; Friar Don Luis Henriquez commander of Zarca, gentleman of the chamber of his Majesty; Friar Don Sancho de la Cerda, commander of Moraleja, Marqúes de la Laguna, *mayordomo* (steward) of the King; Friar Don Pedro de Avila commander of Heleche, and Castilleja, Marqúes de las Navas, *mayordomo* (steward) of his Majesty…[645]

A number of these knights hold positions that put them in close proximity to Philip III. For instance, one is his chaplain; others are stewards of the king and gentlemen of his chamber. In this list of names and titles from the order in 1600 it becomes clear to us why Don Pedro de Granada Venegas spent the first few years of the seventeenth century seeking entrance to the Order of Alcántara. It would allow him greater access to the king, and to any patronage and favor he sought. For a man who had already served in the household of Philip II's queen, this was the logical next step.

Conclusion

In the early seventeenth century, kings and councils sold offices and gave titles and habits for numerous reasons, and this "inflation of honors" was attacked in its own day and has also been cited by modern historians as being part of the century's general crisis.[646] In England, not only was the king considered a "fount of honor," but also rival claimants to the throne, such as the Jacobites, appointed their courtiers to chivalric orders, in order to buttress their own claims to legitimacy. These practices continued well into the eighteenth century. In England, monarchs removed or preserved certain religious aspects of the orders' charters based on their confessional priorities and innovations.[647] Both memberships in the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Golden Fleece were given by the English and Spanish monarchs to nobles and foreign dignitaries for diplomatic purposes. In Spain, where the Reformation was never widely embraced either at a popular or royal level, the military orders of Alcántara, Calatrava and Santiago, as well as the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece continued to play a political, social, economic, and cultural

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[645] "Frey don Henrique de Guzman Clavero de la Orden, Gentilhombre de la Camara de su Majestad; El Licenciado Frey don Nicolas Barrantes Arias, Prior del convent de Alcantara Capellan de su Majestad; El Licenciado Frey don Francisco Bezerra Sacristan mayor de la Orden; El Licienciado frey don Alonso Flores Prior de Magazela; Frey don Juan de Acuña ela Comendador de las Eljes; Frey Garcilopez de Chaves Comendador de Villasbuenas; Frey don Luis Henriquez Comendador de Cabeza del Buey, mayordomo de su Majestad; Frey don Fernando de Toledo Comendador de la Zarca, Gentilhombre de la Camara de su Majestad; Frey don Sancho de la Cerda, Comendador de la Moraleja, Marques de la Laguna, mayordomo del Rey; Frey don Pedro de Avila Comendador de Heleche, y Castilleja, Marques de las Navas, mayordomo de su Majestad…" *Difiniciones de la Orden de Alcántara con la historia y origen della* (Madrid: D. Diaz de la Carrera, 1663), 33.

[646] Jonathan Dewald, The European Nobility, 1400-1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 27; For roles the European nobility played in the general crisis of the seventeenth century, see articles in Past and Present and elsewhere by John H. Elliott, Hugh Trevor Roper, and Eric Hobsbawm.

[647] Antti Matikkala, The Orders of Knighthood and the Formation of the British Honours System, 1660-1760 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2008).

role, well after the end of the Reconquista. In the case of the Granada Venegas, entrance into the military orders aided their assimilation into Spanish society.

After a thorough application process, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, the heir to four generations of knights of Santiago, was given a habit of the newly re-organized Order of Alcántara (1607).[648] Meeting the rigorous standards of entry meant that his status was above reproach. He was immune from bureaucratic investigation of his background by a *linujado*.[649] He also had a ceremonial closeness to the king himself, as his master and co-knight in the order. As we saw in the quote which began this chapter, for a *converso* or Morisco,[650] winning the habit of a military order became a badge of honor, but also a location for criticism. "Just as you can tell the New Christians by their sanbenitos [penitential garb] so you can now [in 1644] tell them by the crosses of the orders of chivalry."[651]

Don Pedro de Granada Venegas navigated through treacherous waters of Catholic orthodoxy, *limpieza de sangre*, military and municipal service, and chivalric ideology to achieve his goal of a habit in the military order of Alcántara, which was a victory for Morisco assimilation. He did so at the very time that the Morisco expulsion was being considered at the king's council. To do so he brought together theologians and lawyers, and his arguments, thus strengthened, were ultimately accepted. While Don Pedro succeeded, it is important to note that his original application, with twenty-four recommendations, was over three hundred pages long. He then felt the need to add to it, making his list of recommenders fifty theologians long, including the eminent thinker, Francisco Suárez. The great lengths that Don Pedro went to convince the Council of Orders of his worthiness reveal that he faced strong opposition. After taking the cross of Alcántara on his chest, the next step in Don Pedro's rise was to serve in the royal household, and to achieve the title of Marqués.

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[648] Maria de Carmen Álvarez Márquez and José Antonio García Luján, "Las Lecturas de Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, I Marqués de Campotéjar (1559-1643)," HID 35 (2008): 149-50.
[649] John H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716 (London: Penguin Books), 223-224.
[650] I am speaking of *judeo-conversos* together with Moriscos not because their experiences were identical—they were not—as Moriscos were expelled en masse and *judeo-conversos* never were—but they were targeted by the same *limpieza de sangre* statutes, and were under the jurisdiction of the same Spanish Inquisition. For more on their shared histories, see James Amelang, Parallel Histories: Muslims and Jews in Inquisitorial Spain (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2013).
[651] "AHN Santiago 1,720 Juan de Castellanos de Orozco, 1644," cited in James Casey, Family and Community in early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 46.

Chapter 5:
Becoming Nobility:
Social Status and Morisco Identity in Seventeenth Century Madrid

The long struggle of the Granada Venegas to assimilate into the Spanish high nobility began in the late fifteenth century when Ferdinand of Aragon promised Cidi Yahya Al Nayar, in bad faith, that he would become a Duke. The Granada Venegas never became Dukes, but in the seventeenth century, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas received the title just below Duke, that of Marqués. This chapter examines the process through which Don Pedro achieved this feat. Ferdinand's promise to Cidi Yahya, while generous, was not without precedent. There was an earlier frontier context in which Muslims serving in the king of Castile's Moorish guard converted to Christianity and married into the Spanish nobility.[652] The Granada Venegas represent a bridge of continuity between this frontier context and the later period best known for expulsions of religious minorities and purity of the blood legislation. They provide a counter example to early modern Spain's expulsion and oppression of its religious minorities. Another context—the seventeenth century court in Madrid—allowed for an even greater degree of social success than that of the fifteenth century Moorish knights who became hidalgos. But what did it mean to be a titled nobleman in Spain in the first half of the seventeenth century?

As Georges Duby once asked, "…since nobility was before all else a question of remote and well authenticated ancestors, how old was their nobility?"[653] The Granada Venegas used their descent from the kings of Nasrid Granada to argue that their blood was royal, that they were above any mere Morisco, and so the statute of the Order of Alcántara prohibiting those of the blood of Moors from entering the order did not apply to them. However, this was not the only strategy they used to argue their worthiness. In Don Pedro's Alcántara application, he argued that a more recent marriage provided him another connection to a long line of Christian nobles:

> The Great nobility and antiquity of the lords of Buenache is well known perhaps since the year 1176 in which Cuenca was conquered [by the Christians]…[we ask] for your Majesty to give this favor of the habit of Alcántara to Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, son of Don Alonso de Granada Venegas of the habit of Santiago and of Doña María Manrique daughter of Don Diego Avis de Alarcón, the lord of Buenache, male descendant of the lords of the house of knights of Alarcón and others just as illustrious, as it shows in the family tree presented here…[654]

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[652] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467, Translated by Martin Beagles (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 201-209.

[653] Georges Duby, The Chivalrous Society, Translated by Cynthia Postan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 64.

[654] See Appendix 1, Granada Venegas Family Tree; "La gran nobleza y antiguedad de los senores de Buenache es notoria pues desde el ano de 1176 que se gano Cuenca y Alarcon por aver sido tanta parte en su conquista tomaron su nombre…su majestad hizo merced a Don Pedro de Granada Venegas hijo de Don Alonso de Granada Venegas del havito de Santiago y de Dona Maria Manqrique hija de Don Diego Avis de Alarcón, señor de Buenache descendiente baron de los senores de la casa de cavallos y Alarcón y de otras cosas tan illustres con quien emprentaron como segue por el Arbol presentado." Granada Venegas, Pedro de, Granada, 1607," Pruebas de

Don Pedro said that he was Nasrid royalty through his father's heritage but he also claimed the lords of Buenache, in Cuenca, through his mother, and included a Buenache family tree in his application. Even though he was royal through his patrilineal line, the addition of a matrilineal claim to nobility also helped his case, as it did for others in this period.[655] Descent from the nobility of Cuenca, a city which had been in Christian hands nearly as long as Toledo, gave him great credibility as an old Christian.

Morisco Assimilation and the Spanish Empire

It is often asserted that the Moriscos were a disenfranchised and persecuted minority in Christian Spain. Many scholars describe Moriscos as crypto-Muslims who worked in agriculture and other jobs and who never assimilated into Christian society.[656] The successful assimilation of the Granada Venegas, an elite Morisco family, complicates this picture of Morisco expulsion and persecution. It also shows that despite Spain's reputation, one's religion or religious heritage was not the primary marker of difference in the early modern period. Rather, social status was also extremely important. The Granada Venegas succeeded in assimilating into Spanish society not only because they were able to prove the sincerity of their Christian faith, but because they were able to prove that they were noble, and that they had been loyal servants of the crown.

The Reconquista and the Morisco century in Granada is an appropriate context in which to examine the Granada Venegas' experience. However, the Nasrid state was not the only state to be absorbed with its elites into Castile and then into the composite empire of Charles V. After the Conquest of Mexico, from the 1520s to the 1540s, Aztec Nahua nobles traveled back and forth between Spain and the new world. For instance, in 1525, a son of Montezuma and several other nobles traveled to Charles's court "to both demonstrate and confirm their vassalage."[657] In 1528, Cortés brought a number of Aztec Nahua nobles back with him to Castile, including more sons of Montezuma. While at the king's court, their clothes and needs were paid for, and they were

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Caballeros, Ordenes Militares Alcántara, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Microfilm 665, PDF 318.

[655] According to Caroline Blutrach-Jelín, there were bilateral claims to noble descent among both merchants and nobles in early modern Spain, despite an overall movement towards patrilineal claims. Caroline Blutrach-Jelín, "The Visibility of Early Modern Castilian Noblewomen in Genealogical Narratives: Bilateral Kinship and its Memory within a Patrilineal Society," Early Modern Women, Vol. 6 (Fall 2011): 173-179; For more on these issues, see Abigail Dyer, "Seduction by Promise of Marriage: Law, Sex, and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Spain," The Sixteenth Century Journal, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Summer, 2003): 439-455.

[656] "…Moriscos [were] nominal Christians who retained traditional Arab customs along with a shadowy allegiance to the religion of their ancestors. Most were distrusted by the authorities and were confined to menial jobs; certainly they were never integrated into the host society. In 1609 even this marginal status became politically unacceptable and the Moriscos were banished, mostly to North Africa." Christopher Friedrichs, The Early Modern City, 1450-1750 (London: Longman Group, 1995), 239; Thomas F. Glick, "On Converso and Marrano Ethnicity," in Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World, 1391-1648, Edited by Benjamin R. Gampel (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 70.

[657] Carina L. Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth Century Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 84.

received as *caballeros* and *señores*.[658] These men had been allies of Cortés and had aided him in the conquest—their presence helped support the conquistador's narrative that Montezuma had given his lands to Charles "in recognition of Charles's superior authority and sovereignty."[659] Ultimately these men were given places in Charles's household and their expenses were paid by the Council of the Indies.[660] Some later returned to Mexico, though one of Montezuma's heirs changed his name to Don Pedro de Montezuma, and became a *vecino* and *regidor* of Toledo.[661] Closer to home, Charles V continued this policy of enlisting local nobility in his service. For instance, when he captured Tunis from Barbarossa in 1534, he was fighting the Turks alongside the local ruler of Tunis, known as Muley Hassan, who afterwards made a treaty with him, "acknowledging Charles's suzerainty."[662]

In the Spanish empire, the subjugation of peoples was valued as much as territory, and *conquistadores* were eager to find new vassals for themselves and for the crown, and to receive an income from them. To become rich and to achieve a lordship was foremost on the minds of many Spaniards.[663] Ambition for a noble title, even as late as the early seventeenth century, was part of what drove both English and Spanish settlers to the Americas, and their governments harnessed this ambition to govern new territories.[664]

Carina L. Johnson argues that in the 1540s, as Charles's priorities were directed to Germany and the problems of religious orthodoxy, the ideological openness which had characterized the early sixteenth century in Spain ended. Nahua nobles stopped coming to Spain, and laws which at first had allowed natives to join the priesthood were changed to reflect the belief of Francisco de Vitoria that the American natives, like the Moriscos, were a population in need of religious regulation, not deserving of leadership positions in the church.[665] This argument coincides with the timeline discussed in Chapter 2: how, in the 1560s Philip II decided to enforce the laws against Morisco language and customs which had not been enforced for 40 years. These measures sparked the Moriscos' unsuccessful second revolt of the Alpujarras (1569-71). Johnson's book, which brings together the history of European views of Mexicans and Turks, in a German, Habsburg context, is a good foil to works which have focused more closely on Spain, the Spanish Inquisition and the unhappy fate of her religious minorities.[666]

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[658] "In a decree from Charles overseeing their maintenance, thirty-six of the visiting Aztec are listed as individuals by name and rank." Carina L. Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth Century Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 85.

[659] Carina L. Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth Century Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 86.

[660] Ibid, 87-88.

[661] Ibid, 89.

[662] Ibid, 91.

[663] John H. Elliott, Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), Kindle Edition, Locations 773-786.

[664] William Casey King, Ambition, A History: From Vice to Virtue (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 121-123.

[665] "His declaration that orthodox faith was necessary for full inclusion marked a lasting rejection of the previous decades' idealism." Carina L. Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth Century Europe, 94.

[666] Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *La convivencia negada: Historia de los moriscos del Reino de Granada* (Granada: Lavela, 2007); Joseph Pérez, The Spanish Inquisition (New Haven: Yale

Johnson's work reinforces Marcel Bataillon's assertion that there was an Erasmian moment in Spain, before the 1540s, when there was a greater opportunity for religious reform and coexistence, and John H. Elliott's classic contention that under Philip II, the "closing of Spain" began.[667]

But how do these ideas account for the Granada Venegas? If Spain were truly closed by the seventeenth century, the Morisco expulsion would have been complete, and the Granada Venegas would not have successfully avoided it and triumphed over it. Despite the fascinating intellectual history of the court of Charles V in the 1520s, the whole picture is more complicated than this timeline of "openness" and "closing." In fact, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century there had already been numerous disagreements within Spanish society on whether or not subject populations needed to be converted to Catholicism in order to be fully part of the polity, and eligible for social advancement.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Alfonso X had allowed *judeo-conversos* full rights, which were then repudiated by the first *limpieza de sangre* laws in 1449. In 1391, Jews were attacked in pogroms and in 1492 they were expelled, although *judeo-conversos* were never expelled. Ferdinand and Isabella gave the conquered Granadans the right to practice Islam, and then denied it to them. Talavera preached in Granada with his translations and kind words, and Cisneros came with book burnings and forced baptisms. Granadans erupted in revolt in 1500, and some were expelled. Charles V stopped enforcing laws against Morisco customs in 1526, but his son enforced those laws in the 1560s. Granadan Muslims were expelled to the rest of Castile after their failed revolt in 1571, and Moriscos were expelled by Philip III from the peninsula in 1609. But Don Pedro de Granada Venegas became a knight of Alcántara in 1607 and the Marqués of Campotéjar in 1643. The theologians who wrote on Don Pedro's behalf in his application to join Alcántara were participating in a debate which was not new, but could be traced back to the laws of Alfonso X—what rights did converts to Christianity have? In the case of nobles, did they lose the rights they already had?

Historians such as John H. Elliott have argued that the *limpieza de sangre* laws were used against the high nobility by the lower nobility and *hidalgos*, their argument being that because they had never intermarried with elite Jews and Muslims as the high nobility had, their faith and blood were more pure.[668] Interestingly, a similar argument was made by elite native peoples in the new world. In the late seventeenth century especially, *Indios* applied for certificates of *limpieza de sangre*, arguing they deserved this status because they were "unsullied" by Islam and Judaism, and had accepted Christianity sincerely.[669] Scholars of Latin America have argued that

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University Press, 2005); Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *La convivencia negada: Historia de los moriscos del Reino de Granada* (Granada: Lavela, 2007).

[667] Marcel Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne; recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle* (Paris: E. Droz, 1937); John H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716 (London: Penguin Books, 1963 and 2002).

[668] John H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716, 223.

[669] "…the official recognition of Indian purity. This recognition, which mainly pivoted on the argument that the original inhabitants of the Americas were unsullied by Judaism and Islam and had willingly accepted Christianity, made it possible for some of the descendants of pre-Hispanic dynasties to successfully claim the status of *limpieza de sangre*, in the long run altering some of their conceptions of blood and history. Their genealogical claims became more frequent in the last 3rd of the seventeenth century, amid increasing efforts to preserve communal lands and

three classes in the new world, noble, commoner, and slave, correspond with three ethnicities, Spaniards*, Indios*, and Africans. Evidence for this can be found in the *casta* paintings and mentalities of the eighteenth century, when secular notions about race were first emerging. In contrast, María Elena Martínez emphasizes the religious component of the Spanish context and explains that a better understanding of the early centuries of Latin American colonial history are necessary for understanding how the caste system actually developed.[670] In a similar presentist vein to those Latin Americanists, scholars writing shortly after the Second World War have viewed the *limpieza de sangre* debate and the history of the Spanish Inquisition, as a prime example of the equation of race and religion, an equation that had recently been shockingly repeated by Nazis perpetrating genocide on an industrial scale death camps.[671] Many of the scholars writing about the Spanish Inquisition have also been concerned with how it was used by the state with an apparent disregard for freedom of speech, thought and expression.[672]

While it is clear that the equation of race and religion played a strong role in the politics of the Spanish Empire, including the expulsion of minorities, it is critical to recognize that social status may actually have been a far more important marker than religious background. Another

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histories." María Elena Martínez, Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 5.

[670] María Elena Martínez, Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico, 2-5.

[671] "In Nazi Germany and in the Communist regimes, to be considered a good citizen it was not enough to pay one's taxes and obey the country's laws; it was also necessary to adhere tot he dominant ideology, on pain of being regarded as suspect. Similarly, in the Spain of the Ancien Regime, it was inadvisable to stray from Catholic doctrine." Joseph Pérez, The Spanish Inquisition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 222; "Deep-rooted Spanish practices provided essential contexts to those progressions that facilitated mutability. Even as peninsulars acknowledged hierarchies of exclusion based on color and class, privileging whiteness and rank, they left open possibilities for inclusion. Both sides of the Spanish Atlantic shared a conceptual plane that recognized not only the origin (*naturaleza*) or pardo-ness and mulatto-ness but also its method of transmission (*naturaleza, limpieza*), its meaning (*limpieza, calidad*) and its potential for alteration by the removal of defect (*defecto*)." Ann Twinam, Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), Kindle Edition Location 8282 of 12539.

[672] "After all, the great lesson taught by the history of the Inquisition is that the attempt of man to control the conscience of his fellows reacts upon himself; he may inflict misery but, in due time, that misery recoils on him or on his descendants and the full penalty is exacted with interest. Never has the attempt been made so thoroughly, so continuously or with such means of success as in Spain, and never has the consequent retribution been so palpable and so severe." Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, Vol. 4 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922), 535; See Kagan's article on the creation of the Black Legend, and a strong contrast between a Modern, Protestant and Capitalist Britain and America, and a backwards Imperial and Catholic Spain, Richard Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," The American Historical Review 101, no.2 (April 1996): 423-446; Henry Kamen has famously revised our understanding of the Spanish Inquisition with evidence that it did not have the same power across the peninsula as it did in the center. Henry Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1997).

way to understand this is that non-elite Moriscos faced expulsion, war, and Inquisition, but elite Moriscos, such as the Granada Venegas, overcame these problems with a combination of military service and proof of nobility. Aztec nobles, elite *Indios* and Nasrid nobles were exactly that—nobles—and Spaniards gave them the recognition due their status. Remarkably, the Granada Venegas's status was not only recognized in the sixteenth century immediately after the conquest when Ferdinand and Isabella gave them various rights, but as late as the mid seventeenth century. Having been part of a subject people's nobility provided any new Christian a fast-track to advancement in Spanish society.

In both the historiography of the Spanish *judeo-conversos*, and the Moriscos, many scholarly arguments have hinged on whether the people in question remained true to their ancestral beliefs. Thus the problem of whether there was unbelief in early modern Europe emerges,[673] and while looking for evidence of belief, scholars must interrogate Inquisition sources for their biases.[674] For B. Netanyahu, the *judeo-conversos* actually did convert and become sincere Christians, but were targeted for political and racial reasons.[675] According to numerous scholars, the Moriscos did not convert but remained Muslims,[676] while James Teuller has argued that the Moriscos in Valladolid assimilated well and became Christians, thus making their expulsion to North Africa, where they would be persecuted for their beliefs, even more tragic.[677] Differentiating between numerous Morisco experiences, including those of Valencia, or Granada, is key for understanding them as a whole. In Valladolid, where there was a surprisingly large Morisco community, there were not only "Good and faithful Christians," but those who claimed the right to carry a sword and have a coat of arms.[678] The *limpieza de sangre* laws dealt with questions of race,[679] but they also legislated against certain social and religious identities.[680]

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[673] Lucien Febvre, The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais, Translated by Beatrice Gottlieb (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985).

[674] Pérez addresses this problem as do many other scholars of the Spanish Inquisition. Joseph Pérez, The Spanish Inquisition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

[675] B. Netanyahu, The Origins of the Spanish Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain (New York: Random House, 1995).

[676] Barbara Fuchs, Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism, Translated by Consuelo López-Morillas (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[677] James B. Teuller, Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2002).

[678] "Ejecutoria del pleito litigado por Felipe de Chaves, morisco, vecino de Valladolid ... sobre andar por algunos lugares del reino sin pasaporte ni licencia de la justicia, para traer armas," June 16, 1590. Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid, EJ 1672, 8.

[679] David Nirenberg, 'Was there Race before Modernity? The Example of "Jewish Blood" in late Medieval Spain' in Origins of Racism in the West, Edited by Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin Isaac, Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[680] To Kaplan, this is a "social and religious," not a racial tension. Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Inception of *Limpieza de Sangre* (Purity of Blood) and its impact in Medieval and Golden Age Spain," in Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Vol. 46: Marginal Voices: Studies in

In the Granada Venegas's case, social status, combined with loyal military service, trumped religious factors. Their loyalty was important. While the Córdoba y Valor family may have had lineage that traced to Abd al-Rahman III, caliph of Córdoba, their rebellion against the crown in both Alpujarras revolts sealed their fate and did not allow them to become like the Granada Venegas. They were *aguacils* and *veintecuatros*, just as the Granada Venegas were, but they never became titled Spanish nobles. The Granada Venegas, rather than trying to overthrow Spanish rule like the Córdoba y Valor or fleeing to North Africa, like Boabdil and other Nasrid elites, used their loyal service and their royal descent to become Christian knights and nobles.

Don Pedro had certain things in common with other sons of the Spanish Empire. He sought to rise in status at the same time some men and women of mixed race in the Americas were doing the same. His ancestor Cidi Yahya Al Nayar (d. 1506) converted only a few years before the Nahua nobles who traveled to Madrid from Mexico to show their loyalty and service to Charles V. In the new world, the language of vassalage had a long life: in 1714, Cuban militias were recognized by Philip V as his vassals. Applying for "whitening" status, or the *gracias al sacar*, one *pardo* or *mulatto* soldier wrote that he hoped his "honored conduct" would help him be considered "among the white vassals of your majesty."[681] This language of the Reconquista had a far longer life than has been assumed, as Don Pedro also claimed to be the king's vassal in his Alcántara application. The Granada Venegas and the Nahua nobles were conquered elites, who were loyally serving the conquerors. If Enrique Soria Mesa's term "collaborator elite," works for any Moriscos, it works best for the Granada Venegas.[682]

Furthermore, in the seventeenth century, the tide of opinion in Spain had begun to turn against *limpieza de sangre* laws. Theologians and historians such as Juan de Mariana wrote against them, and the king himself legislated against them. In 1623, Philip IV ruled against purity of the blood legislation.[683] Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, seeking a title of nobility, was

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Converso Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain, Edited by Amy I. Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 26.

[681] Ann Twinam, Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), Kindle Edition Location 1372 of 12539.

[682] In his essay about the Córdoba y Valor, Aaron Stamper questions the use of this term to describe all elite Moriscos who took part in the life of sixteenth century Granada. I think, while the Córdoba y Valor changed sides often, the Granada Venegas maintained their collaboration and thus the term applies well to them. Aaron Stamper, "The Córdoba y Valor: A Legacy of Dissidence," paper presented at UC Mediterranean Studies MRP Workshop, UC San Diego, April 18, 2015, 5.

[683] "In a decree issued in 1623, King Felipe IV (r. 1621-65) recognized the need for such a reform [against *limpieza de sangre* laws] by ordering that anonymous testimony against *conversos* no longer be accepted, that compilations of genealogies known as '*libros verdes*' be destroyed, and that those who had been judged to possess pure blood (as well as their direct descendants) be granted immunity from further investigations. Investigations into purity of blood continued to occur in spite of Felipe's decree, although only a small number of statutes remained in effect by the eighteenth century. The statutes were not officially proscribed until 1865, when a law was enacted that 'abolish[ed] proofs of purity for marriages and for certain government posts." Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Inception of *Limpieza de Sangre* (Purity of Blood) and its impact in Medieval and Golden Age Spain," in Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Vol.

fortunate that his king held this opinion. He navigated the minefield of the *limpieza de sangre* laws through his royal descent and service, and was ultimately the beneficiary of some changing attitudes.

The Military Service of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas (d. 1643)

Don Pedro de Granada Venegas had a history of service in both the royal household and in military campaigns. He was a page, or *menino*, to the fourth wife of Philip II, the mother of Philip III, and he was a companion of Philip III. In the last years of Philip II's reign, Don Pedro defended the city of Almería, as well as Salobreña, against the English. He was made *alcaide* of both the fortress of Salobreña (1594) and Almuñecar (1596). It was after this that he applied for knighthood in Alcántara, and settled his family in Madrid.[684]

In general, the eighteenth century saw professional armies rise across Europe, but the road to professional armies was not carried out the same way in all European countries. In early modern Spain, military service and prowess on horseback was a strong component in what constituted a nobleman, according to the state.[685] Despite any "military revolution," which changed the size and nature of Spain's armies, this concept that those who fought for the king could claim to be his vassals and could claim certain rights was maintained.[686] In 1640, the "Batallón de las Ordenes" was founded. It required each knight of Alcántara, Calatrava or Santiago to provide his own military service, send a substitute in his place or pay a tax. The *encomiendas*, territories belonging to the orders, also needed to pay these taxes.[687]

Elites Seeking Nobility

Many early modern elites sought to join the titled nobility. Sixteenth century Seville was Spain's monopolized trading port—and it provided opportunities for merchants to make a large profit. First, the Genoese played this role, and then native Spanish merchants. Sometimes these merchants were nobles—at other times, merchants who had amassed a certain amount of wealth, used that wealth to buy or achieve noble status, and look for government or church positions for their sons.[688] Ultimately, in the seventeenth century, the goal of social mobility was to become a knight, and then achieve a noble title and pass it on to a son in a *mayorazgo*, his inherited

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46: Marginal Voices: Studies in Converso Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain, Edited by Amy I. Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 30, 33.

[684] M. Angustias Moreno, *Heráldica y genealogía granadinas* (Granada: Estudios Historicos Chronica Nova, 1989), 90.

[685] José Antonio Guillén Berrendero, *La Edad de la Nobleza: Identidad nobilaria en Castilla y Portugal (1556-1621)* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2012), 327.

[686] See The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe, Edited by Clifford J. Rodgers (Colorado: Westview Press, 1995).

[687] Elena Postigo Castellanos, *Honor y Privilegio en la Corona de Castilla: El Consejo de Ordenes y los Caballeros de Hábito en el siglo XVII* (Soria: Junta de Castilla y Leon, 1988), 214.

[688] "There were two parallel currents that operated in Seville during the sixteenth century: one was the commercialization of the nobility, and the other was the ennoblement of rich merchants." "But as the century progressed and the social predjudice against trade and toward nobility grew stronger and stronger, fewer merchants' sons went into business, and more began to enter the professions, church and government." Ruth Pike, Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), 99 and 110.

property. This became true even in places where merchants made a great deal of money in trade, such as in Venice and Amsterdam.[689] For example, in Amsterdam, there was a process by which entrepreneurs became *rentiers*—city merchants bought houses in the country and affected noble ways. In the period of 1618 to 1650, 33% were without an occupation, and 10% had a country house. In 1650-72, 66% were without an occupation, and 41% had a country house. Between 1672-1702, 55% were without occupation, and 30% had a country house. In the final period of analysis, of 1702-1748, 73% were without occupation and 81% had a country house.[690] The Granada Venegas were participating in the quest for knighthood and noble status that was an integral part of European culture at the time. There was a similar ennoblement of merchants and a withdrawal of nobility from trade in Seville at the end of the sixteenth century, in Venice at the end of the seventeenth, and Amsterdam in the early eighteenth century. This was a fluid society where a few years of trade bought a great deal of prestige. The end result was more noblemen and fewer merchants in a time of economic contraction, when buying land was a safer bet than investing in trade.

In the same period that merchants in Venice and Amsterdam were hoping to afford a country house, in Spain, between 1600-1699, 9,486 habits of Alcántara, Calatrava and Santiago were given out by the Council of Orders.[691] In England, roughly 3,000 knights were created from 1600-1641. 1,161 of those knighthoods were created by James I in the first two years of his reign.[692] This was, in one sense, an "inflation of honors" which may have de-valued knighthood in the minds of those who already had it. However, the effort and expenditure on the part of applicants as well as government councils in both Spain and England show that in the seventeenth century, people strongly desired to climb the first rung on the ladder of nobility, and that was knighthood.

The Granada Venegas in Madrid

The social climbing of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas took place within a unique political context and a particular built environment—the city of Madrid in the seventeenth century. The Granada Venegas had spent the sixteenth century as local urban elite in Granada. They were municipal leaders, *alcaides* of the Generalife, and were developing lordship over a piece of land, or *señorio* in Andalucía. However, in the late sixteenth century, Don Pedro's father, Don Alonso, used his role as a governor for the Order of Santiago, near Toledo, to point the

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[689] "In pre-industrial Europe, a successful bourgeois would tend to turn into a nobleman, or his son would. It is easy to illustrate this process from the history of England, France or Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Merchants would buy land, acquire titles and then leave trade. From this point of view, what is surprising is not the shift but the fact that it was delayed so long in both Venice and Amsterdam. One can explain the delay by the fact that both cities were situated away from good land, so that the two elites were almost forced into more productive investments. But these obstacles could only delay the shift, they could not halt it altogether." Peter Burke, Venice and Amsterdam: A Study in Seventeenth Century Elites (London: Temple Smith, 1974), 109.

[690] Peter Burke, Venice and Amsterdam: A Study in Seventeenth Century Elites, 104-108.

[691] Elena Postigo Castellanos, *Honor y Privilegio en la Corona de Castilla: El Consejo de Ordenes y los Caballeros de Hábito en el siglo XVII,* 200.

[692] Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641, Abridged Edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 40-41.

family's aim farther north. His second wife María Ochoa de Castro gave birth to her son Juan in Madrid in 1589. Don Alonso's eldest son, Don Pedro, stayed south, defending Andalucía's coastal castles, Salobreña and Almuñecar. The twenty-four theologians who wrote on Don Pedro's behalf in his application to join Alcántara were from Valladolid, not Andalucía, though Francisco Suárez was the Granada Venegas's neighbor from the Realejo. The Granada Venegas's limited identity as only urban elites from Granada ended in the early seventeenth century, when Don Juan was a page to Philip III in Madrid, and Don Pedro was seeking the approval of the Council of Orders (1607).[693]

Ancient and medieval Madrid was a small town, with little importance to the Visigoths and the Romans. In the ninth century, its Islamic rulers built a castle or Alcázar there which provided strategic defense for Toledo. Its population lived in a small adjoining town, or Medina. After being taken by the Christians at the end of the eleventh century, the Medina continued to grow out from the Alcázar.[694] The town and castle looked out over the thin Manzanares river and its small valley. In the late Middle Ages, Madrid was surrounded by a wall of many towers, similar to the walls of Ávila or Toledo. The Alcazár received royal attention in the fifteenth century when Juan II of Castile modified the Alcázar to include a chapel with a Mudéjar wood ceiling.[695]

By the fifteenth century, the town of Madrid had close to 2,500 souls.[696] However, under the Habsburgs, Madrid's population expanded to 20,000 residents and 3,000 buildings by 1558, and 60,000 people and 8,000 buildings by 1598.[697] Under Charles V, and his architect Alonso de Covarrubias, the more than five hundred year old Alcázar doubled in size, and was given new stairways and a facade in a Renaissance style. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, two ancient towers which had been preserved by earlier architects were hidden by architect Juan Gómez de Mora in order to conceal the fortress origins of the building.[698] If this Alcázar had not burned in a fire in 1734, it would probably be a well-known monument of modern Madrid. On the site of the Alcázar, the Bourbon Palacio Real now stands, next to the Cathedral of the Almudena, which was consecrated in 1993.

Madrid was not the "capitol" of Castile or any important region or kingdom in the Middle Ages. In a united Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella made use of numerous, far larger cities, such as Valladolid and Toledo in Castile, and Zaragoza and Barcelona in the crown of Aragon. Although

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[693] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010), 29.

[694] José María Bernáldez Montalvo, "Madrid," in Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia, Edited by E. Michael Gerli (New York: Routledge, 2003), 524-525; Henri Pirenne, though he argued that this was a primary form of city formation, was right that this was a common phenomenon, not just in the Low Countries, but in Spain as well, for city to grow out from a castle. Adrian Verhulst, The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[695] Richard Kagan, "Madrid," in Spanish Cities in the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde (Berkeley: University of California-Berkeley Press, 1989), 110-114.

[696] José María Bernáldez Montalvo, "Madrid," in Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia, 524-525.

[697] Richard Kagan, "Madrid," in Spanish Cities in the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde (Berkeley: University of California-Berkeley Press, 1989), 110.

[698] Ibid, 114 and 118.

Charles V never had a fixed abode, he was so enamored with Granada when he spent a year there in 1526-27 that he considered being buried there and making it his capitol. Though it was not the city he spent the most time in, Charles did expend time and money modifying Madrid's Alcázar. His daughter founded the Convento de las Descalzas Reales in Madrid in 1559, where many royal daughters and cousins would take their vows, bringing with them their rich dowries. While Charles did invest in the city, it was Philip II who made it grand. In 1561, Philip II increased Madrid's population and its importance when he made it his capitol. He expanded the Alcázar, giving it an "ostentatious gallery" modeled on other European palaces. His court settled in Madrid as of the 1560s, though the king would often travel to his hunting lodges and palaces which surrounded the city.[699] Philip III put his court in Valladolid in 1601, but soon returned the royal court to Madrid in 1606, where it would stay.[700]

By the time Don Pedro de Granada Venegas settled in Madrid during the reign of Philip III, it was a far grander city than it had been the century before. Philip III beautified the city with numerous projects, including building the Plaza Mayor in 1617-1619. Buildings with porticoes surrounded this square on all sides, and Madrid's main roads spread out from it in all directions. The Plaza Mayor became the site of Madrid's largest public events in the seventeenth century, including tournaments, the reception of royal dignitaries, the celebration of births, the mourning of deaths, and the execution and trial of famous heretics and criminals.[701] Philip III and his wife also founded the Convento de la Encarnacíon, close to the Alcázar. Like the Convento de las Descalzas Reales, it became an important place of refuge for royal women. It "was always very attached to the crown, and during the seventeenth century, witnessed grand royal ceremonies, which were celebrated there."[702] Seventeenth century Madrid spread out from the Alcázar to the Plaza Mayor and beyond. It was the center of a thriving court culture, in which many nobles, lawyers and clerics took part. It was also the capitol of the largest empire the world had ever seen, stretching from Manila to Acapulco to Lisbon. In the early seventeenth century, Madrid's overall population reached 100,000. However, as economic historians have pointed out, its exact population is hard to quantify because of the large number of migrants who came to the city seeking work, but who never registered in parishes or became citizens of the city.[703]

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[699] Princes and Patronage and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, Edited by Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 215-217.

[700] John H. Elliott, Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500-1800 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 261.

[701] Fidel Revilla and Rosalía Ramos, *Paseos por la historia de Madrid* (Madrid: Ediciones la Librería, 2004), 56-57.

[702] Ibid, 41.

[703] David Ringrose, Madrid and the Spanish Economy, 1560-1850 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 26-27.

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While the Plaza Mayor, various convents, and other building projects were being built around the city, Philip IV and his minister Olivares also recognized a need for a new royal palace. In only two years, between 1632 and 1634, Philip IV built the Buen Retiro Palace. In contrast to the Alcázar, a fortress on a hill surrounded by city, the Retiro was located in a forested area on the edge of the city and was built to be a retreat. Already living there were a small hermitage of Jeronymite monks. However, the new palace overpowered this small religious structure. The monastery was not an integral part of the design as the central church and monastic wing had been to Philip II's Escorial. This was a pleasure palace, not a monastery or fortress. In the heart of the palace was the hall of realms, which included images of all of the territories of the Spanish Empire, meant to impress and awe the king's guests. Philip II's own hall of realms in the Escorial had been smaller and more isolated. In contrast, Philip IV's Retiro was a museum of the empire. The Retiro had a library, stables, gardens, and fountains, with several design elements imitating Italian style. The Count Duke of Olivares had been deeply impressed by the Palazzo Te in Mantua, and wanted to imitate the best that Italy had to offer, in order to show Spain's dominance. The architect, Alonso Carbonel, completed the project with remarkable speed, in part because he used brick instead of stone, but also because of the incredible resources at Philip IV's disposal. The Buen Retiro palace was the setting for the life of Madrid's court in the seventeenth century—it had a full stage and opera house, and other qualities designed to awe and inspire its guests with the power of Philip IV, the "Planet King." The Buen Retiro Palace, completed in

[704] Plaza Mayor, Madrid, Spain, photograph by author, March 30, 2015.

1634, was the setting for any time Don Pedro spent at court in the last decade of his life, though he left Madrid for Granada at some point during this period.[705]

The life of the Spanish court in the first decades of the seventeenth century was far more public and ostentatious than it had been under Philip II. Philip III, together with his favorites and courtiers, took part in numerous public events. The marriages and baptisms of relatives of the Duke of Alba, the Duke of Lerma, and the Duke of Medinaceli were attended by the king himself, who sometimes took a ceremonial role in the event, such as dining with the bride before the wedding, or serving as godfather to the child.[706] One of the reasons for the high spending of the court in this period was the fact that Spain had entered a period of relative peace after a long time of war, the *Pax Hispanica*.[707]

It was in these years, on March 7, 1623, that the Prince of Wales, the future Charles I of England, arrived in Madrid to try to woo a daughter of Philip III. Although the confessional differences between Spain and England, and between Catholicism and Stuart Protestantism were too great, and this marriage never took place, the Prince's visit provided an opportunity for Spanish court to be seen in all of its ceremonial glory. The painting, "Fiesta in the Plaza Mayor in Honour of the Prince of Wales," by Juan de la Corte depicts a *juego de cañas,* or tournament games with sticks, which took place at that time.[708] As Barbara Fuchs has noted, it is quite curious that the Spanish embraced as their own this war game which had been popular at the Nasrid court—making it famous to foreigners as a strange "other" sort of joust, yet also a Spanish one.[709]

The Economic Power and *Mayorazgo* of the Granada Venegas

The Granada Venegas had established themselves in Christian Granada not only as political leaders in the city council, military leaders, and sponsors of literary culture, but as wealthy landowners. According to social historians of Granada, the Granada Venegas were the most important of all of the elite Morisco families which remained after the conquest, besides perhaps the Zegríes. [710] However, the head of the Zegrí family did not convert to Christianity early, like Cidi Yahya did. Rather, he was actually put in jail until he was convinced by Archbishop Cisneros, who then "had him arrayed 'in scarlet and silk robes as a knight,'"

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[705]"Granada Venegas, Pedro, Vizconde de Miravalles, 1634," Archivo General del Palacio, Patrimonio Nacional, Sección: Personal, Caja 687, Expediente 19.

[706] María José del Rio Barredo, *Madrid: Urbs Regia: La Capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Española* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2000), 132-135.

[707] Paul C. Allen, Philip III and the Pax Hispanica: The Failure of a Grand Strategy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

[708] Glyn Redworth, The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); María José del Rio Barredo, *Madrid: Urbs Regia: La Capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Española*,155.

[709] Barbara Fuchs, Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain, 89-100.

[710] "…the Zegríes, the Palacios, the Leon, the De la Reina, Belvis, Dordux, Benajara, and Valle families," Enrique Soria Mesa, "De la conquista a la asimilación: La integración de la Aristocracia nazarí en la oligarquía granadina, siglos XV-XVII," 2.

Christian knighthood being an integral part of a visible conversion.[711] In contrast to the Granada Venegas, the Córdoba y Valor family ruined their chances at a Spanish noble title through their multiple rebellions.[712]

During the Reconquista, many nobles who had gained territories through conquest divided their lands among all their children because there was enough land for all. After 1492, it became more important to keep the property intact.[713] A *mayorazgo* was an old Castilian institution that allowed a father to pass on, intact, a piece of land or property to one heir.[714] It was in 1505 at the Cortes del Toro that the way was opened for more and more Castilians to establish *mayorazgos*.[715] The Granada Venegas had four *mayorazgos*. The first was established by Don Alonso Venegas in 1533, the second was a result of marriage negotiations by Gil Vázquez Rengifo and his family when his oldest daughter María Rengifo Dávila married Don Pedro in 1535, which was in 1568 given to their grandson Jerónimo Rengifo. The fourth was made by Don Pedro de Granada Venegas Manrique de Mendoza in 1624, for his son Francisco de Granada Venegas Toledo, who died before inheriting it.[716] Establishing a *mayorazgo* was a significant initial step in the process of a family's accumulation of wealth.[717]
It was still necessary at the end of the sixteenth century to get royal approval to change the laws of inheritance. A female member of the family, Mariana de Granada Venegas, wife of Pedro de Hinojosa, was involved in the partitioning of her husband's estate after he died. Instead of giving each child their "legítima," they were given smaller portions and the eldest son was given the largest part, the *mayorazgo*. In the document, Philip II gave this right to Don Pedro de Hinojosa,

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[711] James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 10.
[712] Francisco José Cano Hila, "Apuntes Históricos sobre el linaje morisco de los Córdoba y Valor," FARUA 12 (2009): 27.
[713] James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 80.
[714] James Casey writes that a mayorazgo was necessary "if an aristocracy was to be maintained." James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 81; José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010), 29.
[715] Enrique Soria Mesa, *El Cambio Inmóvil: Transformaciones y permanencies en una élite de poder (Córdoba, SS. XVI-XIX)* (Córdoba: Imprenta la Puritana, 2000), 114.
[716] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010), 29-33; José Antonio García Luján, "La memoria escrita de la Casa de Granada: El archivo del Marquesado de Campotéjar (s. XV-1643)," HID 40 (2013): 45.
[717] "Ser título era, en la España Moderna, la maxima ambición de toda Casa ilustre. Como la Grandeza de España quedaba demasiado alejada, al menos hasta la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII, conseguir un título de conde o marqués era el objective final de las estrategias seculars desarrolladas por una familia." Enrique Soria Mesa, *El Cambio Inmóvil: Transformaciones y permanencies en una élite de poder (Córdoba, SS. XVI-XIX)* (Córdoba: Imprenta la Puritana, 2000), 119.

a *vientecuatro* of Granada, "in consideration of the services which you have done for us and which we expect you will continue to do in times to come, and so that there may be an enduring memory of your person and your house."[718] The widow Mariana de Granada Venegas agreed that "those who succeed in this entail should be Catholic Christians, obedient to the Holy church of Rome, and loyal and trusty vassals of His Majesty and the Kings of Castile."[719] Benefiting from these *mayorazgos*, in 1580, Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, lord of the *señorio* of Campotéjar, received more than 7,000 ducados in annual rents from a territory larger than "11,000 acres of land in Campotéjar and Dehesas Viejas."[720] Having this *señorio* helped Granada Venegas avoid the 1609 Morisco expulsion.[721]

Becoming Nobility in Madrid: In the Household of the King and Queen

The early seventeenth century was a critical time for Don Pedro's quest for favor and noble status in Madrid. This was during the minority of Philip III, when the young prince was most influenced by Don Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Marqués of Denia, the Duke of Lerma.[722] In the correspondence of Lerma's secretary, Rodrigo de Calderón, between 1601 and 1606, there are two letters from Don Pedro de Granada Venegas to Don Rodrigo and by extension to the Duke of Lerma.[723] In these letters Don Pedro refers to the findings of the twenty-four theologians regarding his descent from the "mayor nobleza de España," who had always been able to enter the military orders. He then asked, referring to the common nobility and religion they shared, that Calderón/Lerma require Alcántara or Santiago to accept him.[724]

Rodrigo de Calderón was a citizen of Valladolid and served Philip III and Lerma there while the court was in place there from 1601-1606.[725] The opinions of the theologians who wrote on Don Pedro's behalf in the Alcántara application were gathered over the course of a month, in

[718] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada, RD 1,017-26v, 17 July 1599, cited in James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 81.
[719] Ibid.
[720] Enrique Soria Mesa, "De la conquista a la asimilación: La integración de la Aristocracia nazarí en la oligarquía granadina, siglos XV-XVII," 5.
[721] "Los Granada Venegas, como es bien sabido, lograron hacerse finalmente con un señorio, Campotéjar, constituyendose asi en la unica excepción que pervivió a los acontecimientos finiseculares." ´Angel Galán Sánchez, *Los Mudéjares del Reino de Granada* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1991), 280.
[722] For more on this period and on the role of the Duke of Lerma, see Patrick Williams, The Great Favourite: The Duke of Lerma and the Court and Government of Philip III, 1598-1621 (Manchester UK: Manchester University Press, 2006); Paul C. Allen, Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621: The Failure of a Grand Strategy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Antonio Feros, Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); The World of the Favourite, Edited by John H. Elliott and J.W. Brockliss (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
[723] Correspondencia de Rodrigo Caderón, Marqués de Siete Iglesias (1570-1621), Manuscript, Biblioteca Digital Hispanica, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
[724] Ibid.
[725] Patrick Williams, The Great Favourite: The Duke of Lerma and the Court and Government of Philip III, 1598-1621 (Manchester UK: Manchester University Press, 2006), 109.

Valladolid, in 1602.[726] Though this is only circumstantial evidence, it may explain why the theologians who helped Don Pedro were based in Valladolid rather than Granada or elsewhere. First, Don Pedro had followed the king's court to Valladolid and was present there during this period. Second, he may have received some help from Rodrigo de Calderón, a native of the city, and may have been referring to a commonly known printed document, the *Pareceres* of the twenty-four theologians, which Calderón may have had a part in, or may have at least read, because it was a printed document of which multiple copies exist today.[727]

In 1607, as discussed in detail in Chapter 4, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas received his long desired habit of the Order of Alcántara. In 1611, the newly knighted Don Pedro wrote the young king Philip III a letter. He was currently serving the king as a *gentilhombre de la Boca*, which means that Don Pedro participated in the ceremonies of the table and chapel for the king. In the letter, Don Pedro wrote that he had been at court for four years, a fact that was well-known. He had "seen the Duke of Lerma and others of the king's greatest ministers." He had not left the court in four years, besides a trip to the king's hunting lodge in Aranjuez, on the king's commission. Because Don Pedro had "spent all of his life serving the king," in military campaigns and in other capacities, he argued that he deserved "*mercedes* which correspond to his merits and to the greatness of the king." He wrote because he thought the king's council was going to send him to Ávila as a *regidor*, the same position as a *veintecuatro* in Andalucía, equivalent to the honor he already held in Granada, a post he considered inferior to his merits and to his status as the king's man (*criado*). He wanted a better position.[728] In another letter, from the same year, Don Pedro requested to be made an ambassador.[729] His letters were respectful, but frustrated. He felt that his talents would be better served in a more powerful position.

Interestingly, in this same period, between 1603 and 1611, although Don Pedro said he was at court, according to municipal records, he did not apply for *vecinidad, legitimación* or *naturaleza* in the city of Madrid.[730] Nor did he or other members of his family apply for *hidalguía* there.[731] Nor is there a record of him as one of Madrid's *regidores*.[732] The court was in Valldolid until 1606, but Don Pedro could have applied for these positions in Madrid afterwards.

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[726] "El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas." Undated, Real Academia de Historia, Madrid.

[727] Ibid.

[728] "y lo an visto el Duque de Lerma y otros de los mayores ministros de V. Mag." "sobre persona de su calidad y que a gastado toda su vida sirviendo a V. Mag. Espero justamente que las mercedes avian de ser correspondientes a ellos y sus meritos y a la grandeza de V. Mag." "Memorial de Pedro de Granada Venegas, caballero de Alcántara, pidiendo mercedes que se correspondan a sus meritos, 1611," Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, Leg 88-480.

[729] "Memorial de Pedro de Granada Venegas, caballero de Alcántara, pidiendo que se le de una embajada, 1611," Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, Leg 88-482.

[730] Archivo de Villa, Madrid, Pretendientes de vecinidades, legitimaciones y naturalezas, Seccion 2, Legajo 347, Numeros 13-17, 1603-1611.

[731] Fernando del Arco y García, *Hidalguías Madrileñas: Catálogo Alfabético y Cronológico de los Fondos Documentales del Archivo de Villa del Ayuntamiento de Madrid* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2004).

[732] Archivo de Villa, Madrid, Regidores, 1346-1897, VIII, Secretaría.

Allowing for the possibility that documents could have been lost from Madrid's municipal archive, it is interesting that the most documentation relating to the Granada Venegas is in the municipal archives of Granada and the royal archives at Simancas and elsewhere rather than in Madrid's municipal archives. Don Pedro was still registered as a *vecino* and citizen of Granada and had a seat in the town council, and he was a territorial lord in Andalucía—but he was also serving at the king's court. Being *regidores* or *veintecuatros* of Granada was an important part of this family's elite identity. The Granada Venegas held the title of *vientecuatro* since the conquest of Granada, along with other elites such as the Marqués of Mondéjar and another Morisco family, the Zegrí. By 1556, there were only four Moriscos with the position of *vientecuatro* in Granada, and the Granada Venegas kept their seat into the seventeenth century.[733] This family maintained ties and influence in both Granada and the royal court.[734]

On the 26 of March, 1623, at the age of 64, Don Pedro's persistent requests finally paid off when he became a *mayordomo de la Reina*, serving in the queen's household in Madrid.[735] This was a major court position, one that Lerma had won for his most important clients in an earlier decade.[736] Interestingly, 1623 was the same year that Philip IV had ruled against purity of the blood statutes, which may have helped opened the door for Don Pedro to join the queen's household.[737] The Duke of Lerma had reached the peak of his powers in this period. Lerma had been given many privileges by the king, including the right to carry his sword and dagger into the meetings of the Ayuntamiento, Madrid's town council, and have the first voice and vote after that of Madrid's *Regidor*, and the right to pass on these privileges to his successors. In the document granting the Duke this *merced*, Philip IV twice referred to Lerma as his *abuelo*, or

[733] James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 15.

[734] "This extensive network of kin which linked the various members of the imperial bureaucracy to the patricians of Granada makes it very difficult to visualize two parties, the court and the country, whose lines of confrontation can be clearly drawn." James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 276.

[735] "Granada Venegas, Pedro, Vizconde de Miravalles, 1634," Archivo General del Palacio, Patrimonio Nacional, Sección: Personal, Caja 687, Expediente 19.

[736] Patrick Williams, The Great Favourite: The Duke of Lerma and the Court and Government of Philip III, 1598-1621, 105-106.

[737] "In a decree issued in 1623, King Felipe IV (r. 1621-65) recognized the need for such a reform [against *limpieza de sangre* laws] by ordering that anonymous testimony against *conversos* no longer be accepted, that compilations of genealogies known as '*libros verdes*' be destroyed, and that those who had been judged to possess pure blood (as well as their direct descendants) be granted immunity from further investigations. Investigations into purity of blood continued to occur in spite of Felipe's decree, although only a small number of statutes remained in effect by the eighteenth century. The statutes were not officially proscribed until 1865, when a law was enacted that 'abolish[ed] proofs of purity for marriages and for certain government posts." Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Inception of *Limpieza de Sangre* (Purity of Blood) and its impact in Medieval and Golden Age Spain," in Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Vol. 46: Marginal Voices: Studies in Converso Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain, Edited by Amy I. Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 30, 33.

grandfather, a term of respect and endearment.[738] Lerma soon reached the end of his powers, however, being asked to return money to the state in 1624, and dying in 1625.

After becoming the queen's *mayordomo*, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas continued to gain more titles and honors. In a *merced* document of 1632, when, because of the "quality and antiquity of [his] house" and the great, notable, particular, and "agreeable" services the family has given the crown, in both "peace and war," Don Pedro was given the title of Visconde de la villa de Miraballes. He was referred to by Philip IV as both a knight of Alcántara, *mayordomo* of the queen, and a *gentilhombre de la boca*. Don Pedro's new position of Visconde made him a titled noble, but slightly lower in rank to Conde, Marqués, and Duke.[739]

Soon after he became the Vizconde de Miravalles, Don Pedro petitioned the king for another honor. This time it was for the grace to be allowed to retire from court.[740] Don Pedro wrote,

> Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, knight of the habit of Alcántara, gentleman of the (table) of the king, says that for more than nineteen years I have assisted to the service of your majesty, and most recently in the last ten years, I have served continuously without any assistance. I need to return to Granada to my houses and my land, I ask your majesty if you would give me the grace to give license which I would receive as a great gift.[741]

In this letter, we see the extent of Don Pedro's attachment to Granada, to his *señorio* in Campotéjar, and his responsibilities there. Perhaps, at the age of 73, he also simply wanted a reprieve from the challenges of court, and from the financial sacrifices which came from keeping up appearances in the capitol.[742]

Don Pedro's request was granted, because his status as retiree, or *jubilado*, was noted in a list of the members of the queen Margarita's household, made in 1640. In this document, after the lists of noblemen serving in the queen's chamber, the pages that follow contain lists of the queen's ladies, in their various ranks, and then those men and women who provide the bread,

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[738] "Regimiento Perpetuo al Duque de Lerma, Junio 11, 1625," Archivo de Villa, Secc. 2, Legajo 287, Num. 61.

[739] "Merced del titulo de vizconde de la villa de Miravalles (Bilbao) a favor de Pedro de Granada y Benegas," Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Nobleza, Toledo, ASTORGA, C.9, D.17, 03-06-1632, 1recto.

[740] "Granada Venegas, Pedro, Vizconde de Miravalles, 1634," Archivo General del Palacio, Patrimonio Nacional, Sección: Personal, Caja 687, Expediente 19.

[741] "Don Pedro de Granada Venegas cavallero del avito de Alcantara jentilhombre de la boca de V. Mag. Dize q a mas de decinueve años q asiste al servicio de V. Mag. Y ultimamente los diez dellos continuamente sin haser/haber asistencia. y A (onras?) tiene precisa necisidad du acudir a Granada a casas de su hacienda supp.co a V. Mag. Le haga mrd. De darle licencia pa(ra) acudir a esto en q recivira mrd." "Granada Venegas, Pedro, Vizconde de Miravalles, 1634," Archivo General del Palacio, Patrimonio Nacional, Sección: Personal, Caja 687, Expediente 19.

[742] The struggles of a young picaro to live up to noble standards in Madrid is shown in El Buscón, where he tries to ride a stolen horse in order to impress a girl he wishes to marry. Two Spanish Picaresque Novels, Translated by Michael Alpert (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 174.

fruit, meals, and clothing for the royal house, as well as doctors, porters, and cleaners.[743] Listed first were the highest ranking nobles in her service, the head of the queen's chamber service (*camarara mayor*), the Countess of Olivares, the Duchess of San Lucar, the Marqués of Santa Cruz, the Conde of Altamira, the Marqués of Campo Rey, Don Pedro de Granada, and ten other counts and marqueses. [744] Fascinatingly, Don Pedro is listed as one of the first among these nobles, marqueses, condes, viceroys and ambassadors as the Marqués of Campo Rey.[745] He received this title in 1634.[746] However, this was not a position relating to the territories his family had been governing as a *señorio* near the town of Campotéjar, which they had been lords of since the Conquest of Granada. He would finally receive that title, Marqués of Campotéjar, three years later in 1643. The Granada Venegas's aspiration to nobility had been clearly achieved.

Don Pedro served in a prestigious position in the household of the queen and his Morisco family successfully assimilated into the Spanish nobility. Was he "domesticated" by the court?[747]

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[743] "Three Documents Relating to the Household of Queen Margarita, wife of Philip IV," The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, Fernán Nuñez Collection, MS UCB 143, no. 66.

[744] "the Camarara mayor,
La Condesa de Olivares, Duquesa de San Lucar tiene de gaxes un quiento d mrs.
Por camarera mayor.
El Marques de Santa Cruz, gazes un quento
El Conde de Altamira gases un quento de mrs
El Marques de Campo Rey Don Pedro de Granada, Jubilado
El Marques de Castrofuerte, llebagaxes
El Conde de Ocastro no los lleba por aux
El Marq de Navarre los lleba sirve al (crossed out)
El Conde de la Corcana nollebaxes por au
Do. Francisco de Melo Birrey de Sicilia no llebagaxes por ausente
El Marq de Castandeda Enbasador de alemania y don
El Conde de moncloba los lleva sirve a la Reyna nrs
El Conde de Figueroa nolos lleva por aux
El Marq. De belmar no los lleva
El Conde de Mora sin gaxes,
"Three Documents Relating to the Household of Queen Margarita, wife of Philip IV," The Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, Fernán Nuñez Collection, MS UCB 143, no. 66.

[745] Rafael Gerardo Peinado Santaella, "Los Origenes de Marquesado de Campotéjar (1514-1632): Una contribucion al estudio de los señorios del Reino de Granada," *Chronica Nova* 17 (1989): 261-279.

[746] José Antonio García Luján, "Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, I Marqués de Campotéjar (1643), de Campo Rey, y Vizconde de Miravalles (1632)," in *VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo: De Mudéjares a Moriscos: una conversion forzada, Teruel 15-17 Sept 1999* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2002),722.

[747] This concept of a "domesticated nobility" has been most famously applied to the French nobility who moved to the court in Versailles in the seventeenth century. For more on this topic see Norbert Elias, The Court Society, Translated by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: 1983); For on a

This term that scholars of early modern France have used to describe the gradual transfer of political power from the nobility to the monarch can actually be applied quite differently to an elite Morisco. First of all, he never lost his connection to the city of Granada or to his lands in the Alpujarras, some of which had been part of his Nasrid patrimony, and he moved back to Granada in his old age. For instance, in 1632, a dispute occurred between Don Pedro and the lawyers of the Chancery court, in particular, Don Mendo de Benavides, Presidente de la Audiencia y Chancilleria de Granada. The dispute was over whether Don Pedro or the Junta de Obras y Bosques had civil and criminal jurisdiction over the gardens of the Generalife. According to Don Mendo, Don Pedro's power grab was "a thing of great scandal and unrest and is against the provisions of the kings of the land and the privileges that the same city has from the Catholic Kings…"[748] This sort of power-grab, with noble privilege fighting municipal and royal privilege, is reminiscent of the conflicts which occurred in Castile in the fifteenth century. It is not a sign of a strong, absolutist government that kept nobles in check by relegating them to domestic duties at court.[749] Don Pedro maintained his lands and his influence at home, even competing with the city for power. He was not like a French noble who sold his lands and properties to dedicate himself to the service of the Sun King.[750]

However, he was "domesticated" in another sense, in that he could have claimed Almería and Granada by his lineage and right, and yet instead, he and his ancestors spilled their blood and treasure so that the Habsburgs could maintain their rule there. Don Pedro was not always happy with what the crown gave him. As a young man, he wanted to be an ambassador. But a habit of Alcántara, a high position in the royal household, and a noble title were a fair reward. Nobles in seventeenth century Europe lived lives full of contradiction, and the Granada Venegas were no exception.[751]

The court culture of seventeenth century Madrid provides us an opportunity to raise a question which has been asked by numerous historians of chivalry and the Renaissance: did the medieval knight, or warrior, become a courtier? Some scholars have argued that courtiership, and the values of Ciceronian citizenship and learning allowed nobles who had ceased to be warriors another way to rise in society.[752] Spanish nobles moved to the city and became a part of court life,

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crisis between court and country, see Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," Past and Present No.16 (Nov.1959): 31-64.

[748] "…es cosa de tanto escandalo y ynquietud y contra lo dispuesto por los Reyes destos Reynos privilegios que la dicha ciudad tiene de los Señores Reyes Catolicos…" "Alcaide de los casas y jardines del Generalife, 1632," Don Pedro de Granada, Registro 13, Folio 94, Archivo General del Palacio, Madrid, 94verso.

[749] This situation also brings to mind Lope de Vega's early seventeenth century play, Fuenteovejuna. In the early seventeenth century, on Lope's stage, nobles and military commanders could be villains, and the king's law could be liberating to a city or town. Lope de Vega: Five Plays, Translated by Jill Booty (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961).

[750] The French and the English examples were paramount in the mind of Norbert Elias, The Court Society.

[751] Jonathan Dewald, Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570-1715 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 7.

[752] According to Aldo Scaglione, in an earlier Italian context, emphases on Ciceronian citizenship, as well as Renaissance learning, "provide[d] new channels to the aristocrats who had lost the opportunity to achieve power by the force of the sword." Aldo Scaglione, Knights at

and, if they succeeded, achieved a position in the household of the king or queen. Some of their daily tasks may have been those of a courtier, but their occasional military assignments and their cultural trappings and affectations, including their membership in the orders, were those of a warrior elite. In the Granada Venegas' case, they were both warriors and courtiers, as late as the seventeenth century.

Although the male line which inherited the titles of the Granada Venegas prospered in the seventeenth century, the cousins and second sons of the family were not as fortunate. In 1621, Don Miguel Venegas de Granada wrote to the Bureo, one of the fiscal institutions of the royal court, regarding money he felt he was owed.[753] Don Miguel described himself as a legitimate son on both his father and his mother's side. His father served in Flanders and in the conquest of Portugal. His father was the *pagador* or paymaster for the Chancillería of Granada and *tesorero mayor,* treasurer, of the Capilla Real of the Catholic Kings. His grandfather, Alonso Venegas was a general of the king's fleet and served in the war for Granada—he put down the Alpujarras revolt—with Don Juan de Austria. His great grandfather was the lord of Almería and the great *alcaide* who entered Granada with the Catholic kings, whose cousin was the king of Granada and the king of Guadix, El Zagal. During this conflict, according to Miguel Venegas, Alonso served in the war with two hundred *ginetes* (mounted soldiers) who he maintained with his own money, and they took many castles and fought many battles, in which he won seven flags from the Moors, and, risking his life in the course of doing so he spent eighty thousand ducats. Miguel's reason for writing to the king was to ask for these eighty thousand ducats back. In a second letter, sounding a little more subdued and needy, Miguel asked for the money again.[754] We know from Pedro de Granada's (d. 1506) will that he did feel like the crown had left him without the money to pay his men. He wrote in his will that he felt he was owed 200,000 *maravedís*.[755] It is unknown whether Miguel Venegas ever received the eighty thousand ducats he requested, but it is quite interesting to observe a Granada Venegas relation using similar justifications—past loyal military service—to plead the crown for a cash payment, rather than for an honor or an office, as the eldest sons of the family were able to do by the seventeenth century.

The Marqués of Campotéjar

In the new Christian Granada, there were multiple strata of Morisco elite—in one group, were the Granada Venegas, and others who had been Nasrid nobility—in the other, were Moriscos who made their fortunes as merchants. The Granada Venegas, it is important to remember, were a part of a small and exceptional group. The Nasrid aristocracy who stayed in the kingdom of Granada after the Conquest were largely those who had proved their loyalty to

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Court: Courtliness, Chivalry and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 222; See Ignacio Navarrete and Elizabeth Ashcroft Terry, "Nobles and Court Culture," in A Companion to the Spanish Renaissance, Edited by Hilaire Kallendorf (Leiden: Brill, Forthcoming 2016).

[753] "Miguel Venegas de Granada, Personal," Caja 1085, Expediente 45, Archivo General del Palacio, Madrid.

[754] "Miguel Venegas de Granada, Personal," Caja 1085, Expediente 45, Archivo General del Palacio, Madrid.

[755] Espinar Moreno, Manuel and Juan Grima Cervantes, "Un personaje Almeriense en las coronicas musulmanes y cristianas: El Infante Cidi Yayha Alnayar (1435?-1506) y su papel en la Guerra de Granada," *Boletín del Instituto de estudios Almirienses* n.7, (1987): 76.

the crown. According to Crown Secretary Hernando de Zafra, ideally, the only Moriscos who would remain in Granada would be "farmers and artisans," so that the crown would gain the highest possible tax revenue from them.[756]

Historians of Granada and its elites, Helen Nader, Erika Spivakovsky, David Coleman, and James Casey have all emphasized that the Mendoza family, the Granada Venegas' associates and neighbors, had great power and influence in the city from the time of the Conquest to that of the Second Morisco Revolt, 1569-1571. They served as Captains General for the crown, occupying the Alhambra and being charged with the city's defense. According to Nader and Spivakovsky, the Mendoza's fall from influence had much to do with their worldview, which was more liberal than that of the court of Philip II.[757] While the Mendoza's worldview may have been part of it, as early as 1522, the Mendoza were resented by other members of the municipal council for filling council seats with their *criados* and cronies.[758] The Mendoza and the Granada Venegas, as neighbors in the Alhambra and the Generalife palaces, had an alliance. It was strongest when Don Alonso de Granada Venegas y Rengifo and Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza were in their prime of life. After the war of the Alpujarras ended in 1571, Don Diego wrote his history of the conflict in a dwelling on the grounds of the Generalife, as a guest of his childhood friend Don Alonso. Don Diego was in exile from the court of Philip II and was not on friendly terms with his own kinsmen in the Alhambra.[759]

After the Revolt of the Alpujarras, the Marqués de Mondéjar returned to the city, but only a short time later was sent to Valencia and then to Naples to serve the crown as viceroy. After his and his son's death, the task of defending the Alhambra was given to the *valido*, the Duke of Lerma, who did not reside there.[760] Both the Mendoza and the Duke of Lerma, nobles without an overly negative reputation for their relationships with Moriscos, were those to whom the crown gave the task of governing the Alhambra. The Mendoza returned to Granada and their position in

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[756] Angel Galán Sánchez, "The Muslim Population of the Christian Kingdom of Granada: Urban Oligarchies and Rural communities," In Oligarchy and Patronage in Late Medieval Spanish Urban Society, Edited by Maria Asenjo Gonzalez, Turnhout: Brepols. (2009): 72.

[757] Helen Nader argues, in her conclusion, that "In *La Guerra de Granada*, [Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza] described the terrible consequences of a policy that emphasized works without regard to faith. He had little confidence in man's ability to discover religious truth through reason, and even less in the efficacy of a policy that sought to bring about true faith by legislating works. Diego's father, Tendilla, and his ancestor, Ayala, would have been in full agreement with this point of view. Through all the intellectual and religious shifts of the sixteenth century, Diego, his brother Luís, and his nephew, the third marquis of Mondéjar, maintained the Mendoza tradition in religion and esthetics, to their own political and economic disadvantage. In the Counter Reformation Spain of Philip II, there was no room for statesmen with Renaissance values; and the Tendilla branch of the Mendoza continued the social decline begun by Tendilla." Helen Nader, The Mendoza in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550 (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 203-204.

[758] James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 12.

[759] Erika Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 170), 378-379.

[760] James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 13.

the Alhambra in the mid-seventeenth century, but they clashed with the city council and spent most of their time defending the coasts.[761] The Granada Venegas were also deeply involved in guarding the coastal castles of Andalucía against English corsairs in the same general period.[762]

In the seventeenth century, a noble title was the highest social achievement to which a Spaniard could aspire. Social mobility meant then developing a *mayorazgo* to pass on to your children. Patents of nobility were rarer than habits of knighthood. The crown bestowed 627 patents or *cartas de privilegio* between 1465-1800 in Castile,[763] and the Granada Venegas received three, one for the Vizcondado de Miravalles, and two others for the Marquesado de Campo Rey, and the Marquesado de Campotéjar. However, the city council of Granada was not necessarily happy that the Granada Venegas had created a Marquesado, and it claimed jurisdiction over the area. The territory had been populated in Nasrid times but had been abandoned during the conflict with Castile.[764] According to Angel Galán Sánchez, there are several reasons why the Granada Venegas were granted the *merced* of the *marquesado* of Campotéjar from the crown. First, the piece of territory was depopulated. Secondly, it had very little strategic importance. Thirdly, the Granada Venegas had integrated themselves into the political and military complex of the Catholic Kings and shown them great loyalty.[765] Interestingly, Don Pedro was an apt politician and courtier to receive such favor from the king during a time of such turmoil in the realm, and in his ancestral region of Andalucía. He achieved his high title in the very same year that Olivares fell from power and the Duke of Medina Sidonia machinated against the Spanish crown, 1643.[766]

What perhaps would have been the high goals of the Granada Venegas, beyond the title of Marqués? Perhaps a viceroyship, the title of Duke, or maybe a high European honor, such as knighthood in the Order of the Golden Fleece? Many of the high nobility of early modern Spain had joined this Order, founded by the Duke of Burgundy in 1430, because the king of Spain was the Sovereign of the order. For instance, the Fernández de Córdoba family had eight members with habits of the Golden Fleece, the Conde de Feria (1518-1552), the Duke of Sesa (1520-1578), the Marqués of Camarasa (1524-1601), the fifth Duke of Feria, (1588-1645), the Duke of Cardona (1608-1670), the sixth Duke of Feria (1623-1665), the seventh Duke of Feria (1650-

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[761] James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 13.

[762] M. Angustias Moreno, *Heráldica y genealogía granadinas* (Granada: Estudios Historicos Chronica Nova, 1989), 90.

[763] M.L. Bush, Rich Noble, Poor Noble (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 66.

[764] Rafael Gerardo Peinado Santaella, "Los Origenes de Marquesado de Campotejar (1514-1632): Una contribucion al estudio de los señorios del Reino de Granada," *Chronica Nova* 17 (1989): 264.

[765]"En cuanto a la excepción de Campotéjar, es facilmente explicable por tres razones: A) Estar despoblada. B) Su poca importancia estratégica. C) La perfecta integración de los Granada Venegas en el aparato politico-militar de los reyes de Castilla, que los convierte en sujetos antípicos y los situa muy lejos de cualquier veleidad sospechosa."´Angel Galán Sánchez, *Los Mudéjares del Reino de Granada* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1991), 282.

[766] Luís Salas Almela, The Conspiracy of the Ninth Duke of Medina Sidonia (1641): An Aristocrat in the Crisis of the Spanish Empire (Leiden: Brill, 2013); For more on Olivares' rise and fall, see John H. Elliott, The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

1690), and the eighth Duke of Feria (1679-1700). Other Spanish nobles who joined the Golden Fleece include the Duke of Alba (1508-1582), Iñigo López de Mendoza, the fourth Duke of Infantado (1503-1566), the fifth Duke of Infantado (1536-1601), the seventh Duke of Medina Sidonia (1542-1615), the eighth Duke of Medina Sidonia (1579-1636), the Duke of Medinaceli (1569-1607), the Duke of Arcos (1545-1630), the Duke of Escalona (1599-1653), the Duke of Béjar (1680-1747), and the Duke of Escalona (1648-1725).[767] In 1560, Philip II stopped holding general councils of the Order and began, as Sovereign, to choose and appoint the knights himself. Though he did not use the general councils to create political consensus among the high European nobility, as his father had done, he still appointed 42 knights.[768] Over the course of the sixteenth century, 190 knighthoods in the Order of the Golden Fleece were given, whereas 316 knighthoods were given in the seventeenth century. This is a far smaller number than the thousands of habits given by the military orders—the Order of the Golden Fleece was the order of the high elite, and the fact that the Granada Venegas never attained membership, or the title of Duke reveals there were limits to their social and political power.

Don Pedro's Library

Born in 1559, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas was 84 when he became Marqués of Campotéjar in 1643. Without access to many of his personal letters and documents,[769] one of the greatest windows we have into his intellectual tastes and his assimilation into the ranks of the Renaissance Christian nobility is the large library he owned. When Don Pedro died, an inventory was made of his library, so the books could be sold.[770] The library could have been passed down to him from his father and grandfather, or been a collection showing economic and social status rather than individual interest or use. It is impossible to know for sure which of these books Don

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[767] "Chevaliers de la Toison d'or: Maison de Habsbourg," Edited by T.F. Boettger, 1997. http://www.antiquesatoz.com/sgfleece/knights2.htm

[768] Griffin Gerard Jones, in his dissertation on the Order of the Golden Fleece, argues that Charles V created consensus with the Order, and used it adeptly, whereas his son Philip did not understand how to govern the Order. "The depths of misunderstanding were reached when the Duke of Alva, a Spanish knight of the Order, arrested and executed Egmont and Hoorn—their privileges as members of the Order not withstanding—upon the order of Philip, the Chief and Sovereign of the Order." Griffin Gerard Jones, "The Order of the Golden Fleece: Form, function and evolution, 1430-1555," PhD diss., Texas Christian University, 1988, 136.

[769] Many of the archival sources used in this dissertation are from state and municipal archives in Spain, and contain letters from the Granada Venegas to the crown rather than from others to the Granada Venegas. Those private letters of the Granada Venegas, after the Generalife and Casa de los Tiros were given to the Spanish government in the 1920s, were moved to a private archive in Genoa, owned by the Marqués de Durazzo, possibly located in the Durazzo-Pallaviccini palace, Genoa.
http://www.granadahoy.com/article/ocio/2093/los/secretos/generalife/siguen/ocultos/genova/html, Article published February 12, 2007.
A transcription of an early modern inventory of the archive has been published, but the archive is currently closed to researchers. José Antonio García Luján, "La memoria escrita de la Casa de Granada: El archivo del Marquesado de Campotéjar (s. XV-1643)," HID 40 (2013): 35-79.

[770] María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, José Antonio García Luján, "Las Lecturas de Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, 1 Marqués de Campotéjar (1559-1643)" HID 35 (2008): 149-189.

Pedro read, but from the printing dates of books in the collection we can draw several conclusions.

First of all, Don Pedro (d. 1643) owned a significant, but not a large library. He lived in a period when Spain's per capita consumption of printed books lagged behind that of other European countries. For instance, from 1601-1650, 8.8 Spaniards per every thousand bought printed books, whereas for Italy, this number was 42.1 and 80 for Great Britain.[771] Don Pedro's library had 219 books of which original descriptions were made. Though the Emperor Charles V had only roughly seventeen books with him when he died at his monastic retreat in Yuste in 1558,[772] his son Philip gathered a huge library, starting at 4,000 volumes,[773] which ended up including the large Renaissance library of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (d. 1575), which the Granadan aristocrat gave to his king when he died.[774] Don Diego had 1,180 books, not including copies.[775] In the seventeenth century, Jean Baptiste Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV, had 18,000 books.[776] In Amsterdam in 1700, those with a high income of 72,000 guilders owned an average of 138 books, whereas the lowest tax bracket of 3,000 guilders had an average of six books.[777] In this European context, Don Pedro's was a significant personal library.

The fact that of Don Pedro's 219 books, 70 were printed after 1580, from the year Don Pedro was twenty years-old and onwards, shows that Don Pedro collected at least 70 printed books during his lifetime, and maybe more. He also owned 14 which were printed between 1550 and 1580, during his youth. Not all of the books are dated, and some are manuscript, but the books' publication dates show that much of the library was truly purchased or acquired by Don Pedro, and not by his fathers before him.

Don Pedro de Granada Venegas was a collector of books, and most of all a connoisseur of books of history. Almost half his collection, 101 books, were chronicles or books relating to history and government.[778] Don Pedro had two of the most important early historians of

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[771] Eltjo Buringh and Jan Luiten van Zanden, "Charting the 'Rise of the West': Manuscripts and Printed books in Europe, a Long-Term Perspective from the Sixth through Eighteenth Centuries," The Journal of Economic History Vol. 69, No.2 (June 2009): 421.

[772] Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, Vol. III (Philadelphia: Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1897), 5.

[773] Albert Frederick Calvert, The Escorial: A Historical and Descriptive Account of the Spanish Royal Palace, Monastery and Mausoleum (London: J.Lane, 1907), 58.

[774] Erika Spivakovsky, Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504-1575 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 170), 404.

[775] Anthony Hobson, Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, their Books and Bindings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 200.

[776] Peter Burke, The Fortunes of the Courtier (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1996), 7.

[777] R. A. Houston, Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education, 1500-1800 (London: Longman, 1988), 187-8.

[778] Statistical data on the inventory is my own. Álvarez Márquez and García Luján have transcribed this inventory in an appendix to their article, María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, José Antonio García Luján, "Las Lecturas de Don Pedro e Granada Venegas, 1 Marqués de Campotéjar (1559-1643)" HID 35 (2008): 174-189. The inventory, "Inventorio de los libros de don Pedro de Granada Venegas," is housed in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales de Madrid, Leg. 2.813.

Christianity and the first century in his collection. He had a copy of Eusebius's apologetic writings, *Preparatione evangelica*, as well as Josephus's *De Antiquitate Judaica*. He also had the works of Tacitus (1614) as well as the first five books of Tacitus, translated into Spanish by Antonio de Herrera (1615), and Caesar's commentaries in Spanish. These reprinted classical works were joined by a very large collection of medieval histories, chronicles and annals, including histories from Portugal, Valencia, Castile, and Aragon. He had the *Anales de Aragon*, the *Corónica del Rey don Alonso Emperador*, the *Corónica del Rey don Jaime*, the *Historia de los Godos*, the *Corónica del Rey don Juan el Segundo*, among many others. With these were two copies of *El Cid*. He also had two copies of Hernando del Pulgar's *Corónica de los Reyes Católicos* (1567). Pulgar would seem to be one of his favorites as he owned five books by him. Don Pedro also collected important histories which were written in his own lifetime and in that of his father. He had several lives of Charles V, those by Francisco de Zuñiga, and by Juan Vera y Figueroa. He had a collection of Renaissance histories. In particular, Don Pedro owned Juan de Mariana's *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae* (1595), the *De rege et regis institutione*, and the *Historia General de España* in two volumes (1616), as well as another copy of the second volume. Mariana's *Historia General*, like Eusebius's History of the Church, began in the Roman Empire. Mariana traced Spanish history from Rome to the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella and the successful conquest of the Americas.[779] Don Pedro also owned the *Historia de España* by Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, which emphasized the expansion of the empire under Philip II.[780]

Not only did he own classical histories and those of the Iberian kingdoms, but Don Pedro also collected histories of cities such as Ávila, and Salamanca, and his family home of Granada, and he had two copies of Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza's *Antiguedad y Excellencias de Granada* (1608). He did not avoid the histories of the Moriscos—Don Pedro had the most important chronicles of the Alpujarras revolts, those by Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Luis de Marmol-Carvajal. He had three copies of Marmol's history, and a history of the expulsion of the Moriscos from Valencia by Antonio de Corral y Rojas (1612). Obviously Don Pedro remained interested in Granada's history as he also owned two books about the Sacromonte relics.

The second largest group of books Don Pedro owned, 54 books, were on a religious theme, though many were still histories and chronicles, including two religious histories of Granada. Books on religious orders were of particular interest to him, including the rule of the Order of Santiago, another history of Santiago (1599), an instruction manual on how knights of Calatrava and Alcántara pray the hours, and books relating to the Order of the Merced and the Order of the Carmen. He also owned a Franciscan rule. Don Pedro was especially interested in the Benedictine Order, as he owned four copies of its rule, two relating to a particular Benedictine congregation in Valladolid. He had the works and lives of local figures Fray Luís de Granada and Ximénes de Cisneros. Saints lives were not a large component of his library but he did have a life of Carlos Borromeo and a pilgrimage book on the *Maravillas de Roma*. He also had two demonologies, Menghi's *Flagellum demonium*, as well as the *Fuga demonum*. Most

[779] Thomas James Dandelet, The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 165-167.

[780] Philip II sponsored Tordesillas y Herrera's history of his reign, and thus it was a royal history. Richard L. Kagan, Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 123.

interesting is his copy of the *Libri fratris hieronymi de ferraria ordinis predicatorum de simplicitate christiane vite* by Girolamo Savonarola, which shows an interest in the Florentine preacher's radical and ascetic urban piety. He also had a Latin *Refutatio judeorum*. Besides the refutation of the Jews, few of his religious books were polemical works, many were simply histories of various orders. Though he did have some books by Fray Luís de Granada, and a book famous for dealing with lay piety, the *Enchiridion*, most likely by Erasmus. Within his religious books and his collection more generally were 40 books in Latin, 17 in Italian, 4 in Portuguese, and one in Aragonese.

Some of his books, 31 in total, compose a Renaissance library that shows an interest in classical culture and its revival. In addition to numerous ancient and Habsburg historians, Don Pedro had the works of Xenophon, translated from Greek into Spanish. He had Boccacio's *Caida de Principes* (1552), a Latin dictionary, Nebrija's Latin grammar, Ortelius's book of maps (1588), two Spanish Ovids, a Lucan, Demostenes, Cicero's *De Oficiis*, an *Enchiridion*, Castiglione's Courtier in Italian, and three books by Petrarch. Don Pedro may have been able to read Italian, Latin, and Portuguese, in addition to Spanish.

Don Pedro spent time and energy serving the crown in war and seeking to prove his knighthood and nobility, and this was a theme he also liked to read and collect books about, possibly to use them in his research. He had two copies of Don Pedro de Portugal's *Linajes de España*, as well as two copies of the *Nobilario genealógico de los titulos y Reyes de España* (1622) by Alonso López de Haro, the *Origin de las dignidades seglares de Castilla y León* (1618), by Pedro Salazar y Mendoza, the *Defensa de los estatutos y nobleza de España* (1637), and several noble histories, of the Ponces de León, the Casa de Irazabal, and the Girónes.[781] Books on nobility—*nobilarios*—were popular in early modern Spain.

Don Pedro did not own this particular book, but in the *Espejo de la verdadera nobleza,* Diego de Valera (1412-1488) argued that after a noble from another faith converted to Christianity, he did not lose his nobility. Not only did he retain it, but his nobility may even increase.[782] This is a very similar argument to what Pedro Gonzales de Castillo and others of the theologians made in Don Pedro's Alcántara application.[783] Though he did not own this particular book, the genre of the *nobilario* was an attractive one to Don Pedro, as it supported his quest for social advancement.

Nobilarios can also provide information on the heraldry and symbolic representations of the Spanish nobility, including the Granada Venegas. For example, a sixteenth century *nobiliario*, today in the collections of the Newberry library, includes an entry for the "Vanegas" family,

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[781] Statistical data generated from the inventory is my own. Álvarez Márquez and García Luján have transcribed this inventory in an appendix to their article, María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, José Antonio García Luján, "Las Lecturas de Don Pedro e Granada Venegas, 1 Marqués de Campotéjar (1559-1643)" HID 35 (2008): 174-189. The inventory, "Inventorio de los libros de don Pedro de Granada Venegas," is housed in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales de Madrid, Leg. 2.813.

[782] Rica Amran, "Ser o no ser en el Espejo de la verdadera nobleza de Diego de Valera: El problema converso," in *Las Enciclopedias en España antes de l'Encyclopédie*, Edited by Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009), 150-151.

[783] "El caso y pareceres de veynte y quatro teólogos, doctores y maestros de santa Teología, y lectores della, sobre el despacho del hábito de Alcántara, que Su Magestad hizo merced a Pedro de Granada Venegas." Undated, RAH, Madrid.

members of the Order of Calatrava, of the city of Córdoba. Their coat of arms was three blue horizontal bars on a white field.[784] This was the Christian family from which Don Pedro de Granada Venegas's ancestor, Pedro Venegas, had descended. A Granada Venegas coat of arms, which was carved on the wall of the Generalife palace, is parted, with five pomegranates, or *granadas*, on the left, and three horizontal bars, like those of the Córdoba Venegas, on the right.[785]

The Granada Venegas in the *Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España (1622)*

Of the *nobilarios* that Don Pedro owned, the *Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España (1622)*, written by Alonso López de Haro, a royal courtier of Philip IV and a minister in the royal counsel of military orders, and printed with royal privilege, is most interesting. It provides evidence for how the Granada Venegas were seen by a member of the council of military orders, and also by a more general reading public some time after Don Pedro had entered the Order of Alcántara, in the third decade of the seventeenth century. This book, like the aforementioned sixteenth century *nobilario*, is a list of the most important Spanish nobility and their coats of arms—yet it goes into far more detail regarding the Venegas of Granada.[786] The *nobiliario* explains the family's genealogy in a way familiar to us so far. There are three things which this *nobilario* emphasizes which are central to the Granada Venegas's identity—their royal lineage, their personal service at court and in the city of Granada, and their loyal and valorous military service. Of all of these, their military service takes up the most text. It also explains how they earned the right to their coats of arms—an important detail in a book of heraldry. López de Haro's entry on the Granada Venegas begins in this way:

> House of the lords of Campotéjar, their last name Granada, in the year 1492: One of the most illustrious families that we have in these kingdoms, descended from the kings of Granada, and Zaragoza of Aragon, is that which we see in those with the last name of Granada, whose ancestor it is written was the first king of Granada, Abenhut.[787]

Here, as in the *Origin de la Casa de Granada*, the Granada Venegas are identified as descending from Yusuf IV in the fifteenth century, and from the first kings of Granada in the thirteenth and the kings of Zaragoza in an even earlier period.

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[784] *Nobilario genealogico de varias casas de España*, unsigned, sixteenth century manuscript with coats of arms, Newberry Library, Chicago, Vault Ayer MS 1177.

[785] M. Angustias Moreno, *Heráldica y genealogía granadinas* (Granada: Estudios Historicos Chronica Nova, 1989), 269.

[786] *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España, dirigido a la Magestad del Rey Don Felipe el Quarto deste nombre, compuesto por Alonso López de Haro criado de su Magestad, y ministro en su Real Consejo de las Ordenes, año 1622, con privilegio en Madrid, por la viuda de Fernando Correa de Montenegro.*

[787] "Casa de los señores de Campotéjar, su apellido Granada, Año 1492 Una de las ilustres familias que hallo en estros Reynos decediente de los Reyes de Granada, y Zaragoza de Aragon, es a que oy vemos en ellos, llamandose del appelido de Granada, cuyo progenitor escriven aver sido Abenhut primero Rey de Granada," *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 106.

Beginning with Yusuf IV, "valorous prince, disciplined in war, as he demonstrated in the wars and differences he had with the King Mahomad el Izquierdo (the left-handed)," Haro praises the male heirs of the house of Granada as well as many other members of the house in turn.[788] After Yusuf IV, Haro then mentions the alliance between Yusuf's son, the prince Abencelim Abraham Alnayar, and his vassals to Henry IV of Castile.[789] Next, Haro describes Cidi Yahya Al Nayar/Don Pedro de Granada as having served

> in the council of the most serene Catholic Kings, whom he served with much love before the entrance into Granada, for whose cause were delivered the cities of Baza, Guadiz and Almería. He was their captain general with his own men, and helped to put down the first rebellion of the Alpujarras, ruling the Catholic kingdoms like one of the greatest lords and knights of these realms…[790]

As a result of the "great victory won by both Don Pedro and his son," he was allowed a coat of arms with "five pomegranates (*granadas*) of gold in a blue field."[791] Don Pedro's son Alonso, López de Haro praises as

> captain general of the Catholic Kings in the navy (*armada del mar*), and the defense of the coast of Granada, he was a most valorous captain in the discipline of arms, as he demonstrated by serving the Catholic Kings in the countryside of Granada, having besieged the city of Granada with many other mounted men, and foot soldiers on the 21 of August in 1491. For these services, the kings gave him the privilege of the six flags which he won from the Moors that day, as were seen in the coat of arms of his house. He won, by force of arms, the tower of the Romans…he won the battle of Adra, winning a colored flag of the Moors, that he is also allowed to bear…he conquered the king of Algiers, and took three galleons with their artillery, which today the lords of this house

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[788] "Juzephe Abenalmaul Alnayar XVI. Rey de Granada, fue Principe valeroso en la diciplina military, como lo mostro en las guerras y diferencias que tuvo con el Rey Mahomad el Izquierdo," *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España*, 107.

[789] As we discussed in Chapter 1, there are extant treaties which document the relationship between Abencelim and Ferdinand of Aragon. In the seventeenth century, according to López de Haro, Abencelim was also known to have had an earlier treaty with Henry IV of Castile.

[790] "y del Consejo de los serenisimos Reyes Catolicos, a los quales sirvio con mucho amor antes de la entrega de Granada, por cuya causa les fuero entregadas las ciudades de Baza, Guadiz, y Almeria, fue su capitan general con su gente y parte de la destos Catolicos Principes para yr y castigar el primer rebelio de las Alpujarras: juro a estos Catolicos Reynos, como uno de los grandes senores y caballeros destos Reynos…" *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 107.

[791] "Fueron las primeras armas deste cavallero una sola Granada en campo de plata, y por la gran vitoria que vencieron padre y hio, les acrecentaron los Reyes las cinco granadas de oro en campo azul, como diximos en este capitulo…" *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 107.

> own…he was Colonel of the men of Granada and Andalucía, and he captured the city of Oran…he fought in the assault at Penon [sic] with the knights and men of Granada...[792]

Haro then mentions two other members of the family, Don Francisco de Granada, who was a knight of Calatrava and "captain of knights, who died in Rome," and a Don Egas, knight of Santiago, and a Don Diego de Granada, "captain of cavalry and infantry in Motril, where he died."[793] The next heir to the family, Don Pedro, was "knight of the order of Santiago, third lord of Campotéjar, *alcaide* (defender and head) of the royal grounds of the Generalife, and Alguazil mayor of the city of Granada, and its kingdom, and of the glorious Emperor Charles, king of all of the Spains, who wrote to him as father and grandfather…"[794] The next male heir, Don Alonso, friend of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Haro describes as a

> generous knight, and of great authority in service of the Catholic King Philip II, as he demonstrated in all of the occasions which were available to him, and in the last war of the rebellion of the Moriscos of Granada, with many men on horseback, and on foot at his cost, having the command of Jayena, where he and his men gave great service to the Catholic Prince, finishing and reducing the conflict by in a good way by his hand, all of the people of that kingdom who were still rebelling, making all in all a great service to God as well as to his king, in order to halt these altercations and wars, of which we have

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[792] "su capitan general del armada del mar, y costa del Reyno de Granada, fue falerosissimo Gapitan en la diciplina militar, como lo mostro sirviendo a estos Catolicos Principes don Fernando y Dona Ysabel, en la vega de Granada, estando cercada esta ciudad con con mucha gente de cavallo y de apie en 21 de Agosto de 1491, por cuyos servicios le hizeiron merced, como parece por su cedula Real, que pudiesse traer las siete vanderas que gano a los Moros este dia, como se ven el escudo de los senores desta casa. Ganó por fuerza de armas la torre de Romani, que oy se llama del soso de Roma, vencio la batalla de Adra, Ganado (108) en ella una bandera colorada a los Moros, que tambien se la dieron para traella en su escudo por oral, y trofeo desta victoria, como parece por su titulo despachado en Zaragoza por Setpiembre de 1492, refrendado de Hernando Alvarez su Secretarioquemo la carraca Arragocela que llamavan la Negrona que hazia grandes danos en la mar: vencio al Rey de Argel, y le tomo tres galeotas con su artilleria, que hoy tiene los senores desta casa, como parece por cedula Real de los Reyes Catolicos, sudata en Toledo, fue Coronel de la gente de Granada, y Andaluzia a la toma de la ciudad de Oran, como escrive Alvar Gomez de Castro en su Cronica folio 111.y Mariana en su general, libro 29, folio 653. Hallose en la jornada de Penon, con todos los cavalleros y gente de Granada…" *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 107.

[793] *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 108.

[794] "Don Pedro de Granada Venegas cavallero del habito de Santiago, tercero senor de Campotejar, y jayena, alcayde de la casa Real de Generalife, y Alguazil mayor de la ciudad de Granada, se hallo en las guerras de Tunez, y Perpinan, fue muy estimado en Granada, y su Reyno, y del glorioso Emperador don Carlos Rey de las Espanas, como parece por muchas cartas suyas, escriviendole, y honrandole en todas ocasiones, como su padre y abuelo, de quie ha ze memoria Gonzalo Gomez de Luque en el libro 13 folio 77," *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 108.

> good testimonies, many original papers of the prince and the of the lord Don Juan de Austria his brother…[795]

Don Alonso's son, Don Pedro, who, twenty years after the publication of the *nobilario* became the Marqúes of Campotéjar, was

> knight of Alcántara, gentleman of the table (*boca*) for the Catholic King Philip III, alcayde (defender and head) of the Generalife and of the city of Almuñecar, fifth lord of Campotéjar and Jayena, served as a menino the most serene queen doña Ana of Austria, princess of Hungary and Bohemia, fourth wife of Philip III, from the age of 10 years at his own cost in the expedition of Portugal, and after, in all possible occasions was one of the first knights to enter the city of Lisbon, in the day when the city was taken. He served in the relief of the city of Almería, defended the town of Salobreña, and was the alcayde of Salobreña, when the English armada came.[796]

He was also made alcayde of the castle at Almuñecar. This was because of his and "the many services which this house had given (the crown)."[797]

The *nobilario* of López de Haro lists mostly the male members of the house and their illustrious military service. However, the *nobiliario* also mentions the members of the family who served in the royal household or who were particularly close to the monarchs. For instance, Doña Isabel de Granada served as a *dama* to the Empress Isabel, wife of Charles V.[798] In 1618,

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[795] "Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, cavallero del habito de Santiago, quarto senor de Campotejar, y jayera, alcayde de Generalife, fue cavallero generoso, y de grande autoridad en servicio del Catolico Rey don Felipe Segundo, como lo mostro en todas las ocasiones qu se ofrecieron de su tiempo, y en la Guerra ultima del rebellion de los Moriscos del Reyno de Granada con mucha gente de acavallo, y de pie a su costa, teniendo un presidio en jayena, donde hizo conella, y sus gentes, y persona grandes servicios a este Catolico Principe, acabando de reduzir por su mano y buena manera, todas las gentes deste Reyno, que toda via estavan rebeldes, haziendo en todo gran servicio a Dios, y a su Rey en acabar estas alteraciones y guerras como de todo son Buenos testigos, muchos papeles originales deste Principe, y del senor don Juan de Austria su hermano…" *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 109.

[796] "Don Pedro de Granada Venegas cavallero del habito de Alcántara, Gentilhombre de la boca del Catolico Rey don Felipe Tercero, Alcayde de Generalife y de la ciudad de Almuñecar, quinto senor de las villas de Campotejar, y Jayena, sirvio de menino a la serenisima Reyna dona Ana de Austria Infanta de Ungria y Boemia, quarta muger del Rey don Felipe Tercero, de edad de diez anos a su costa en la jornada de Portugal, y despues en todas las ocasiones que se ofreciero fue de los primeros cavalleros que entraron en Lisboa en el dia que se tomo esta ciudad. Hallose en el Socorro de la ciudad de Almeria: defendio la villa de Salobreña, estando por Alcayde de della, quando vino la esquadra del armada Inglesa," *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 109.

[797] *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 110.

[798] "D.Isabel de Granada dama de la Emperatriz," *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 108.

Don Juan de Granada, of the order of Santiago, was serving as a page to Philip III.[799] The last Don Pedro was himself also a *menino* to Ana of Austria, as we have seen here in the 1622 *nobilario* as well as the 1640 list of the members of her household.

Haro's *nobilario* emphasizes personal service given and valor shown by the Granada Venegas throughout their history. In becoming the Marqués of Campotéjar, twenty years later, in 1643, Don Pedro had his military service and that of his family recognized and honored. But this honor also came with even more military obligations. He was required to serve personally at his own cost, or to be exempt, pay 3,600 *reales* a year, and give a certain number of "lances" to sustain the coastal castles.[800]

When one considers Don Pedro's entire library—his *nobilarios*, histories and rules of the military orders, and his book on horsemanship by Francisco Pérez de Navarrete, his two copies of *El Cid*, and his Castiglione, a picture emerges of a man with a deep interest in Christianity, chivalry, monastic and military orders, and noble and courtly life, and a profound interest in royal Castilian, Aragonese and Portuguese history, a history including that of Granada, the Moriscos and the Sacromonte relics. Don Pedro owned four books by historian and theologian Juan de Mariana. Because of the Granada Venegas's identity as elite Moriscos, is interesting to note that at the end of the sixteenth century, Juan de Mariana argued against the use of purity of the blood statutes, saying that they needed to be reformed.[801]

When Don Pedro's library briefly is compared to that of the celebrated book collector, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, it is clear that Don Diego was more interested in philosophy, ancient and medieval, than Don Pedro was. Don Diego had a wide interest in the high intellectual culture of Europe from Antiquity though the Middle Ages to his own day. He owned books by Anselm, Alcuin, Ambrose of Milan, a very large collection of Aristotle, Bede, Avicenna, Bernard of Clairveaux, Bonaventura, Caesar, Castiglione, Chrysostom, the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrgenetus, acts of the Council of Constance and the Council of Florence, Dante, Duns Scotus, Johan Eck, Euclid, John of Trebizond, Gregory the Great, Paolo Giovio, Homer, Herodotus, St. Jerome, Lefevre d'Etaples, Livy, Ramon Llull, Agostino Nifo, Florian de Ocampo, Sadoleto, Tacitus, Thomas Aquinas, and many others.[802] Some of these were ancient philosophers, some church fathers or scholastics, others involved in the polemics and theological debates of the Reformation. Don Diego had a large Greek collection, and an even larger Latin collection. While the two men did have some overlap between their collections, in comparison to Don Diego's, Don Pedro's library looks very vernacular, very Spanish, less Italian, and certainly less European—the Morisco nobleman had strong interests in Spanish history, Spain's military

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[799] "Don Juan de Granada cavallero del habito de Santiago, que este año de 1618, es page de la Magestad del Catolico Rey don Felipe III…" *Segunda Parte del Nobilario Genealógico de los Reyes y Titulos de España,* 109.

[800] José Antonio García Luján, "La memoria escrita de la Casa de Granada: El archivo del Marquesado de Campotéjar (s. XV-1643)," HID 40 (2013): 55.

[801] Gregory B. Kaplan, "The Inception of *Limpieza de Sangre* (Purity of Blood) and its impact in Medieval and Golden Age Spain," in Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Vol. 46: Marginal Voices: Studies in Converso Literature of Medieval and Golden Age Spain, Edited by Amy I. Aronson-Friedman and Gregory B. Kaplan (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 33.

[802] Examples are taken from Anthony Hobson, Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, their Books and Bindings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 141-200.

and religious orders, its culture and nobility, but less interests in the scholastic thought, theology, or the high intellectual life of Europe and of the Mediterranean world. While the Granada Venegas had sponsored a literary tertulia in the sixteenth century, their seventeenth century Marqués cared more for history than literature, with the exception of owning *El Cid*.

In addition to his library, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas also left behind a collection of paintings, some of which are displayed today in the Casa de los Tiros museum in Granada, though the rest are most likely in the private collections of his descendants in Genoa, Italy.[803] He had a portrait of the first Don Pedro (d. 1506) in a splendid suit of armor. Pedro also had portraits of his wife and himself which he had commissioned, a common custom in Madrid.[804] In an era when the arms versus letters debate was being famously discussed in popular literary works,[805] Don Pedro de Granada Venegas embraced both. He bore arms for the crown, commissioned paintings, and collected Spanish, Italian, Latin, Aragonese and Portuguese letters in a substantial library.

Don Pedro and his ancestors had now claimed for nearly one hundred and fifty years to be Christians, yet they still reminded the crown that they were descended from Nasrid royalty. Interestingly, the Granada Venegas were not included, even as villains, in the histories written by Muslims at the time. The famous North African Muslim historian, Ahmet Muhammed al-Maqquari (1578-1632), when he wrote the history of Nasrid Granada and its fall did not mention the role of Cidi Yahya Al Nayar in the fall of Baza at all.[806] Not only this, but the narrative rushes from 1374 to 1478 and does not even mention the period of great civil war in Nasrid Granada or that Sultan Yusuf IV, Yahya's grandfather, was a vassal of Juan II.[807] The Granada Venegas had been embraced by Spanish historians as representatives of the royal line of Nasrid Granada—but even as collaborators, they were forgotten by Arabic sources.

The Assimilated Moor in Spanish Literature

Don Pedro de Granada Venegas owned two copies of *El Cid*, a work that praised the values of unity and loyalty.[808] The idea that converted Moors could become part of a united Spain and serve the crown loyally certainly served the Granada Venegas's interests. When Don Pedro was in his prime, another work of fiction was published, Mateo Alemán's *Guzman de Alfarache* (1599), containing in particular, the story of Ozmín y Daraja.[809] While Don Pedro did

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[803] For the collections of the Casa de los Tiros, see José García Luján, The Casa de los Tiros in Granada (Granada, 2006).

[804] James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 193.

[805] Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, The Ingenious Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha, Translated with an Introduction by John Rutherford, (Penguin Classics, Kindle Edition).

[806] Ahmet Muhammed al-Maqquari, The History of the Muhammedan Dynasties of Spain, Vol.II, Translated by Pascual de Gayangos (London: The Oriental Translation Fund, 1843), 383-384.

[807] Ibid, 366-369.

[808] Thomas Montgomery, "The Rhetoric of Solidarity in the Poema del Cid," MLN Vol.102, No.2 (March, 1987): 191-205.

[809] The *Guzman de Alfarache* is one of three early modern Spanish texts, the *Abencerraje*, and Pérez de Hita's *Guerras Civiles,* which considered by scholars of Spanish literature to be "novelas moriscas." Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache, I*, Edited by José María Micó (Madrid: Catedtra, 2009); a new English translation of the work has been recently published,

not own this book, its story is revealing for the history of successful Morisco assimilation. The story begins when Daraja, a Muslim girl, is captured by the Christians during the siege of Baza (1489). Queen Isabella takes an interest in her and spends time with her before placing her in the care of a Christian noble family. The key fact about Daraja is that she is the daughter of the alcaide of Baza. Although not named directly in the story, Cidi Yahya Al Nayar (Don Pedro de Granada) was the *true* alcaide of Baza during the War for Granada. Daraja is engaged to another elite Muslim, Ozmín. In order to be near to his beloved, Ozmín disguises himself as a bricklayer, a gardener, and an Aragonese knight. In the scene when Ozmín claims to be an Aragonese knight named Jaime Vives, he says that he purchased a slave named Ozmín, who was a prince, of the Zegrí family, engaged to Daraja, who was so much like him in age, bearing and status that they became close friends.[810] In this way, the fake Christian and real Muslim princes are doubles—alike in personality, bearing, and nobility, only not in religion. Remarkably, in real life, the Zegríes *did* marry into the Granada Venegas family. Gonzalo Fernández Zegrí married María de Granada, an illegitimate daughter of Don Pedro de Granada, the real *alcaide* of Baza. Gonzalo Fernández Zegrí was made a *regidor* of Granada in 1514, and his son Luís Zegrí in 1541.[811]

In the tale, Ozmín tragically gets involved with a street brawl and kills the son of a local official. As a result he is put in jail, but Rodrigo, a man he has served as a gardener, argued that his arrest was an offense to his house, and Alonso, whom Ozmín convinced he was an Aragonese prince due to his prowess at jousting and the *juego de cañas* argued that no nobleman should be treated in this way and should at least be beheaded, not hanged. Ultimately, Ferdinand and Isabella rescued Ozmín, leading to his and Daraja's dramatic conversion and baptism where they take the names of their sovereigns as their new Christian names.[812] Barbara Fuchs has argued that in this story, the social status of Ozmín and Daraja, as elites, was more important than their religion. In one scene, Ozmín actually discusses with a Christian suitor of Daraja that they both want the same thing—for her to share their religion and marry them.[813] Though North African historians left the Granada Venegas out of their histories, Spanish writers like Mateo Alemán included characters in their stories who could have *been* the Granada Venegas themselves—and celebrated their conversion and nobility. In the seventeenth century, the Granada Venegas had certainly achieved their goals of being treated like Christian nobles.

"The Abencerraje" and "Ozmín and Daraja": Two Sixteenth Century Novellas from Spain, Edited and Translated by Barbara Fuchs, Larissa Brewer-García, and Aaron J. Ilika (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

[810] Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache, I*, Edited by José María Micó (Madrid: Catedtra, 2009), 243-244.

[811] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar,* Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010), 40.

[812] Barbara Fuchs, Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain, 134.

[813] "Clearly, class trumps ethnicity or religion as the significant divide in the world of the text: noble Moors are heroic and ideal as Christians, if not more so, and Daraja is constantly desired by the Christian side, even if the tale ends without actual exogamy." Barbara Fuchs, Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 131-134, 135.

When Don Pedro de Granada Venegas died in 1643 he asked for 250 masses to be said for his soul in 20 churches in Madrid. He was a patron of multiple churches and priests. In this he was following the practice and piety of his day.[814] Philip II, for instance, had 30,000 masses said for his soul.[815] Don Pedro's body was then moved to Granada, where it was interred in the Sagrario, the Cathedral parish, and 1000 masses were said there, 500 in the Convento de San Francisco Casa Grande, and 400 in the Convento Dominico de Santa Cruz and 400 in the Monasterio de las Carmelitas Descalzas.[816]

Conclusion

The two sons of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas pre-deceased him, so when he died in 1643, the title of Marqués of Campotéjar passed to the son of his father Don Alonso's second wife, Don Fernando de Granada Venegas Ochoa (d.1647). Don Fernando was a priest, a canon in the Cathedral of Cuenca, and had no legitimate children. The title then passed to Don Fernando's brother, Don Juan de Granada Venegas Ochoa. Don Juan was born in Madrid in 1589, but died in the Casa de los Tiros, in Granada, in 1660, which shows that the family, while establishing themselves in royal service in the capitol, also maintained their homes in Granada.[817] When Don Juan died without heirs, the male Granada Venegas line ended.

In 1661, the Lomellini family, cousins from Genoa, won a lawsuit to inherit the title, and took over the guardianship of the Generalife palace.[818] The Granada Venegas, since the early sixteenth century, had intermarried mostly with the old Christians of Castile, including the Mendoza family.[819] However, a daughter of Don Pedro de Granada Venegas Mendoza and María Rengifo Dávila, Catalina de Granada Venegas Rengifo, married Esteban Lomellini, a merchant from Genoa.[820] Genoese merchants had played a key role in the economy of Granada, and its silk market, since the rule of the Nasrids, so this union was not a surprising one for an elite Morisco family.[821] Their cousins the Venegas de Córdoba also married into a Genoese merchant family in the same period.[822]

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[814] Sara Nalle, God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500-1650 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, paperback 2008).
[815] Carlos Eire, From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth Century Spain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 284.
[816] José Antonio García Luján, "Las Lecturas de Don Pedro e Granada Venegas, 1 Marqués de Campotéjar (1559-1643)" HID 35 (2008): 155-156.
[817] José Antonio García Luján, "Genealogía del linaje Granada Venegas desde Yusuf IV, rey de Granada," in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar*, Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010), 29.
[818] José Antonio García Luján, The Generalife: Garden of Paradise (Granada: Copartgraf, 2007), 90.
[819] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una gran familia: las elites moriscas del Reino de Granada," *Estudis* 35 (2009):18.
[820] José Antonio García Luján, The Generalife: Garden of Paradise, 90.
[821] James Casey, Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739, 9.
[822] Enrique Soria Mesa, *El Cambio Inmóvil: Transformaciones y permanencies en una élite de poder (Córdoba, SS. XVI-XIX*) (Córdoba: Imprenta la Puritana, 2000), 195.

Don Pedro de Granada Venegas had achieved the title of Marqués, nearly as high a title as the dukedom which had been promised to his great-great-grandfather by Ferdinand of Aragon, but with the biological failure of his line, the Granada Venegas, like the Spanish Habsburgs, had no role to play in the Spain of the eighteenth century. After several generations, in the modern period, these Genoese landlords still held the Generalife palace as inherited property. Ultimately, the Durrazzo Pallavicini, a powerful Euroepan noble family inherited the title of Marqués of Campotéjar.[823] It was not until 1921 that they ceded the Nasrid palace to the Spanish government.[824]

The Granada Venegas used their descent from the Sultans of Granada as a proof of their nobility, rather than covering up evidence of their Moorish blood. As late as 1642, when Juana de la Cueva Granada y Alarcón wished to enter the Madre de Dios convent, run by the Order of Santiago, in Granada, one of the documents confirming her entrance concluded "she not only has the qualities which are required for purity in order to take the habit, but she has high nobility in all parts, descends from very illustrious houses, and on her mother's side she descends from the house of Granada, and from the ancient Moorish kings." Her royal Moorish blood showed evidence of high nobility, not impurity. She was allowed to enter the convent. [825]

There are two concepts regarding the history of *limpieza de sangre* which seem to be true in the history of the Granada Venegas. One is that their noble and royal blood was more powerful than their Moorish blood, and it opened the doors for their social advancement. To see it another way, their Nasrid nobility was recognized as a legitimate form of nobility. The second concept is that, if their natural nobility were to be denied them after conversion, and they were not allowed assimilation into the Spanish elite, it would question the unity of the body of Christ, who are those that share in the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. These are arguments that had been made by Alonso de Cartagena in the fifteenth century.[826] The Granada Venegas were participating in a social and religious debate that permeated the entire history of late medieval and early modern Spain.

What was unique about the Granada Venegas was not that they followed certain established channels in their social rise, moving from *señor* to *título*, or serving as *regidores*,

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[823] "Señalan los entendidos en casas nobilarias, realeza y heráldica, que los Durazzo Pallavicini, junto a los Windsor, los Alba y los Bourbones, son sin ninguna duda los más importantes linajes de la nobleza europea. Por debajo de ellos estarían todas las demás casas y estirpes aristocrátias." César Girón, *La Alcaidía perpetua del Generalife y su pleito* (Granada: El Defensor de Granada, 2008), 33.

[824] José Antonio García Luján, The Generalife: Garden of Paradise (Granada: Copartgraf, 2007), 33.

[825] "…no solo las calidades que se requieren de limpieza para tener el habito, pero de gran nobleza por todas partes, por descender de casas muy ilustres y por la de la madre de la predtendiente desciende de la de Granada y sus antiguos Reyes moros…" Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra Alías, "Mujeres del linaje Granada Venegas en los claustros granadinos (Siglos XVI-XVII) in *Simposio Nobleza y Monarquía: Los linajes nobilarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX, El linaje Granada Venegas Marqueses de Campotéjar,* Edited by José Antonio García Luján, (Huéscar, 2010), 68.

[826] For a new and provocative study dealing with *limpieza de sangre*, and other issues relating to blood in Christian societies and religious life, see Gil Andijar, Blood: A Critique of Christianity, Religion, Culture, and Public Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 74.

knights and military commanders, or building *mayorazgos*—social historians have documented many other such cases of families rising to nobility from the early sixteenth to the mid seventeenth century—it was the fact that the Granada Venegas embraced their identity as former Nasrid nobility in their arguments for Castilian honors, and that through social status, loyal service, and adept use of patronage and petition, they triumphed over *limpieza de sangre.*

Dissertation Conclusion

Early modern Spain has a reputation for excluding the "other": for Inquisition and expulsion, for targeting Jews, "Lutherans," heretics, Muslims and Moriscos. Yet, this particular case, that of the Granada Venegas family, shows that noble and royal identity could trump religious concerns. The Ancien Régime recognized its own in the royalty and nobility of Nasrid Granada. This was a conquered enemy, old enough and dead enough not to be a threat, unlike the Ottoman Turks. The fact that the Granada Venegas successfully assimilated into early modern Castile while the majority of Moriscos did not does not disprove the entirety of the Black Legend as it relates to *limpieza de sangre* or freedom of conscience. However, it does show the power of social structures and royal cultures to surpass and transcend religious boundaries. Just as Nahua nobles traveled to Spain after the Conquest of Mexico to have their royalty and loyalty recognized, the Granada Venegas were recognized at the royal court in Madrid for being elites from Nasrid Granada.[827]

In Chapter 1, we saw that the Granada Venegas came from a family line of men who had allied themselves with Christian kings. The strategy that Nasrid nobles used in their efforts to take the throne of Nasrid Granada became a strategy of assimilation and collaboration for their Christian descendants, the Granada Venegas. Ferdinand of Aragon's treaties with the Al Nayar family, the princes of Almería, helped him in his own strategies to divide and conquer the Nasrids. Cidi Yahya's surrender of the city of Baza, and his aid in the surrender of Almería were key factors in the defeat of Nasrid Granada. Ferdinand's promise of a dukedom may have enticed Cidi Yahya to convert and to serve him, though Cidi Yahya's motivations were his own, and may also have been inspired by a Christian heritage passed down by his mother. By withholding the dukedom from Cidi Yahya and giving it to another, Ferdinand set up the central tension of the Granada Venegas's history—that they felt they were always owed more.

The Granada Venegas also made a choice. While Boabdil famously collaborated with the Catholic Kings while fighting them intermittently, and El Zagal fought against them to save Nasrid Granada, with bravery and conviction, neither of these last Sultans of Granada were able to accept the carrot the Catholic kings offered them—a lordship in Andalucía, and both ultimately fled to North Africa. This lordship would later form the basis not of a dukedom in Valencia, but a *Marquesado* in the Alpujarras. It was the descendants of Cidi Yahya Al Nayar, the third most powerful man in Nasrid Granada, brother-in-law of El Zagal and cousin of Boabdil, who embraced this offer of a new life that the Catholic Kings offered. The Granada Venegas provide another way to conclude the history of Nasrid Granada—in the story of a royal family that collaborated, converted, and assimilated.

In Chapter 2, we saw that Don Pedro de Granada embraced Christianity in the language of his last will and testament. His descendants followed his lead. Unlike the Córdoba y Valor family, who led the Alpujarras revolts, the Granada Venegas did not tie their future to the possibility of a revived Muslim Granada—but instead betted on life with their new Christian masters in early modern Spain, and actively fought to put down the two Morisco revolts in the Alpujarras.

In Chapter 2, and in Chapters 1 and 5, the Granada Venegas's story was contextualized within the urban landscapes of fifteenth century Castile and Nasrid Granada, Renaissance Granada, and seventeenth century Madrid. While this was not a human geography project, or a

[827] Carina L. Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth Century Europe: The Ottomans and Mexicans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 71.

thesis on art and architecture, these descriptions were foundational for understanding the experiences of the Granada Venegas and other Spanish elites, as they moved from place to place within these bustling cities, and traveled across mountain passes and the dusty expanse of the *meseta*. Just as Granada's people were converted by the Christians, the landscape of Nasrid Granada was conquered, its mosques were turned into churches, its squares widened, and symbols of a revived Christian Roman empire, the Palacio de Carlos V, and the Cathedral of Granada, were erected there.[828]

Chapter 3 showed that as part of their conversion and assimilation, the Granada Venegas participated in the Renaissance in Granada by sponsoring a literary *tertulia*, a diverse group of writers including Granada's organist, a famous Latin teacher, and other warriors and poets. These poets wrote works ranging from Latin epics about the battle of Lepanto, to lyric poetry praising Charles V as surpassing Caesar. They engaged with Italian, Latin, and French texts, in some case translating them or re-interpreting them for new audiences and goals. Some of these men were true royal courtiers, not provincial at all, but figures that were equally at home at the royal court as in an elite Morisco's literary salon. This literary production took place in the same period that war and revolt wracked Granada in the 1560s and 70s. The Granada Venegas made their choice. They chose Christian Spain. They were patrons of Renaissance and knightly culture, and served as soldiers in a war against their fellow Moriscos. After the war, they took on more military responsibility guarding the coastal castles of Granada from corsairs and Turks.

In Chapters 4 and 5, the Granada Venegas joined many other courtiers and nobles in the rich court culture of seventeenth century Valladolid and Madrid. With a lengthy application and letters of recommendation from fifty theologians, including Francisco Suárez, Don Pedro de Granada Venegas was accepted into the Order of Alcántara. Though petition, patronage and perseverance, Don Pedro received his military habit and then continued to serve as a member of the royal household, ultimately becoming a *mayordomo* for Philip IV's queen. Despite the expulsion of the vast majority of Moriscos in 1609, and the social danger of admitting one had Moorish blood, the Granada Venegas embraced their identity as heirs to the Nasrid Sultans and did not hide it. This self-conscious identification with Nasrid Granada is a powerful statement to the endurance of the culture and civilization of Al-Andalus—or at least of the aspects which appealed to the conquerors—its royalty and nobility. There had been a shared noble culture across the frontier in the fifteenth century,[829] and the Granada Venegas were its early modern manifestation, just as their ancestor Yusuf IV had been the subject of fifteenth century ballads as a "good Moor."

The Granada Venegas proved, through putting down Morisco revolts and serving in military campaigns, that they were loyal servants of Christian Spain, providing the second pillar of noble identity, military service, with royal blood being the first. These pillars of noble identity helped to prove their worthiness for titles and honors. Furthermore, by arguing that their royal descent was more important than their religious heritage, the Granada Venegas provide a revealing case study showing that elite Moriscos *were* able to assimilate into the high nobility of

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[828] Like Fernand Braudel, I believe geography, society, and economy to be the foundational context for any intellectual, political or cultural narrative, Fernand Braudel, The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Vol I and II, Translated by Sian Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

[829] Ana Echevarría, Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile, 1410-1467 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

early modern Spain.

To achieve success in Christian Spain, the Granada Venegas simultaneously embraced the revival of classical culture and portrayed themselves as members of a traditional warrior elite that originated in Nasrid Granada. They served in military campaigns, while patronizing innovative Latin poets. They joined the military orders by documenting and proving their previous service and the purity of their blood. All of this helped them ultimately to join the high ranks of Spanish nobility when Don Pedro de Granada Venegas was made the Marqués of Campotéjar in 1643. Artificial categories of periodization based on the idea that Renaissance culture superseded Chivalric would prevent us from understanding this key fact, that Renaissance and Chivalric culture were *both* part of how noble status was sought and defined in early modern Spain.

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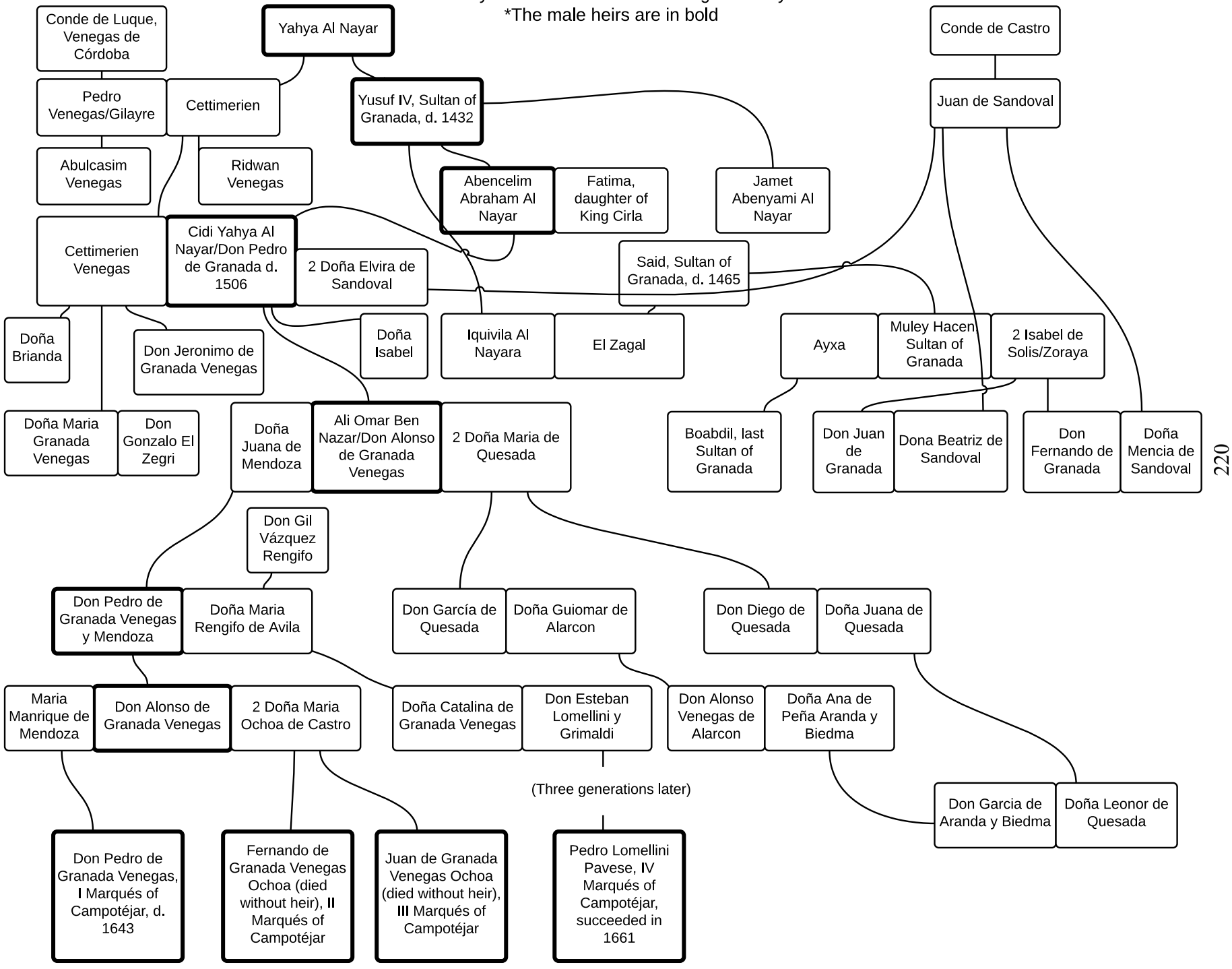
Appendix I
Family Tree of the Granada Venegas Family
*The male heirs are in bold



Appendix 2:
Glossary of Terms

Albayzín- neighborhood in Nasrid Granada located on a hill facing the Alhambra palace, where later many Moriscos lived in Christian Granada. Distinguished by steep narrow streets and whitewashed houses, this district is a UNESCO world heritage site today.

Alguacil- judge, governor of a town or fortress.

Alcaide- leader, governor of a fortress.

Alcántara- military order of fighting monks founded in the twelfth century according to the rule of St. Bernard of Clairveaux. Participated in the **Reconquista**, the gradual North to South, Christian reconquest of Iberia from Muslim states. Was still active in the early modern period, when laymen were allowed to enter it.

Alhambra- palace, meaning "red fortress" of the Nasrid Sultans in Granada. Much of it was built in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is located on a hill above the city.

Caballero- this is a generic Spanish term for knight, armed man, or gentleman. Historian Helen Nader coined the term Caballero Renaissance to describe the revival of classical literary culture among the nobility of fifteenth century Castile.

converso- a general term for Christian convert, usually applied to **judeo-conversos**, or converts from Judaism to Christianity.

criado- a person or servant who is attached to the entourage of a noble or powerful man. The term means he is a creature or a creation of that nobleman. He may be loyal to or dependent upon his patron, and may receive a royal or court position due to his patron's influence.

emir- I use this term interchangeably with **Sultan** to describe the leader of Muslim Granada, such as Yusuf IV. In Castilian sources, this man was called a king.

fatwā - a legal opinion or interpretation of the law, given by a Muslim jurist, or **mufti**, which may be regarded as a religious ruling that should be followed.

Generalife- the summer palace opposite the Alhambra in Granada, built by the Nasrid Sultans and lived in by the Rengifo and then the Granada Venegas family after the Conquest of Granada in 1492.

Letrado- this is a generic Spanish term for learned man, lawyer or jurist, sometimes also a humanist, who may be from a humble background. According to some Spanish historians, letrados represented a sort of educated middle class which pushed the high nobility, the caballeros, out of positions of power at court in the sixteenth century, as the state bureaucracy expanded. From a statistical standpoint, Richard Kagan has shown that

the number of Castilians receiving law degrees skyrocketed in the sixteenth century.

menino- page boy serving in a royal household.

mirador- a place for looking. Usually refers to a piece of Islamic architecture, a tower or balcony that provides an extensive view. There are several miradores in the Alhambra palace in Granada.

Morisco- Muslim who converted to Christianity, or a Christian who descended from converted Muslims.

Mudéjars- Muslims living under Christian rule. Mudéjars have not converted to Christianity. This term also applies to a style of architecture and decoration, popular in the twelfth century and following, which was a product of the labor of Muslim artisans, and could be used in Christian and Jewish buildings. Jerrilynn Dodds calls it a local Toledo style, not dependent on religion.

mufti- a Muslim jurist or scholar, who may issue a **fatwā.**

Nasrids- the Muslim dynasty who ruled Granada from the thirteenth century until 1492.

Reconquista- the gradual North to South, Christian reconquest of Iberia from Muslim states, from 711 to 1492. It can be considered a reconquest because of there were Ibero-Romans and Visigoths who had been Christians, prior to the Islamic invasions of 711. There was a surge of reconquest in the 11th century, when Toledo was taken, and then again in the 13th, when Córdoba, Sevilla and Cádiz were taken by Castile, leaving only Nasrid Granada remaining. When Nasrid Granada was conquered by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1492, the Reconquista ended, though both Spain and Portugal would push further south and attack the Muslim states of North Africa.

Regidor- member of a municipal council. This term, rather than **vientecuatro**, is used in cities north of Andalucía, such as in Madrid or Toledo.. If someone is "**the Regidor**," with the definite article, he is the head of the council.

señorio- lordship or territory, which can be granted by a king.

Sultan- I use this term interchangeably with **emir** to describe the leader of Nasrid Granada, such as Yusuf IV. In Castilian sources, this man was called a king.

taifa- a small Muslim state. Examples are Almería, Badajoz, Murcia, Toledo, Jaén or Ronda, and there were many others. The taifa period began after the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate of Córdoba in 1031. This period lasted until the conquest of all taifas but Granada in the thirteenth century by Castile and Aragon.

tertulia- a group of writers and poets which met together regularly, and collaborated on projects, often at a patron's house. A literary circle or salon.

vientecuatro-one of the twenty-four members of a municipal council in Andalucía or in Granada. This word is used often in Spanish sources to describe town leaders and councilors.

wazir- a vizier, minister, and high ranking advisor of a caliph or Sultan. In some cases, a governor.

Zirid- the Muslim dynasty which ruled the small taifa state of Granada in the 11th century, and built some of the Alhambra's walls. In the time of the Zirids, the Alhambra was a small fortress, not the elaborate palace it became under the Nasrids.