



THE TENDILLA.
LORDS OF THE
ALHAMBRA



THE TENDILLA.
LORDS OF THE
ALHAMBRA

ORGANIZED BY



Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife
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WITH THE COLLABORATION OF



THE TENDILLA. LORDS OF THE ALHAMBRA

PALACIO DE CARLOS V
ALHAMBRA
GRANADA

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Juan Bautista Espinosa
*Don Íñigo López de Mendoza,
IInd Count of Tendilla and
Ist Marquis of Mondéjar*
17th century
Oil on canvas
145.5 x 136 cm
Patronato de la Alhambra
y Generalife. Museum

DON ÍÑIGO LÓPEZ DE MENDOZA, 2ND COUNT OF TENDILLA AND 1ST MARQUIS OF MONDÉJAR

JUAN M. MARTÍN GARCÍA
RAFAEL G. PEINADO SANTAELLA

A HUMANIST NOBLEMAN
AND PATRON OF HUMANISTS

IN 1917 and 1918, some time after the commemoration of the fourth centenary of the death of Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, an interesting essay was published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* under the title: “*The emergence of the Renaissance in Spanish monuments and the Mendozas of the 15th century*”. In the article, published in several instalments, the author, Elías Tormo, made the following affirmation: the Count of Tendilla was “perhaps the best general in the War of Granada (even rivalling the Great Captain himself), perhaps the Catholic Monarch’s most glorious ambassador to Italy (certainly the most famous), perhaps the finest political organiser (the first Captain-General of Granada for twenty-three years), and above all, the most humanist of Spanish magnates and the most active patron of humanists, and the first inspirer of the Renaissance among us. That is how forgetful we are in Spain!”¹ While his humanism is not directly comparable with that of other contemporaries who were distinguished by it, and have therefore merited special consideration from historians, it was at a level which situates him at least as the initiator of a phenomenon that was to achieve its most extraordinary results in the mid-16th century. As with many other aspects of his life, it cannot be forgotten that he inherited a strong family tradition which was to acquire particular importance in his case. The son, grandson

and nephew of three outstanding members of the Mendoza family, the influence he received from them proved decisive for the makeup of his own personality. His grandfather was the Marquis of Santillana, an illustrious figure in Castilian letters and a leading patron of artists and humanists of his time. His uncle, known to his contemporaries as “the third king of Spain”, was Pedro González de Mendoza. Both built up libraries which were among the most important of their age, as the studies of various specialists have shown. Of his father, also called Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, it was said that he was outstanding for the “lucidity of his intelligence and the meticulous instruction he had received, for he took great pleasure in enriching his learning with the study of Latin, of the classical authors and of philosophy, until he possessed an enviable culture which greatly helped him to shine in that court of John II, so given to intellectual manifestations, and to carry out difficult diplomatic missions with success and aplomb.”² Among the features which help us to outline the Count of Tendilla’s humanist tendencies, the foremost is his love of reading.³ He began in his earliest childhood, as one of his first biographers recounts,⁴ and must have continued to indulge the passion throughout the military campaigns he took part in during the War of Granada, and especially during his years as ambassador in Italy.⁵ It was there that he acquired a number of codices and manuscripts for his library, such as the *History of Bohemia*, which he later had translated into Spanish, and the Latin comedy *Syrus*, written by the humanist Domenico Crespo Ramusio and subsequently also translated into Spanish by his son, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. These two works are a clear testimony to his interest in history and the classical world, the “fire that warmed the century”, as José Cepeda Adán put it, as part of a life model reflecting the ideology of the humanist gentleman that paraded through the courts of Europe at the start of the Modern Era. His passion for reading was

not extinguished either with the end of the War of Granada or with his return from Italy. On the contrary, once he had settled in the Alhambra, where he remained until his death, he constantly returned to his books, which on many occasions were to be his principal connection with the world around him. In September 1513, near the end of his life, he wrote to the Bishop of Málaga that “my pastime is now reading and writing.”⁶ His is not merely a case of a taste for books, but also, as José Szmolka put it, they played “an active, albeit modest, role.”⁷ Uppermost in this role is his interesting correspondence, valuable not only as a testimonial and documentary record of a period but also as a highly polished example of Renaissance epistolary literature. The object of study since the early decades of the 20th century by historians like Antonio Paz y Meliá, Manuel Gómez Moreno, Elías Tormo, Francisco Layna Serrano, Emilio Meneses García and José Cepeda Adán, later followed by the research of José Szmolka Clares, María José Osorio Pérez, Juan María de la Obra Sierra and Amparo Moreno Trujillo, this is a dense epistolary corpus made up of the letters and documents from his bureau dating from the period between 1504 and 1515. They are preserved in several manuscripts divided between the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and the Archivo Histórico Nacional, but the intense labour of transcription and study carried out by some of the specialists mentioned above has made them generally known. They are regarded as of basic importance because “in ordering his secretaries to record the whole of his epistolary production, Don Íñigo López de Mendoza was ahead of his time, since the Register is a magnificent basis on which to construct an integral description of his dealings and of the period it fell to him to live in, allowing us to make a complete history of it with scarcely any difficulty.”⁸ Rather more modest is his presence in the *Cancionero General* of Hernando del Castillo (Valencia, 1511), where he is attributed with some verses

belonging to a compilation that furnished the writers of the 16th and 17th centuries with a poetic past rich in themes and stylistic resources, and moreover with an approach to medieval lyric poetry whose constant influence was never to be disengaged from the literature of the Spanish Golden Age.

As Elías Tormo asserted, the Count of Tendilla was also a great patron of humanists, and a portrait of him would certainly not be complete without a consideration of his role as a sponsor and promoter of humanism and those who devoted themselves to it. Even if his contribution is circumscribed to the configuration of classicism and humanism in Granada, “it can never be sufficiently emphasised”, says José González Vázquez, “how important for the incipient Renaissance of Granada was the Count of Tendilla’s patronage of the humanists he gathered and protected at his residence in the Alhambra. And even if it were only for his decisive role in the transmission of the Latin works of Peter Martyr, he would merit a place among the most important cultural patrons of his age.”⁹ Don Íñigo López de Mendoza gathered a large group of humanists around him and gave them his patronage and protection when he settled permanently after the conquest of Granada in the Islamic fortress, the *Illiberitanorum Arcium*, where he built up one of the first Spanish humanist studios with personalities who were subsequently to play a crucial role in the diffusion of humanist and Renaissance culture in the Kingdom of Castile, either in the court or through their teaching and research in leading universities like Salamanca or Alcalá de Henares. The circle was joined by Peter Martyr d’Anghiera, a Milanese humanist who accompanied the Count of Tendilla on his return from Italy, and together with him came Hernán Núñez de Toledo, who became *regidor* (mayor) of Granada for a few years, and Hernando Alonso de Herrera. At the Alhambra, these figures provided instruction not only for Don Íñigo López de Mendoza himself but also for his sons and other young nobles of

the city of Granada, one of them almost certainly being the young Luis de Sarria, later known as Friar Louis of Granada, who took his first literary steps in the humanist, learned and erudite circle of the Count of Tendilla.

PATRON AND CHAMPION OF THE RENAISSANCE

In another order of things, as Professor Díez del Corral Garnica has stated, “the Mendoza family, one of whose leading representatives is the Count of Tendilla, became a veritable champion in those years of the introduction of Renaissance forms to Spain. Their political importance, and the work of many of the family’s members as artistic patrons, places them in an exceptional position within the panorama of Castile.”¹⁰ Exercised at the highest levels, this patronage became the inspiration, stimulus and guidance for a series of personal, family and political commissions that very few people in the reign of the Catholic Monarchs were in a position to undertake at the same level. In all this, once more, the Mendoza lineage was a decisive factor, for the significance of this family for the history of artistic culture in the Iberian Peninsula, both before Don Íñigo’s time, during it, and throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, is extraordinary. They can be said to have constituted a constant referent and, frequently, an exponent of a certain way of thinking and acting on culture, tinged with a modernity that transformed their artistic enterprises into genuine laboratories of the art of their time. His patronage in La Alcarria, the region where he was born and spent his childhood and early youth, left major works that in themselves make the Count of Tendilla a true champion of Renaissance art and culture. One is the Franciscan friary of San Antonio in Mondéjar, the chief town of his signiory, for which he had litigated so much with the family of his first wife. He

afterwards bought it from the Catholic Monarchs, and by a royal decree of 25 September 1512, Queen Joanna granted him the title of Marquis of Mondéjar as a reward for his great services, so that from then on “you may and shall entitle yourself, and may and shall call yourself and sign as Marquis, and you may and shall enjoy the said title and estate...”. The foundation of the friary is even earlier than this, since its construction probably began upon his return from Italy, though certainly not before 1489, the date of his first will, where he expresses his wish to construct a magnificent building to house the town’s community of Franciscan friars. For the purpose he was in possession of papal indulgences and briefs, as well as many precious ornaments granted by the King of Naples during his diplomatic mission, to which, according to the stipulations of his will, he added “all the chapel silver and ornaments I have in my chapel and my chamber, including chalices, cross, candelabra, paxes, monstrance, ampoules, altar bells and other things.” The friary of San Antonio is one of the first essays in Renaissance architecture in Spain, at least as regards work carried out on structures that are still Gothic but which introduce the language of a classicist discourse, superbly interpreted here thanks to the intervention of Lorenzo Vázquez de Segovia,¹¹ opening the way to later developments that were much firmer and more decisive for the triumph of the new models. In Mondéjar, Don Íñigo was further responsible for the foundation and patronage of the parish church, which may also have been designed by Lorenzo Vázquez, now the Mendoza family’s architect, though the work was executed by Cristóbal de Adonza and his son Nicolás. As Layna Serrano says in his description of this singular example of Spanish Proto-Renaissance architecture, “the architectural proportions correspond to the Renaissance style, but the Gothic tradition staunchly held its ground, and these vacillations led to such beautiful results as those found in this church

at Mondéjar, where the majesty of the Renaissance is so well united with the grace and elegance of the Gothic decorative features, noticeable above all in the exceptionally fine and complicated ribs of the vaulting.¹² The Count's patronage in this town was completed, although little or nothing remains of it today, with the foundation of a small chapel consecrated to St Sebastian¹³ and a hospital or hospice for the poor,¹⁴ for which he brought pontifical bulls and licences with him from Italy, as well as plenary indulgences for those who should die there.

While the great importance of his patronage in the town of Mondéjar is clear from only two surviving works, the friary of San Antonio and the parish church, the Count was also responsible for other artistic enterprises that rank as highly representative steps on the road to the introduction of the Renaissance to Spain. Among those we must mention here are his involvement in the creation of the tomb of his brother Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, archbishop of Seville, for the Chapel of the Virgin of La Antigua in Seville Cathedral, as well as the tomb of Prince John and even the tomb of the Catholic Monarchs itself for the Royal Chapel in Granada.¹⁵

The first of these is a key work of Spanish Renaissance sculpture, to the point where it became the model for a long series of funerary monuments that adhered very closely to its formal and symbolic innovations, although it is also true that the tradition of the arcosolium tomb against a wall had been present throughout the later Middle Ages. Its composition is very reminiscent of the tomb of Pope Paul II, which the Count of Tendilla may have become familiar with during his ambassadorial mission. This would explain his insistence in some of his letters on respecting the designs he says he has provided for execution. There is no documentary confirmation of the artist responsible, but the tomb is traditionally attributed to Domenico di Alessandro Fancelli, a Florentine

sculptor who worked in Carrara, with whom Don Íñigo López de Mendoza may have come into contact through the powerful community of Genoese bankers and merchants in Spain, although another possibility that cannot be discarded is that a link was established between them in the context of the Count's diplomatic mission in Italy. As Professor Alfredo J. Morales has said, the "structural, iconographic and ornamental novelties of this tomb, together with its date of execution, make it one of the capital pieces in the introduction of the Renaissance to Spain."¹⁶

Whatever the truth, Fancelli certainly did receive the commission for the tomb of Prince John, which has stood since 1513 in the crossing of the convent of Santo Tomás in Ávila. In this case, there is documentation that confirms not only the authorship but also the involvement of the Count of Tendilla, since everything seems to indicate, as Joaquín Yarza Luaces affirms, that "the King must have made the nobleman responsible for the designation of the artist and the progress of the work, relying on his good taste and sensibility to choose the right person."¹⁷ Here too is a work of crucial importance in the early development of Spanish Renaissance sculpture. Inspired by the tomb of Pope Sixtus IV, it contributes various innovations in both design and decoration with regard to the tombs of the Gothic period, since the sloped arrangement of the planes it comprises breaks up the heavy and solid character of mediaeval mausoleums, adopting instead a pyramidal structure completed by the recumbent figure at the top, and by a very fine and delicate *quattrocentista* decoration, of which Fancelli was one of the most faithful exponents.

It was probably this excellent result that persuaded King Ferdinand to place his trust in the Count of Tendilla once again by putting him in charge of the commission and execution of the mausoleum of the Catholic Monarchs. As in the previous case, a pyramidal arrangement, regarded

as the principal novelty introduced by Fancelli to the traditional pattern of medieval funerary monuments, is combined with a decorative and ornamental programme with classical and antique reminiscences, including garlands, masks, emblems, angels, medallions with reliefs, heraldic motifs and a cartouche with an inscription, to form the base of a sepulchral bed upon which Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon lie with their royal habits and characteristic symbols. Rather less clear, however, is the Count's possible relationship or direct involvement with "the superb mausoleums of his parents, perhaps carved by Juan Guas, which were destroyed when the convent church of Santa Ana [in the town of Tendilla, Guadalajara] was set on fire in 1936."¹⁸ A lack of documentation prevents us from reaching any firm conclusions regarding a work which also, like the projects and commissions mentioned above, initiates the long road to Renaissance art, though to a lesser degree.

Nor can we omit to mention the traces of his activity, or his direct responsibility for commissions, in the Kingdom of Granada. The Count of Tendilla's involvement in the construction of the Royal Chapel¹⁹ and, to a lesser extent, the city's Cathedral must be seen within the framework of a process of affirmation of symbolic and representational values that embraced architecture as the expression of a new aesthetic and political discourse. For this reason, as Earl Rosenthal wrote, it comes as no surprise that "the determination to enlarge the building to make it more royal [...] reveals the early opposition of the Count of Tendilla and others to the severely restrictive atmosphere which characterises the last years of the Queen and her confessor, Cisneros."²⁰ The discrepancies between them, or between Don Íñigo López de Mendoza and Enrique Egas, who was appointed to design the building and supervise its construction, reflect not only a debate over aesthetic preferences but also a

conflict with political and ideological connotations within the context of a State model. The correspondence of the Count of Tendilla includes a series of letters related to the construction of this building and afterwards that of Granada Cathedral. They provide exceptional documentary evidence of his personality and artistic sensibility, as well as clearly demonstrating the trust placed by the Aragonese monarch in his intervention in two projects of such enormous importance.

In the meantime, his status as Captain-General of the Kingdom of Granada, governor of the Alhambra and one of the twenty-four noble councillors of the City gave him extraordinary scope to implement many other projects with major artistic implications. "In this respect, there was considerable activity from the very first moments after the conquest. The urban layouts of Granada and other important cities in the territory were replanned as a shrewd measure of security, widening streets, demolishing houses, building markets and initiating the construction of monumental new civil and religious buildings."²¹ The transformation which began in the city in the Count of Tendilla's time was a prelude to the setting which saw the triumphant spread of Renaissance and humanist culture from the mid-16th century onwards.

The principal scenario for his interventions, however, was the Alhambra. It was there that he set up his own residence, and as the governor of the fortress, he carried out various projects, many of them under his own supervision, which demonstrate both his own interest and that of the Catholic Monarchs in preserving this extraordinary monument. The exchange of letters between the monarchs and the nobleman, together with the documentation generated by the Alhambra in those early years, reveal a regal will not only to maintain, preserve and restore the emblematic precinct, but also to refurbish it as a Royal Palace. This necessitated all kinds of work, from

the reinforcement of gates and walls and the construction of towers and bastions to the adaptation of domestic and functional spaces to a new form of habitation within the palace-city. Good examples of the Count of Tendilla's contributions in this regard are found in the memoir he sent to King Ferdinand to indicate "what has to be done in the burial of Our Lady the Queen" when Isabella's body was transferred to what was then the high chapel of the convent of San Francisco de la Alhambra (now a state-run hotel, the Parador Nacional de Turismo),²² and also in his leading role in what is considered one of the greatest architectural enterprises of that time, the construction of the water cistern between the Alcazaba (Casbah) and the Nasrid Palaces.²³ Also worthy of note are other projects that had less of an impact, but are equally associated with a model of management, adaptation and conservation corresponding to a type of patronage that was modest and limited where his personal enterprises were concerned, but of vast importance when it came to projects ordered by the monarchs. The Count of Tendilla thus emerges as a singular figure of whom Professor Henares Cuéllar said that he represented "the most rounded model, owing both to his political influence and to the variety of his cultural experience, of this concept of patronage as a great service to the Monarchy. Because of this, he appears in our artistic history not only as the introducer of the style [i.e. the Renaissance] to Spain, but also as one of the firmest supporters of the Crown's artistic programmes."²⁴ Such was Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, who, to continue with the words of Professor Henares, "is generally recognised in historical criticism as one of the principal generals in the War of Granada, an exceptional diplomat in the Italy of 1486 by the express appointment of Ferdinand the Catholic, and one of the most important men in the administration and political life of the Kingdom of Granada after its conquest."²⁵

FROM THE FRONTIER TO THE
ALHAMBRA: THE VICEROY
WHO NEVER WAS

In the best book yet written about the Count of Tendilla, José Szmolka devotes some pages to the sense of abandonment by the Crown that overcame Don Íñigo in the last years of his life. Here the author cites the admonishment that he sent at the beginning of March 1514 to his confidant at court —or "over yonder in Christendom", as he put it himself on a certain occasion— for helping to spread the rumour that he was thinking of leaving Granada. He informed him that the insinuation was completely false, among other reasons "because when the King, our Lord, and the Queen, our Lady, glory be to them, ordered this office to be given to me, they settled me here in what were like new natural surroundings for me, and I left my own, and emptied my home there of servants, of my grandparents, of my father and all of mine, and made it here in the hope that as the King, our Lord, has indeed begun to do, these offices would endure for me and my successors forever. And my wife, may God keep her, and myself have built up our inheritance here for our children, for elsewhere I have not even a stick to leave them, save that entailed estate I have there for the eldest. And given all these circumstances, if I were to make such a move, it would be a very great frivolity on my part."²⁶ A year later, now very close to death, the Marquis confirmed the sincerity of these remarks by changing the desire initially expressed in his will, in the middle of 1489, of being buried in the convent of Santa Ana in Tendilla to his definitive wish to be interred in San Francisco de la Alhambra.²⁷ In fact, though, Granada had entered the life of the Count and Marquis long before those twenty-three years he counted in the letter cited above. According to his two most fervent biographers, Granada appeared on his horizon in the early 1470s, when he was appointed three times by Henry IV as Captain-General against

the Nasrid Emirate.²⁸ This connection was further strengthened at various stages of the final war of conquest, when he showed an ability to keep discipline and great ingenuity in the face of difficulties. His first appointment, according to the service record contained in the royal decree granting him the title of Marquis of Mondéjar, was that of Captain-General and Governor of Alhama.²⁹ He occupied this post for just over a year, from the beginning of the summer of 1483 until the end of 1484, and during that period, according to contemporary chroniclers,³⁰ he not only managed to “instil good customs in the people of his captaincy, and to indoctrinate them in things concerning the exercise of chivalry”, but also resorted to such ruses as using a painted wall to conceal the partial destruction of the defences of the first city to fall into Castilian hands, or the invention of paper money, which allowed him to act as guarantor of the pay owed to the soldiers. Years later, in the final phases of the conquest, he gave another example of his military prowess that was afterwards related in a letter by his friend and protégé Peter Martyr d’Anghiera. While besieging the town of Freila, he gave orders to “mix the muleteers together with the armed soldiers, and the horses with the mules” so that the defenders, terrified at the prospect of being attacked by such a vast horde, pacted their surrender.³¹

The Italian parenthesis which occupied him between February 1486 and August 1487 was not entirely unrelated to Granada, either. On the one hand, one of the substantial achievements of his embassy to the Holy See was the concession to the Catholic Monarchs of royal patronage over the churches that would be built in the Kingdom of Granada. On the other, Pope Innocent VIII saw fit to express his gratitude to him for his services to the Holy See, and for “the great damage he inflicted on the enemies of the Holy Catholic Faith”, by presenting him during the Christmas Mass of 1486 with a sword

as long as a man’s height, engraved with a Latin inscription whose translation read: “This is the sword of the defence of all Christendom”.³² In the first codicil of his second and final will, Don Íñigo himself pointed out that it was “such an outstanding jewel” that the Pope normally gave it only to “a King or a Prince”, and he therefore incorporated it to his entailed estate in perpetuity.³³ However, the will contains no mention of the ring which Gabriel Rodríguez de Ardila, in a text which is now lost but was read and fragmentarily reported by Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia, claimed he was given by Boabdil upon the surrender of the Alhambra, and which was lost, according to the same author, with the death of the last male descendant of the line in 1656.³⁴ Today, in any case, we know that both authors exaggerated both the participation of the Mendozas – uncle and nephew – in the events of 2 January 1492, and that of the Count of Tendilla in particular in the final stages of the War of Granada,³⁵ when he was in charge of the northern frontier at Alcalá la Real as “Captain-General of four captaincies which he had there”. Don Íñigo was not appointed Captain-General of the Kingdom of Granada until 10 July 1502.³⁶ Four years later, the Chapter Act Books of the Council of Málaga inform us that the Granadine juror Domingo Pérez presented the council members on 14 September 1506 with a letter from Tendilla stating that in the face of rumours that he had lost the power he enjoyed under King Ferdinand, King Philip I had confirmed him as Captain-General of the Kingdom of Granada and Province of Andalusia on 28 August 1506.³⁷ This clarification probably bears some relation to the charter dispatched by Philip I and Joan I from Brussels on 29 October 1505, in the midst of the succession crisis, to inform all the authorities and dignitaries of the Crown of Castile of the appointment of the Duke of Medina Sidonia as Captain-General and “our Lieutenant” in the Kingdoms of Granada and “all of Andalusia”. The

contents of this charter, the ephemeral validity of which is demonstrated by that of August 1506, lie at the root of the hyperbolic interpretation that has long been attached, to the point of becoming a recurrent cliché, to the Captaincy-General of the Kingdom of Granada. It is true that the document invested the Andalusian nobleman with viceregal powers, though this was more through his position of Royal Lieutenant than that of Captain-General, for apart from purely military authority, he was also granted powers of a judicial and fiscal nature together with seniority over the other authorities of the Castilian Kingdoms, who were instructed to obey all the Duke’s orders, even if they contravened those of “the King of Aragon, our Lord and father”, which were revoked by the King and Queen in the same charter.³⁸

Until July 1502, Don Íñigo was in any case only the Governor and Captain, or Governor and Captain-General, of the Alhambra and the City of Granada, a post he held from the very moment of the conquest according to various chronicles and to the plaque of 1599 inside the Gate of Justice, although there is no documentary evidence of the appointment in the form of a royal charter.³⁹ An essentially military post, as laid out in the so-called Alhambra Ordinances signed by the monarchs on 25 May 1492, it also included the exercise of civil and criminal justice “within the gates” of the “*acrópolis iliberitana*”, as Tendilla liked to call the Alhambra. In this way, the right of sanctuary was expressly quashed within the Alhambra itself in order to uphold the jurisdiction of the *corregidor* (chief magistrate) of Granada, who was obliged in return to hand over to the Count all those who took refuge in the city after committing a crime in the fortress.⁴⁰ Tendilla’s appointment in 1502 as Captain-General of the whole Kingdom did not enlarge the judicial faculties of the title’s holder, since his power, according to the document in question and its subsequent confirmations, was strictly limited to

the military sphere, with the mission of coordinating the coastal defences of the Kingdom of Granada and the “province of Andalusia” against attacks by the “Moors from overseas”. However, the monarchs also ordered the authorities of both territories to furnish the Captain-General with horses, arms and troops when so required, to billet the troops whenever necessary, and to obey any order he might issue in a military capacity.⁴¹ The fact that the Captain-General was the chief military authority in the Kingdom is no reason at all for supposing he had viceregal powers. The misapprehension that Don Íñigo was the Viceroy of Granada stems from Peter Martyr d’Anghiera, who was followed by Gabriel Rodríguez de Ardila, always ready to heap praise on the Count,⁴² and in our own time by José Cepeda Adán.⁴³ The Italian cleric, who came to hold a canonry at Granada Cathedral, always attributed the status of *prorex* whenever it seemed applicable, whether to the Captains-General of the frontier on the Castilian side, or to the Nasrid commander who led the defence of Baza during the Castilian siege of the city.⁴⁴ *Prorex* was the Latin term used from the start to designate the post of Viceroy in the Crown of Aragon, where he was a true ‘*alter nos*’ of the King, and also when the office spread afterwards through America with the lesser sense of ‘governor’.⁴⁵ The confusion between a Viceroy and a Captain-General is very well illustrated by a passage of the letter sent by Martyr “to his Count” on 28 June 1507: “You lament that the soldiers you were given as Viceroy for the government of the city do not receive their pay [...]”.⁴⁶ In some of the letters he wrote in the six months following the surrender of Granada, however, he makes it clear that Friar Hernando Talavera and the Count of Tendilla were the men who held power in the new Castilian city,⁴⁷ and we know that the Hieronymite friar in fact attained a position of pre-eminence, at least in the last years of the 15th century. He boasted of this pre-eminence by signing some of his letters as “*Archiepiscopus Granatensis*

regis comissariusque”, and King Ferdinand himself ratified it in the decree issued to the *regidores* of Granada at the start of October 1498, where he gave instructions that “you shall communicate the things of importance which occur or may occur in that city to the said Archbishop, since he will certainly watch over my best interests and the good, profit and ennoblement of that city.”⁴⁸ Other testimonies add two further names to that first nucleus of power in Christian Granada. These were the Royal Secretary, Fernando de Zafra, and the first *corregidor*, Andrés Calderón, who completed the team of the “four great men” of whom Miguel Ángel Ladero spoke.⁴⁹ Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the younger son of Don Íñigo, was probably referring to them when years later he nostalgically recalled the time “of the old ones”, which ended with them to give way to a spiral of dissent. In the first book of his *Guerra de Granada*, we read: “The city and Kingdom were governed with a form of arbitrary justice administered among companions in settlement, united in thought, with resolutions aimed in common at the public good; but this came to an end with the lives of the old ones. Jealousy made its entrance, with divisions between the ministers of justice and war on the most trivial grounds, written agreements confirmed by decrees whose interpretation was twisted by each party to its own opinion, and ambitions on one side to suffer less, and on the other to retain superiority, treated with dissimulation rather than modesty.”⁵⁰

TENDILLA AND THE GRANADINE OLIGARCHY

From this eloquent passage, it would appear that the institutional consolidation that became patent in Granada with the turn of the century accelerated the conflict between those vying for power, especially after the death of Queen Isabella. It was from then on that the development of the municipal regime was

culminated, that the Inquisition started to act sporadically but forcefully, that the Royal Chancellery was established, that the division of signories was concluded, and that manifest problems started to appear for a Church that was more determined to savour the triumph of the victor than to care for the new flock that the sword had delivered to it at the start of the 16th century. Tendilla was a leading actor in these tensions and contradictions, which he summed up in a quasi-theological expression: “this sinner of a Kingdom” (“*este pecador de reyno*”).⁵¹ The greatest friction with the Inquisition took place in mid-1505, when the inquisitor Diego Rodríguez Lucero, described by Peter Martyr d’Anghiera as “the Tenebrous” (*tenebrero* or *tenebrario*), arrived in Granada, which he and his henchmen called “the little Judaea”. One of Lucero’s objectives, leaving aside the harassment suffered by Friar Hernando de Talavera, was the persecution of the local bureaucracy of Jewish converts directed by Tendilla, whose cooperation was an essential piece in the system that guaranteed the soldiers’ pay, and whose ruin therefore seriously compromised the security of the Kingdom. For this reason, the Captain-General was severely critical of the methods used by the Inquisition, which he went so far as to accuse of “destroying everyone in general and in particular”.⁵² Don Íñigo was to express his wariness of the Inquisition again in the last days of his life, although his fear in this case was that it would act against the *Moriscos* (Moors in Christian territory), and so provoke a full-blown uprising.⁵³ Without any doubt, Tendilla was the governor of Granada who called most consistently for moderation in the exploitation of the *Moriscos*, especially that resulting from outrages committed by soldiers against the new Christians (and the old ones too). Where fiscal discrimination was concerned, however, he participated actively from the start with the absolutely essential connivance of various figures from the *Morisco* community, though this did not prevent

him from occasionally denouncing the unjust treatment by landlords of *Moriscos* in the Alpujarras.⁵⁴ In many of his letters, he referred to himself as a father to the *Moriscos* and an upholder of the divisive strategy of the carrot and the stick, meaning rewarding those who behaved well (which led him to boast that he knew how to win over the Moorish bailiffs with ridiculous gifts rather than “through lawsuits”) and punishing those who behaved badly. The intention was to sow discord and enmity among the *Morisco* community, as he recognised explicitly: “My pleasure is that they should fall out among themselves”, he declared unabashedly in one of the many letters he wrote to his brother-in-law, the Licentiate Francisco de Vargas.⁵⁵ It is true that the Count of Tendilla never ceased to appeal to reason in an attempt to soothe tempers, which were frayed by the fear of guerrilla violence and by the indiscriminate anti-Muslim hatred, forged in the ideological workshop of the Crown, which the settlers took any opportunity to display towards the *Moriscos*. However, he never wavered in his pure and cynical fidelity to the Ciceronian dictum “*verba volant, scripta manent*”, as he showed clearly in his warning to his eldest son on the inadvisability of giving arms to the *Moriscos*: “I should not like you to write to him with what we said about feeding the wolves, because he will show the letter to the new converts and they will turn against me, for there are many things which, even if well said, should not be written down or spoken where they will be made known.”⁵⁶ In his military capacity as Captain-General, as he noted himself, Tendilla was responsible for suppressing the *Morisco* resistance. This repression was not unconnected with the power struggles in which he was engaged for the last three years of his life with other members of the Granadine oligarchy, during which he suffered what José Szmolka described as a veritable “complex” of having been abandoned by the Crown, even though he had been granted the title of Marquis

of Mondéjar on 12 August 1512.⁵⁷ He had quarrels with Archbishop Antonio de Rojas, whom he accused of committing “acts of civil malice” against him; he had brushes with the Royal Chancellery, with which his dealings in those years were not so much institutional as those of a private individual or patron; and he had open confrontations with his cousin Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, with the fractious Marquis of El Cenete, and with Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, an old friend whom he ended up accusing of protecting the *Morisco* “miscreants” —that is, the resistance— in his signiory of Órgiva. Such rivalries among the oligarchy illustrated the truth of the verses which another 14th century Granadine, the prolific writer Ibn al-Khatib, had addressed to a Nasrid Sultan as a warning of the risks intrinsic to power: “The lion does not savour life except when he chases the other lions from the jungle.”⁵⁸ The factionalism was soon transferred to the City Council of Granada, where Don Íñigo and three of his sons occupied four seats, some of them bought. This climate of political deterioration finally led him to write at the beginning of 1513, when he was already Marquis of Mondéjar, that upon his return to Granada, he had found “things here [...] to be quite the reverse of what we thought them to be there, since our efforts to resist the Moors had become anxiety to protect ourselves from the Christians”. As he explained afterwards in another letter, this was all the more dangerous and irresponsible because “Granada is not of the quality of other settlements [...], for most of those who are greatest in number would love nothing better than to see upheavals and revolts”.⁵⁹ Despite this warning, however, the power struggles did not disappear with his death, but continued to shake all the institutions of Granada after 1515.

NOTES

1. TORMO, E., “El brote del Renacimiento en los monumentos españoles y los Mendoza del siglo XV”, in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* (Madrid), 25 (1917), p. 54.
2. LAYNA SERRANO, F., *Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendoza*. Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1942, p. 240.
3. MARTÍN GARCÍA, J. M., “Ocio, cultura y mecenazgo en los inicios del Renacimiento español”, in NÚÑEZ ROLDÁN, F. (Coord.), *Ocio y vida cotidiana en el mundo hispánico moderno*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007, pp. 391-402.
4. In this respect, Ibáñez de Segovia writes that “although nothing is recalled of the earliest education and upbringing of Don Íñigo, it must be supposed to have been in keeping with the rank and esteem in which his father was held, and with the felicitous results later produced by his wise and constant discipline, giving us reason to believe that he would have spent his earliest youth in the exercise of both arms and letters, since we find he was equally celebrated in both.” (IBÁÑEZ DE SEGOVIA Y PERALTA, G., Marqués de Mondéjar. *Historia de la Casa de Mondéjar escrita para el Marqués de Valhermoso por el de Mondéjar su abuelo*. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss/3315, fol. 170).
5. MARTÍN GARCÍA, J. M., “La aventura italiana de don Íñigo López de Mendoza: emblemática y ceremonial de un embajador de los Reyes Católicos”, in REDONDO VEINTEMILLAS, G., MONTANER FRUTOS, A. and GARCÍA LÓPEZ, M. C., (eds.), *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de Emblemática General*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2005, vol. III, pp. 1597-1607.
6. *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla (1508-1513)*. Biography, study and transcript by Emilio Meneses García. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1973-1974, vol. II, p. 577.
7. SZMOLKA CLARES, J., “La preocupación por la cultura de un capitán general granadino” in *Estudios sobre literatura y arte dedicados al profesor Emilio Orozco Díaz*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1979, p. 408.
8. SZMOLKA CLARES, J., *Epistolario del Conde de Tendilla (1504-1506)*, edition and transcript: María Amparo Moreno Trujillo and María José Osorio Pérez. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996, vol. I, p. 19.
9. GONZÁLEZ VÁZQUEZ, J., “Valoración de la producción latina del Renacimiento granadino” in GONZÁLEZ VÁZQUEZ, J., LÓPEZ MUÑOZ, M. and VALVERDE ABRIL, J. J. (eds.), *Clasicismo y humanismo en el Renacimiento granadino*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996, pp. 321-322.
10. MARTÍN GARCÍA, J. M., “Arquitectos y mecenas del Renacimiento en España” in *Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada* (Granada), 36 (2005), pp. 29-47.
11. DÍEZ DEL CORRAL GARNICA, M. R., “Lorenzo Vázquez y la casa del Cardenal don Pedro González de Mendoza”. Goya (Madrid), 155 (1980), p. 76.
12. LAYNA SERRANO, F., “La Parroquia de Mondéjar, sus retablos y el del convento de Almonacid de Zorita” in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* (Madrid), 43 (1937), p. 270.
13. One of the stipulations of his will is that the

"chapel of Saint Sebastian in my town of Mondéjar" should be completed at the expense of his estate. He had previously mentioned the chapel in a letter to the Marquis of Villena dated October 1509, where he explains his reasons for travelling to La Alcazar and makes the following affirmation: "This, my lord, and some discourtesies and mischief that the Duke of El Infantado has had done in my lands, and some lawsuits he has had them bring there; and I also wish to see and furnish a little chapel I have had built in Mondéjar. They have driven me out of my wits by making me come at such an age and such a time to these parts..." (*Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla... Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 809).

14. With regard to this foundation, Ibáñez de Segovia writes as follows: "in the same town he began to build a very capacious house to serve as a hospital, with a chapel so spacious that on many occasions it has served as a church for the neighbours, leaving various annuities in his will so that it could be finished, and which would serve afterwards as an endowment for the sustenance of the paupers who had to be cured there, as recorded in a deed executed in the same town on 3 March of the year 1511, in which by order of the Marquis Don Íñigo, his grandson, the persons named in it by him to fulfil the provisions of the Marquis, his grandfather, resolved the manner in which these were to be executed" (IBÁÑEZ DE SEGOVIA Y PERALTA, G., *Historia de la Casa de Mondéjar... Op. cit.*, fols. 242-243).

15. On the introduction of the Renaissance to Spain through these commissions for funerary monuments, see MARTÍN GARCÍA, J. M., "Diplomacia y cultura en la Edad Moderna: Italia, España y la difusión del Renacimiento" in CAMACHO MARTÍNEZ, R., ASENJO RUBIO, E. and CALDERÓN ROCA, B., (coord. and eds.), *Creación artística y mecenazgo en el desarrollo cultural del Mediterráneo en la Edad Moderna*. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2011, pp. 597-616.

16. MORALES, A. J. "Italia, los italianos y la introducción del Renacimiento en España" in *Reyes y Mecenas. Los Reyes Católicos, Maximiliano I y los inicios de la Casa de Austria en España*. Toledo: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992, p. 187.

17. YARZA LUACES, J., *Los Reyes Católicos. Paisaje artístico de una monarquía*. Madrid: Nerea, 1993, p. 136.

18. LAYNA SERRANO, F., *Historia de Guadalajara... Op. cit.*, p. 231.

19. Part of this involvement can be followed in some letters among his correspondence. See *Epistolario... Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 569-755.

20. ROSENTHAL, E. E., "El primer contrato de la Capilla Real" in *Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada* (Granada), 9 (1973-1974), p. 18.

21. *Ibidem*.

22. SZMOLKA CLARES, J., "El traslado del cadáver de la Reina Isabel y su primitivo enterramiento a través del Epistolario del Conde de Tendilla" in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* (Granada), 5 (1969), pp. 43-53.

23. MARTÍN GARCÍA, J. M., "Los inicios de la Alhambra cristiana: la alcaidía del conde de Tendilla (1492-1515)" in CRUZ CABRERA, J. P. (Coord.), *Arte y cultura en la Granada renacentista y barroca: la construcción de una imagen clasicista*. Granada:

Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2014, pp. 123-155.

24. HENARES CUÉLLAR, I. "Arquitectura y mecenazgo: Ideal aristocrático, reforma religiosa y utopía política en el Renacimiento andaluz" in *La arquitectura del Renacimiento en Andalucía: Andrés de Vandelvira y su época* [exh. cat.]. Seville: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente, 1992, p. 60.

25. *Ibidem*.

26. SZMOLKA CLARES, J., *El Conde de Tendilla, primer capitán general de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada-MADOC, (2011), pp. 324-325 [1st edition: Granada, 1985]. Our translation is based on the more recent transcript by MORENO TRUJILLO, M. A., OSORIO PÉREZ, M. J. and OBRA SIERRA, J. M., *Escribir y gobernar: el último registro de correspondencia del conde de Tendilla (1513-1515)*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, (2007), p. 125.

27. HERNÁNDEZ CASTELLÓ, M. C., *Don Íñigo López de Mendoza, El conde de Tendilla, y las Artes: ¿entre España e Italia?* Doctoral thesis, Universidad de Valladolid, 2014, p. 190 (<http://uvadoc.uva.es/handle/10324/4902>).

28. RODRÍGUEZ DE ARDILA, G., "Historia de los condes de Tendilla", ed. Raymond Foulché-Delbosc. *Revue Hispanique* (New York and Paris), 21 (1914), pp. 72-73; and IBÁÑEZ DE SEGOVIA, G., *Historia de la Casa de Mondéjar... Op. cit.*, fols. 170-171.

29. *Correspondencia... Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 32.

30. To abbreviate references to the chronicles, the reader is referred to the extensive and fully documented account of the war by Juan de Mata Carriazo (CARRIAZO Y ARROQUIA, J. M.), "Historia de la Guerra de Granada" in *La España de los Reyes Católicos (1474-1516)*, tomo XVII, vol. I of *Historia de España dirigida por Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 41989, *passim* [1st edition: Madrid, 1969].

31. MÁRTIR DE ANGLERÍA, P., *Epistolario*, I, introduction and translation by José López de Toro. Tomo IX of *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*. Madrid: Imprenta Góngora, 1953, pp. 114-115. Cited by HERNÁNDEZ CASTELLÓ, M. C., *Don Íñigo... Op. cit.*, p. 164.

32. RODRÍGUEZ DE ARDILA, G., "Historia de los condes...", *op. cit.*, p. 75 of IBÁÑEZ DE SEGOVIA, G., *Historia de la Casa... Op. cit.*, fol. 75.

33. See *Correspondencia, op. cit.*, tomo I, pp. 287-288, HERNÁNDEZ CASTELLÓ, M. C., *Don Íñigo... Op. cit.*, p. 482.

34. IBÁÑEZ DE SEGOVIA, G., *Historia de la Casa... Op. cit.*, fol. 216.

35. See PESCADOR DEL HOYO, M. C., "Como fue de verdad la toma de Granada, a la luz de un documento inédito". *Al-Andalus* (Madrid), XX (1955), pp. 283-344; CARRIAZO Y ARROQUIA, J. M., "Historia de la Guerra..." *op. cit.*, pp. 790-791 and 875-899; and SZMOLKA CLARES, J., *El Conde de Tendilla... Op. cit.*, pp. 47-53.

36. GARCÍA VALVERDE, M. L., MORENO TRUJILLO, M. A. and OBRA SIERRA, J. M., *Diplomataria del reino de Granada. Documentos procedentes de la sección Registro General del Sello del Archivo General de Simancas. Año de 1502*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, doc. 137.

37. CRUCES BLANCO, E., RUIZ POVEDANO, J. M., *Inventario de acuerdos de las actas capitulares*

del Concejo de Málaga (1489-1516). Granada: Universidad de Granada y Ayuntamiento de Málaga, 2004, p. 643, acuerdo 3.075.

38. "Carta de Felipe I y Juana I de 29 de octubre de 1505", CODDIN, VIII, Madrid, 1846, pp. 355-360, and SZMOLKA CLARES, J. *El Conde de Tendilla... Op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

39. MORENO OLMEDO, M. A., "Un documento del Archivo de la Alhambra, pieza básica sobre los Mendoza de Granada" in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* (Granada), 4 (1968), pp. 89-98.

40. GRIMA CERVANTES, J., "Gobierno y administración tras la conquista de Granada: las Ordenanzas de la Alhambra de 1492" in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* (Granada), 26 (1990), pp. 169-184.

41. GARCÍA VALVERDE, M. L., MORENO TRUJILLO, M. A. and OBRA SIERRA, J. M., *Diplomataria... Op. cit.*, doc. 137. In the deed of entail of his estate, executed in the Alhambra on 20 February 1503, he already presented himself as "Capitán General del Reino de Granada y de la provincia de Andalucía, primero alcaide de la dicha cibdad e su Alhambra e fortalezas" (*Correspondencia... Op. cit.*, tomo I, p. 251). The appointment was confirmed by Queen Joanna on 12 August 1512, although the charter does not use the term 'confirmation'. On the same date, the King simply informed several captains and other authorities of Andalusia that he had ordered Don Íñigo to go and take up his appointment as Captain-General. See ARROYAL ESPIGARES, P. J., CRUCES BLANCO, E. and MARTÍN PALMA, M. T., *Cedulario del Reino de Granada (1511-1514)*, with an "Introductory study" by Ángel Galán Sánchez, Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Málaga, 2008, pp. 225-226, 228-230-232, docs. 155, 156, 157, 158, 161, 163 and 164.

42. Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia cites the lost work by Rodríguez de Ardlia as his authority for claiming that the Catholic Monarchs appointed Don Íñigo "capitán general de Granada y su reyno, y virrey de la Andalucía con absoluto poder en el gobierno" before his departure for Granada in June 1492 (IBÁÑEZ DE SEGOVIA, Gaspar. *Historia de la Casa de Mondéjar... Op. cit.*, fols. 220).

43. CEPEDA ADÁN, J., "Andalucía en 1508. Un aspecto de la correspondencia del virrey Tendilla", in *Hispania* (Madrid), 22/85 (1962), pp. 38-80.

44. MÁRTIR DE ANGLERÍA, P., *Epistolario. Op. cit.*, tomo I, pp. 58, 134-135, 139-140, 146, 149 and 167.

45. See LALINDE ABADÍA, J., *La institución virreinal en Cataluña (1471-1716)*. Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos, 1964, pp. 71-91, 101-111 and 143-147; RIVERO RODRÍGUEZ, M., "Doctrina y práctica política en la monarquía hispana; las instrucciones dadas a los virreyes y gobernadores de Italia en los siglos XVI y XVII" in *Investigaciones históricas: Época moderna y contemporánea* (Madrid), 9 (1989), pp. 197-214; and BELCHÍ NAVARRO, P., *Felipe II y el virreinato valenciano (1567-1578)*. La Apesta por la eficacia gubernativa, Valencia, 2006, págs.

46. MÁRTIR DE ANGLERÍA, P., *Epistolario, II, op. cit.* Madrid: Imprenta Góngora, 1955, p. 198.

47. On 11 March 1492, he wrote to Juan Arcimboldi, cardinal and archbishop of Milan, that the Catholic Monarchs had left "the heavy burden of

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the care of Granada in the hands of these two old gentlemen with the benefit of long experience, the Archbishop and the Count", and three months later, in another letter to the Hieronymite friar himself, he talks of the "illustrious Count – the Viceroy and Governor of the Kingdom along with you – who brought me to Spain" (*Comitem Pro-Regem, tecumque Regni moderatorem*): see MARTIR DE ANGLERÍA, P., *Epistolario*, I, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 and 205, and CEPEDA ADÁN, J., "Un caballero y un humanista en el siglo XV" in *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* (Madrid), 238-240 (1969), p. 496.

48. See PEINADO SANTAELLA, Rafael G. "Entre paz y guerra: la Granada mudéjar (1492-1501)" in GONZÁLEZ ALCANTUD, J. A., PEINADO SANTAELLA, R. G. (eds.). *Granada la andaluza*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008, p. 98.

49. LADERO QUESADA, M. A., *Granada después de la conquista: repobladores y mudéjares*. Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1993, p. 60.

50. HURTADO DE MENDOZA, D., *Guerra de Granada*, ed. B. Blanco González. Madrid: Castalia, 1970, p. 101.

51. See PEINADO SANTAELLA, R. G., *Los inicios de la resistencia musulmana en el reino de Granada (1490-1515)*. Granada: El legado andalusí, 2011, p. 145.

52. See PEINADO SANTAELLA, R. G., "La oligarquía granadina y las Cortes de Castilla; el memorial de 1510" in *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales* (Granada), 10-11 (1982-1983), pp. 207-230, now in *Aristócratas nazaries y principales castellanos*. Málaga: CEDMA, 208, pp. 123-124; and MORENO TRUJILLO, M. A., "Las actuaciones de la Inquisición y los escribanos judeo conversos del entorno del conde de Tendilla", *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* (Sevilla), 37 (2010), pp. 181-210, *passim*.

53. MORENO TRUJILLO, M. A., "Las actuaciones de la Inquisición...", *op. cit.*, pp. 195-199.

54. On this question, see PEINADO SANTAELLA, R. G., "Los moriscos y las élites dirigentes del reino de Granada a comienzos del siglo XVI", in *Mundos medievales: espacios, sociedades y poder: homenaje al profesor José Ángel García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre*. Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 2012, vol. 2, 2012, pp. 1721-1730. On his participation in the fiscal pressure on the *Moriscos*, see GÁLÁN SÁNCHEZ, A., and PEINADO SANTAELLA, R. G., *Hacienda regia y población en el Reino de Granada: La geografía morisca a comienzos del siglo XVI*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1997, *passim*.

55. *Correspondencia...* *Op. cit.*, II, p. 339.

56. *Ibidem*, p. 45.

57. SZMOLKA CLARES, J., *El Conde de Tendilla...* *Op. cit.*, pp. 320-323.

58. DAMAJ, A., "Poema político exhortativo de Ibn al-Jatib en tiempo de crisis" in MORAL C., VELAZQUEZ BASANTA F. N., (eds.). *Ibn al-Jatib y su tiempo*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2012, p. 46.

59. One of the current authors has addressed all these questions in detail in various essays: PEINADO SANTAELLA, R. G. "La oligarquía granadina y las Cortes...", *op. cit.*, *passim*; *Los inicios de la resistencia...* *Op. cit.*, ch. 3, pp. 169 ff.; "Como disfrutaban los vencedores cuando se reparten el botín": *El reino de Granada tras la conquista castellana*. Granada: Comares, 2011, pp. 89-91 and 92-93; and "La oligarquía municipal de Granada en los albores del dominio castellano" in *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* (Valladolid), 14 (2013), pp. 213-237. The problems with the Chancellery, also viewed from the perspective of factionalism, are surveyed in GALÁN SÁNCHEZ, A., PEINADO SANTAELLA, R. G., "Los jueces del Rey y el coste de la justicia: prosopografía y presupuesto de la Real Chancillería de Granada (1505-1525)" in *Tomás Quesada Quesada. Homenaje*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998, pp. 271-303, shortly to be made available for consultation by the Spanish Society of Medieval Studies (<http://www.medievalistas.es/?q=node/48>).