THE LITERARY VALUE OF
DON DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA'S GUERRA DE GRANADA

by

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STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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ABSTRACT

The Guerra de Granada was penned by the renowned Spanish humanist, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who had been an eyewitness of the Morisco rebellion (1568-1571), the subject of this history.

Don Diego's academic preparation, his talent for writing poetry and prose, and his experience as a soldier and diplomat in the service of his country had qualified him to help accomplish his objective for writing his book, namely, to criticize his countrymen and to teach them some valuable lessons of reform. The author's careful selection of his material has enabled him to fulfill this purpose and has accounted for the serious gaps in the chronology.

The principle topics used by the author are the governments, the military organizations and the social institutions of both the Moriscos and Spaniards. He especially criticized the latter group for its intolerance and unjust treatment of the former, who were in the minority.

The intrinsic literary value of the work may be summarized as the author's imitation of the styles of the Roman historians, Tacitus and Sallust, the use of novelistic episodes, psychological character sketches and colorful descriptions and the frequent employment of irony, satire and other literary devices for the purpose of criticism.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Guerra de Granada, an important historical account of the Morisco Rebellion in southern Spain (1568-1571), was written by Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, one of the illustrious sons of a very prominent Spanish family of Granada. Don Diego possessed several special qualifications for the task of writing this history as he had pursued the careers of soldier, diplomat and poet. While sojourning in Italy during his early years, he had become well acquainted with the teachings of the humanists of the Italian Renaissance. Many of their ideas had been introduced into Spain through Don Diego's poetry and prose.

This particular history of the war of Granada occupies a special place in Spanish Renaissance literature as it marks an important transitional step in the evolution of the writing of Spanish history. Thanks to Manuel Gómez-Moreno there is now available an excellent critical edition of Hurtado de Mendoza's text. Although the Guerra de Granada has gone through several editions since it was first published in Portugal over three hundred years ago, it has only

1 Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, De la guerra de Granada, edited by Manuel Gómez-Moreno, Tomo XLIX of the Memorial histórico español, colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades (Madrid: La Real Academia de la Historia, 1945).
been since the appearance of the above mentioned critical edition in 1948 that literary critics have considered seriously the merits of Don Diego's work.

The Guerra de Granada occupies an important place in the history of Spain due to its treatment of the Morisco problem. The author's purpose for writing this history was not to give a detailed account of all the events of the war but, rather, to criticize the individuals who were responsible for Granada's government, military and social institutions. He condemns severely the ill-treatment of the Moriscos by the Spaniards as that was, according to the author, the chief cause of the rebellion. The author has attempted to analyze the above problem carefully and offers as a solution that the Spanish nation must be more tolerant of such minority groups as the Moriscos. Likewise, Don Diego sincerely hoped that his history of the war of Granada would serve as a valuable lesson to the future generations of his countrymen.

The purpose of this paper, however, is to study primarily the literary merits of the Guerra de Granada. A careful investigation of the author's style of writing indicates that Don Diego, a typical Spanish Renaissance classicist, has faithfully imitated the ancient Roman historians, Tacitus and Sallust. Furthermore, Don Diego draws upon the Arabic sources for highly imaginative novelistic elements, character analyses and artistic descriptions. Don Diego's frequent use of satire and irony is noted throughout the book. The author's purpose of writing, namely, to criticize
the faults of others, is very apparent to even the most casual reader. This binding thread runs throughout the work and provides its unifying theme.

In the next chapter we will study briefly some biographical notes on the author and a short history of his text, the *Guerra de Granada*. 
CHAPTER II

BIOGRAPHY OF DON DIEGO HURTADO DE MENDOZA

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was born toward the close of the year 1503 in the beautiful Alhambra Palace of Granada. His father was the renowned Don Inigo López de Mendoza, first Marqués de Mondéjar and the second Conde de Tendilla, who was the grandson of the celebrated poet, the Marqués de Santillana, known by the same name, Inigo López de Mendoza. The younger Inigo was nominated by the famous Reyes Católicos to the posts of Alcalde de la Alhambra and Capitán General del Reino de Granada after it had been reconquered from the Moors in 1492.

Diego's mother was Doña Francisca Pacheco, daughter of Don Juan Pacheco, Marqués de Villena and first Duque de Escalona. She gave birth to five sons and two daughters: Don Luis, the first-born, who inherited his father's title of Marqués de Mondéjar, became the Capitán General del Reino de Granada and the Presidente del Consejo; Don Antonio, the Marqués de Cañete, was honored as Virrey de Perú and Capitán General de la Nueva España; Don Francisco, after serving as Gobernador de los Países Bajos, was ordained a priest and died as the Obispo de Jaén; Don Bernardino was appointed General de las Galeras de España and died in the Battle of San Quintín; Don Diego, who wrote the Guerra de Granada, was a successful poet, scholar, diplomat and military leader; Doña Isabel married Juan Padilla; and Doña María became the wife of Don
Antonio de Mendoza, the Conde de Monteagudo.¹

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza received his first formal instruction from the famous Italian man of letters, Pedro Martir of Angleria, who had been brought to Granada by Don Diego's grandfather. It is of interest that a poor orphan boy, later known as Fray Luis de Granada, was one of Don Diego's classmates. With his first tutor Don Diego acquired a basic knowledge of Latin, Greek and Arabic languages.² It is believed, also, that Don Diego spent some time in Toledo, as he states in a letter to the Duque de Alba, dated September, 1549: "Viéramos en Toledo tan jóvenes," and closes, "tan verdes estamos nosotros como en Toledo."³

A personal friend of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Ambrosio de Morales, informs us that Don Diego had studied in Salamanca as well as in Granada where he had pursued courses in humanities, philosophy and law. Morales said nothing about Hurtado de Mendoza being dedicated to the church by his parents as mentioned by Don Baltasar de Zúñiga in his "Prologue" to the first edition of the Guerra de Granada. However, this appears to be true, because Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza represented the Emperador Carlos V at the Council


² Ibid., p. xv.

³ Lucas de Torre y Franco-Romero, "Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza no fue el autor de La Guerra de Granada," Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, LXIV, número 5 (mayo, 1914), 481.
of Trent, and Juan Páez, the Aragón historian, writing to Jerónimo Zurita at that time, says: "Tienen todos creídos que [Don Diego] medrará mucho concluído este Concilio, y que S. M. le hará obispo, y su Santidad cardinal, pluega a Dios que sea así, y en él estará todo bien empleado."

After successfully finishing his studies in Spain, Don Diego went to Italy where he spent some time pursuing academic courses at the Universities of Bologna, Padua and Rome.

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza served his country on the battlefields of France from 1524 to 1526. Lucas de Torre gives us a good idea of young Diego's military ambitions. Don Diego desired to be engaged in the most difficult battles in order to obtain the greatest possible fame. Although we do not have a list of his campaigns, Don Diego himself has mentioned in his Guerra de Granada that he possessed personal knowledge of the great armies of the Emperador Carlos V and Francis I of France. From this information we can conjecture that he probably had been engaged in the famous battles of Marseilles and Pavia.

The talents of Don Diego came to the attention of Emperador Carlos V, and Don Diego was enlisted in the diplomatic service of his country, serving as Ambassador to Italy and England. Don Diego began performing his duties in the year 1539; substituting at first for Lope de Soria in 1547, he was nominated as Ambassador to Rome.

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4 Ibid., p. 482.  5 Ibid.  6 Ibid.
On October 18, 1542, Don Diego was appointed by Emperador Carlos V to represent him at the Council of Trent, where he appeared in January of the following year. He remained until he became aware of the Pope's opposition to the proceedings of the Council, and when Don Diego left abruptly for his embassy in Venice indicating his disgust for the Pope's actions, Carlos V approved his protest.

One day, early in the year 1568, Don Diego had a quarrel in the Royal Palace with a certain nobleman, Don Diego de Leyva. Don Diego hurled Leyva's dagger out of a window and it fell noisily to the courtyard below. This was considered to be a very serious crime known as lesa majestad and was punishable by death. The two gentlemen were imprisoned until the time of their trial. Both were sentenced to serve the king on the front line of battle fighting the Moriscos who had staged a rebellion in Granada in December of 1568. It is believed that Mendoza spent the years 1569 to 1575 in Granada and during this interval of time he wrote the history known as the Guerra de Granada.

When Mendoza had presented himself to the Marqués de Mondéjar on the 17th day of April, 1569, only four months had passed since the start of the war. Don Juan de Austria, the half-

7 Ibid., p. 484.
8 Ibid., pp. 486-487.
brother of Felipe II, the successor of Emperador Carlos V, had not yet been assigned to lead the Spanish army at Granada. The war lasted until the 15th of March 1571, when Abenabó, the second Morisco king, was assassinated by his own people. Although the author could not take an active part in most of the battles due to the infirmities of old age, he was nevertheless located strategically at the very center of the military operations as most of the Spanish troops were quartered in the city of Granada.

Don Diego informs us in his own words that "... parte de lo cual yo vi, y parte entendí de personas, que en ella pusieron las manos y el entendimiento." Don Diego informs us in his own words that "... parte de lo cual yo vi, y parte entendí de personas, que en ella pusieron las manos y el entendimiento." 10

Foulché-Delbosc has indicated that the name, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, appears for the first time as the author of the *Guerra de Granada* in the 1609 edition of Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza's *Antigüedades y excelencias de Granada*. 11 Also, Foulché-Delbosc indicates that Tagayo de Vargas in his *Junta de libros la mayor que España ha visto hasta el año 1622* states that he had found a copy of Hurtado de Mendoza’s manuscript in the National Library of Madrid with a dedicatory to Mendoza. 12

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10 Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *De la Guerra de Granada* (Madrid: La Real Academia de la Historia, 1918), p. 1. / N.B. All subsequent page references to this work will appear in parenthesis in the body of the text. 7


12 Ibid., pp. 114-115.
The French critic Foulché-Delbosc calls our attention to the fact that Luis Tribaldos of Toledo, the notable New World historian, has explained the probable cause of the late publishing date of the Guerra de Granada was Hurtado de Mendoza's criticism of certain influential people who had taken part in the war. Most of these people had died by the time the book was first published in the year 1627 in Lisbon, Portugal. It was impossible to have the work published until fifty-two years after the author's death because of severe censorship by both the Church and State.  

During the half century following the war of Granada other works dealing with this conflict were published—some separately and some included in general histories written by both Moors and Spaniards. The first to appear in chronological order was the Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los Moriscos del reino de Granada by Luis del Mármol Carvajal published in 1600 at Málaga. This work appeared twenty years after it had been penned by its author.  

Rosell discloses that Mármol Carvajal had borrowed a great deal directly from Hurtado de Mendoza's Guerra de Granada. This seems to indicate that Mármol had one of Mendoza's manuscripts in his possession.

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13 Ibid., pp. 115-116.
14 Ibid.
15 Luis del Mármol Carvajal, Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1940), xlii.
In 1914 Lucas de Torre y Franco-Romero made the assertion that Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was not the author of the Guerra de Granada. He attempted to prove that the Guerra de Granada was composed of large portions copied directly from La Austriada written by Juan Rufo and that other portions were taken directly from Mármore's history of the war. Also, he declared that Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was not, nor could ever have been, the author of the Guerra de Granada that critics had previously attributed to him. Lucas de Torre also proposed that the true author was Juan Arias. This theory has been completely discredited by Foulché-Delbosc, who along with many others, has attributed the authorship of the work to Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.

According to Foulché-Delbosc, Hurtado de Mendoza's principle pastime during his enforced stay in Granada was to write a brief history of the war with the Moriscos. The French critic adds that at the time of its composition Hurtado did not realize that one day his manuscript would become an object of study by many scholars. Foulché-Delbosc could see only one purpose for the history, namely, to entertain Hurtado de Mendoza's circle of intimate friends.

16 Torre y Franco-Romero, Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia, LXIV, Cuaderno 5, 470-472.


18 Foulché-Delbosc, RH, I, no. 1, 103.
Ralph J. Michels claims that the above explanation by Foulché-Delbosc contradicts what the author himself says about the Guerra de Granada, i.e., it was not only a history of the conflict between the Moriscos and the Spanish Christians but that its purpose was to teach a lesson to the Spanish nation. The following quotation from Don Diego supports the above statement: "Yo escogí camino estrecho y, aunque trabajoso, estéril y sin gloria; pero provechoso y de fruto para los que adelante vinieren . . ." (p.1)

It is also to be remembered that Diego Hurtado de Mendoza had died shortly after writing his manuscript and that he did not have an opportunity to revise it. This may account for the many omissions and the roughness of style that caused Foulché-Delbosc to formulate his hypothesis of Don Diego's purpose of writing.

In 1915 Foulché-Delbosc discovered a few unedited manuscripts, but he does not indicate where these were found. He used them to complement the original manuscript of the Guerra de Granada. Manuel Gómez-Moreno has made the suggestion that another group of manuscripts unknown to Foulché-Delbosc existed at the time the latter catalogued the manuscripts in 1894. Foulché-Delbosc does not refer at any time to the four manuscripts preserved by the Real Academia de la Historia. One of these includes many of the exact passages quoted by Foulché-Delbosc. These manuscripts are

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called "Porcel" for that name appears on the first page of one of
them. (p. xxviii.)

The manuscripts copied by Tribaldos in his 1627 edition
belong to the group Foulché-Delbosc has called the "Second Family"
of manuscripts. The Conde de Portalegre referred to the same gaps
as those found in the original manuscript in his letter addressed
to Don Hernando de Guzmán dated April, 1598:

La quiebra del suceso de Galera y la muerte de Luis Quixada
deve faltar adrede, por no las querer publicar él que tuvo
el primer original, si ia no se le antojó a D. Diego imitar
la desgracia de Tito Livio, de cuas obras falta tanto, o
la que Jovio [Pablo Jove] finge con los papeles que le
robaron según él dice. Será menester pedir prestado esto
que falta al jurado de Córdova o a un soldado, que será
mejor, no para continuar con el texto sino para referirlo
secamente aparte. 20

The mention of these omissions leads to two probable theories: (1)
that no gaps appeared in the original manuscript or (2) that these
sections intentionally never were written. If Portalegre had known
that a complete manuscript of the Guerra de Granada was at that
very moment in Juan Rufo's hands, he would never have troubled him-
self to serach for the missing portions in other sources.

Tribaldos discovered three fragments in an unedited manu-
script belonging to the Duque de Béjar. He intercalated these into
the second edition of Hurtado's work. Upon Tribaldo's authority
Juan de Iriarte had published these three fragments in the Catalogue
of Greek Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Escorial. The two editions
of the Guerra de Granada published in Valencia in 1776 and all

20 Foulché-Delbosc, RH, XXXV, no 87, 477.
subsequent editions include these fragments added to the original
manuscript by Tribaldos. The fragments discovered by Foulché-
Delbosc published in 1874 are in addition to the three mentioned
above. He refers to these as the "Third Family" of manuscripts.
Altogether Foulché-Delbosc has discovered eight manuscript
fragments.21

The 1948 critical edition of the De la Guerra de Granada was
published by the Real Academia de la Historia of Spain and edited by
Manuel Gómez-Moreno.22 We are using his text in this study. The
fragments discovered by Foulché-Delbosc can be found in the last
section of the Guerra de Granada entitled "Complementos anónimos de
la Guerra de Granada, intercalados en algunos de sus manuscritos."
(pp. 203-259.)

Manuel Gómez-Moreno in his "Preámbulo" to De la guerra de
Granada makes the following statement regarding the literary value
of the work:

Este libro es una de las obras capitales de nuestra literatu-
ra bajo el renacimiento. Historia de más clásica que aquí
se produjo, modelo para las sucesivas, en cierto modo,

21 Ibid., p. 478.

22 Footnote # 1 on p. 117 of Section VII of the Guerra de
Granada indicates that some of the manuscripts terminate at the end
of this section, e.g., the one dated 1578, Granada, Placencia and
Salazar. The editor Manuel Gómez-Moreno added Section VIII as he
believed it to be a continuation of the original princeps manuscript.
In our study we will treat Section VIII also as part of Hurtado de
Mendoza's original manuscript, because its style, vocabulary, and
content substantiates the above view. The purpose of this paper is
not to explore the various editions as there are several. See
Appendix A for a complete list of these editions to date.
y tipo de habla castellana remontada y concisa, reaccionando sobre el estilo narrativo llano y machacón de nuestras crónicas que ... cumple aquilatar su forma literaria, garantice una transmisión fiel del texto genuino. (p. vii.)

However, there has been much adverse criticism of late; the critics are weighing small details and pointing out little carelessnesses. These have been overrated as to their importance. Manuel Gómez-Moreno believes that only at the present time can one make a fair judgment of the value of the work in view of the revised critical text edited by him with great care. He suggests that this critical edition should be studied very carefully by grammarians, literary men and historians who he hopes will agree wholeheartedly with him as to the intrinsic merits of Don Diego's book. (p. ix.)
CHAPTER III

THE AUTHOR'S PURPOSE FOR WRITING

In the "Introduction" (Chapter I) we mentioned that the author's purpose for writing his book was to criticize the faults of his contemporaries, which provided the unifying theme for his work.

In this chapter we shall observe how Diego Hurtado de Mendoza derided the officials of both the Spanish and the Morisco governments, condemned the inefficient military practices of the Spanish army, and criticized the existing social conditions in Granada at the time of the Morisco rebellion (1568-1571). At the same time he suggested needed reforms.

GOVERNMENT

We find that Don Diego placed a great deal of blame upon the Spanish government in general for their slow progress in winning the war against the Moriscos. Spain had no galleons guarding their Mediterranean coastline in order to intercept the Moorish vessels laden with men and supplies from Africa. At that time the majority of the Spanish navy was occupied in the war torn area of southern Italy. The result of this dire neglect was the strengthening of the Morisco forces with the aid sent by the Moorish kings of Fez and Argel. (p. 30.)

Don Diego's unique family background enabled him to be an
authority on the problem of the Moriscos. We have already learned in Chapter Two that Don Diego's father, Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, had been appointed by the Catholic Kings to the offices of Alcalde and Capitán General de Granada in 1492. Hernando de Talavera, of the order of Saint Jerome, had been selected to be the first Archbishop of Granada and following the ancient Spanish custom these above named officials had been given the keys of the city of Granada as a symbol of authority. Don Diego describes his father as "... un hombre de prudencia en negocios graves, de ánimo firme y seguro, con experiencia de encuentros y batallas ganadas, y lugares defendidos contra los moros en la misma guerra..." (p.8.)

At the time of the Morisco rebellion in 1568 these officials were in charge of the government of Granada: the Marqués de Mondéjar, also known as the Conde de Tendilla, who was the author's own cousin and the Capitán General del Reino de Granada; Don Pedro de Deça who was the President of the Chancillería; and the Archbishop whose name is not given. The latter shared with the Judges of the Inquisition the responsibility of watching over all for the king. The Inquisition's principle commission was to make a thorough investigation of the causes of the Morisco rebellion for the purpose of obtaining additional help in men and supplies from Felipe II in order to bring the war to a close as soon as possible. (p. 18.)

Don Luis Faxardo, better known as the Marqués de Vélez,
supplanted the Marqués de Mondéjar, who at the start of the war had been in complete charge of the armed forces of Granada. Finally, Don Juan de Austria, the half brother of Felipe II was placed in complete command toward the close of the war. The families of the Marqués de Vélez and of the Marqués de Mondéjar were life-time enemies because of their mutual ambition for preeminence in the service of their king and country. (p. 36.) Don Diego does not give us a very favorable impression of the Marqués de Vélez. He says that the general was an old man "... entrado en edad, y por eso más en cólera, mostrado a ser respetado y aun temido, y cualquier cosa le ofendía; dióse a olvidar a unos y a tener poca cuenta con otros y a tratar a otros con aspereza..." (pp. 116-117.)

It seems that the Marqués de Mondéjar had erred somewhat with regard to his public relations; nonetheless, he never failed in the performance of his public duties. Don Diego makes the following unbiased comment about this matter: "Yo no vi el proceder del uno [the Marqués de Vélez] ni del otro [the Marqués de Mondéjar]; pero a mi opinión ambos culpados sin hacer errores en sus oficios." (p. 117.)

Don Diego bitterly recalls the unjust criticisms hurled against the Marqués de Mondéjar by his own people. They accused the Marqués of not providing the necessary food supplies to properly maintain the army. (pp. 63-64.)

 Apparently, the lack of suitable provisions had caused an epidemic among the soldiers. (p. 18.) Friends of the Marqués de
Mondéjar arose to his defense before the king (p. 64.), but this was to no avail as the people of Granada had already sent representatives to Felipe II demanding that the Marqués de Mondéjar be replaced immediately. Don Diego states that in his opinion the Chancellería was really at fault for this situation because they did not take the trouble to report to the Marqués de Mondéjar what was really taking place in the city as each member of the Chancellería was only preoccupied with his own selfish advancement. (p. 63.)

One of the main reasons for the Marqués de Vélez being chosen to replace the Marqués de Mondéjar, according to Don Diego, was that the former had granted the king the service of five hundred cavalry and five thousand infantry to be maintained at the Marqués' own expense. Don Diego further points out that the king's choice of a new leader was contrary to the will of the majority of the principle men of Granada. (pp. 110-111.)

However, Don Diego manifests a very magnanimous spirit in his praises of the Marqués de Vélez. He enumerates several things in favor of his leadership; that he was a man of strong character and demanded strict discipline from his men; that he was fairly well trained in military matters by both his father and grandfather, both of whom had enjoyed reputations of being renowned military leaders; that he had taken over the task of putting down the rebellion without sufficient funds, supplies, or ammunition; that his men were largely volunteers who had had very little military
training or experience, and for this reason were poorly disciplined; and that he always was on the offensive and never turned his back upon the enemy. (pp. 65-66.)

Don Diego gives an interesting parallel between the way the people of Granada had criticized both the Marqués de Mondéjar and the Marqués de Vélez. Apparently, both had been criticized in the same manner, as Don Diego observes: "Entonces dejaron al de Mondéjar y tornaron a deshacer las cosas bien hechas de Vélez . . ." (p. 125.) The people, who were by now well accustomed to judging their leaders, had criticized the Marqués de Vélez for his personal ambitions, for in order to gain personal fame he often exposed himself to unnecessary dangers instead of sending someone in his place into the battle. The common people had judged him likewise, for many other matters, some serious and some trivial, such as: not providing enough supplies for the army (p. 117.), not using good military strategy (p. 117.), not keeping his promises to his soldiers (p. 118.), not pursuing the enemy, spending too much time at the seaport of Adra eating fresh fish and bathing in the sea (p. 118.) and not informing the Council of his plans. (p. 118.)

The king had warned the Marqués de Vélez about temporizing with the enemy as there was imminent danger of very strong opposition from the Moriscos as soon as they could get reinforcements from the Barbary Coast of Africa. Also, it was feared that the Grand Turk, Salamin, would soon send them arms and ammunition. (pp. 72-73.)
Evidently, the Marqués de Vélez thought, along with several others, that the war was just about over in the early part of 1570, for we read: "Puesta la guerra en estos términos, tábola por acabada, facilitando lo que estaba por hacer . . ." (p. 66.) This was a serious mistake on their part because before long the Moriscos reorganized their forces and the fighting began again in earnest.

The king finally decided to divide his troops between the Marqués de Mondéjar and the Marqués de Vélez, because he learned that it was impossible for only one army to hold the Moriscos in subjection over such a wide territory. Felipe II put the Marqués de Vélez in charge of the rivers Almería and Almançora and of the regions Baça and Guadix; to the Marqués de Mondéjar he gave command of the rest of Granada. (p. 73.)

Since the Marqués de Mondéjar possessed a vast knowledge of the people and territory of Granada, the king had to call upon him constantly for advice. One day he requested the Marqués's presence at his Court for the purpose of rendering a full report of the progress of the war. Don Diego preserved the essence of the king's letter, which was sent from Madrid and dated September 13, 1569:

Marqués de Mondéjar primo, nuestro capitán general del reyno de Granada; Porque queremos tener relación del estado en que al presente están los negocios de ese reyno y de lo que contendrá proveher para remedio dello, os encargamos que en recibiendo ésta os pongáis en camino y vengáis a esta nuestra corte para informarnos de lo que está hecho, como persona que tiene tanta noticia dellos; que en ello y en que lo hagáis con toda brevedad nos ternemos por muy servido. (p. 126.)
After hearing the Marqués de Mondéjar's report, the king decided to send at once his own brother, Don Juan de Austria, to replace the Marqués de Vélez, because "Estava por rebelar la vega de Granada . . ." (p. 81.) and gave him orders to take complete charge of the situation in Granada. He was given full authority; in fact, all branches of government were turned over to him except the judiciary department: "Cesaron los oficios de guerra y gobierno, excepto el de justicia con la presencia de don Juan." (p. 89.)

Don Diego did not hesitate to make a very subtle comment on the king's poor choice of a leader in the person of the Marqués de Vélez, and states "... que las personas principales, cuando eran de autoridad, siempre serían provechosas, especialmente los que sirviesen a su costa, como la del Marqués de Vélez . . ." (p. 65.) and to that, Don Diego adds in another place: "Sucediéle [al Marqués de Vélez] dichosamente tener a su cargo ya la mitad del reino, calor de amigos y deudos, cosas que, cuando caen sobre fundamento, inclinan mucho a los reyes." (p. 110.)

It is interesting to observe that the Justice Department did not escape Don Diego's criticism as well as the other departments of the Spanish government. As an example we cite the following case that arose in Granada during the 16th century. Any person accused of a serious crime, but who might be innocent, could seek refuge in a lugar de señorío, such as a temple, and find asylum there until a trial could be arranged. Because of the sharp increase in the
crime rate among the Moriscos, certain reforms of this system had been suggested and to which our author objected as being unjust to the innocent:

También les prohibieron la inmunidad de las iglesias arriba de tres días; mas, después que los refugios les quitaron, perdieron la esperanza de seguridad, diéronse a vivir por las montañas, hacer fuerzas, salteamientos de caminos, robar y matar. (pp. 13-14.)

Don Juan had been received with great joy and with a great show of confidence on the part of the citizens of Granada who welcomed him publicly with the ceremony "... que se suelen hacer a los reyes." (p. 85.) The people addressed him as Su alteza in spite of the king’s order to address his brother as Su excelencia. Don Juan made his headquarters in the casas de chancillería as they were centrally located. The Moriscos called these houses las casas de la mala ventura, and the Spaniards referred to them as la destrucción de España. (p. 85.)

Don Juan de Austria was accompanied by an assistant, Luis Quijada, who was described by Hurtado as "... sévero, riguroso, atado a la letra ... siempre mandó, y nunca obedeció." (p. 90.) He placed him and the Duque de Sesa in very strategic positions of command and thus reduced substantially the authority of both the Marqués de Mondéjar and the Marqués de Vélez. (p. 162.) Even the famous Don Juan de Austria does not escape the caustic pen of our author: "En aquellos principios don Juan era poco ayudado de la experiencia, aunque mucho de ingenio y habilidad." (p. 89.) We note Don Diego’s keen sense of humor as this little anecdote about
Don Juan reveals:

Mostró don Juan contentamiento del suceso, y queixa del agravio, que lo oviesen guiado por tanto rodeo y parte que no alcançase a ver enemigos; pero don Diego de Quesada se escusava con que aparte se le mandó que guiase por parte segura, y Luis Quijada le dijo que por donde no peligrase la persona de don Juan, y que él no sabía cómo cumplir su comisión más a la letra que guiando siempre cubierto y por donde llegase tarde. (p. 161.)

Don Juan "cargó la mano con el rey . . ." (p. 155.) and insisted that the king take more interest in the war of Granada and send more reinforcements as the Moriscos were getting stronger day by day. The king gave Don Juan permission to participate in the actual fighting if he so chose. Don Juan immediately organized two armies—one under the leadership of the Duque de Sesa and the other under Don Juan Requesens. They attacked the Morisco stronghold of Galera with good fortune; as a result of this the fame of Don Juan spread rapidly throughout the peninsula. This moved many nobles to volunteer for service in Granada and caused the king to issue a proclamation stating " ... que no era con su voluntad ir caballeros sin licencia a servir en aquella empresa." (p. 162.) However, the people did not listen to the king and the immediate result was a great number of foot soldiers and knights swarmed to Granada to join the forces of Don Juan. This was the turning point in the war, and there soon followed a series of successful campaigns at Alpujarra, Castil de Ferro, Ronda and Río Verde. Finally, the second Morisco king, Abenabó, was assassinated by his people on March 15, 1571 which ended all resistance by the enemy. (p. xliii.)
Near the close of the war, when there was much discussion as to what to do with the Moriscos when they surrendered, Don Diego accused the chancillerfa of making "... cabeças de sí mismos ..." (p. 174.), since they had taken it upon themselves to send their plans directly to the king without first consulting Don Juan or anyone else. Don Diego adds this apt observation which expresses his personal opinion about such practices:

Atrevimiento que suele acaecer a los que andan en las Indias con los que dende España los gobiernan; por donde ay más que maravillar de la disimulación que los reyes tienen, cuando sigue por sus pretensiones, quieren pasar por los estorvos sin hazerlas ni dar a entender que son ofendidos. (p. 175.)

The king had tried to resolve the Morisco problem by ordering them to be dispersed throughout Spain and by repopulating the land of Granada with people brought in from other places.

Don Diego very carefully compares the government of the Moriscos with that of the Spaniards. At the very beginning of his account of the war of Granada he includes a brief history of the Moorish kings who had ruled the land for several centuries from Bediz Abenhabuz (750-54) to Abenhut (1533-44). Don Diego extols the reign of Bulhaxix (1183-86) when Granada grew to 70,000 houses. Bulhaxix was famous for having discovered chemistry, fortifying the city and helping to finish the building of the Alhambra, which had been constructed principally between the dates of 1230 and 1354. (pp. 7-8.)

We note that the Moors and the Moriscos were subjected to
the Grand Turk, who fearing that the Moors of Africa might rebel
against him, very wisely promoted one of the Barbarroja brothers,
Kair ad-Din (C. 1483-1546), to the position of Admiral of his
fleet and highly honored him in Constantinople until his death.
(pp. 102-103.)

However, the Moriscos, who had rebelled against the
Spaniards in Granada, could not obtain aid immediately either from
the Grand Turk or from Morocco. They had to crown their own
king immediately and hoped that later by notifying their fellow
Moors they would obtain military assistance to resist the Spaniards.

We find that Don Diego had a good word for one of the enemy's leaders,
Don Hernando de Válor el Zaguer: "... resolvieron, en veinte y
siete de setiembre, de hazer rey, persuadidos con la razón de don
Hernando de Válor el Zaguer ... que por otro nombre llamavan
Abenjaguar, hombre de grande autoridad y consejo maduro, entendido
en las cosas del reino y su ley." (p. 19.) Don Diego comments on
the terrible way Hernando de Válor, el Zaguer, or Abenjaguar, as
he was called, met his death. Abenjaguar had given part of his
wealth to his nephew, Abenhumeya, and with the greater part re-
maining in his possession, he attempted to flee to Africa.
Abenhumeya plotted his death, and it was reported in Portugal that
his uncle "... a donde murió de dolor de hijada, viejo, descon-
tento y arrepentido." In reality Abenhumeya had murdered him for
we read: "Mostró Abenhumeya pesarle, más por averle quitado la
enfermedad el cuchillo de las manos, que por falta del tío; ..."
(pp. 81-82.) His motive was to rob the old man: "... tomóle los dineros y hacienda con ocasión de restituirse de mucha que avía entrado en su poder de diezmos y quintos." (p. 82.) Don Diego adds this bit of irony: "Tal fue la fin de don Fernando el Zaguer, cabeza de conjuración y levantamiento en el Alpujarra, inventor de nombre de rey entre los moros de Granada, y poderoso para hacer señor a quien le quitó su hacienda y fue causa de su muerte." (p. 82.) Then Don Diego adds another comment on rulers in general, whether they be tyrants or worthy kings: "Mas, así en los principes verdaderos como tiranos, son agradables servicios en cuanto paresce que se pueden pagar; pero cuanto pasan muy adelante, dase aborrescimiento en lugar de merced." (p. 82.)

Our author criticizes Abenhumeya severely for his poor character: "Mas como sólo el que es rey puede mostrar a ser rey a un hombre, así el que es hombre solo puede mostrar a ser hombre un rey." (p. 137.) The inference being that Abenhumeya, although a king, was not even to be considered a good man in the author's opinion.

Don Diego had a much better word for Adalla Abenabó than for Abenhumeya. Abenabó had been chosen king of the Moriscos after Abenhumeya's decease. After the coronation of Abenabó, the Moriscos sent a messenger to the king of Argel announcing the change of rulers. (p. 141.) Don Diego claimed that Abenabó had much higher moral
standards than Abenhumeya:

Entre los amigos de quien más fiava era un Abdalla Abenabó, de Mecina de Buenbarón, primo suyo y también de la sangre de Abenhumeya, alcaide de los alcaides, tenido por cuerdo y animoso, de buena palabra, comúnmente reputado y usado al campo y entretenido más en criar ganados que en el vicio del lugar. (p. 134.)

This word of praise for one's enemy is extremely unusual when one recalls that it was penned by a proud Spanish nobleman at the time his nation was at war with the Moriscos.

The Moriscos and Moors obeyed the commands of their kings explicity, and for this reason Mohammedanism has spread fanatically throughout the world by the power of the sword. Don Diego commends the Moriscos for their willingness to sacrifice themselves for their beliefs and for their freedom:

Los moros, que les avían quebrantado la seguridad y palabra del rey, que tenían como religión, vínculo inviolable; que estando resueltos a obedecer los mandamientos de su señor natural, les avían, ... robado y dejado por hacienda y libertad a las armas que tenían en las manos y la asperenza y esterilidad de montañas, donde por salvar sus vidas se avían acogido ... " (p. 181.)

The Morisco and Moorish kings were notorious for their cruelty. This could certainly be said of Abenhumeya. Don Diego states that the king had four wives. His first wife was the " ... hija de un Rojas; mas dende a pocos días mandó matar al suegro y a dos cuñados suyos porque no quisieron tomar su ley; dexó la muger, perdonó la suegra porque la avía parido y quiso gracias por ello como piadoso." (p. 38.)

We find that the Moriscos and the Spaniards of Granada had
made some mutual agreements, and with these they had hoped to work out a truce among themselves. The principle conditions of this pact were that the renegades should return to the Christian faith and that the remainder of the Moriscos should remain subject to the Spanish laws for the time being, that the Moriscos who wished to remain upon their land should remain Christians, that the Moriscos should be permitted to preserve their own dress and language, that the Inquisition should not be held in Granada for a few more years, that the Moriscos should pay tribute to the King of Spain, and that the Conde de Tendilla (el Marqués de Mondéjar) should offer his sons as hostages as evidence that the Spaniards would keep their word in this treaty. (p. 9.)

Later severe punishment was dealt out to any Morisco who attempted to make any private arrangements with the Christians without the consent of the entire community. Don Diego mentions at least one violation of this by the Moriscos: One of their generals, Melilu, "... rico y de ánimo, hizo ahorrar al Hacón que trataba con los cristianos, por una carta de su muger que le hallaron, que le persuadier a dejar la guerra y concertarse." (p. 107.)

MILITARY

Other important topics found in the Guerra de Granada are the many accounts of military battles and war strategy. For instance, Don Diego tells us that there were various methods of enlisting men into the Spanish army for service in Granada:
conscription of criminals, volunteers offering their services freely, the granting of royal favors, the home guard, and the special calling of private soldiers.

A curious military custom prevalent among some of the Spanish nobility was the training of their young sons for war by taking them into actual combat:

... el duque, algo apartado, oyendo los golpes de los arcabuces y visto que se peleava por aquella parte de Pedro de Mendoza, se mejoró, y por la ladera, descubriendo la escaramuza, con la caballería y la que pudo del arcabucería acometió a los enemigos, llevando cerca de sí a su hijo, moço casi de treze años, don Luis Ponce. (Cosa usada en otra hechad en aquella casa de los moros y tener a sus padres por maestros). (pp. 197-198.)

Since Don Diego is writing primarily about the rebellion of the Moriscos in Granada, naturally, he provides a wealth of information about the events of the war and the military strategy of both the Moriscos and the Spaniards. The Marqués de Mondéjar, who was stationed at Orgiva for a time, was sent into the field in order to pursue the Moriscos into their mountain strongholds. Don Juan de Austria, aided by Don Antonio de Luna and Don Juan de Mendoza, directed the affairs of the army from Granada. (p. 83.) The first thing Don Juan accomplished was to secure Granada. (p. 86.) Hearing that the Moriscos were about to attack Vélez, Don Juan sent a message to the commander, Don Arévalo de Suazo, to be ready. (p. 97.) When the Morisco general, Moxaxar, entered the town with his troops, Don Diego de Mendoza, and his two brothers, Don Juan and Don Bernardino, were ready for them having placed their men
advantageously on the second floor of the people's homes. The outcome was an overwhelming victory for the Spaniards. (p. 112.)

At the battle of Orgiva the results were the opposite because the Spanish general Piedepalo did not allow himself enough daylight to arrive in time to help the Spanish garrison defend the city. However, the Spaniards, following their usual strategy, covered up their large loss by publicizing that they only lost sixty men in the battle. The Moriscos did the same whenever necessary. (p. 146.)

Don Diego criticized the slow pace at which the Spanish army was moving toward the final victory, and he determined as its cause the volunteer soldiers who had begun the war under the leadership of the Marqués de Mondéjar. Most of these men were inexperienced soldiers, adventurers, thieves, and cowards. The Spaniards had been persuaded that the Moriscos were easy prey, and so they tried to fight without leadership or organization. These volunteer soldiers would often desert and return to their nearby homes with the bounties gained in battle. Don Diego makes this comment: "... salían nuevos a la guerra, estaban nuevos y bolvían nuevos." (p. 148.)

Don Juan had explained to the king how the war could have been easily won by employing experienced soldiers, but that at the beginning of hostilities Felipe II was not concerned about the quality of the soldiers that had enlisted for service. Don Diego declares that all that was needed was the wholehearted backing of the
king, for "... mucho puede en el ánimo de un príncipe." (p. 62.)

A very decisive factor in the winning of any war is the matter of sufficient supplies for the fighting men. Both sides in the war of Granada suffered constantly from acute food shortages. (p. 168.) Indirectly, Don Diego blamed the king for not becoming more vitally interested in the war soon enough and for not providing enough trained men, arms and other supplies. Our author reasoned that the powerful nation of Spain should have easily been able to put down such an insignificant uprising, but that they delayed and allowed the Moriscos to build up their strength with reinforcements of men and supplies sent by the Moors in Africa. Hurtado set forth the following arguments to support his point of view of this matter: the Spanish nation was enthusiastic in war and accustomed to suffer hardship, the Spaniards were extremely jealous of their honor and were loyal to their ruler, Spain had placed a number of well disciplined armies in the European battle fields and Hurtado de Mendoza personally had served in the ones organized by the great Emperador Carlos V, and in contrast to the poorly equipped army of Granada these armies were very well provided for in every way. Don Diego concluded that everything was working contrary to the honor and the fame of the Spanish nation in the war of Granada and that he had never seen such a poorly organized and ill-equipped Spanish army as the one at Granada. He called it a poor excuse of an army and a disgraceful waste of valuable time, money and men. He very aptly described the Spanish soldiers at Granada as "... iguales en
miedo, en cuchilla, en poca perserverancia, y de ninguna disciplina." (p. 147.)

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's outspoken criticism of the Spanish military at Granada breaks down into three main categories: the inefficiency of the military leadership in general, the insufficiency of the offensive for the lack of proper strategy, and the ineffectiveness of untrained and undisciplined soldiers.

The Spanish soldiers in Granada often disrespected their commanders, as were "... pocos oficiales de pluma." (p. 90.) One of their important generals, the Marqués de Mondéjar, was criticized for his lack of determination: "... que no le avía de hacer espaldas, de donde avía de salir el nervio de la guerra ... ." (p. 73)

The officials were often insubordinate and uncooperative with each other as was the case of Don Pedro de Mendoza. (p. 192.) Don Antonio de la Luna was a prime example of a general with improper judgment in military matters when he commanded his troops to march at night into unknown territory without a guide and that into the known presence of the enemy—a move which was extremely costly in lives. (p. 181.)

The problem of proper leadership became so serious on one occasion during the war that forty-one Spanish captains were suspended at one time, which was a very foolish decision to make as there were no replacements in sight. The outcome was that it was necessary to call all of these men back into the service within a few days after their dismissal as they found out that it was
impossible to fight a war without commanding officers. Even the
proper treatment of Morisco prisoners, who had surrendered, was a
real problem because of the carelessness and incompetence of the
Spanish officials. (p. 151.)

The strategy of the Spanish military was often faulty. At
one time Don Diego cried out in despair: "... acontecieron des-
gracias por donde quedaron armados los enemigos y nosotros
desarmados, ..." (p. 118.) Most of the trouble lay in the lack of
organization. Don Diego cites this example among several: "Parte
de la caballería se acogió fuera de tiempo, disculpándose que no
les ubiesen dado la orden ni esperado el arcabucería que dejavan
atrás." (p. 130.) On various occasions the leaders used poor timing
in staging an attack on the enemy as this example indicates: "... donde
se detuvo un día ... dilación contra la opinión de los
pláticos y que dio a los enemigos espacio de alcanzar sus mugeres, hijos
y ropa, esconder y quemar vitualla, todo a la vista y media legua de
nuestro campo." (p. 121.)

Don Diego repeatedly criticized the common Spanish foot
soldiers for being insubordinate (pp. 115, 127, 189.), lacking in
morale (p. 43.), dishonest and covetous (pp. 108-171.), poorly
disciplined, (pp. 128, 130, 177.) critical of authority (p. 173.) and
frequently deserters. (pp. 123, 177.) He sums up his derogatory
opinion concerning them by remarking satirically that they were
"... muchos soldados; pocos hombres ..." (p. 64.) and that they
might have been "... hombres si tuvieron cabezas." (p. 91.)
The civilian Moriscos suffered as much if not more than the military because they could not plunder the enemy or perhaps only would arrive in time for the left-overs provided there was a victory after a battle. Many had to seek refuge in the hills for their personal safety. They suffered greatly for lack of adequate shelter, clothing, and food: "Recogiendo su ropa y dineros, llevando la vitualla y dejando escondida la que pudieron, con los que quisieron seguílos, se alçaron en la montaña, casi sin habita- tación por el esperaza, nieve y frío." (p. 109.)

We note, too, that many of the Morisco women and children died as a result of the battles, especially at the time of the sieges of the Moorish strongholds. Many more were wounded or taken captive. The captive Morisco women, especially, were mistreated and abused, and the children were separated from their parents. We are told that in an attack on a Morisco fort, that "murieron de los enemigos dentro del fuerte quinientos hombres, la mayor parte viejos; mugeres y niños casi mill y trescientos con el ímpetu y el enojo de la entrada y después de salidos en el alcance, y heridos otros cerca de quinientos." (p. 107.) Also, we note that many Morisco captives were slain by the Spaniards. We read that on at least one occasion there were one hundred fifty Morisco prisoners detained in Granada, all of whom were unmercifully put to death for no apparent reason by the Spaniards. (p. 76.)

The same, of course, can be noted in regard to the way the Moorish soldiers treated the Spanish prisoners; for example, we
read that in the battle of Rubrique "entraron los moros en el lugar, y combatiendo la iglesia sacaron los que en ella estavan encerrados, quemándola con los soldados sin que pudiesen ser socorridos . . ." (p. 180.) Likewise some of the Morisco leaders, such as Abenhumeya, had reputations of being very cruel, but in comparison with the Christian leaders there probably was very little difference as both groups practiced the same tactics in warfare.

Don Diego treats the subject of the military prowess of the Morisco leaders just about as much as he does that of his own people. He gives the details of a group of discontented Moriscos who gathered in a hospital under the pretense of a religious confraternity for the purpose of doing good works, and there they discussed their plans to start a revolution to overthrow the Spanish government in Granada. (p. 17.) Don Diego marvelled that these Moriscos were able to keep this affair quiet and not be discovered by the Spanish officials who were supposed to be on the watch for such trouble. (p. 24.) He then describes the actual rebellion in which the Moriscos attempted on Christmas Eve to kill their Spanish neighbors while they were under the influence of wine. (pp. 26-27.) The Moriscos had conceived the unique plan of scaling the walls of the Alhambra with rope ladders that they had hidden for the purpose in a nearby cave. They failed to carry out this scheme, however, because a threatening storm caused the Moriscos to fear that their reinforcements would not arrive on time. Don Diego makes the comment that this was a mistake on their part because the storm would have
furnished the ideal situation for such a daring enterprise. (p. 31.)

Naturally, we find that a great deal of description of various battles was gathered by the author from both Spanish soldiers and Morisco captives, not to mention his own observations. It would have been a physical impossibility for him to have been present at all of these battles as many were conducted simultaneously. Besides Don Diego was old and infirm at the time, but, nevertheless, he states that he took active part in one or two skirmishes near Granada. Most of his time, however, was spent in Granada working on his history of the war. Notwithstanding, he gives some very good accounts of both Moriscos and Spaniards in warfare.

According to Don Diego, the Moriscos followed more or less the same system of fighting as the Spaniards. They divided their troops into companies with a captain over each, and with specific military commissions. Each division was governed directly by men whom they called alcaides. Tahas was the name given to the divisions and tahat, meaning "to subject oneself," was the name given to the ruler who commanded the entire army and the affairs of war. This was the name used by the Moriscos from ancient times and was also adopted by the Spaniards to indicate all those who were in charge of a fort. In order to protect the life of the tahat an armed guard of over 400 men was employed. A red flag marked the supreme commander's position. (pp. 74-75.)

The Morisco military strategy was somewhat different from that of the Spaniards. The Moriscos employed moros aljamiados, Moors,
who could speak *aljamía* which is the Morisco word for the Spanish language, to spy on the Spaniards. (p. 125.) Don Diego complains of the unpatriotic contacts the Spaniards made with these spies: "Estavan nuestras compañías tan llenas de moros aljamiados, que donde quiera se mantenían espías: las mugeres, los niños esclavos, los mismos cristianos viejos davan avisos vendiendo sus armas y munición, calçado, paño, vitualla a los moros." (p. 125.)

The Moriscos also used *atalayas* much more frequently than the Spaniards. Don Diego tells how these Morisco lookouts reported the movements of the Spanish troop all the way to Orgiva. (pp. 145-146.) Likewise, the Moriscos did not like to fight the cavalry of the Spaniards as the former fought largely on foot and did not use long handled spears. (pp. 111-112.) The Moriscos very astutely dressed soldiers in women's apparel in order to attract the Spaniards and to lure them to their deaths. (p. 160.)

The Morisco troops were armed essentially with the same kind of weapons as those used by the Spaniards, namely, *arcabuces*, pistols, swords, shields, stones, cannons, bows and arrows, etc., but with this one notable difference that the Moriscos used poison on their arrows. Don Diego gives a detailed description of the two common types of poison used by the Moriscos on the tips of their arrows during the war of Granada:

Mas porque se va perdiendo el uso con el de los arcabuces, como se olvidan muchas cosas con la novedad de otras, diré algo de su naturaleza. Ay dos maneras deste veneno; una, que se haze en Castilla en las montañas de Béjar y Guadarrama (a este monte llaman los antiguos Orós peda y al otro
Idóbeda), coziendo el cumo de vedagambre, a quien en lengua romana y griega llaman élboro negro, hasta que hace correa, y curándolo al sol lo espesan y dan fuerza; su olor es agudo no sin suavidad; su color oscuro, que tira a rubio. Otra se hace en las montañas nevadas de Granada de la misma manera, pero de la yerva que los moros llaman rejalgar, los romanos y griegos acónico, y nosotros yerbas, y porque mata los lobos la llaman licostones; color negra, olor grave; prende más presto, daña mucha carne. Los acidentes en ambas son unos mismos: frío, torpeza, privación de vista, rebolbimiento de estómago, arcadas, espumarajos, enflaquecimiento de fuerzas hasta caer; enbúilibse la ponzoña con la sangre donde quiera que la halle, y aunque toque la yerva a la que corre fuera de la herida se retráe con ella y la lleva consigo por las venas al corazón, donde ya no tiene remedio; más antes que llegue ay todos los generales, chupándola para fuera aunque con peligro (psylos los llamaban, en la lengua de Egipto, los hombres que tenían este oficio).

El particular remedio es cumo de membrillo, tan enemiga fruta desta yerva que donde quiera que le alcanza el olor le quita la fuerza; cumo de retama, cuyas hojas machacadas e yo visto lanzarse por la herida cuanto pueden buscando el veneno hasta topallo y tirallo a fuera; tal es la manera desta ponzoña, con cuyo cumo untan las saetas enbultadas en lino para que se detenga. La simpleza de nuestros pasados, que no conocieron manera de matar personas sino a hierro, puso a todo género de veneno, yerbas. Usóse en los tiempos antiguos en las montañas de Abruco, en las de Cándia, en las de Persia. En los nuestros, en los Alpes que llaman Monsenis ay cierta yerva poco diferente, dicha tora, con que matan la caça, y otra, que dicen antora, a manera de dictamo, que la cura. (pp. 17-18.)

Essentially the Morisco soldiers suffered from hardships and ill treatment as much as the Spanish soldiers, if not more so. We read that the Turkish soldiers were paid eight ducados a month and the Moriscos received only their food. (p. 142.)

Our author sums up the condition of the enemy's army: that the Moriscos lacked adequate leadership, (p. 167.) that the Moorish reinforcements from Africa were very uncertain, that the Moors were underpaid causing them to fight dissolutely (p. 133.) and that the
Moriscos often acted very cowardly and refused to fight. This was certainly true of the Morisco leader, Carcaxal, who was afraid of the Spaniards, and who "se salió con su gente y el dinero, de noche sin recibir daño." (p. 153.)

SOCIETY

According to the personal opinion of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the immediate causes of the rebellion of the Moriscos of Granada were: the unreasonableness of the Spanish government in appropriating land and other personal property belonging to the Moriscos by inheritance (pp. 11-12.), the failure of the Spanish officials to discover the revolt in time and to make a report to the king before it broke out into an open war (p. 24.), and the total lack of tolerance on the part of the Spanish Christians toward the Moriscos in matters of their culture and customs which had roots in the Mohammedan faith. (pp. 23-26.)

The culture of the Moriscos was different from that of the Spaniards as can be seen in many ways: the pageantry of their kings, the attitude toward and the treatment of their women, the colorful music and festivals, and by numerous other ways. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the above:

Having elected Abdulla Abenabó king of the Moriscos, authority was granted to him by the Moriscos for three months allowing time for approbation from Argel. Dauz, the Morisco dyer of Granada who had conceived and instigated the revolution, was selected to
carry the news of Abenabó's election to Argel. He was given several captives and much gold for gifts to the king of Argel. Each Morisco leader also gave him money for the expenses of his journey. The king of Argel granted his approval before the three months had elapsed.

The Morisco's then inaugurated their new king, Abenabó, with a fitting ceremony. He was clothed in scarlet, a staff was placed in his left hand and a naked Saracen sword in his right. Then raising him above their heads the Moriscos shouted, "Dios ensalse el rey de Andalucía y de Granada, Abdulla Abenabó." (p. 141.)

The Spanish laws and restrictions attempting to change the customs of the Morisco women were extremely odious to the Morisco men as they regarded their women and children very highly. Their Mohammedan faith was also involved as many of the laws found in the Koran concern women's problems. Because of their religion, the Moriscos preferred to marry women of their own race and often brought them from other lands to Granada. (pp. 61-62.) The Morisco women bathed daily as a matter of cleanliness and in obedience to their Holy Law. This was also forbidden by the Spaniards and was considered to be a great hardship to the Moriscos. (p. 22.) Another Moorish custom prohibited by Spanish law was the practice of the Morisco women of veiling their faces in public in keeping with their religious practice. (pp. 21-22.) Slavery was permitted under Morisco law but forbidden by the Spanish one. The Spanish authorities tried to put an end to all collaboration with the Moriscos by prohibiting
cohabitation with the Morisco women except in legitimate marriage. Later these mixed marriages were discouraged. (p. 134.)

The festivals, dances, music and other diversions of the Moriscos were all distinct from those of the Spaniards. These, too, were forbidden by Spanish law to the extreme dissatisfaction of the Moriscos who loved these things dearly. (pp. 15, 22, 135.)

Apparently, the Morisco musicians entertained their troops around the campfires after each day's battle. (p. 45.) The sound of the Morisco music often annoyed the Spaniards as it reminded them constantly of the presence of their enemy. (pp. 32, 70.)

The Moriscos enjoyed the reputation of leading quiet lives of luxury as they were accustomed to a government with justice and equality for all. (p. 17.) As Don Diego clearly indicates the laws and restrictions placed upon the Moriscos by the Spanish government did not help matters, but only served to drive the Moriscos further from the Spanish way of life. The extremely intolerant ways of the Spaniards bred contempt and hatred in the hearts of the Moriscos. They felt that their personal liberties and civil rights were at stake, not to mention their wealth and property. The only logical solution to their problem was to attempt to overthrow the bondage of the Spanish government.

Don Diego continually compares and contrasts the Christian and Mohammedan religions. It is of importance that we understand the basic differences between these two religions so as to account for the continual friction between these two ethnic groups. This
finally led to armed conflict. The Spanish Christians, i.e., the ones that were fortunate to have been born into Christian families of Spain, were often called the pueblo de cristianos viejos.

(p. 15.) These in turn felt it to be their obligation to convert to Christianity the Moors and the Jews, who were residing in their land. (p. 11.) These new converts to Christianity were called "los nuevamente convertidos." (p. 15.)

These cristianos viejos, being in the minority, were afraid that the new Morisco converts would rise up in arms and overthrow their rule; "creyendo que los moriscos vecinos de la ciudad tomarfan las armas contra los cristianos viejos . . ." (p. 41.) The Moriscos began to persecute the cristianos viejos because the latter had opposed their Mohammedan religion and had tried to proselytize them into the Christian faith. This offended the Moriscos deeply and caused them to be resentful of all Christians. (pp. 38-39.) Neither the Catholic leaders nor the people were able to escape this bitter persecution, as Don Diego tells us ironically: "En Güéçija . . . quemaron por voto un convento de frailes agustinos que se recoxió la torre, con echarles desde un horado de lo alto azeite hirviendo, sirviéndose de la abundancia que Dios les dio en aquella tierra para ahogar sus frailes." (p. 39.)

The Moriscos were very cruel in their torture of the cristianos viejos as we can gather from this description given by Don Diego:

Inventavan nuevos géneros de tormentos; al cura de Terque hincheron de pólvora y le pegaron fuego; al vicario
enterraron vivo hasta la cinta y jugaron a las saetas; a otros lo mismo, dexándolos morir de hambre; a otros cortaron los miembros y entregaron a las mujeres para que con agujas los acabasen de matar; a quien cañaverearon, a quien apedrearon, desollaron, despenaron, y a dos hijos del alcaide de la Peña, llamado Arze, al uno degollaron y al otro crucificaron, acotándole y hiriéndole el costado primero que muriese . . . A otros pusieron en husillos del aceite para estrujarlos, a otros asaron entre tocinos, a otros hilaron en las cuerdas de sus navíos en tornos, a otros persinaron cruzes en la cara con navajas, a otros ahorcaron de los pies, y dieron otros géneros de muertes nunca oídas ni pensadas. (p. 39.)

However, we find that the Moriscos were persecuted in turn by the Christians. This can readily be detected in the speech given by the Morisco Hernando de Vilor, el Zaguér:

. . . donde por otra parte les mandaban asistir a los oficios divinos con pena de dineros, hechos sujetos a enriquecer clérigos; no tener acogida ni a Dios ni a los hombres, tratados y tenidos como moros entre los cristianos para ser menospreciados, y como cristianos entre los moros para no ser creídos ni ayudados, excluídos de la vida y conversación de personas . . . Mándanos que no hablemos nuestra propia lengua . . . Llamán a nuestros hijos a sus congregaciones y casas de letras; enseñanles artes que nuestros mayores prohibieron aprenderse, porque no se confundiese la puridad y hígiese litigiosa la verdad de la ley . . . (p. 20.)

As a result the Moriscos were suffering a real dilemma: "Si queremos mendigar nadie nos socorrerá, como pobres que somos pelados; como ricos nadie nos ayudará, que los moriscos somos los que padecemos esta miseria y pobreza; los cristianos no nos tienen por próximos." (p. 21.)

Don Diego likened these persecutions unto those suffered by the Apostles and praised the Christians for not having denied their faith, although many were tempted and tried. The author remarks
that with great patience and humility the people offered themselves willingly to martyrdom. (p. 140.) The Christians, especially the women, had a revival of devotion and faithfulness to their religion and visited the temples daily for the purpose of prayer. (p. 35.)

Nevertheless, Don Diego in all fairness to the Moriscos has indicated with sincerity that many of his own people were just as guilty in many respects as their Morisco neighbors, especially during the war period when the rule of hatred prevailed. He constantly criticized the Christian community for the divisions, animosities, and strife among themselves (pp. 119, 125, 173.); for envy, avarice, greed, and lasciviousness which abounded especially among the Spanish soldiers (pp. 80, 81, 182.); for the unnecessary shedding of blood and other acts of cruelty (pp. 95, 180.); for looting, for the exploitation of the Spanish troops by the citizens of Granada and for extortions of one another and the king (p. 151-165.); for the dishonoring of women (p. 171.); and for emulations for power (p. 158.). For this reason Don Diego argues that the Christian should not become bigoted and become intolerant of other people's faith, cultures and customs. Don Diego's magnanimous spirit toward the Moriscos was very unusual for his day and indicates that Don Diego was much more advanced in his thinking than many of his contemporaries.

Although Christianity preceded Mohammedanism by several centuries these parallels exist between Mohammedanism and Christianity as both claim to be direct descendants from their founders;
Christianity via its founder, Christ and his followers;
Mohammedanism via its founder, Mohammed and his descendants. (p. 99.)
The Christian faith is based on the teachings of the Bible; the Mohammedans follow the laws laid down in the Koran. The Christians believe in Jesus Christ as their Saviour, the Son of God who was sacrificed for the remission of their sins; the Mohammedans sacrificed twenty young maidens and twenty priests to obtain God's blessing along with that of their prophet Mohammed so that they might win the war. Don Diego pronounces an invective against this practice: "¡Abominable religión, aplacar a Dios con vida y sangre inocente!" (p. 68.) Christ was just another prophet to the Mohammedans, and just as superstitions abounded among the sixteenth century Christians, we find that the Mohammedans also were very superstitious maintaining that the world-wide advance of their religion was prophesied by certain signs in the universe; "... prodigios y apariencias extraordinarias de gente armada en el aire a las faldas de sierra Nevada; aves de desusada manera dentro en Granada; partos monstruosos de animales en tierra de Baça, y trabajos del sol con eclipsi de los años pasados, que mostrava adversidad a los cristianos ..." (pp. 23-24.) This prophesy stated in part that the Mohammedans would drive back their enemies and recover the territory lost by their predecessors.

We find a continual conflict between these two religions—the Christians trying to proselytize the Mohammedans, and the latter trying to advance their religion throughout the world by the power of
the sword. Just as the Spanish Christians resisted the inroads of
the Moors, so likewise, the latter were equally as stubborn in
refusing to accept the Christian faith: "... los reyes, queriendo
que en el reino fuesen cristiano, enviaron a fray Francisco Ximénez,
arcobispo de Toledo y cardenal que los persuadiese; mas ellos,
gente tan dura y pertinaz como nuevamente conquistada, estuvieron
necios." (p. 9.)

We have now observed in our study of the Guerra de Granada
some of the comparisons and contrasts between the governments, the
military regimes and the social conditions of both the Spaniards
and Moriscos living in Granada during this period of the war
(1568-1571). Don Diego has pointed out the extreme differences
that existed between the cultures, customs and religions of these
two ethnic groups. He has concluded that the principle reason for
the revolt of the Moriscos was the social clash caused by the lack
of tolerance on the part of both groups. We have seen the author
fulfilling his purpose for writing by expressing his personal
opinions and criticizing all whom he judged to be at fault. The
author sincerely desired to teach his own generation as well as all
posterity these valuable lessons learned by painful experience in
the war of Granada.
CHAPTER IV

THE LITERARY VALUE OF THE WORK

STYLE

In this chapter we will consider some of the specific merits of the Guerra de Granada which made this a distinctive work of Spanish Renaissance literature. First, we will observe the author's style resembling closely that of the Roman historians, Tacitus and Sallust; secondly, we will note some of the more important novelistic elements; and thirdly, we will consider the frequent employment of satire and irony as well as other rhetorical devices. In this section we shall be able to observe fully the author's purpose in writing his history, i.e., to criticize the various leaders and groups involved in the Morisco uprising and to vindicate the part his own family played in the war, especially that of his own cousin, the Marqués de Mondéjar.

Although Don Diego's history seems to spring vigorously from the soil of Granada, it is largely an imitation of the ancient Roman historians, as George Ticknor, the well known literary critic, had observed: "The genius of antiquity, indeed is impressed on its very first sentence." ¹ The Guerra de Granada was written in a completely

different style than the Spanish chronicles published previously.

Clarence W. Mendell has listed the most significant characteristics of Tacitus' style of writing as the use of a great variety of topics, the brevity of expression and the constant quoting of popular aphorisms and ironic epigrams. Tacitus' rhetoric, resembling the Quintillian School, has a unique style very difficult to imitate.  

Tacitus himself claims to have written a special type of biography using his own peculiar analytical method. Traditional Roman biography before Tacitus lacks the writer's personal philosophy of human history. Tacitus is also noted for ethnographic digressions such as one on Britain found in his *Germania*. Hurtado de Mendoza made a similar digression when he related the histories of Fez, Tuzen and Argel. (pp. 98-103.)

After fifteen years of literary production, Tacitus developed his own peculiar style of expression. His *Dialogue on Orators* had rivalled anything ever produced by Cicero. Tacitus did not write carelessly as did Seneca. Nor did he laden his prose with colloquial expressions. Tacitus used great precision of language, concise organization and assumed the basic intelligence of his readers. His frequent use of irony and satire was an improvement on

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3 Ibid., p. 82.
4 Ibid., p. 84.
the commonplace use of the popular aphorism. With the genius of a poet Tacitus followed up his descriptive passages in prose with a concise statement loaded with irony. His poetic coloring of prose and his gravity of expression, combined with the other qualities mentioned above, soon earned him the reputation of an accomplished historian. The above description of Tacitus' style parallels that of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in his *Guerra de Granada* which indicates that Don Diego evidently had succeeded very well in imitating the noted classical historian. This has rightfully earned for Don Diego the title of "The Spanish Tacitus."

Don Diego enumerates several general historical events in his "Prologue" that would furnish suitable topics for any historian to write about: "... guerras largas de varios sucesos, tomas y desolaciones de ciudades populosas, reyes vencidos y presos ...." (p. 1.) This brings to mind the "Proemía" of the *Historiae* of Tacitus.

Comparing Tacitus with the great Greek historian, Thucydides, we discover that the latter was not interested in the "... actual and probable behavior of individual men but of men in general living in society." Tacitus' characters "... are there for their own

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5 Ibid., pp. 88-92.


sakes and are to be understood and not merely to be praised or
condemned." 8 Macaulay claims that Tacitus has no rivals among his-
torians and very few superiors among dramatists and novelists for
his ability to delineate character. 9 Later, under the section
entitled "Novelistic Elements," we shall cite several examples of
Don Diego's imitation of Tacitus in depicting character.

Whenever Tacitus describes a battle scene, we feel the im-
portance of the event. In order to supply the details, he seems to
have employed the method used by all earlier historians of resorting
to other sources for such embellishments. For example, in the Roman
histories all naval battles have a pronounced similarity which seems
to indicate that all their historians have drawn their facts from
the same sources. 10 Don Diego's sources were mostly eye-witness
accounts of the war of Granada. He also drew from contemporary
Arabic and Morisco histories, as he has mentioned occasionally. 11

According to Moses Hadas, who wrote the "Introduction" to
the Complete Works of Tacitus, there are two main characteristics of

8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., p. xiv.
10 Ibid., p. xvii.
11 Occasionally Hurtado de Mendoza mentions the name of the
author of his source but seldom gives the title of the book. He
names the following: Muley Hazen, king of Tuzeq, history (p. 3.);
Aplano Alexandrino, history (p. 183.); Hirzio, history (p. 183.)
Sallust, history (p. 183.); Novio, Greek poet who wrote Dionisicia
(p. 183.) and 1as historias arábigas (pp. 3, 7, 78.). The writer of
this paper has had access to only one of these sources mentioned,
namely that of Sallust.
Tacitus' written history: speeches not possibly delivered by his characters and inaccurate battle descriptions. The use of speeches for didactic purposes had become common in histories since the Greek historian Thucydides had first employed this method of presenting his personal views to his readers.¹²

One of the important similarities between Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's style and that of Tacitus (and also that of Sallust) is the use of these written speeches for didactic purposes. At the beginning of the Guerra de Granada we find the lengthy speech directed to the Moriscos by Hernando de Válor, who was one of the main leaders of the rebellion. He is described very favorably by Don Diego as "... un hombre de grande autoridad y consejo maduro, entendido en las cosas del reino y su ley." (p. 19.) Abenjaguar in his speech to his people enumerates various reasons why they should try to overthrow the Spanish rule. The chief one was the constant ill-treatment which they had received at the hands of the Spaniards for they had been reduced to a state of virtual slavery and had suffered much humiliation. Let us note a few of these injustices: A Morisco accused of a crime was denied refuge by the Spaniards in their churches, thus many were put to death unmercifully without a fair trial. The Moriscos were compelled to attend the Christian church services and were threatened with heavy fines for failure to comply. For this reason the majority of the Moriscos were not trusted by the cristianos viejos, because they continued to practice their

¹² Tacitus, p. xvi-xvii.
Mohammedan religion in secret. Likewise, the Moriscos were forbidden the use of their native tongue. Abenjaguar aptly expressed this dilemma with this rhetorical question: "¿Quién quita que el hombre de lengua castellana no pueda tener la ley del Profeta, y él de la lengua morisca la ley de Jesús?" (p. 20.) Another complaint was that the Spaniards carried away the Morisco children and placed them, contrary to their parents wishes, in schools located in northern Spain where they were taught practices contrary to their Mohammedan faith thus attempting to turn them against the customs of their fathers. The Spanish government prohibited the Moriscos wearing native dress, and they were commanded to "... vestir castellano." (p. 20.), while the Spaniards were allowed to dress in any fashion they chose: "... los moços como quieren, los viejos a su gusto; cada nación, cada profesión, cada estado usa su manera de hábito y todos son cristianos; nosotros moros, porque vestimos a la morisca, como si tragésemos la ley en el vestido y no en el corazón." (p. 21.) Abenjaguar complained that his people did not have enough money to be able to discard their Moorish clothing and to buy Spanish styles.

The above speech delivered by Zaguer compares favorable with the one given by Catiline to his select band of fellow conspirators as recorded by Sallust in his Conspiracy of Catiline; Catiline had lauded them for their bravery and faithfulness, had claimed that Rome had fallen into the hands of a powerful oligarchy, had told them that they were considered to be only nobodies held in subjection to
their evil authority, had appealed to their love of liberty and their desire for freedom, had decried the wealth and power of those in political power while they did not even have the means to buy the bare necessities of life nor to possess a roof over their heads that they might call their own, and then, finally, assured them that an easy victory was theirs, promising each one a political job, the cancellation of their debts, and personal riches.\textsuperscript{13}

Each of these speeches had one thing in common: that they appealed to the patriotic fervor of their fellowmen to overthrow the corrupt form of government responsible for such inhuman treatment and to fight for their rights and their freedom. These speeches were often inserted by the historians for didactic purposes.

The above mentioned speech by AbenJaguar compares favorably also with the one which we find in Tacitus' \textit{Annals} III, namely, the debate conducted in the Roman Senate between Severus Caecina and Valerius Messalinus.\textsuperscript{14} Caecina had proposed to the Senators that no Roman magistrate who had been appointed to rule in a foreign province should be accompanied by his wife. He sets forth various arguments; that he himself had served forty foreign campaigns and his wife had remained alone in Rome to raise their six children, that women are members of the weaker sex and cannot withstand the hardships of

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\textsuperscript{14} Tacitus, p.120.
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foreign service whether it be in time of peace or war, and that when women are granted too much liberty they abuse it and become "... spiteful, intriguing and greedy of power." Messalinus refuted him with this argument: that women were granted few privileges at home anyway so this posed no real problem, and that the weaker sex was at the mercy of the stronger sex, anyhow, to which he added; "You must not try to check vices abroad until you correct the ones at home." We see how Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, at a later date, used this speech device in order to discuss one of the national problems of his day, and to teach his people a moral lesson.

We find that all three of these historians (Sallust, Tacitus, and Hurtado de Mendoza) had a lot in common for each had been very active in politics and had dedicated himself to the writing of his country's history. An enlightening study can be made by comparing the purpose each one had for writing his history. We find that each writer attempted to expose the vice and corruption prevailing in his own nation and urged his countrymen to reform. Each one, also, tried to warn his posterity to avoid the same pitfalls and mistakes.

The second distinguishing characteristic of Tacitus' writings, as mentioned above, is the apparent inaccuracies of battle accounts. For an example of one of these events, let us turn to a paraphrased account of the massacre of a Roman Legion in Britain. According to Tacitus (Annals, XIV) there were many signs of the impending

15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., p. 120-121.
disaster: the statue of Victory at Camulodunum fell on its face with its back to the enemy, local women prophesied of coming destruction, strange voices were heard in the senate chamber ravening in a foreign tongue, loud wailings were heard coming from the amphitheatre, scenes resembling an overthrown and defeated town appeared in the Tamesa Estuary, the ocean had turned to the color of blood, and at ebb tide forms, resembling human beings, could be seen in the sand. The town requested the aid of Procurator Catus Decianus, as Suetonius was too far away at the time to render assistance. The Procurator Decianus sent only two hundred poorly armed Roman soldiers, and these did not attempt to build additional fortifications, because they had decided to rely solely on the temple for protection as the enemy secretly had confounded their plans. An immense host of barbarians soon surrounded them after setting fire to the houses. The old men and women were not separated from the soldiers and consequently hindered them in their fighting. After a two day siege the town finally surrendered. When Commander Petilius Cerialis with his Ninth Roman Legion finally was able to come to their rescue, the enemy met them before they entered the town, and they were completely annihilated with but one exception—the commander who was able to escape into the fort. Procurator Decianus, whose greed had been the cause of the revolt was alarmed at the disaster and fled into Gaul.  

We note that the description of this particular battle lacks verisimilitude. After recounting all the superstitions regarding the

17 Ibid., p. 338-339.
event, which the author accepts as facts, Tacitus then concludes that fate was against the Romans and that this accounted for their defeat. Tacitus continues with his narrative expecting the readers to believe such statements, as the following: Only two hundred poorly armed Roman soldiers were sent to help ward off a multitude of the enemy; common sense would have dictated that it would have been wiser to flee and not to have tried to face a horde of people under such circumstances. The enemy upset the Romans' plans so that they were unable to build proper fortifications, but Tacitus does not attempt to explain just how this had been accomplished. Tacitus states that the Romans failed to remove the old men and women so that the young soldiers could face the foe, however, considering Roman military prowess this, likewise, is very unlikely. Tacitus declares that General Cerialis miraculously saved himself by escaping into a fort that did not exist, and that the Procurator Decianus fled into Gaul by going through the enemy lines, which would have been an impossible feat for a Roman gladiator to say nothing of a Roman nobleman not accustomed to such activity.

In the Guerra de Granada we find similar discrepancies in the descriptions of certain battles. Many of these can no doubt be explained by the fact that Don Diego had to depend a great deal on verbal reports given to him by eyewitnesses. However, it is entirely probable that the author had to supply a lot of necessary details from his own fertile imagination. For an example of an account with alleged errors let us consider the following paraphrased narrative
of the defeat of the Spanish troops at Bagua.

Felipe II gave orders to the Marqués de Vélez to supervise the military campaigns against the Moriscos located at Almería, Guadix, Baça, Almançora, and Filabres. The Marqués, extremely anxious to begin his attack on the enemy, decided that his best move would be to secure the Bagua Pass from enemy attacks. This strategic mountain pass is located in the Alpujarras and links Guadix with the city of Granada. The Marqués sent Captain Gonzalo Hernández, a veteran soldier who had had much experience fighting the Moors in his birthplace of Orán, with four hundred battle hardened soldiers to hold a mountain peak that overlooked the pass. They were given orders to construct a small fort on its summit so as to protect their men and supplies. Captain Gonzalo made the fatal mistake of not sending scouts ahead of his men as they climbed the mountain. The Morisco troops were hidden in ambush on either side of the mountain trail and as the Spaniards advanced part of their company was allowed to pass. Without a sound of warning forty Morisco riflemen opened fire upon the Spaniards who were taken by complete surprise. The rest of the one hundred Moriscos hidden on either side of the Spanish column fell upon them with their swords. The majority of the Spanish troops were killed in this first onslaught and in utter confusion the remainder fled, throwing away their guns, ammunition and other supplies in their haste. Captain Gonzalo with only a few survivors returned to Guadix in safety. (p. 96.)

We find it almost impossible to believe the above account
that four hundred experienced Spanish militia could be practically annihilated by only one hundred forty Moriscos with only forty of their number armed with arcabuces. Taking into account the element of surprise in an ambush of this kind, there is no question that a large number of soldiers could have been thrown into a state of confusion. However, it seems very unlikely that Captain Gonzalo Hernández, who was well acquainted with the enemy's tactics, as he was an experienced fighter of the Moors, would have allowed his men to fall into such a trap in the first place. Furthermore, it is doubtful that the Spaniards would have discarded all their guns and ammunition which would have been their only defense in case the Moriscos had decided to follow up their attack or perhaps they had encountered another band of Moriscos upon their return to Guadix since they were going through enemy territory.

Upon comparing the above account of the Spanish defeat at Ragua (p. 96.) described by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza with the one recorded by Ginés Pérez de Hita in his Guerras civiles de Granada, we find a completely different version of the same event as can easily be seen by reading this paraphrased rendering: Nearly two thousand Moors had gathered at Ragua located in the Abuñuelas. They had heard that a large number of Christians by order of Don Juan de Mendoza was in the process of building a fort for the purpose of guarding the mountain pass from the Moors who were habitually attacking the Spanish supply escorts. For this reason the Spanish occupied city of Órgiva was suffering greatly for lack of food and other
supplies. There were over four hundred Spanish soldiers working on the construction of this fort. The Moors attacked them, but as the Spaniards were greatly outnumbered, they were soon defeated. Most of the Spaniards were put to death, and the rest were put to flight. Their flag, supplies and arms fell into enemy hands. A few Spaniards managed to escape to Granada and some to Órgiva. Don Juan de Mendoza, when he learned of the disaster, was greatly disheartened. 18

We can see that there are several major differences as we read these two accounts. Pérez de Hita tells us that the soldiers were already located at the top of the mountain and that Ragua was located in the Abufiuelas and not the Alpujarras. Over four hundred soldiers were already in the process of building the fort when they were attacked by the Moors. Don Diego gives us an entirely different story claiming that Captain Gonzalo Hernández, accompanied by his four hundred soldiers, were climbing up the mountain and had not yet started the construction of the fort. While they were climbing the mountain, according to Don Diego, they were ambushed by the Moriscos before they ever reached the top or had a chance to start working on the fort.

It is important to note that the account by Pérez de Hita resembles very closely the one given by Luis del Mármol Carvajal in...

his Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada, although the latter gives some added details which do not appear in the former as the following paraphrased version indicates: In order that the escorts might pass with security from Guadix, Don Pedro Arfas de Avila, the corregidor of the city of Guadix, ordered that a fort be constructed in the heights above Ragua where he might place two companies of infantry and secure the pass. However, the fort did not serve its purpose very well so Pedro Arfas de Avila sent Captain Gonzalo Hernández to take charge. He was a very energetic military man and used to fighting the Moors as he had been born at Orán. The fort already under construction had some low walls and trenches where the people might find protection in case of an enemy attack. On the third day of May three Morisco captains met together and made plans to attack the fort at the time the soldiers were busy at work. The Moriscos barely out-numbered the Spaniards. The Spanish sentinels gave the alarm advising the coming of the enemy. Gonzalo Hernández hid a small detachment of one hundred fifty riflemen in a ravine. The Spaniards saw the enemy troops approaching the fort in small scattered groups. Some approached on the highway in the direction of Gonzalo Hernández; others traveled on hidden paths. They made a concerted attack shouting loudly in order to deceive the Spaniards into thinking that their number was much greater. Juan de Benavides wished to gather all the men within the fort, but this was against the veteran soldiers' wishes; they said that at no time must they show any sign of weakness to the enemy. The Moriscos killed Juan de
Benavides and put the rest of his men to flight. Gonzalo Hernández and his men, hidden in the ravine, became frightened and ran with the rest; their captain was unable to detain them. Don Diego comments that this was a very cowardly act that brought reproach upon the honor of the Spanish nation. The Moriscos followed hard after the fleeing Spaniards and killed one hundred seventy soldiers. Gonzalo Hernández escaped miraculously, as often occurs to those who flee fearlessly from death, for he passed in the midst of the enemy camp and no one had power to attack him. The Spanish soldiers who had managed to escape arrived at Guadix without their fire-arms, because in order to run away faster they had thrown away their equipment—even their clothing seemed to weigh too heavy upon them.  

By comparing carefully these two last mentioned accounts of the battle of Bagua with the one written by Hurtado de Mendoza we note that the latter had changed the story noticeably in various respects. The Spaniards, he said, were marching up the hill when attacked by the Moriscos, but according to Pérez de Hita and Mármol Carvajal, Captain Gonzalo Hernández hid a small band of men in a ravine. He and his men fled disgracefully with the rest when fortune turned against them. There were actually more Moriscos in the battle than the number Don Diego has recorded according to both Pérez de Hita and Mármol; the story of the battle is entirely different from the one recounted by Don Diego.

At least two reasons can be conjectured for the deliberate

modification of this story by Don Diego. In the first place it seems as if he wished to make some legitimate excuse for the Spanish defeat that had greatly wounded his pride as a Spanish soldier. Second, he wished to criticize the inefficiency of the Spanish military leaders. In order to do this Don Diego took the liberty of changing the account. According to the rules of the Renaissance he would be allowed to change many details of this battle for the purpose of emphasizing the point he wished to make.

It is not surprising to find that Don Diego was guilty of plagiarism, the common practice of nearly all the historians of his day of borrowing verbatim from other historical sources. By comparing the account of the "Varus Debacle" found in Tacitus with the account written by Don Diego of the battle of Sierra Bermeja, we note that these two accounts are practically identical. Hurtado de Mendoza recounts how the Duque de Arcos, whom the king had placed in charge of the military operations in the Sierra de Ronda, unexpectedly came upon the battle scene where seventy years before the remnant of Fort Calaluz had suffered a terrible loss. There, Don Alonzo de Aguilar, brother of the Gran Capitán, had met his death. We read this part of the account as found in the Guerra de Granada:

"Blanqueaban calaveras de hombres y huesos amontonados de caballos, y esparcidos según, como y donde avían parado; pedaços de armas, frenos y despojos de jaézes; vieron más adelante el fuerte de los enemigos, cuyas señales parecían pocas y bajas y a portillos." (p. 187.)

Apparently, Don Diego was inspired by the story written by
Tacitus (Annals, 1) to pay homage to the remnant of the Legions of Varus. The scene of this battle had been discovered six years after the time it had occurred in which General Varus and most of his troops had died. Let us now compare the description given by Don Diego of the battle of Sierra Bermeja with the one written by Tacitus: "In the center of the field were the whitening bones of men, as they had fled, or stood their ground, strewn everywhere or piled in heaps. Near, lay fragments of weapons and limbs of horses, and also human heads, prominently nailed to the trunks of trees..." 20

Both of these accounts seem false as it is not very likely that anyone would have found the bones of unburied soldiers intact after such a long period of time. Nor is it probable that pieces of horses' harness and other war debris would be discovered untouched at both fields of battle, for local people would have no doubt carried away most of the useful articles. The employment of this type of record by Don Diego indicates again the inventive characteristic of the Guerra de Granada.

Livy (59 B.C. - A.D. 17) was born almost a century earlier than Tacitus (c. 55 A.D. - c. 117). He was highly regarded as a historian and tells us a great deal about the famous Romans of the Republic, for, like Augustus, who lined the Forum with statutes, his object was to present a gallery of heroes for the patriotic devotion

20 Tacitus, p. 41.
of his fellowmen. His attitude was similar to that of Tacitus. Both had tried to edify their degenerate contemporaries with their elevated ideals. Don Diego, likewise, can be said to have possessed lofty ideals and a burning desire to effect reform in his country. He adopted Tacitus' ideas of writing: "... narrar sin amor ni odio." Tacitus states his private theory of writing history, "... not to relate at length every event, but only such as were conspicuous for excellence or notorious for infamy. This, I regard as history's highest function, that no worthy action be uncommemorated, and to hold out the reprobation of posterity as a terror to evil words and deeds." As this coincides with Don Diego's purpose of writing the Guerra de Granada, we can readily detect each author's ideals in relation to the world in which he lived.

Alfred John Church states that Tacitus was the first historian to attempt to apply philosophical reasoning to the study of the facts of history. He cautions, however, that the truth of the matter is that Tacitus was no more a philosopher than a research historian. Don Diego also tried to interpret the facts logically,

21 Ibid., p. xv.
22 Ibid., p. xvii.
23 González Palencia, p. 164.
24 Tacitus, p. 137.
25 Ibid., p. xvi.
but it must be remembered that he never pretended to be a philosopher.

According to Morel-Fatio there are several grave errors as well as various omissions in Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's account of the war of Granada. A possible explanation for such gaps in history is that Don Diego recounted only those happenings which were consistent with his purpose. This, as we have seen above, is a direct imitation of Tacitus' method. Also, as we shall see farther along Don Diego allowed his imagination to have full sway whenever he recorded any of the events of the war.

Tacitus remained practically unnoticed until the Italian Renaissance, at which time he began to be properly appreciated. From the fifth to the fifteenth century he is mentioned only two or three times in all of European literature. Early in the fifteenth century Niccolò Niccoli discovered by chance the manuscript which became the sole authority for Tacitus' Histories and the last half of his Annals. Poggio worked very hard to collect all of Tacitus' minor works, and in 1455 Enoch of Oscoli brought from Germany a manuscript which apparently is the origin of all the minor extant writings. As we can easily figure from this date Don Diego would have had access


27 Tacitus, p. xxii.
to all these manuscripts while he sojourned in Italy during the early part of the sixteenth century.

It is not unusual that Diego Hurtado de Mendoza imitated Tacitus. Montesquieu of France regarded Tacitus highly and carefully strove to imitate his style. ²⁸ Dramatists and novelists since the Renaissance have found Tacitus to be a very fruitful source of style and information. A foremost authority on Tacitus, Moses Hadas, has remarked, "Tacitus always helped men understand themselves and their history." ²⁹ The manuscript which is the only source for the first part of Tacitus' Annals was discovered at Corbey in 1509 and at once nearly all political and historical writers began to use it. Machiavelli quotes Tacitus in his Discourses and in his Florentine History. ³⁰

Angel González Palencia has noted a few of the similarities between Hurtado de Mendoza's Guerra de Granada and Il Principe e opere politiche minori of Niccolò Machiavelli; ³¹ Machiavelli maintained that "The principal study and care and the special profession of a prince should be warfare and its attendant rules and discipline, because when princes have given more thought to the amenities than

²⁸ Ibid., p. xxiii.
²⁹ Ibid.
³⁰ Ibid., p. xxii.
³¹ González Palencia, pp. 185-186.
to arms they have lost their states."^32 This is exactly the philosophy which Don Diego believed as he was a military man by training as well as a scholar and diplomat. He argued that the only solution to the war of Granada was to put on the field a well trained army which was properly equipped, and to bring the war to a close at once. His entire criticism of the king and government officials hinged around their carelessness in the performance of military duties in the war of Granada.

Moses Hadas has stressed the fact that if descriptions of battles are mere words, that if speeches are fictitious, and that if motives ascribed to characters that cannot be understood, such a historian would today be considered highly incompetent.^^ According to the Roman concept of history, a historian was not expected to be an accurate researcher, but rather he was regarded primarily as a literary man.^^ Following this same criterion we might add that Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's Guerra de Granada, is not to be judged solely as a work of history but rather as a work of literary art.


^^ Tacitus, p. xvii.

^^^ Ibid.
NOVELISTIC ELEMENTS

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza claims to have made use of Arabic sources as well as Spanish ones for he says, "Las historias áravigas que en gran parte son fabulosas . . . pero el autor que yo sigo . . . tiene más crédito." (p. 78.) Since Don Diego does not reveal the name of this Morisco authority, it is very plausible to believe that he had invented many of the details used in the Guerra de Granada exactly as other writers have done, e.g., Ginés Pérez de Hita and Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Paula Blanchard-Demouge in her "Introduction" to Guerras civiles de Granada makes this comment: "Ginés Pérez de Hita no era el único a dar para mayor autoridad un falso origen a su libro; tal era la costumbre de los autores de libros de caballería, declarándose simples traductores de libros escritos en lengua oriental. Y Cervantes mismo, ¿no inventó un Cide Hamete Benengeli?" 35

Bruce W. Wardropper in "Don Quijote: Story or History?" discusses Cervantes' invention of the "history" of Cide Hamete Benengeli. 36 He defines the word historia which Cervantes used to describe his monumental work, El ingenioso hidalgo, don Quijote de la Mancha, in this manner: "We know that he [Cervantes] is fooling us: Don Quijote may be a romance, or a novel, or a story, but it is

35 Pérez de Hita, I, xxxv.

36 Bruce W. Wardropper, "Don Quijote: Story or History?", MP, LXIII (August, 1965), 1-11.
certainly not a history. We have to deal, then, with a story masquerading as history, with a work claiming to be historically true within its external framework of fiction.\(^\text{37}\)

In a sense this very same idea may be applied to parts of Don Diego's history, the Guerra de Granada, because many of his sources were the leyendas and romances of his day. It is apparent that the author had mingled with the factual records of the war of Granada much from the realms of fantasy and fiction which the author had gleaned from dubious Arabic historical sources, folktales and mythology plus a generous portion of his own imagination whenever needed.

In his above mentioned article, Wardropper has carefully summarized Cervantes' purpose in attempting to make his story pass for real history by stating that "he has obliterated the dividing line between the actual and the potential, the real and the imaginary, the historical and the fictional, the true and the false."\(^\text{38}\) Cervantes invented his novel, Don Quijote, and pretended to use the subject matter of the false chronicle, so as to provide a vehicle for his satire.\(^\text{39}\)

Likewise, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza has expressed the same purpose of writing the history of the war of Granada in his

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\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 1.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., pp. 5-6.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., pp. 10-11.
"Prologue" to the Guerra de Granada:

Mi propósito es escribir la guerra que el rey católico de España, don Felipe, . . . tuvo en el reino de Granada contra los rebeldes nuevamente convertidos; . . . vitoria dudosa y de sucesos tan peligrosa que alguna vez se tuvo duda si éramos nosotros o los enemigos a quien Dios quiera castigar, hasta que el fin della descubrió que nosotros éramos los amenazados y ellos los castigados. (pp. 1,3.)

When Don Diego said that he did not know which group merited God's favor or punishment, he in reality was satirizing the entire Spanish nation and inferring that both sides were to be blamed for the war. When we consider that Don Diego had made this statement at the time of a grave national crisis, he is to be admired for his frankness to speak out boldly in keeping with his personal convictions.

Don Diego has made use of at least two common folk tales in his Guerra de Granada. First, he tells about certain curious signs which the Moriscos claimed to have been observed and which they believed to have been good omens indicating that they should begin rebelling against the Spaniards. (pp. 23-24.) Secondly, at the close of his book he mentions a folk tale regarding the town of Ronda, which had been the scene of an ancient Roman battle, and where the inhabitants maintained that certain cloud formations at sundown reminded them of this important battle. This, also, was the same place of the decisive battle ending the conflict between the Moriscos and the Spaniards. (p. 199.) Beckson and Ganz have defined the folk tale as "... a traditional story handed down in either
written or oral form." Arabic literature abounds in this kind of story; a well known example is the Thousand and One Nights. The Spaniards and Moriscos have both handed down many folk stories peculiar to their own races, and we logically assume that Don Diego, having been born and raised in the city of Granada, was very familiar with most of these tales as well as those of Greek and Roman origin.

Since Don Diego was a typical humanist of the Spanish Renaissance we would expect him to make allusion to ancient Greek and Roman mythology. A myth, according to Beckson and Ganz, is "an anonymous tale, ostensibly historical, the origins of which are unknown," and so we find that Don Diego has recorded several myths about the origin of Spain in which appear such well known ancient mythological characters as: Baco (Bacchus), Pan and Hercules. (pp. 183-184.)

All the contemporary Spanish historians who have written on the subject of the war of Granada (Ginés Pérez de Hita, Luis del Már mol Carvajal, Juan Rufo and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza) have based their writings on Moorish and Spanish documents, eye-witness testimonies by soldiers and other observers and their own personal observations of actual events. The latter was especially true of Ginés Pérez de Hita who saw much action in the Morisco-Spanish war as the

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41 Ibid., p. 277.
shield-bearer for Luis de Faxardo, the Marqués de Vélez. Pérez de Hita's valuable two volume work, Guerras civiles de Granada, is very rich in novelistic elements—so much so that his first volume is considered to belong to the literary genre of the historical novel. Blanchard-Demouge informs us that this volume had great success when it was first published and had become the model for the many imitations that have been called novelas granadinas, in which the Moors are always the protagonists.\(^2\) It is very probable that Hurtado's history was also consulted for source material for the writing of some of these novels. Hurtado de Mendoza had access to the same manuscripts and perhaps to a few more than Pérez de Hita as Don Diego was a collector of rare Arabic, Greek and Latin manuscripts.

Don Diego also mentions the existence of Moorish poetry written in Arabic aljamiá. This poetry was highly imaginative, for in the opinion of many Moriscos their poets were "... tenidos por mentirosos y por tales los nota un poeta grave diciendo: más mentiroso es que el vecino de Hita [Granada] la de las palmas." (p. 7.)

There is no question but that Hurtado de Mendoza was influenced greatly by Arabic literature. A very good example of a highly imaginative Morisco novelistic episode in Hurtado's Guerra de Granada is the one describing the death of the first Morisco king, Abenhumeya. The author states at the very beginning of the story: "Trataré de más lejos la verdadera causa de su muerte, por averse

\(^2\) Pérez de Hita, I, vii.
The fact that there were a number of different versions of this episode in existence may indicate that various writers allowed their imaginations to have full sway. However, we cannot prove or disprove definitely that Don Diego invented the following tale as there is no way to verify its source.

Briefly told, his version of the story tells of a beautiful widow whose husband, Vicente de Rojas, had been slain in battle. She was distantly related to King Abenhumeya and was very talented as she could sing, dance and play musical instruments. In keeping with good Moorish custom, her cousin Diego Alguazil, moved into her house so as to look after her and her children. King Abenhumeya saw her one day and decided to take her into his palace where they lived together. She became offended because the king did not keep his promise and make her one of his harem wives. She sent for her cousin to help her in her dilemma, but Abenhumeya became jealous of him and tried to kill him. Diego Alguazil fled for his life and joined a band of young outlaws. There follows a detailed account of complicated Morisco intrigue—a cousin of Diego Alguazil, who worked as a secretary for King Abenhumeya, forged the king's name to some letters which were sent to Abenabó. A clever plan had been devised whereby Abenabó's men would drug Abenhumeya's captain of the guards and his soldiers so as to be able to murder Abenhumeya and to rob him of his treasures. This would prepare the way for Abenabó to take his place as king. According to Don Diego's version of the tale, the Morisco
soldiers upon breaking into the bedroom of the king found him naked in bed sleeping between two women, one of whom was Vicente de Roja's widow. After a kangaroo court conducted the following morning, the king was brutally put to death, but not before he was allowed to confess his faith in the Christian religion. Abenabó was crowned the second king of the Moriscos as had been secretly planned.

(pp. 134-140.)\textsuperscript{143}

The above story does not measure up to the Morisco novel, El Abencerraje, that has been incorporated into three separate works: the Corónica del inclito infante don Fernando que ganó Antequera (1550 to 1560); "La historia de Abindarraez y la hermosa Xarifa" found in the Diana (1561) written by Jorge de Montemayor and the Inventario (1565) written by Antonio Villegas.\textsuperscript{144} However, the literary worth of the theme of Abenhumeya has been amply proven as it has become very popular in later years, especially during the Romantic Period. One concrete example of the use of this literary theme is the very successful historical novel, Abenhumeya, written by Francisco Martínez de la Rosa who used Hurtado's Guerra de Granada as his principle source.\textsuperscript{145}

Other distinguishing features of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's

\textsuperscript{143} See also the account of the death of Abenabó. (pp. 242-254.)

\textsuperscript{144} María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, El moro de Granada en la literatura (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1956), pp. 55-56.

\textsuperscript{145} Ibid., pp. 320-332.
Gtaerra de Granada are its vivid and orderly descriptions of geographic battle scenes. The following is an account of the beautiful city of Granada which had been the Moorish capital of Spain for several centuries. Don Diego displays his ability for this kind of writing by his careful selection of spatial relationship which gives one the impression that he is standing on a near-by hill gazing out upon the city and its surrounding environs. The following is the passage taken in its entirety from the Guerra de Granada so as not to lose any of its vividness:

Granada está fundada parte en monte y parte en llano, y el llano se extiende por un cabo y otro de un pequeño río que llaman Darro, que la divide por el medio; nace en la Sierra Nevada, poco lejos de las fuentes de Xenil, pero no en lo nevado; de agua y aire tan saludable, que los enfermos salen a repararse; y los moros venían de Berbería a tomar salud en sus riberas, donde se coje oro, y en los viejos ay fama que el rey de España don Rodrigo tenía riquísimas minas debajo de un cerro que llaman del Sol. Está lo áspero de la ciudad en cuatro montes; el Alhambra a levante, edificios de muchos reyes, con la Casa real y sant Francisco, sepulcro del marqués don Íñigo de Mendoza, primero alcaide y general; humilde edificio, mas por sólo el dueño nombrado entre los moradores. El arrabal de la Churra y calle de los Gomeles, que todo se continúa con la sierra de Gúéjar y la Nevada, y el Antequeruela y las torres Vermejas, que llaman Mauror, a mediodía. El Albaycin, que mira al norte y, como buelve por la calle de Elvira, la ladera que diznen Zenete, por ser áspera, el Alhacaba, casi fuera de la ciudad, a mano derecha de la puerta Elvira, que mira al poniente; con estos dos montes, Albaycin y Alhacaba, se continúa la sierra de Cogollos y la que descimos del Puntal. En torno destos montes y la falda dellos se estienden los edificios por llano hasta llegar al río Xenil, que pasa por defuera; al principio de la ciudad, la plaza, Nueva sobre una puente, y casi al fin la de Bibarrambla, grande, cuadrada, que toma nombre de la puerta; entrambas plazas juntadas con el tránsito de la calle del Caçatín. En medio, a un lado, la Iglesia mayor, templo el más suntuoso después del Vaticano de sant Pedro; la capilla en que están enterrados los reyes don Fernando y doña
Isabel, conquistadores de Granada, con sus hijos y yernos; el Alcaicería, que hasta agora guarda el nombre romano de César (a quien los alábanos llaman Caízar en su lengua, como casa de César). Dízen las historias arábigas y algunas griegas, que por encerrarse y marcharse dentro la seda que se vende y compra en todo el reino donde que el emperador Justino concedió por privilegio a los alábanos acémitas que solos pudiesen criarla y beneficiarla; más estendiendo debajo de Mahoma y sus sucesores su poder por el mundo, llevaron consigo el uso de la seda y pusieron el nombre a las casas en que se contratava, en que se recoxieron despué otras muchas mercadurías que pagavan derechos a los emperadores, y perdido el imperio, a los reyes. Fuera de la ciudad, el hospital Real, fabricado de los Reyes Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel, sant Gerónico, santuoso sepulcro del Gran Capitán, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, y memoria de sus vitiorias; el río Xenil, que casi toca a los mismos edificios, dicho de los antiguos Singilis, que nasce en la sierra Nevada (a quien llaman Solaria, y los moros Solarra) de las lagunas que están en el monte casi más alto, de donde se descubre la mar, y algunos presumen ver las sierras de Berbería. (pp. 86-88.)

In addition to the above description of Granada the author has described at length the city of Seville (pp. 182-183.) and the African cities of Tunéz (p. 99-101.) and Argel (Morocco) (pp. 101-103.). He has several short sketches of smaller cities and towns such as the sea-port of Almería (p. 77.), Guéscar (p. 152.), and Herradura (p. 54.). He also describes the east-west mountain range called the Alpujarras (p. 29.), the Sierra de Cebel (p. 52.), and the Albuñuelas. (p. 91.)

We have discussed the Battle of Ragua previously in some detail. Don Diego has written several good descriptions of other important battles; the Battle of Castil de Ferro (pp. 175-176.), the Battle of Verja (pp. 111-113.), and the Seige and Battle of Güéjar (pp. 154-162.). Naturally, most of the action of the war of Granada takes place on land, but Don Diego even includes an account of a
storm at sea that destroyed several Spanish galleons. (pp. 104-105.)
All of these accounts contain beautiful word pictures of the life and times in southern Spain during the sixteenth century. Hurtado de Mendoza's style is comparable to that of any modern writer.

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spanish national historiography has followed a path of evolution that has paralleled other literary genres which are associated with the initial stages of the Spanish Renaissance. Canciller Ayala wrote biographies as well as translations of Livy and Bocaccio. He put an end to all conformity of style with the older chronicle and added two new elements: discourses and character sketches. The latter were the precursors of a new biographical genre for which Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and Fernando del Pulgar are the outstanding representatives.⁴⁶

The above mentioned works of Ayala were not the only ones to precede those of Pulgar. Juan Gil de Zamora wrote El espejo de las historias and Rodríguez de Almella translated Plutarch and Valerius Maximus.⁴⁷ Pulgar is not to be considered the inventor of this new genre; however, he did perfect the crónica and wrote about the nobility in the Court of Henry IV with a style resembling that of Plutarch.⁴⁸ Pulgar not only describes the personality of the

⁴⁷ Ibid.
⁴⁸ Ibid.
individuals with modern feeling and expression, but also, he sets forth their spiritual qualities—passions, virtues, weaknesses, and vices. He also wrote a work, called Letras, written in the same animated style as his Claros varones de Castilla but without the fault of extreme adulation. Hurtado de Mendoza wrote very similar character sketches at a later date.

Fernán Pérez de Guzmán in the first chapter of his book, Generaciones y semblanzas, states that there are three main requirements of a great historian: to write with good rhetoric and style; to use reliable sources and to record the truth without fear. He also declares that the duty of all men of letters is to combat heresy and to teach moral doctrine. Pérez de Guzmán did not write ordinary history for fear that it would be altered, and so chose to write the memorials of two Spanish kings, Henry III and John II, describing the customs of the nobles in their courts. He mentions that the idea of describing only briefly their great deeds as the need arose was borrowed from Guido de Coluna, translator of the History of Troy into Latin. Pérez de Guzmán wrote a series of short stories about people whom he knew personally. Nearly a hundred years after

49 Ibid., p. xx.


51 Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Generaciones y semblanzas. (Madrid: Ediciones de la Lectura, 1924), p. 5.

52 Ibid., p. xxii.
Generaciones and semblanzas had been published, Don Diego wrote his Guerra de Granada incorporating practically the same ideas in his character sketches as those followed by Pérez de Guzmán and Pulgar.

We find that the author of the Guerra de Granada repeatedly uses the techniques perfected by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and Fernando del Pulgar in the use of the short character sketch. We have already seen in Chapter Two of this paper how frequently the author has referred to the three principle Spanish military leaders of Granada; the Marqués de Mondéjar, the Marqués de Vélez and Don Juan de Austria. The same can be said of the two Morisco kings; Abenhumeya and Abenabó. Naturally, Don Diego reveals a lot about their characters, but as these have already been discussed at length we will confine our remarks by way of illustration to one each of the lesser Spanish and Morisco personages. As Don Diego describes these characters, keep in mind his criticisms about each one as this is in keeping with the general theme of the Guerra de Granada.

By way of example let us note what Don Diego said about a young Spanish nobleman, Don Antonio de Luna, son of Don Álvaro de Luna. The king had ordered Don Antonio de Luna and his companion, Don Juan de Mendoza, both descendants of well-known Spanish families and outstanding for their military prowess, to go to Granada to serve as military advisors to the Marqués de Vélez, who was conspicuously ignorant of military science. (p. 69.) Don Antonio de Luna was granted the right to command five infantry companies in the battle of Albuñuelas, located just five leagues from Granada, but his troops
arrived too late for the battle allowing most of the Moriscos to flee to the hills. Don Diego describes him as a sincere man, "cuidadoso y diligente," (p. 92.) but he did not know how to time his troop's movements in fighting the Moriscos. The author attributes the failure to win this battle to Luna's inefficiency as a military leader. Apparently, Don Antonio de Luna did not enjoy very good discipline from his fellow officers, who were envious of his position, for Don Diego tells us that "... las cabezas de la militia corrían a una y a otra parte, más armados que ciertos donde hallar los enemigos, los cuales dando armas por un cabo, llevaban de otro las presas." (p. 115.) On another occasion the Moriscos were playing havoc with the Spaniards living in the regions of the Baça and the Almagóra rivers. The Marqués de Vélez, fearing that the forces of Don Antonio de Luna were not sufficiently strong to resist the enemy, sent a small regiment to assist him. Don Antonio showed his independence and insubordination, and under the pretext of orders from Don Juan de Austria returned to Granada alone, deserting his troops to await the arrival of the Marqués. In Granada Don Antonio "... gastava su tiempo en mantener a Granada a manera de sitio contra las correrías de los enemigos, descontento y ocioso igualmente, deseando y procurando comisión del rey para empear su persona en cosas de más momento." (pp. 131-132.) This is one more example of Don Diego's cutting satire.

Some of the characters whom Don Diego describes in the Guerra de Granada, are Pedro de Mendoza (pp. 190-192.), Juan de Villarcuel
(pp. 56-58.), Francisco de Córdova (p. 79.), el Gran Capitán Gonzalo Fernández de Córdova (p. 88.), Arévalo de Suazo (pp. 97-98.), and Diego de Córdova (p. 98.). Each of these received either praises or caustic criticisms from the pen of our author.

As we have already mentioned, the two principle Morisco characters found in the Guerra de Granada are the Morisco kings Abenhumeya and Abenabó, both of whom had met tragic deaths at the hands of their fellowmen. Since we have talked about these men at some length in Chapters Three and Four of this paper, it will suffice to mention at this time that they, too, were objects of Don Diego's character analysis.

For an example of a secondary Morisco character sketch let us consider another young man, Hernando de Válor, who, although possessing a Spanish name, was a descendant of Abenhumeya and a cousin to Hernando de Válor, el Zaguer, one of the Morisco leaders instrumental in starting the Morisco rebellion. Both of these men were called "de Válor" because their forefathers had lived in the place by this name which is located high in the Alpujarra mountains. Don Diego describes this youth as being extremely wealthy but very quiet and unassuming. This young Morisco held a deep resentment in his heart against all Spaniards, because his father had been tried in the Spanish courts of Granada and had been falsely accused of a serious crime and condemned to prison. Hernando sought to avenge his father by hiring someone to secretly kill his father's chief accuser and several of the false witnesses. Using his gift of satire, Don Diego
says that the Spanish authorities were keeping a sharp eye on Hernando—not because they suspected him of committing a crime but for the purpose of confiscating the young man's property. (p. 24.)

Don Diego provides some interesting sketches of the following Moriscos and Moors: Partal (p. 19.), Hernando de Vélor, el Zaguer (pp. 19-24.), Emperor Selín (Selim II) (p. 27.), Diego de Gasca (p. 52.), the Barbarroja brothers (pp. 101-102.), Dauz (p. 141.), Arabí (p. 186.), Ataifar (p. 186.) and Arabaqui. (p. 188.) We are indebted to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza for much valuable information on his contemporary social life as faithfully portrayed in these brief character sketches.

SATIRE AND IRONY

We shall now consider Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's extensive use of satire and irony in his Guerra de Granada which unifies his work. It is also in keeping with the author's purpose of writing his history, i.e., to ridicule, condemn or criticize everything that does not measure up to his standards. By so doing the author hoped to awaken his countrymen to their own responsibilities and to eventually effect a suitable reform.

J. Wight Duff has defined satire as "... a poem in which wickedness or folly is censored." Today, of course, we would include satire in prose as well. Our English word satire is a direct

descendant from the Latin word *satire* or *satura* as used by Lucilius, Horace and Juvenal.

David Worcester alleges that the concept of formal satire had been derived from an incomplete and distorted view of classical literature.\(^5^4\) This view maintained that it had to have "... a stamp of censoriousness from the beginning."\(^5^5\) Likewise, it had to be "... full of innuendo, as well as rugged and unmusical."\(^5^6\) The above critic argues that literary criticism in general has failed to keep pace with the changes of meaning and uses of satire during the past four centuries. It is for this reason that one finds so many different opinions about the nature of satire. For instance, some would even identify a work of literature as satirical by its motive and spirit alone.\(^5^7\)

Satire has been used from the sixteenth century until the present in a much broader sense to include speaking as well as writing: "... sarcasm, irony and ridicule for the purpose of denouncing, exposing and deriding vice, folly, abuses or evils of every kind."\(^5^8\) Satire has been linked with drama because of its


\(^{5^5}\) Ibid., p. 155.

\(^{5^6}\) Ibid., p. 153.

\(^{5^7}\) Ibid., pp. 3-4.

\(^{5^8}\) Duff, p. 3.
social outlook and it depends upon the keen observation of individuals for success. A satirist is consistently pessimistic, nevertheless he must have faith that he can accomplish good by continually denouncing evil.

Upon examining the satire found in the Guerra de Granada, we observe that it has evolved from the formal verse to the prose being used as an instrument of social and ethical reform. No one could possibly escape the criticism from Don Diego's satirical pen. We find that he had attacked the entire Morisco community for their hypocrisy. Don Diego criticized them severely for having concealed their plans of revolt under the pretense of operating a hospital for charitable purposes in the name of God and religion. (p. 17.)

The author of the Guerra de Granada has satirized nearly all the Spanish military leaders, both small and great, at one time or another. By way of illustration let us observe the following paraphrases selected from the many found in the Guerra de Granada.

Don Pedro de Mendoza had the reputation of being a renowned captain of the Spanish army. In one of the battles under his command he carelessly left unguarded a section of his company. The Moriscos took advantage of the situation and attacked them from the unprotected quarter. Don Diego contemptuously called Don Pedro "... un soldado de mucho tiempo y no tanta experiencia ...,", for his mistake proved extremely costly to the Spanish troops.

Don Juan de Villaruel was the son of Don García, Adelantado

59 Ibid., pp. 6-8.
de Cañorla, and also the nephew of Fray Francisco Ximénez, the famed Arzobispo de Toledo. Don Juan had volunteered for service in the army stationed at Granada. In order to gain instant fame he had persuaded the Marqués de Vélez to permit him to reconnoiter a Morisco fort. The Marqués had granted his permission contrary to his better judgment. Don Diego called this decision "... blandura que suele poner a veces a los que goviernan en grandes inconvenientes y peligros." (pp. 56-57.)

Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdova, the Duque de Sesa, was the grandson of the Gran Capitán. He had relinquished his position as Governor of Milán to join the Spanish forces in Granada. Don Diego criticized him severely for his lack of loyalty to the king of Spain because he had conformed "... su voluntad más con la de sus émulos que con la del rey, y vivía en su casa libre de negocios aunque no de pretensiones." (p. 85.)

Even the famous Don Juan de Austria, half-brother of the king, did not escape the critical eye of Don Diego for he made the following observation about Don Juan: "... y procurando don Juan que se pusiese en ejecución, cansados los ministros de executar y don Juan de mandar, vista lo poco que aprovechaba, se tomó expediente de callar ..." (p. 128.)

According to Beckson and Ganz, satire also includes the "... ridicule of an idea, a person, or a type of person or even mankind." Don Diego ridiculed the common citizens of Granada for

60 Beckson, p. 185.
meddling in government business: "no era maravilla que el vulgo hiciera estos juicios, pues por otra parte se atrevía a escudriñar lo intrínseco de las cosas, y a examinar las intenciones del Consejo." (p. 119.)

Plato in his Laws, 7: 816 tells us that "serious things cannot be understood without laughable things, nor opposites at all without opposites, if a man is really to have intelligence of either . . ." The Greeks early recognized the necessity of humor in written or verbal presentations of serious matters. Don Diego frequently uses humor in his Guerra de Granada. The references are so abundant that no attempt will be made here to summarize all of them. Beckson and Ganz explain that the word humor is a general term applied to anything laughable, which is "sometimes limited to gentle and sympathetic laughter and contrasted with wit, which evokes intellectual and derisive laughter." This element of humor mixed with the tragedy of life lends to our present day concept of irony. Webster's New World Dictionary defines irony as:

1. a method of humorous or sarcastic expression in which the intended meaning of the words used is the direct opposite of their usual sense; as, the speaker was using irony when he said that the stupid plan was "very clever." 2. an instance of this. 3. a combination of circumstances or a result that is the opposite of what might be expected or considered appropriate; as it was an irony of fate that the fireboat burned and sank. . . .

Don Diego utilized much irony in the Guerra de Granada. An


Beckson, pp. 78-79.
example of verbal irony can be seen in the description which the
author gives of a group of eight hundred Spanish soldiers, each of
whom wanted to be his own boss for each carried the symbol of a
captain: "... un capote, una montera y una caña en la mano." 
(p. 51.) The irony of this situation was the insubordination of the
soldiers which of course, would be fatal to any army, as Don Diego
well knew. An example of an ironic circumstance would be Don Diego's
explanation of an unsuccessful Spanish attack on the Moriscos: "Tal
fue el suceso de aquella jornada, en que los enemigos vencidos
quedaron con más tierra y mayores fuerzas y reputación, y los
vencedores sin ella, faltos de lo uno y de lo otro." (p. 124.)

Beckson and Ganz contend that sarcasm is closely associated
with irony. They define the word as "... a bitter, derisive ex-
pression, frequently involving irony as a device whereby what is
stated is the opposite of what is actually meant." Don Diego re-
sorted to sarcasm when he told about the death of a young Spanish
"martyr": "... sufriólo con paciencia el mofo y mostró contentarse
de la muerte conforme a la de Nuestro Señor, aunque en la vida fue al
contrario, y murió confortando a su hermano, que descabecaron ..."
(p. 39.) This young man had died like a martyr, but had not lived
like a Christian.

Don Diego describes the common practice during the war of
Granada of plundering homes, abducting children and stealing cattle.
Sarcastically he reveals that the older Christians conducted themselves

63 Beckson, p. 185.
no differently than the Moriscos upon these occasions: "Salíó la gente de la comarca, cristianos viejos, a robar los lugares, niños, ganados . . ." (p. 182.) The Spaniards were also prone to untruth-exaggerations when they reported their battle losses: ". . . es fama entre los nuestros, que de ellos murieron doce, pero no se vieron en nuestro campo; refieren los moros que todos llegaron al de Abenabó, algunos de ellos heridos, desamparando el Castil de Ferro." (pp. 175-176.) Don Diego then reminded his countrymen sarcastically that the Morisco corpses could not be found after the battle although twelve had been reported killed in action.

To the above named uses of satire and irony one must add the common invective which Webster's New World Dictionary defines as "... a violent verbal attack . . ." Don Diego gives us an example: "¡Abominable religion ¡Mohammedan¡, aplacar a Dios con vida y sangre inocente!" (p. 68.) In another instance Hurtado severely attacked the Spanish populace: "... gente desagradecida sino en las lágrimas." (p. 188.) It is of note that the employment of satire and irony by Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in the Guerra de Granada compares very favorably with our modern concept and use of these devices.

One must not get a false impression of Don Diego's history of the war of Granada and think that the author wrote only in a satirical vein, for whenever anyone merited a word of praise, whether he be a Spaniard or a Morisco, the author was always ready to give a brief word of commendation or pronounce a longer eulogy as the case might
warrant. Among those for whom Don Diego had special praise was his
own father, Don Diego López de Mendoza, Conde de Tendilla and the
first Captain General de Granada, whom he described as an "... hombre
prudente en negocios graves, de ánimo firme y seguro con experienc-
cia de encuentros y batallas ganadas, lugares defendidos contra los
moros en la misma guerra." (p. 8.) The author also at times wisely
praised Don Juan de Austria, the renowned military leader of Spain.
The king of Spain, Felipe II, had decided to "... enviar a ella
Granada por superior de todos su hermano don Juan de Austria y
... con la autoridad y nombre de su hermano cesaban todos los ofi-
cios "... Don Juan era un moço despierto, deseoso de emplearse
y acreditar su persona, a quien despertaba la gloria del padre, la
virtud del hermano." (pp. 73-74.) Don Diego also praised all the
valiant men of his day" "... los soldados y personas de Granada
todos aprobaron para ser lodados." (p. 174.)

OTHER RHETORICAL DEVICES

One finds in the Guerra de Granada nearly all the rhetorical
devices employed by ancient Greek and Latin writers. Not only Don
Diego but also the other Spanish Renaissance authors frequently em-
ployed these devices. We will refer to the term rhetoric in its
broader sense as "the principles governing the use of language for
effective speaking and writing." 64

The metaphor is one of the most common rhetorical devices in

64 Ibid., p. 174.
the Guerra de Granada: 

"... venidos de la flor de Italia soldados y capitanes ..." (p. 166.), "... ataviada con más diligencia que honestidad ..." (p. 135.), "... no se criase en aquella montaña nido ..." (p. 196.), "... por donde pasa Xenil, hasta que haciendo mayor a Guadalquivir, dexa en él sus aguas y nombre." (p. 89.), "... fuera de Granada un tiro de arcabuz ..." (p. 94.), "... por este camino vino el reino de Argel ..." (p. 103.), "... sobra de la gente barrida ..." (p. 79.), "... a la falda de la nieve ..." (p. 157.), "... no avía en pie otras armas ..." (p. 67.) and "... sino por medio del hierro ..." (p. 23.).

Another very common figure of speech is the simile; "... hicieron provisión tan pequeña que bastó para mover las causas de la enfermedad y no para remediarla, como suelen medicinas floxas en cuerpos llenos." (p. 18.), "... levantó un estandarte vermejo, que mostrava el lugar de la persona del rey, a manera de guión." (p. 75.) and "... mirabanlo como a salvador de la tierra." (p. 43.)

As Don Diego was better known as a poet, it is not surprising that we find that he made much use of euphony in his Guerra de Granada: "... sospechosos y sobresanados aunque solos de gente, según los avisos." (p. 55.), "... porque los vencedores honrados honran a los vencidos." (p. 103.), "... los delanteros por llegar a Órgiva, los postreros por juntarse con los delanteros." (p. 72.) and "... acometetlos, apretaillos, seguilllos, no dalles ocasión que le siguiesen ni mostralles las espaldas ..." (p. 66.).

The Spaniards are noted for their use of the popular proverb
or refrán. Don Diego very often employed the common aphorism in his work: "... el oficio descubre quién es el hombre." (p. 133.), "... tanto más puede el miedo que la verdad ..." (p. 157.), "A muchos cuerdos paresce que ninguno deve cargar sobre sí obligación determinado, que cumplir, si el estorvo della está en manos de otro." (p. 110.), "Tanto puede el ambición en los hombres, puesto que sea loable, que aun de su hijos se recaten." (p. 55.), "... y cada uno si quería ser malquisto podía ser mal criado ..." (p. 65.) and "Mas como sólo el que es rey puede mostrar a ser rey a un hombre, así él que es hombre solo puede mostrar a ser hombre un rey." (p. 137.)

Don Diego used some very lengthy sentences in his Guerra de Granada as the following examples of parallelism indicate: "... el pueblo de Granada, libre y atrevido en el hablar, pero en presencia de los superiores siervo y tímido, movido a encarecer y afirmar fácilmente sin diferencia lo verdadero y lo falso, publicar nuevas perjudiciales o favorables ..." (pp. 127-128.), "... los viudos a un cabo, los por casar a otro, los casados a otro y las mujeres a otro ..." (p. 26.) and "... lo sobresano y acabado y lo tomado y desarmado es todo uno cuando los enemigos se rinden ..." (p. 65.)

A device very similar to parallelism is the anaphora which is often found in the Guerra de Granada: "... tanta mar en medio, tantas galeras muestras, entrase gente armada con espaldas de tantos hombres por medio de la ciudad ..." (p. 31.), "... que tras el
publicar venía el yerro, y tras el yerro el castigo . . . " (p. 64.)
and " . . . salían nuevos a la guerra, estaban nuevos y bolvían
nuevos." (p. 114.) and finally " . . . aborrecerse él de todos y
de todo y todos del." (p. 117.)

Also, we observe that personification is another very common
rhetorical tool occasionally penned by Don Diego: " . . . estaban
las cosas calladas y suspensas . . . " (p. 92.), " . . . llamó un
trompeta, cuyo nombre era Santiago . . . " (p. 42.) and " . . .
quisiéron quemar las puertas, pero hallaronlas ciegas con piedra y
tierra . . . " (p. 37.)

Litotes, the expressing of an idea by a denial of its
opposite, are likewise quite common in the Guerra de Granada, e.g.,
" . . . sin dexar ninguna manera de ceremonia . . . " (p. 85.) and
" . . . no menos esclavos que si lo fuesen . . . " (p. 20.)

Occasionally one finds in the Guerra de Granada a hyperbaton
such as " . . . que le asegurava la ciudad las espaldas . . . " (p. 55.)
or oxymorons, such as: " . . . muerto huyendo . . . " (p. 102.), "Aun
a los animales no se vedan las vozes humanas!" (p. 20.) and " . . .
sufrir hambre, frío y azotes y seguir forçados la voluntad de los
enemigos, sin esperança de otra libertad sino la muerte." (pp. 188-189.)

Hyperboles are infrequent in the Guerra de Granada; " . . . montaña
áspera, valles al abismo, sierras al cielo . . . " (p. 22.); metonymy
is rare; "casas de letras" for schools. Alliteration is notably
absent.

There is one example each of a very brief dialogue and a
monologue which are employed extensively in the modern novel: "... las palabras que le dixo, andando abrochados: 'Yo soy don Alonso'; las que Ferfé le respondía cuando le hería: 'Tu eres don Alonso, mas yo soy el Ferfé de Benastépor'..." (pp. 187-188.) and "... volviéndose a las mujeres les dixeron: 'Damas, no vais con tan ruín gente!'" (p. 72.)

In this chapter dealing with the literary values found in the Guerra de Granada, we have noted these important characteristics: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's imitation of the style of classic Roman historians, especially Tacitus and Sallust; some of the novelistic elements employed by the author; the writer's use of irony, satire and some common rhetorical devices. Don Diego has consistently unified the entire work by following his general theme of criticism for the purpose of individual and national reform.
CONCLUSION

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's purpose for writing his history of the Guerra de Granada was threefold: (1) to inform the world about the war between the Moriscos and Christians (1568-1571), (2) to criticize governmental, military, and social institutions of Spain and (3) to teach valuable lessons learned during the war with the intent of reforming the Spanish nation.

I believe that Don Diego has successfully informed the world of the principle events of the war of Granada and not just a limited number of friends. The theme of criticizing individuals and groups, for their wrong practices and distorted views clearly unifies his entire work. The author has applied consistently the many lessons learned in the war of Granada to the solution of contemporary problems for the purpose of reform, and he is not unmindful of the didactic value of his writings for future generations. He advocated a simple solution to the complex problem of the peaceful coexistence of Moriscos and Christians, i.e., the necessity of the Spanish government to deal kindly and justly but firmly with the Moriscos and to punish immediately all acts of disorder and aggression. Diego believed that any uprising could be avoided in the future by following the above simple rules. He sharply criticized the Spanish military for its
inefficiency in not stamping out the Morisco conflagration before it spread over the entire territory nurtured by the aid received from the African Moors. Don Diego criticized the Spanish Christians in general for their lack of tolerance for people of different faiths and cultures.

In this study we have selected just a few of the many military encounters for the purpose of illustration. In the Guerra de Granada the author followed a strict chronological organization, but he purposefully omitted several important events. This was done in order to use only those incidents that suited his purpose rather than trying to record every minute detail. Tacitus had followed this same technique in his own writings.

Don Diego imitated Tacitus and Sallust in other ways as well. He placed recorded speeches in certain of his character's mouths for didactic purposes, wrote highly imaginative and inaccurate battle accounts and quoted directly from several written sources, i.e., Greek, Latin, Arabic, Italian, Spanish and Morisco.

Admittedly, the author borrowed highly-colored, imaginative and fantastic tales from the Moors. The novelistic episodes relating the stories of the deaths of the two Morisco kings, Abenhumeya and Abenabó, are two good examples. Don Diego exercised his talent by writing interesting and accurate descriptions of Andalucian sites. His character sketches, resembling those written by Pulgar and Pérez de Guzmán, are forerunners of our modern realistic psychological characterizations. We recall that Don Diego
occasionally made use of a simple folk tale, myth or fantastic story. His language is animated and varied by the skillful use of several rhetorical devices. The author's outstanding vocabulary has been enriched by many neologisms derived from foreign words.

It is my opinion that in writing his history Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza has fulfilled his purpose very well. He pleads for a spirit of tolerance toward the Moriscos and other minority groups by the Spanish government and church. Without doubt Don Diego's experience as an Ambassador to foreign lands had taught him this lesson of the necessity of exercising tolerance. Also, possibly due to his training and experience as a military man, he firmly believed his government should use force whenever feasible for the preservation of law and order.

History teaches that Spain did not practice this tolerance toward people of other religions and nationalities as advocated by Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. In less than fifty years from the time of the rebellion of the Moriscos all of them had been deported from Spain. This large group of Moriscos added to the number of the Jews and Moors expelled previously in 1492 totaled over ten million. The Moriscos were noted for their ability to farm and for their industry in and around Granada. Their departure was a great economic and cultural loss to Spain.

The artistic appeal of the Guerra de Granada is strong. A comparative study of Hurtado de Mendoza's history and those of Tacitus or Sallust gives one an insight, not only into the artistic merits of
the histories of ancient Rome, but also a better understanding of those of the Renaissance.

One may add the above references to Greek mythology, Roman folk-tales and Arabic fantasy as found in the Guerra de Granada. The simulated speeches are of special interest. A student may formulate an idea of the reasoning prevalent in seventeenth century Spain. Don Diego's frequent reference to Arabic and Morisco source material has given a unique flavor to the work as the former type of literature is highly imaginative and artistic. The novelistic episodes in the Guerra de Granada have contributed to the historic novel and drama. The contents of the Guerra de Granada is of great interest to writers, anthropologists, and historians because of the abundant source material on the customs and culture of the Moors and Moriscos of Spain.

Character sketches are short and to the point and always reveal something of the psychic nature of the individuals concerned. The descriptions of persons and places that one finds in the Guerra de Granada are very pleasing to the ear.

Don Diego's use of a variety of rhetorical devices has enriched the text of his work immensely. The pungent satire and irony usually found with the many criticisms found in the work cause one to realize that the author is a very frank individual. The use of satire and irony is one of the outstanding features of the Guerra de Granada.

The author's criticism of government, military, and social
life of Granada seem very sensible and real. His solution of the Morisco problem is enlightening, especially when one considers that this problem compares favorably to the dilemma of the minority groups in the world today.

No work of literature is without its faults. The Guerra de Granada needs a general revision of sentence structure and a severe pruning of digressions. One must keep in mind, however, that Don Diego wrote according to the prevailing standards of his day. To show a flare of erudition, Don Diego, in keeping with the custom of his contemporaries had included several short studies on toponymy and etymology. Compared with the other chronicles of his time, Don Diego's history is above average, and may be considered an outstanding artistic work of the Spanish Renaissance. However, as Don Diego had omitted some important details and had added some erroneous material, the Guerra de Granada is not considered a very reliable history according to our modern day standards.

The foregoing study has led me to the conclusion that the Guerra de Granada by Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza is a satisfying work of literary art and can not be classified with the ordinary chronicles of his time. Therefore, one might well consider it as an artistic masterpiece dedicated to the defense of the dignity and worth of the individual regardless of his race or creed.

1 An example is the lengthy history of the kings of Fez, Argel and Tunez. See: Hurtado de Mendoza, pp. 98-102.

2 See Appendix B on p. 103.

3 See Appendix C on p. 107.
Angel González Palencia and Eugenio Mele in Vida y obras de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, III, 192-196, give us a list of the editions of the Guerra de Granada with their comments:

Primera edición. La Guerra de Granada fue publicada por primera vez en Lisboa, 1627, por don Luis de Tribaldos de Toledo. Como ha demostrado Fouiché-Delbosc,1 Nicolás Antonio (Bibliotheca Hispana, I, p. 291) asegura equivocadamente que la edición príncipe se había publicado en 1610 por Tribaldos, y que la edición de 1627 sería una reimpresión.


Descrita por Fouiché-Delbosc, artículo citado, pp. 120-126. Reproduce el facsímil de la portada en la p. 122.

Segunda edición. Guerra de Granada ... ... Dirigida a don Pedro Coloma ... ... En Madrid, en la Imprenta Real, año de 1674. A costa de Mateo de la Bastida. En 4º, 6 folios preliminares y 114 folios.

Tercera edición. Guerra de Granada ... ... En Valencia,

por Vicente Cabrera. A costa de Francisco Roveda, mercader de libros, en frente la Diputación. En 8º, 6 folios preliminares y 331 pp.

La fecha de 1730 no está indicada en la portada, sino en la aprobación de don Gregorio Hayans y Siscar.


Esta edición es una reproducción de la tercera.

Quinta edición. Guerra de Granada. ...

Nueva impresión, completa, de lo que faltaba en las anteriores, i escribió el Autor; y añadida con su vida, i lo que se avisó suplido por el Conde de Portalegre. Con licencia del Real Consejo. En Valencia; en la Oficina de Benito Monfort. Año 1776. Pequeño, en 4º, LVI-335 pp. Retrato de Mendoza, grabado por Brandi.

Esta edición contiene los pasajes que faltaban en las anteriores y que don Juan de Iriarte había publicado siete años antes en Madrid, en Regia Bibliothecae Matritensis codices graeci Mss., tomo I, pp. 576-579.

Sexta edición.

La anterior fue estampada en el mismo año en Valencia, por el mismo impresor; dos veces, la una es copia de la otra, página por página, salvo alguna excepción; una lleva los acentos graves, la otra los acentos agudos; en la de los acentos graves todos los títulos están cambiados. Guerra de Granada está en las páginas pares, y De Mendoza, Lib. I (II, III, IV) en las páginas impares. Foulché-Delbosc sostiene que la edición de acentos graves es anterior, porque el retrato, la viñeta del título y las cartas adornadas (pp. iii, v, i, 78, 163, 261) parecen usados por la tirada, mientras que la edición con los acentos agudos no deja rada que desear.

Acerca de estas ediciones, 5ª y 6ª, véase la nota de Foulché-

Séptima edición. Guerra de Granada. 

Esta edición fue hecha por los cuidados del famoso gramático y bibliófilo don Vicente Salva, que en muchos puntos modernizó las palabras antiguas y modificó la puntuación defectuosa de las ediciones anteriores, que hacían a menudo incomprendible el texto.

Octava edición. Guerra de Granada. 
París, Baudry, 1860; en 8°, pp. 23-124 (en Tesoro de Historiadores españoles).

Reimpresión de la edición de Salva, 1830. El volumen comprende también las obras de Melo y de Moncada. Fué reimpresa en 1864 y 1861.

Novena edición. Guerra de Granada. 
París, Carlos Hingrat, 1841.

Décima edición. Guerra de Granada.

Seguida de la Vida del Lazarillo de Tormes, sus fortunas y adversidades por el mismo autor. Barcelona, imprenta de Juan Oliveres, 1842; en 8°, pp. XXVII-237 (en Tesoro de Autores ilustres, tomo IV.)

Undécima edición.

Biblioteca de Autores españoles, t. XXI. Historiadores de sucesos particulares. Colección dirigida e ilustrada por don Cayetano Rosell. Tomo I, Madrid, imprenta de M. Rivadeneyra, 1852; en 8°, pp. XXXVlll-543.

La guerra de Granada está en las pp. 65-122.

Duodécima edición. Guerra de Granada. 
Madrid, Barcelona, imprenta de Luis Tasso, 1854.

Décimatercera edición.

Es el único volumen de esta Biblioteca. El texto (a las pp. 1-137 está precedido de una breve noticia bibliográfica (pp. 67-79 de la introducción). Es reproducción del texto dado por Rosell, con algunos nuevos errores.

Décimacuarta edición.


Además de las noticias biográficas (V-VIII) y el Lazarillo de Tormes, Diálogo entre Caronte y el ánima de Pedro Luis Farnesio y Carta de Don Diego de Mendoza al capitán Salazar, contiene De la Guerra de Granada, reproduciendo el texto de Rosell, pp. 1-187.

The text used as the basis of study and quoted in this thesis is the critical edition prepared by Manuel Gómez-Moreno. This is the latest and best text to date, as the editor with much diligence has compared all of the extant manuscripts in order to revise the text. Variations appear in footnotes where needed. This critical edition was published by the Real Academia de la Historia at Madrid in 1948.
APPENDIX B

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza has attempted to show his
erudition by frequently inserting brief studies of toponymy in his

Guerra de Granada:

ACEQUIA: "Tomando el camino de Acequia de las Tres Peñas; llaman
los moros aquel lugar Calataházar en su lengua." (p. 145.)

ADRA: "... lugar antigüamente edificado cerca de donde agora es,
que llaman Abderra ..." (p. 116.)

ALMALIDIA: "... en la gran batalla junto a Africa, que los moros
llaman Almalidia, del nombre de un su príncipe Almalidi, y los
romanos Adiumentum, ahora lugar destruido por el ejército del
vitoriosoísimo emperador don Carlos." (p. 100.)

ALMÁNZORA: "... el río de Almáncora, que en el arábigo quiere
decir de la victoria, con Purchena que en otro tiempo llamada de
los antiguos Ilipula Grande, a diferencia de otra menor, ribera de
Guadaiquivir ..." (p. 153.)

ALMERIA: "... que quiere decir tierra de espejos, porque a el
espejo llaman merí. La memoria de los antiguos antes de los moros es
que avía altaïya, a que los latinos llamavan espécula, como en la
misma Coruña para mostrar y encaminar los navíos que venían a la
costa, y de allí le dieron el nombre. Pero el autor que yo digo, y
entre los arábigos tiene más crédito, dize que cuando los moros,
ganada España, se quisieron volter a sus casas, para detenelloes, les
dieron a cada uno a poblar la tierra que más parecís a la suya, y a
estas provincias llamaron corras, que quiere decir tanto como la re-
dondez de la tierra que descubre la vista; orizonte la podrían llamar
los curiosos de bocablos. Los de Almería, ciudad populosa de Frigia,
donde fue cabeza la gran Troya, escogieron a Urgi por habitación,
porque les parecía semejante a su ciudad, y le dieron nombre, como
diximos que los de Damasco dieron el suyo a Granada. Fué Almería la
de Asia destruida por el emperador Constantino, en tiempo de
Nohabía, sucesor de Mahoma. (pp. 78-79.)

ALMUÑECAR: "... que los antiguos llamaron Menaca y a Salobreña
llamavan Salambina." (p. 163.)

ARGEL: "El lugar llaman los moros Algezair por una isla que tenía
delante; nosotros le llamamos Argel; antigüamente se pobló de los moradores de Cesárea que agora se llama Sargel." (p. 101.)

BAÇA: "De Guadix vino despacio a Baçá que llamaban los antiguos, como los moros, Basta, cabeza de una gran partida del Andalucía, que del nombre de la ciudad decían Bastetania en que ava muchas provincias." (p. 164.)

BERBÉSULA: "Este lugar es el que los antiguos llamaban Berbésula; mas el que ahora llamamos Monda pienso que fué poblado de los habitadores de Ronda la vieja, tres leguas della, donde parecen nuestras y señales más claradas de aver sido la antigua Monda, siguiendo los moros que conquistaron a España su vieja costumbre de pasar los moradores de unos lugares a otros con el nombre del lugar que dexaron. En Ronda y otras partes se veen estatuas y letreros traídos de Monda la vieja; y en torno della, la compañía, atolladores... y pantanos, con el arroyo de que Hirzio hace memoria en sus historias. Acéjanse en las corrientes de Río Verde, a quien los antiguos llamaron Berbésula, del nombre de la ciudad que agora llamamos Marvella, y de allí en las cumbres y contorno de la sierra Blanquilla." (pp. 194-196.)

BERNEJA: "...que los moros llamavan Xebalhamar, adonde en tiempos pasados perdieron don Alonso de Aguilar y el conde de Ureña." (p. 187.)

BISERTA: "Hippo Diarrito le llamaron los griegos, a diferencia de Bona; púsole el nombre Agatocles, tirano de Sicilia, en la grande empresa que tuvo contra cartagineses, porque en ella le dió una carrera de caballos." (pp. 98-99.)

BUGIA: "...casa real del rey Bocio de Mauritanía, dicha por esto de su nombre, sigñon los árabes..." (p. 101.)

CARTAGO: "...en el cabo que llaman de Cartago, donde fué la ciudad competidora de Roma. El nombre de la gran Cartago dura en un pequeño pueblo, y éste sin gente; tantas mudanzas hace el mundo y tan poca seguridad ay en los estados!" (p. 100.)

CENETE: "...a cuyo cargo estaba la tierra de Cenete, que la siguiese con quinientos hombres. Cenete llaman aquella provincia, o por ser áspera o por aver sido poblada de los cenetes, uno de cinco linajes árabes que conquistaron a África y pasaron en España, que es lo más cierto." (p. 171.)

ESPAÑA: "M. Varrón, autor gravísimo y diligente en buscar principios de pueblos, díze, según Plinio refiere, que en España
vinieron los persas, iberos y fenicios, todas naciones de Oriente, con Baco. Estos se entiende también aver hecho la empresa de la India, por los escriptos de Névio, poeta griego, en el libro que compuso de los hechos de Baco, que llamó Dionisicia, porque se llama- mava, demás del nombre de Baco y Libero, Dionisio. Dize también Salustio, en sus historias, aver él mismo pasado en Berberia y dado principio a muchas naciones. Con este Baco vinieron capitanes, hombres señalados, y mugeres que celebraban su nombre, uno de los cuales se llamó Luso, y una de las mugeres Lusa, que dize el mismo Varrón aver dado nombre a la parte de Portugal que antiguamente llamaron Lusitania. Tubo Baco un lugartintiendo que dixeran Pan, hombre áspero y rústico, a quien la antigüedad honró por dios de los pastores, o eran conformes en el nombre; pero por entrebenir en las provincias de Baco el Pan, se puede entender que fuese el mismo. Este Pan dize Barrón que dió nombre a toda España, y lo mismo Apiano Alexandrino en sus historias, en el libro que llaman Alegsandrinio español, y en griego Barichipanías, que quiere describir cosa de Pan, y el is que tiene delante, que dize el artículo, y juntándolo con el pani, diría la tierra o provincia de Pan. Quedó a los españoles el vocablo griego, ni más ni menos que los griegos lo pronuncian, ambiciosos de dar nombres en su lengua a las naciones, Hispanias, y pronunciámoslo nosotros España. De aquí viene que Hispán o Pan, que los griegos llamaron lugartintiendo, fuese sobrino de Hércules, que dió nombre a España. Cierto, que Baco dexó por aquella comarca lugares del nombre de los que le seguían, y que dos veces vino el que llamaron Ércules, o fueron dos Ércules en aquella parte de España. El nombre pudo venir a Sevilla de aver sido poblada cuando la segunda vez Hércules, o fué Baco o Hércules el tebano, vino a España; y si así fué, pre- supuesto que en lengua griega palin quiere decir otra vez isla, el nombre de Hispalis querrá describir la otra vez, porque los griegos son fáciles de acabar sus vocablos en la letra l. (pp. 183-184.)

FRIGILIANA (Sexifirmium): " . . . un monte llamado Fregiliana la vieja, a diferencia de la nueva, cerca della, deshabitado de muchos tiempos. (Los antiguos españoles y romanos la llamaron Sexifirmum.)" (p. 97.) "Comenzó un fuerte en Cómpita, legua y media de Frigiliana, (lugar que fué donde antiguamente se juntaban de la comarca en una feria, y por esto la llamaron los romanos Cómpita; agora, piedras y cimientos viejos, como quedaron muchos en el reino de Granada..." (p. 176.)

GARBANATA: Garb is from the arab word meaning West.
" . . . la llamó Garbanata, como Nata la del poniente . . . . Los alárabes y asiáticos hablan de los sitios como escriben, al contrario y revés que las gentes de Europa." (p. 6.)

GUADIX: " . . . que los antiguos llamavan Acergi, pueblo en España grande y cabeza de provincia como agora lo es; adoravan los moradores
dél el sol en forma de piedra redonda y negra: aun oy en día se hallan por la tierra algunas dellas con rayos en torno." (p. l64.)

HERRADURA: "... al puerto de la Herradura (desdichado por la pérdida de veinte y tres galeras, anegadas con su capitán general don Juan de Mendoça, hombre de no menor industria y ánimo que su padre don Bernardino de Mendoça y otros de sus pasados, que en diversos tiempos valieron en aquel ejercicio." (p. 54.)

LOSAR: "... vino al Losar de Canjaya (barranco de la Hambre le llaman por otro nombre en su lengua, porque en él se recogieron los moros y murieron dellos cuando el rey Católico don Fernando hizo la empresa de Andarax)." (p. 53.)

VÉLEZ MÁLAGA: "en tiempo de romanos y godos fue, como agora, cabeza de provincia llamada Urgi, y en el de moros, de reino, después que fueron echados de Córdoba. Poblaron los de Tiro, que vinieron a Cáliz, poco apartada de la mar; los moros, por la comodidad del agua, pasaron la población donde agora está; destruyóla el emperador de España don Alonso ... ." (p. 78.)

VERJA: "Vino a Verja que antiguamente tenía el mismo nombre donde quiso parar /esperar/ la gente pagada y la que daván los lugares del Andalucía." (p. III.)
APPENDIX C

Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza gives us a few definitions of Spanish, Arabic, Latin, Greek and Egyptian words in the Guerra de Granada. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, the editor of the 1948 critical edition, has set off these words in parentheses indicating digressions:

ADALID: "Llanan adalides en lengua castellana a las cabezas de gente del campo, que entran a correr tierra de enemigos, y a la gente llaman almogávaras. Antiguamente fue cargo calificado y eran elegidos de sus almogávaras, saludándoles por su nombre y levantándoles en alto de pies en un escudo. Sacan por el rastro las pisadas de cualquiera fiera o persona, y con tanta presteza que no se detienen a conjeturar, resolviendo por señales, a juicio de quien los mira, livianas; mas al suyo tan ciertas que cuando an encontrado con el que buscan parece maravilla o embaimiento." (p. 70.)

ALCAICERÍA: "... el Alcaicería, que hasta agora guarda el nombre romano de César, a quien los álárabes llaman caifar en su lengua, como casa de César." (p. 88.)

ALCALDE: "... oficio usado a guardar el rigor de la justicia y aun de la vengança, por cualquiera dilación el estorvo tienen por desacato ... " (p. 64.)

ALFAQUI: "... leyó uno de sus sacerdotes, que llaman alfaquies, cierta profecía ... " (p. 26.)

ALGUAZIL: "... alguazil dizan ellos el oficio primero después de rey, que tiene libre poder en la muerte y vida de los hombres sin consultallo." (p. 38.)

ALHAXIX: "Dizan que todo a un tiempo sacó el mismo Alguacil una confección de que suelen usar para salir de sí cuando an de pelear y a vezes para emborracharse, hecha con opio y simiente de cáñamo, fuerte para dormir sueno pesado. Esta dijo que avían de dar a los capitanes y cabezas en la cena con el beber sedientos y cansados, a manera de la que llaman los álárabes alhaxix." (pp. 136-137.)

ALHEGIRA: "... Mahoma les dió la ley (Alhégira llaman ellos en su
cuenta, que quiere decir el destierro, porque la dió estando desterrado de Heca) y venía justa con esta relación." (p. 23.)

**ALJAMIADO**; "... moros aljamiados ..." (p. 125.)

**ALMUÉDANO**; "... amonestávalos a menudo un almúedano desde la iglesia con gran voz, que se rindiesen a su rey Abenhumeya (dizen almúedano al que a voces los convoca a oración, porque su ley les prohibe el uso de las campanas ..." (p. 37.)

**ATAJADOR**; "Atajadores llaman en el campo, gente de a pie y de a caballo, diputados para rodear la tierra, para ver si avían entrado enemigos, en ella, o salido." (p. 86.)

"... sin aver atajado la tierra, hasta dejálos en salvo y recojidos a la montaña. (Llanan atajar la tierra, en lenguas de hombres del campo, rodealla al anochecer, y venir de día para ver por los rastros qué gente de enemigos o por qué an entrado o salido. Estas diligencias hacen todos los días personas ciertas de a pie y de a caballo puestos en postas, que llaman del ejercicio atajadores, oficio por sí y apartado del de los soldados." (p. 132.)

**BOLATIN**; "Llanan ellos bolatines, cédulas que de noche aparecen cuando andan en celo para amotinar, en que declaran su ánimo y mueven los no determinados con quejas y causas de sus cabezas." (p. 173.)

**CALA**; "... inclinándose sobre las vnderas (la caig llamam los moros), y juramento de morir en su ley y en el reino, defendiéndola y a él y a sus vasallos." (p. 26.)

**CAVA**; "... en la lengua de los alárabes cava quiere desdir mujer liberal de su cuerpo." (p. 6.)

**CENTINELAS**; "No se les da otro nombre más de un contraseño de los caminos; que es dejar pasar al que biniése por parte señalada, y a los que biniése por otra parte detenellos o dar arma; no se acoje la centinela al cuerpo de guardia sino a lo alto y lejos, y donde allí avisa por dónde vienen los enemigos; tienen siempre atalayas de noche y de día por las cumbres; llaman al sargento mayor alguazil de la guardia, que reparte y requiere las centinelas, aloja y hace justicia en el cuerpo de guardia, dentro de casa residen veinte arcabuceros, a que dión porteros." (p. 142.)

"Echó adelante un capitán que servía de secretario, llamado Moxaxar, que con trencitos arcabuceros entrase derecho a las casas donde el marqués posava, y diese en la centinela. (Lo que agora llamamos centinela, amigos de vocablos extranjeros, llamavan nuestros españoles; de noche escucha, y de día, atalaya, nombres harto más propios para su oficio." (p. 112.)
COFRADÍA: "Dican en español cofradía, junta de personas que se prometen hermandad en oficios divinos y religiosos con obras . . ." (p. 17.)

CORO: "... a estas provincias llamaron coras (que quiere decir tanto como la redondez de la tierra que descubre la vista; orizonte la podrían llamar los curiosos de bocablos)." (p. 79.)

DELANE: "Llegó don Sancho de Leyva a un tiempo con mil y quinientos catalanes, de los que llaman delates, que por las montañas andan huídos de las justicias, condenados y haciendo delictos, que por ser perdonados vinieron los más dellos a servir a esta guerra . . ." (p. 113.)

MAGADÚCE: "... Commenos Alexo y Andrónico, como restaurador y defensor del imperio, a Andrónico llamándole magaduce (vocablo barbaramente compuesto de griego y latino, como acontece con los estados perderse la elegancia de las lenguas)." (p. 10.)

MACOZ: "... un capitán llamado Macoz que en su lengua quiere decir campana . . ." (p. 92.)

PSYLO: "... chupándola para fuera el veneno aunque con peligro (psylos los llamaban, en la lengua de Egipto, los hombres que tenían este oficio." (p. 48.)

TABA: "Alif, acabado de repartir los oficios, alcaldías, alguazilazgos por comarcas (a que ellos en su lengua llaman tabas) y por valles, declaró por su capitán general a su tío Abenjaguar . . . y por alguacil mayor a Farax Abenfarax (alguazil dizen ellos el oficio primero después de rey, que tiene libre poder en la muerte y vida de los hombres sin consultarlo." (p. 38.)

"Tahas dizen ellos a los partidos de tabat, que quiere dezir en su lengua sujetarse." (p. 75.)

XEQUE: "... era necesario elegir cabeza entre ellos mismos, o fuese con nombre de xeque (Llaman así al más honrado de una generación, que quiere decir más honrado y anciano) y a éste dar el gobierno y autoridad de vida y muerte, o de capitán o alcaide, o de rey, si les plughuiese, que los tuviese juntos y mantenidos con justicia y siguridad." (p. 23.)
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