

**Modern Humanities Research Association**

**Legenda**

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Chapter Title: Pyrrhonism and Unbelief: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and the Spanish Tradition

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Book Title: From Doubt to Unbelief

Book Subtitle: Forms of Scepticism in the Iberian World

Book Editor(s): Mercedes García-Arenal, Stefania Pastore

Published by: Modern Humanities Research Association, Legenda. (2019)

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv16km0hq.10>

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## CHAPTER 5



# Pyrrhonism and Unbelief: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and the Spanish Tradition

*Stefania Pastore*

### ‘Almost Everyone Had a Copy of It’

In 1590, in his native Zafra, ‘in extrema Baethica’, the humanist Pedro de Valencia, who was not yet celebrated and had not yet been appointed to an official post, wrote his *Académica sive de iudicio erga verum ex primis ipsis fontibus*.<sup>1</sup>

During the complex transitional period in the kingdom, between the death of Philip II and the reign of Philip III, Valencia would rise to an important position, as the author of works about witches and Moriscos, about economic and colonial policy, and about biblical commentary and philology. His works, remarkable in their clarity and farsightedness and for their depth and critical independence, have yet to be comprehensively studied in their entirety. Appointed chronicler of the Indies and of the Crown, in recognition of his importance among Spanish cultural figures and in an attempt to mitigate his penury, Valencia moved to Madrid in 1607, and from that time forward he also played a leading role as a political adviser to the Spanish monarchy.

But during the spring of 1590, as he states in the dedication of his work, Valencia was still to be found in sleepy Zafra. There, at the urging of a group of friends, he was perusing the *Académica*, a sort of commented anthology of the principal sceptics from classical antiquity, with the intention of referring explicitly in his work’s title to the Academic or Ciceronian school, with which he seemed to identify, albeit cautiously. Modesty led him to define the work as a mere academic exercise that had taken him no more than twenty days to complete. But its dazzling editorial success betrayed Valencia’s false modesty. His *Académica* would be published in 1596 in Antwerp by Plantin, whose printing press was closely associated with Valencia’s beloved teacher, the great humanist Benito Arias Montano. This lively compendium in folio must have had a remarkably wide circulation. A few years later, José de Sigüenza could quote from Valencia’s work and easily have the reference understood when attempting to decipher the iconography of the El Escorial vaults and their representations of the philosophers of the School of Athens:

anyone reading Valencia's work could recognize the characters portrayed, explained Sigüenza, who was also a follower of Arias Montano and a close friend of Valencia.<sup>2</sup> Proof of widespread interest in ancient scepticism in late sixteenth-century Spain can be found not only in the refined iconography of the El Escorial, or in Sigüenza's remarks. Valencia himself illustrated how unnecessary it was during that period in Spain to go deeply into a description of Pyrrhonism of the opposing school, not Academic scepticism but the school deriving from the work of Sextus Empiricus, since

Sexti Pyrrhonii commentaria omnibus prae manis sint, ex quibus hoc abunde liceat haurire, atque ii, qui non adeo vacarint, ut illa perlegant, ex Laertio commode id capere possint.<sup>3</sup>

Though he mentioned not being able to get his hands on a copy of the work in Greek, this was no great matter, because 'everyone had' a copy of Sextus Empiricus's commentaries, and the few who did not have access to them could always learn what they were about by consulting the biography of Sextus by Diogenes Laërtius.

Seen in the light of the decades-long historiographical debate about whether or not Michel de Montaigne and Francisco Sanches were indebted to the work of Sextus Empiricus and whether they should be included among the Pyrrhonian sceptics or the Ciceronian Academic sceptics,<sup>4</sup> Pedro de Valencia's composure is surprising and perhaps suggests that a less categorical approach to the question should be taken, and that the reading, the works and the life of an individual tend to engender a critical autonomy that is not reducible to trends and schools.

But this raises another issue: how, when, and to what degree were Spain and the Spanish empire affected by this far-reaching Pyrrhonian movement, which recast European knowledge and, according to what is now commonly believed, opened the door to European modernity? And, notwithstanding the debate among Pedro de Valencia scholars as to whether he was an adherent to scepticism,<sup>5</sup> how are we to understand the resurgence of sceptical doctrines from late Antiquity — whether of the Academic or the Pyrrhonian school — in a context like the Iberian one? Pedro de Valencia, a humanist hardly prone to hyperbole, spoke of Sextus Empiricus's *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* as if it were a best-seller that almost everyone had a copy of. Surprisingly, the ideas the work contained could be taken for granted in the Iberian world; even if one had not read Sextus himself, his ideas could be come by in any number of other ways, through similar authors or even through Sextus's critics and opponents, who frequently cited extracts from him in order to rebut his arguments.

But Valencia's words lead us to an Iberian tradition that is never mentioned in the well-known narrative about the history of European scepticism. And therefore perhaps it is necessary to take a step back, or rather two, in search of an attempted encounter that was later completely forgotten.

### The Pyrrhonian Turn

In 1562 the famous French printer Henri Estienne published the first Latin edition of Sextus Empiricus's *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, thereby placing at the disposal of a wider readership a text which had so far circulated only in manuscript and, moreover, in Greek. A man of wide knowledge and deep erudition, on this occasion Estienne also displayed a considerable flair for business. The work, a miscellany of texts and aphorisms from the non-Academic sceptic tradition, turned out to be highly successful and would from then on become a book no good library could afford to be without. Most importantly, however, it would come to represent a watershed in the history of European culture, helping to redefine the contours of French philosophical thought and lay the foundations of European scepticism.

In France, which at that time was being torn apart by wars of religion, Empiricus's work supplied a veritable arsenal of anti-dogmatic ideas. It eroded certainties and truth by reflecting on the frailty of human knowledge and of perceived forms. To a divided country, where Catholics and Huguenots slaughtered each other in their endeavour to assert the truths of their own faith, it became an instrument of conciliation and tolerance, introducing the balm of doubt into a war of certainties. Thus would the *Outlines* be perceived by the great philosopher Michel de Montaigne, who used it as a source of maxims from the classical sceptical tradition, the most significant of which he ordered to be transcribed onto the beams of his tower library.<sup>6</sup> Montaigne would repeatedly return to Sextus Empiricus as he compiled his *Essais*, freely borrowing from the text published by Estienne for the book-within-a-book that was his *Apologie de Raymond Sebond*, as well as for some of his most famous pages inviting Europeans to reflect upon the fragility of identity and doctrinal conflicts and to put aside dogmatic obsessions and religious beliefs. In these passages Montaigne underscored how central the *Outlines*, which he had read avidly from 1576 onwards, had been to his own development.

As Richard H. Popkin explained in the introduction to his final revision of *The History of Scepticism from Savonarola to Bayle*, the *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* helped to disseminate a selection of passages from the classical tradition, thereby inaugurating that important season of reflection on the appearance of forms and on doubt, which goes from Montaigne to Pierre Charron to the Sanches of *Quod nihil scitur* right down to the more famous cogitations of René Descartes.<sup>7</sup> The reading of Sextus Empiricus by Montaigne and by the French tradition was, however, not the only, or even the first, chapter in the history of the text's reception. As Popkin himself pointed out, it had already been rediscovered and used by certain Catholic theologians to demonstrate, from a fideistic perspective, the power and inscrutability of God as compared to the fragility and uncertainty of all rational knowledge. It was Girolamo Savonarola who ordered it to be transcribed for the first time, at the convent of San Marco, while Giovanfrancesco Pico, the nephew of the more famous Pico della Mirandola, reproduced large portions of it in his *De vanitate*.<sup>8</sup> It was from this same anti-rationalist standpoint that Hervé Gentian's 1569 edition of the *Adversus Mathematicos* emerged.

This theological reading of the text may be seen as opposite, indeed specular,

to that which took place in France in the second half of the sixteenth century. But it was Estienne's edition, in the specific context of the wars of religion in France and the doctrinal conflicts that divided Europe, that would become the *livre de chevet* of succeeding generations. As Luciano Floridi has reminded us, that enthusiastic welcoming of the sceptical challenge was not so much (or at least not exclusively) a response to its epistemological component, which would assert itself later on, following Descartes's introduction of methodic doubt, but rather an ethical interpretation of scepticism, the search for a change in mental attitude.<sup>9</sup>

### Spain: A Space for Doubt

The narrative about Estienne's successful translation contains all the ingredients that are traditionally associated with the development of modernity and of modern mind in Europe, according to a classical account that sees Luther's schism and the fragmentation of Western Christianity, the wars of religion in Europe, and the progressive erosion of all doctrinal certainty as the starting point for an anti-dogmatic reflection on the concept of tolerance. According to this narrative, doubt (both religious and epistemological), unbelief and the ability to question dogmas and certainties connected to one's religious identity become the fertile ground in which modern and tolerant proposals such as those of Montaigne, based on a cognitive and moral relativism, flowered. So, again, what is the place of Spain in all of this?

Most scholars of European intellectual history would struggle to make the case that there is one. The few Iberian names that emerge in connection with the impressive rebirth of scepticism in Europe belong to a history yet to be explored and certainly do not put one in mind of a movement comparable to those in Renaissance Italy and the France of Michel de Montaigne, or even later in Holland with Uriel da Costa and Baruch Spinoza.

Pedro de Valencia's anthology of scepticism represents almost a *unicum* in the context of Iberia, and outsiders and exiles such as the Portuguese physician and converso Francisco Sanches, praised by Pierre Bayle as a 'grand pyrrhonien', constitute exceptions that prove the rule. Sanches studied medicine in Rome and Montpellier and taught his entire life in France, in Toulouse. His masterpiece, *Quod nihil scitur*, published only a year before the *Essais* of Montaigne, left a deep impression on the epistemological debate in Europe. He insisted on the need for radical doubt, which would erase all certainty and lead to a re-establishing of all our knowledge. Sanches's influence was so important that many historians of philosophy have seen in him a brilliant precursor to Descartes's methodic doubt.

Sanches's treatise, published in Latin by Gryphe in 1581 and considered an essential work by Gabriel Naudé, has been published in an excellent English edition and analysed in various individual studies,<sup>10</sup> as well as in some illuminating pages in Richard H. Popkin, who characterized him as the most interesting sceptic of his day. However, there are still no studies that shed light on Sanches's Iberian and Italian education or analyse this Portuguese converso's unique combination of medical and philosophical training in an attempt to find points of contact between two spheres of knowledge that are usually considered to be unconnected.

Of course, if we think of France during the wars of religion as the principal setting for this development in the history of thought, it is important to emphasize how doubt, especially religious doubt, was understood and experienced in Spain and the Iberian empire. As a country that was torn apart and divided well before the Reformation began to spread in Europe, Spain experienced the effects of multiculturalism and the more or less forced coexistence of different religions before any other European country. A great deal has been written on the Golden Age of medieval Spain and on the more or less pacific ‘convivencia’ that characterized the coexistence of three faiths in the Iberian Peninsula. Only more recently has the focus turned to how the mixed and multi-confessional atmosphere in Spain — which gave rise to all manner of encounters, clashes and polemics between the three revealed religions — created a particularly receptive environment in which religious doubt had become an integral part of a tendency toward interreligious polemics and comparative thinking.<sup>11</sup> The traumatic experience of forced conversion, of religious dissimulation, of the passage from one faith to another and of the inevitable syncretisms and attempts to mediate between adherence to the old, inherited faith and the new, imposed one created the first, foundational laboratory for modern European critical consciousness. This is the insight behind the important volume *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, as well as Stuart B. Schwartz’s ground-breaking book, and the various contributions to this volume.<sup>12</sup> This is an important avenue for research, which opens up new ways to interpret European intellectual history and specifically the evolution of tolerance, making room for developments in places like Spain, which too often is ignored in traditional historiographical approaches to this topic because of its image as a bastion of the Counter-Reformation.

However, it is not to Spain in general between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century that I would like to direct my attention, nor to the many forms of doubt and disbelief experienced there. Rather, I will focus on one extraordinary figure and on his truly unique actions on the political and cultural stage, a man who was the product of that open and multicultural Spain whose contours I will attempt to trace, as well as being Charles V’s political representative in Europe: Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. It is through Mendoza that I hope to reconstruct the uniqueness of medieval Spain’s legacy within a European perspective and finally bring to light a possible Spanish contribution to the great French Pyrrhonian and sceptical tradition.

### Granada’s Legacy

It is difficult to introduce such an eclectic figure as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Known as one of the most brilliant humanists of Spain’s Golden Age, a Petrarchan poet, the author of one of the classics of Spanish historiography, *Guerra de Granada*, and occasionally suspected of having penned one of the most famous works of Spanish literature, *El Lazarillo de Tormes*, Mendoza was also a voracious collector of books and codices. Last but not least, he was the Spanish ambassador to Italy and played a fundamental role on both the Italian and the European stage.<sup>13</sup>



Diego Hurtado was born, around 1503, into one of Spain's most illustrious families, the Mendoza, being the youngest son of Íñigo López de Mendoza, the Count of Tendilla.<sup>14</sup> His father was an ambassador and a humanist but also the hero of the war in Granada. In 1492, at the conclusion of the wars of Granada, when the city was ceded by the last Nasrid Muslim dynasty to the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, Mendoza's father was named governor of the city and of the kingdom. He was in charge of enforcing a series of agreements, the *Capitulaciones*, which in general allowed the city's Muslim inhabitants to continue to observe their religion and their customs.<sup>15</sup> Tendilla and Hernando de Talavera, confessor to Queen Isabella, had been put in charge of supervising the integration of the local Muslim residents, the conquering 'cristianos viejos' [old Christians], conversos from Toledo fleeing the new Inquisition and those who had newly converted from Islam, and help them build a peaceful coexistence on the basis of shared assumptions. Tendilla had undertaken the job with enthusiasm, adopting a highly personal approach and avoiding the new rules imposed by the Catholic Monarchs and the new *Consejos* of the monarchy: when Ferdinand's 'officials', who had been dispatched to Granada to oversee Talavera's and Tendilla's activities, violated the terms of the *Capitulaciones*, thereby triggering the first uprising of the Alpujarras, Tendilla repaired the rift by seeking a personal settlement with the rebels and even offering them, as a guarantee of his honest intentions, his wife and children as hostages.<sup>16</sup>

At the time, Diego had not been born, or was perhaps an infant, and was certainly not aware of the true importance of this event, but he had surely heard the story told a thousand times, as it was part of family lore celebrating the mythical 'caballero' Tendilla, his loyalty and his chivalry in dealing with the Moors, which eventually found its way into many Spanish stories.

The bond with the Muslim and Morisco world thus had deep roots in Diego's family. Just as the elder Mendoza resisted undue interference on the part of the court when it tried to break the capitulation agreements, his heirs also tried to protect the Moriscos as far as possible against the extremist zeal of the Spanish Inquisition and the Church. The Tendillas, much as the Morisco lords in Aragon were doing, requested and obtained Edicts of Grace that would shelter the Moriscos of Granada from the Inquisition and that would relieve them from an increasingly restrictive set of rules, protecting their right to wear traditional clothes and headwear and to maintain domestic traditions and rituals that set them apart from Christians.<sup>17</sup>

The lively and multi-cultural Granada that his father had helped to create, the last stronghold of tolerance in what was increasingly the uniformly Catholic Spain of the Counter-Reformation, left a strong impression on Diego. He had absorbed that cultural air, had made it his own, and remembered it often in his writings. The Granada of the early years of the *Capitulaciones* emerged from the limpid prose of his *Guerra de Granada* as the epitome of a lost world, a relic of an age at equal removes from the rigid dictates of Trent and the bureaucracy of the 'rey papelero', Philip II.

Famous and often quoted is his opinion of the Habsburgs' exasperating bureaucracy, in which ambitious 'letrados' corrupted the ancient and carefully balanced system on which the government so strongly depended during the *Capitulaciones*:

The city and realm used to be governed, as among townsmen and companions, with a kind of arbitrary justice in which all thoughts were united, all resolutions intended for the common public good: this ended when the elders passed away. Jealousy crept in; rifts developed over petty matters between the ministers of justice and of war; written agreements backed by certificates became common practice, in which each party's understanding is reduced to his own opinion, one side determined not to suffer equally, the other determined to preserve its advantage, negotiated with more deceit than modesty.<sup>18</sup>

Long before writing *Guerra de Granada*, however, Diego had also carried his love for the last Nasrid kingdom with him to Italy. The Granada his father had idealized would fill the stories he told Italian humanists and courtiers. It was perhaps in Granada, or perhaps more plausibly in Salamanca, that the young Diego took up the study of Arabic, which would turn out to be the key to a faraway world, as important to his cultural education as the classical tradition of Greek and Roman antiquity was. Mendoza's solid knowledge of Arabic would be confirmed not only by the famous Venetian printer Paolo Manuzio and the humanist Ambrosio de Morales, but by the marginal notes he penned in his Arabic manuscripts, now in El Escorial. This knowledge was an unusual accomplishment for the time, and it was the cause of much astonishment among the Italian humanists, who greatly admired Mendoza's 'cultura estraña'. In Mendoza himself, this knowledge of the language inspired an enduring fascination with what was different, distant, other. This passion would never abandon him and would encourage him to search for new manuscripts, codices and printed books, whether from Spain, elsewhere in the Empire, Venice or Istanbul.<sup>19</sup> He had a similar passion for Greek texts, gradually building up a collection from various sources, ranging from North Africa to Turkey, his activity as a collector going hand in hand with his career as a man of arms and a courtier.<sup>20</sup> His passion for Arab history and philosophy went back at least to 1535, when he accompanied the emperor in his famous expedition to Tunis, where he was one of the group of Spanish 'philosophers' who took part in the dispute on Averroes with Muley Hacen, the king of Tunis. And it was to Mendoza — probably the most interested as well as the most informed member of this select group — to whom the dethroned monarch left some precious codices, saved from the fire that had almost entirely destroyed his library during the siege of Charles V.<sup>21</sup>

### The Ambassador to Venice

Diego was appointed ambassador to Venice in 1539, with the thankless task of establishing closer ties to the republic, which was traditionally more inclined to friendship with France.<sup>22</sup> The card he chose to play was that of culture and patronage. His house became a frequent meeting place for Italian writers, humanists and artists, including Aretino, Bembo, Giovio, Titian, Sansovino, Beccadelli, and the Florentine protonotary Pietro Carnesecchi (the duke of Florence Cosimo de Medici's right-hand man, condemned to death for heresy in 1567). During his years in Italy he was the dedicatee of numerous works that the Inquisition would later brand as heretical and include in the Italian and Spanish Indexes of forbidden books.<sup>23</sup>



His political activities in Italy were highly particular. Firmly convinced that Charles V needed to reach an agreement with the Lutherans, he was the foremost representative of an anti-Roman and anti-curial policy in Italy. Neither Mendoza nor his entourage refused or avoided contact with representatives of the Reformation — on the contrary, they appeared to present themselves, at this strategic moment, as one of the most important and most authoritative points of contact. Later on, during his trial for heresy, Pietro Carnesecchi recalled that exciting world, teeming with ideas and heresies. He talked about ‘a Flemish man of letters’ — possibly Conrad Gessner, the author of *Bibliotheca Universalis* — whose ideas, Carnesecchi believed, smacked of heresy; Alfonso de Ulloa, Diego’s private secretary, a free spirit who was tried by the Inquisition in 1558; Diego de Enzinas, author of a famous letter to Luther, who was burned in Rome in 1558; and a certain Ramírez, whose position Carnesecchi found hard to explain: ‘More an atheist than anything else, like a man who combined aspects of the Marrano, considering his nationality, and of the Lutheran, considering his conversation’.<sup>24</sup>

In those years the Spanish ambassador’s *salon* became an important cultural crossroads, open both northwards to Protestants and eastwards to Greek scholars and the precious codices they brought from Greece and Constantinople; it also became a significant point of contact between Venice and the New World (Diego’s brother Antonio de Mendoza, another lover of books and curiosities, which he frequently sent to Venice, was Mexico’s first viceroy). There were Protestant Greek scholars working in Mendoza’s library, which according to Gessner, was one of the five largest in Italy, along with the Vatican and the Marciana Library in Venice. It was on the basis of Mendoza’s codices that his librarian, Arnoldus Arlenius, published the *editio princeps* of Flavius Josephus (which was dedicated to Mendoza) and that of Polybius, with the Basel-based printer Johann Froben.<sup>25</sup> Arlenius also invited the erudite Protestant Conrad Gessner to come from Zwingli’s Zurich to Venice, where he started working on his *Bibliotheca Universalis* in Mendoza’s library. Indeed, it was in the dedicatory letter of this work, which would become the cornerstone text for the systematization of European knowledge,<sup>26</sup> that Gessner first publicly acknowledged (he would do so again in later years) his debt to Mendoza, the friend and patron who had been his host for three years, generously allowing him free access to his codices and books.

Two examples will suffice to give an idea of the importance of Mendoza’s cultural practice: the rediscovery of Photius, and his remarkable catalogue of Greek works,<sup>27</sup> and the acquisition of Sextus Empiricus’s codex of the *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* and the *Adversus mathematicos*, which Juan Páez de Castro began to translate into Latin in 1545.<sup>28</sup>

### An Averroist in Trent

The discovery of ancient codices went hand in hand with Mendoza’s long-standing enthusiasm for Averroes. During his years as Venetian ambassador, Mendoza maintained close ties with Italian Averroists and the Padua scholars.<sup>29</sup> He invited them to his Venetian *salon*, he started a Castilian translation of Aristotle’s *Mechanics*,<sup>30</sup>

and he prepared his *Paraphrasis totius Aristotelis*; when he was summoned to Trent as the representative of the emperor during the second phase of the Council, he first spent two months in Padua, the cradle of Aristotelian rationalism, gathering material to take to the Council. In Trent, he put his rich library at the disposal of the Council fathers and set up an 'Aristotelian Academy', gathering together numerous humanists and experienced Greek scholars.<sup>31</sup> Mendoza's political letters from Trent tell of the Council's painfully slow deliberations and of his impatience with the friars and their theological subtleties, which were the cause, in his view, of the failure to reach any agreement with the Lutherans. He repeatedly proclaimed himself an Averroist, rather an astonishing fact considering he was acting as the emperor's representative in the most important ecclesiastical council of the modern age. In his way of thinking — as he explained in the letter he wrote to the court to defend himself from the first accusation levelled against him — to support Averroes was also a way of circumventing the Thomistic rigidity of the friars and outflanking the authority of the pope and of Rome:

that the confessor [Domingo de Soto] is not happy with me because I defended one Doctor Herrera in Trent, whom he falsely maligned, calling him a heretic in front of many bishops, and because I did not help him to print, at my own cost, a commentary on the Physics of Aristotle, and because in the disputes I always took Averroes's part, which I would not have done if I had known that he would become a confessor, and because I know more philosophy than he does.<sup>32</sup>

Diego was a voracious reader of Machiavelli, and Averroes must have represented for him not so much a philosophical system as the key to accessing a political perspective of religion proudly opposed to what Machiavelli had called 'the republic of clogs' ('la repubblica de zoccoli')<sup>33</sup> and more closely attuned to doubt than to Counter-Reformation certainties. Thus, his widely proclaimed Averroism was translated into an actual political position during the period of his embassy in Trent.

In later years, during the siege of Siena, when Mendoza's time of glory had passed, Italian pasquinades customarily depicted him as a Marrano, an arch-Marrano, a 'faithless' non-believer, mocking his physiognomy by calling him a white Moor ('un moro bianco') or joking that he was an 'uncircumcised Jew'. However, rather surprisingly, well before that time Mendoza himself had decided to poke fun at this prejudice of the Italians, and at their habit of equating Spaniards, Marranos and unbelievers. The joke on the 'Spanish peccadillo' was particularly familiar among the literati and intellectuals of Mendoza's circle, as was the association of Marranos with unbelievers.<sup>34</sup> Mendoza mocked the prejudices of the Italians, glorying in his Marrano image and exploiting his Spanish origins with all their implications.

As in the case of Averroism, the fact of being a Marrano and proclaiming himself a Marrano became a way of thinking, a way of behaving, and reflected a specific political position, in which the dialogue with Protestantism and the distancing from Rome, from the pope and from the conservative wing of Spanish Catholicism played an essential part. This is the only case in which the pejorative term *Marrano* became an intellectual category. For Mendoza, both terms — Marrano and

Averroist — have the same meaning: sceptic, unbeliever. Essentially, they denote a person who believes that religious conflict has to be tackled in an instrumental and political way.

### ‘As a Moor, a Philosopher, a Marrano’

Mendoza continued to develop this image into a complex portrait that combined his personal history and attitude of mind and underscored his devotion to Averroes and his Spanish origins, his father’s Granada and all the lessons that the intolerant Spain of the Inquisition had taught him.

Mendoza was convinced that Charles V needed to bypass the Roman authorities and reposition the issue of the confessional divide on a purely political level. In March 1548 the formulation of the *Interim* was complete and ready to be signed by the Germans. In mid-June, Charles took an even bolder step when he prepared a *Formula Reformationis* that also applied to the Catholic clergy; with it the emperor compelled the entire ecclesiastical body to carry out the long-awaited moral reforms. The reform of the Church and an agreement with the Protestants were at hand. But Rome’s resistance would not be so easily overcome. Mendoza was constantly in contact with the great architect of the *Interim*, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, the mastermind of the imperial politics of the day. Mendoza expressed all his anger against the ‘friars’ who ‘destroy us’<sup>35</sup> and, exasperated by the papal legates’ continued obstructionism, presented a clear account of his position. Rome’s firm will to control everyone’s conscience, to extend its power even over people’s thoughts, was a resounding failure.

The example of how little had been achieved by the Inquisition’s policy of repression in Spain proved to everyone how difficult and useless it was to ‘compel individual conscience’ (‘forçar a los yndividuos’) in their private thoughts. He could only deplore the obstinacy with which people accused of crimes of opinion were prosecuted:

[Rome] does not grant us the power to grant a general pardon but only an individual pardon, person by person, for those who wish to confess their error and receive pardon from the papal representatives; but it is impossible to force individuals one by one, and if I were one of them and did not wish to go to the house of the papal legate, and likewise the others, it is inconceivable to expect the policeman himself to go from house to house forcing us to do so; thus, the emperor may give general dispositions and the pope may forgive, but he cannot force consciences nor can he in a thousand years do so with an individual’s conscience; and this I say as a philosopher, as a Moor of Granada, and as a Marrano, that today the Spanish Inquisition has even more work than it had the day it was created.<sup>36</sup>

At this point Mendoza’s personal experiences and his intellectual persuasions crystalize into a strong decisive stance in favour of a particular brand of tolerance. His position stemmed from both his philosophical preferences and his Spanish roots. And as a ‘philosopher’, as a ‘Marrano’ and even as a ‘Moor of Granada’, he was convinced by what he had seen in Granada, in Spain and in the war-torn empire

that a purely political solution was what was now needed — a radical change, that is, from Spanish confessional politics. The Inquisition had not been, nor could it be, a solution, because the conscience of the individual could not be subjected to any form of control and had nothing to do with loyalty or political stance.

### Against Quarrellers: A Spanish Contribution to Pyrrhonism

It is perhaps useful to bear all this in mind as we return once more to the codex of Sextus Empiricus's *Outline of Pyrrhonism* that belonged to Mendoza. He had a copy in Greek in his own library in Venice, and, surprisingly, he decided to take it with him to Trent. We also know that Juan Páez de Castro discussed the *Outlines* in a letter sent to Jerónimo Zurita from Trent.<sup>37</sup> So, right in the middle of the Council of Trent, during the hectic days of the *De iustificazione* decree, Juan Páez de Castro and Mendoza were reading and discussing Sextus Empiricus's sceptical miscellany. It is moreover possible that, precisely at that time, they were planning a Latin translation. We know from a letter from Páez de Castro to Zurita that in 1549 the Latin translation was almost finished and ready to be published. Castro explained that they would use it to achieve great things for religion to ward off 'vitiligators': 'I will write a preface in which I will put great things about this discipline and how useful it is for our religion, et *effugiam vitiligatores*'.<sup>38</sup>

I believe that the reference to the 'vitiligators', the quarrellers, undoubtedly links the first translation of Sextus Empiricus to Mendoza's milieu and to his repeated efforts to find a political solution to the conflict with the Protestants. It is important, I think, to reflect on what Mendoza's decision to translate Sextus Empiricus might have meant. He was a keen bibliophile and was on the front line of imperial politics: what might Sextus Empiricus represent at this delicate historical moment, when imperial Spain and Europe were being torn apart by religious conflict? And why would its translation and dissemination be considered by Mendoza to be so important as to give it such high priority and assign it to none other than his personal secretary, Juan Páez de Castro, during such a crucial and complex time as the years of the Council of Trent and the *Interim*? Could it have been that reflecting on the mere appearance of all principles of truth, on the human inability to establish the veracity of one truth instead of and above another, might serve to overcome, in a political manner, the religious conflict that was tearing apart the empire of Charles V, where one theological truth confronted another in an endless series of debates and polemics? Could it have been part of a specific political agenda that Mendoza shared with part of the imperial entourage, and most certainly with the key figure in imperial politics during those years, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle?

Páez de Castro's translation never actually saw the light of day. It remained a complete but unpublished Latin version. We do not know if Henri Estienne knew of this Spanish chapter in the history of Sextus's work. Floridi has argued that the French edition derived from another Italian copy, but in 1555, while he was in Venice, Estienne worked together with Giorgio Trifone, one of Mendoza's copyists. In any case, we cannot fail to note how Juan Páez de Castro's translation did not

emerge, as has been said more than once, from a Catholic fideistic tradition but was instead undertaken with anti-dogmatic and tolerant intentions. Indeed, it emerged from a context that was very similar to that which produced the 1562 French edition. This was the first Latin translation of a text that, as Popkin has pointed out, would not only revolutionize the history of philosophy but also the history of religious tolerance in Europe, opening the way for religious relativism.

### Unhappy Ending

Mendoza's good fortune in Italy waned rapidly. Appointed ambassador to Rome, he did not betray his reputation for 'andar al pelo con los Papas' [scuffling with the popes].<sup>39</sup> His first audience with Pope Paul III, which he attended dressed 'de capa y espada,' in layman's garb and with a sword at his side, caused an uproar and was interpreted by the cardinals as a sign of defiance. Mendoza defended it as an open act of defiance, continuing to dress in this manner, as portrayed by Titian, throughout all his years as ambassador.<sup>40</sup>

However, Italian politics and the alliances of Charles V quickly took a new direction. Mendoza's last move was to try to prevent the rise of the Inquisitorial party of Cardinal Gianpietro Carafa, the future Paul IV, and of the alliance formed by Leonor Álvarez de Toledo and Cosimo de Medici in Italy. Appointed governor of Siena and now deprived of aid and support, Mendoza was unable to cope with the anti-Spanish revolt. He was abruptly recalled by Charles V and relieved of all his duties in 1552. He left Rome in the dead of night, causing as much furore as when he had first arrived by breaking the nose of Julius II's personal servant.

And while the Roman Inquisition quickly devoured the lively Venetian world, condemning Mendoza's former protégés one after the other for heresy (the last of these, Cosimo de Medici's Florentine secretary Pietro Carnesecchi, burned as a Lutheran in 1567, after an Inquisition trial that provoked more outcry than any other in Italy), Mendoza languished in the shadows.

In 1568, after yet another fit of anger that led to a duel in the anteroom of the dying Don Carlos, he was exiled from court. Philip II banished him to his hometown of Granada. His status as a 'Marrano, a Moor, and a philosopher', as a critical witness of the politics of the times, only worsened matters. His last battle was on behalf of the Moriscos of Granada, who in 1568 rebelled against the cultural and religious restrictions imposed by Philip II and started a bloody two-year-long civil war in the heart of Spain. In somewhat puzzled terms that expressed his sense of alienation, Mendoza described Philip II's 'dirty war' and gave voice to that 'vanquished, conquered people, taken from their land and dispossessed of their homes and belongings', the Moriscos, who had seen their lands confiscated and redistributed by the *letrados*. Referring to them as 'A people without voice and out of favour', he put into their mouths a question that delegitimized years of political repression: why, if 'each nation, each profession and each state has its own specific dress, and all are Christians, [...] [are we] considered Muslims, because we dress according to the Morisco fashion, as if we carry the law in our clothes and not in our heart'.<sup>41</sup> This Spain was far removed from the Granada of Mendoza's childhood



and from the country whose power he had dreamed of imposing over Europe; this was a country he no longer recognized.

His passions and his interests, however, were destined to produce fruit elsewhere. The *Bibliotheca Universalis*, which Conrad Gessner had pieced together thanks to Mendoza's extraordinary collections and vast knowledge, was destined to become a classic of European Reformation scholarship and an essential milestone in the rediscovery of the ancient classical tradition. And the famous Latin edition of the work of Sextus Empiricus, published in Lyon in 1562, was to mark the rebirth of Pyrrhonism in France, opening up the path towards doubt and relativism which, through Michel de Montaigne and Pierre Charron, would culminate in Descartes.

Yet this highly political scepticism had pointed the way to a different solution to the problems that would plague Spain, a country that was monoconfessional in name only, and to the conflicts that were brewing in Europe, where prolonged and devastating wars of religion would be fought both on the battlefield and through the clash of opposing dogmas. As a Marrano, Moor and philosopher, Mendoza had suggested that the Inquisition and the attempt at coercion of conscience had achieved nothing, and his repostulation of scepticism seemed to be more an anti-dogmatic proposition than a sign of adherence to a particular school. One also has to wonder whether his translation of Sextus circulated clandestinely in manuscript form — and not merely in a limited way, as Fernando Bouza has shown — and continued to nurture the passion for 'scepticism' in Spain through underground channels that were connected to those in France. Certainly a similar, though decidedly less radical, attitude can be found in the position of Pedro de Valencia, who like Mendoza would have occasion to reflect on the disastrous results of Spain's religious policies. In the pages of his treatise on the Moriscos, in which he complains bitterly of the inability of the Spanish empire to integrate the other — unlike what Seneca said had happened in the Roman Empire — the reasons for his scepticism are perhaps to be found. These are not the result of subscribing to a school or a choice arising from his own life experiences, but an anti-dogmatic proposition as an antidote to a confessional inflexibility that must be opposed fundamentally on the political plane. The solutions offered, on the eve of the expulsion, by the political advisor Pedro de Valencia to the problem of Morisco integration into Christian Spanish society are political solutions. And it is perhaps this political and instrumental variation on classical scepticism that constitutes Iberia's contribution to the long history of European scepticism.

## Notes to Chapter 5

1. Pedro de Valencia, *Academica; sive, De iudicio erga verum. Ex ipsis primis fontibus* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1596). There are two recent editions of the text: Valencia, *Academica*, ed. by José Oroz Reta (Badajoz: Diputación Provincial de Badajoz, 1987) and Valencia, *Obras completas*. T. III, *Académica*, intr. by Juan Luis Suárez Sánchez de León, ed. by Juan Francisco Domínguez Domínguez (León: Universidad de León, 2006). I am quoting from the last one.
2. José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la orden de san Jerónimo*, ed. by Francisco J. Campos and Fernández de Sevilla (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2000). On the iconographic choices at the El



- Escorial and Sigüenza's important comment, see María M. Portuondo, 'The Study of Nature, Philosophy and the Royal Library of San Lorenzo of the Escorial', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 63.4 (2010), 1106–50.
3. Valencia, *Obras completas*. T. III, *Académica*, p. 232.
  4. Miguel A. Granada, 'Francisco Sanchez et les courants critiques de la philosophie du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Bruniana e Campanelliana*, 15.1 (2009), 29–45. Emmanuel Naya, 'Renaissance Pyrrhonism: A Relative Phenomenon', in *Renaissance Scepticisms*, ed. by Gianni Paganini and José R. Maia Neto (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), pp. 15–32; and Naya, 'Traduire les *Hypotyposes Pyrrhoniennes*. Henri Estienne entre la fièvre quarte et la folie chrétienne', in *Le Scepticisme au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. T. II, Le Retour des philosophies antiques à l'âge classique*, ed. by Pierre-François Moreau (Paris: Albin Michel, 2001), pp. 48–101. See also, in the same volume Bernard Besnier, 'Sanchez à demi endormi', in *Le Scepticisme au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 102–20; and G. Paganini, 'Montaigne, Sanchez et la connaissance par phénomènes. Les Usages d'un paradigme ancien', in *Montaigne. Scepticisme, métaphysique et théologie*, ed. by Vincent Carraud and Jean-Luc Marion (Paris: PUF, 2004), pp. 107–35.
  5. John C. Larsen, 'Pedro de Valencia's *Academica* and Scepticism in Late Renaissance Spain', in *Renaissance Scepticisms*, pp. 111–23. For a contrary view, see Juan Luis Suárez Sánchez de León, '¿Era escéptico Pedro de Valencia?', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 99.2 (1997), 393–408; Suárez Sánchez de León, 'Estudio preliminar', in Pedro de Valencia, *Obras completas*. T. III, *Académica*, pp. 15–88 (p. 75); Suárez Sánchez de León, *El pensamiento de Pedro de Valencia. Escepticismo y modernidad en el Humanismo español* (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 1997). See also Luis M. Gómez Canseco, *El humanismo después de 1600. Pedro de Valencia* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1993).
  6. Luciano Floridi, *Sextus Empiricus: The Transmission and Recovery of Pyrrhonism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 38–48, and more recently Manuel Bermúdez Vázquez, *The Skepticism of Michel de Montaigne* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015).
  7. Popkin would give this sceptical sylloge an increasingly prominent place in the successive editions of his history of scepticism, underscoring its centrality to the development of Western doubt and scepticism. In the final edition, he discusses Estienne's *Empiricus* in the Introduction itself. R. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Savonarola to Bayle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).
  8. See Walter Cavini, 'Appunti sulla prima diffusione in Occidente delle opere di Sesto Empirico', *Medioevo*, 7 (1977), 1–20; Gian M. Cao, 'Savonarola e Sesto Empirico,' in *Pico, Poliziano e l'umanesimo di fine Quattrocento*, ed. by Paolo Viti (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1994), pp. 231–45, and Cao, *Scepticism and Orthodoxy: Gianfrancesco Pico as a Reader of Sextus Empiricus* (Pisa: Serra, 2007); Floridi, 'The Diffusion of Sextus Empiricus's works in the Renaissance,' *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56 (1995), 63–85, in particular pp. 66–70; and Floridi, *Sextus Empiricus*, pp. 70–72. Floridi's study is still the most complete account of the transmission of Sextus Empiricus, though it contains a number of small errors which I shall point out further on, that are nevertheless rather relevant to the present reconstruction.
  9. I am referring here to the closing remarks in Floridi's 'The Grafted Branches of the Sceptical Tree: *Noli altum sapere* and Henri Stephanus' Latin Edition of *Sexti Empirici Pyrrhoniam Hypotyposeon libri III*', *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, 11 (1992), 127–66, at p. 162.
  10. Francisco Sanches, *That nothing is known*, ed. and intro. by Elaine Limbrick, trans. by Douglas F. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Naya, 'Quod nihil scitur. La Parole mise en doute', in *Libertinage et philosophie au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. 7. La Résurgence des philosophies antiques* (Saint-Étienne: Université de Saint-Étienne, 2003), pp. 27–43; Damian Caluori, 'The Scepticism of Francisco Sanchez', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 89 (2007), 30–46, and the bibliography quoted above.
  11. I discuss this issue at greater length in Pastore, 'Doubt in Fifteenth-Century Iberia', in *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, ed. by Mercedes García-Arenal (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 283–303.
  12. Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).
  13. On Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, see Ángel González Palencia and Eugenio Mele, *Vida y obras de don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, 3 vols (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de don Juan, 1941–43); Erika

- Spivakovsky, *Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, 1504–1575* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970); David H. Darst, *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1987); Inés Rada, 'Un cadet de grande famille à l'époque de la Renaissance. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza', in *Autour des parentés en Espagne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Histoire, mythe et littérature*, ed. by Augustin Redondo (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne, 1987), pp. 31–42. On Mendoza's collections and on his library, see Anthony Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, their Books and Bindings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); on his Italian period as ambassador, Pastore, 'Una Spagna anti-papale. Gli anni italiani di Diego Hurtado de Mendoza', *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea*, 15 (2007), 63–94. On his possible authorship of *Lazarillo*, see the recent study by Mercedes Agulló, *A vueltas con el autor del Lazarillo* (Madrid: Calambur, 2010).
14. An excellent synthesis on the Mendoza family is Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350–1550* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1979), who also edited a volume on the women of the Mendoza household: *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450–1650*, ed. by Helen Nader (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004). I should also like to remind the reader of Francisco Layna Serrano's *Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas durante los siglos XV y XVI*, 4 vols (Madrid: Aldus, 1942).
  15. David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).
  16. It is one of the most famous episodes of the first uprising of the Alpujarras. See Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempo de Isabel I* (Valladolid: Instituto Isabel la Católica, 1969); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos, vida y tragedia de una minoría* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1978), pp. 18–23, and Juan Meseguer Fernández, 'Fernando de Talavera, Cisneros y la Inquisición en Granada,' in *La Inquisición española. Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes*, ed. by Joaquín Pérez Villanueva (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1980), pp. 371–400, esp. 393–99.
  17. On the Morisco policies of the Mendozas in Granada, see Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*; Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones. La Monarquía Católica y los moriscos valencianos* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2001); and Francisco Núñez Muley, *A Memorandum for the President of the Royal Audiencia and Chancery Court of the City and Kingdom of Granada*, ed. and trans. by Vincent Barletta (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
  18. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, ed. by Bernardo Blanco-González (Madrid: Castalia, 1996), p. 100: 'Gobernabase la ciudad y reino, como entre pobladores y compañeros, con una forma de justicia arbitraria, unidos los pensamientos, las resoluciones encaminadas en común al bien público: esto se acabó con la vida de los viejos. Entraron los celos; la división sobre causas livianas entre los ministros de justicia y de guerra; las concordias en escrito confirmadas por cédulas; traído el entendimiento dellas por cada una de las partes a su opinión; la ambición de querer la una no sufrir igual, y la otra conservar la superioridad, tratada con más disimulación que modestia'.
  19. Diego stated that he knew Arabic and could read it fluently; this is confirmed by Paolo Manuzio and Ambrosio de Morales in two dedicatory letters, which allow us more or less to reconstruct the early years of the life of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and are reprinted in the appendix to González Palencia and Mele, *Vida y obras*, III, 271–75 and 470–74. On the study and dissemination of Arabic in Spain see Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
  20. The catalogue of the library of Hurtado de Mendoza and the list of the Greek codices which he bought during his Venetian years may be found in Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*, and Charles Graux, *Essai sur les origines du Fonds grec de l'Escorial* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 1880).
  21. The episode is recounted in Paolo Giovio, *Historiarum sui temporis*, ed. by Dante Visconti, 2 vols (Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1957), vol. II, chapter 34. See Spivakovski, *Son of the Alhambra*, p. 55, and Spivakovski, 'Lo de la Goleta', *Hispania*, 23 (1963),

- 366–79. On the ‘supposed’ donation of books, see Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, p. 96.
22. His official correspondence as Spanish ambassador in Venice is in AGS (Archivo General de Simancas), Estado, I-65–66. On his politics in Italy, see Michael J. Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 19–26 and 53–63.
  23. See Pastore, ‘Una Spagna antipapale?’, pp. 69–73.
  24. ‘più presto atheo che altrimenti, come quello che haveva participatione di marano per natione et di lutherano per conversatione’. *I processi inquisitoriali di Pietro Carnesecchi (1557–1567)*, ed. by Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto, 2 vols (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1998–2000), II, 1038.
  25. Flavius Josephus, *Opera* (Basilea: Froben, 1544). On his activity as a printer in Basel, see Beat R. Jenny, ‘Arlenius in Basel’, *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 64 (1964), 5–45.
  26. Alfredo Serrai, *Conrad Gesner*, ed. by Maria Cochetti (Rome: Bulzoni, 1990), and, more recently, Fiammetta Sabba, *La ‘Bibliotheca Universalis’ di Conrad Gesner, monumento della cultura europea* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2012).
  27. See Luciano Canfora, *Il Fozio ritrovato. Juan de Mariana e André Schott* (Bari: Dedalo, 2001), in particular pp. 9–28, and Canfora, *Convertire Casaubon* (Milan: Adelphi, 2002). The catalogue of books in Hurtado de Mendoza’s library and the Greek codices acquired in the Greek years may be found in Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting*.
  28. For a detailed description of the circulation of codices of the works of Sextus Empiricus before the 1562 Latin edition, see Floridi, *Sextus Empiricus*, in particular, for an account of the Latin translation by Páez de Castro, see pp. 70–72. Floridi, however, confuses Diego Hurtado de Mendoza with the Cardinal of Burgos, Francisco de Mendoza, who was Diego’s cousin and also a famous collector.
  29. Spivakovsky, ‘Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Averroism’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 26.3 (1965): 307–26.
  30. It was finished in 1545 and entitled *Mechanica de Aristotelis*. There is a modern edition published by Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, *Révue Hispanique*, 5 (1898), 365–405.
  31. See the letter from Juan Páez de Castro to Jerónimo Zurita, dated 1 August 1545, in González Palencia and Mele, *Vida y obras*, I, 315–17.
  32. ‘que el confesor [Domingo de Soto] no está bien comygo porque defendí un doctor Herrera en Trento, a quien el deshonestamente tractava mal de palabras, llamándole en presençia de muchos obispos erege, y porque no le ayude ha imprimir a mi costa un comentario sobre la física de Aristótile, y porque en las disputas tenía siempre la parte de Averroe, el que no hiziera si pensara que havia de ser confessor, y porque sé más filosofía que él’. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Granvelle, 6 May 1549, in Hurtado de Mendoza, *Algunas cartas de don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza escritas 1538–1552*, ed. by Alberto Vázquez and R. Selden Rose (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1935), p. 124. There is a recent edition of Hurtado de Mendoza, *Cartas*, ed. by Juan Varo Zafra (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2016).
  33. The phrase was used for the first time by Francesco Guicciardini in a letter from Modena, dated 18 May 1521, in which he sarcastically commented on the fact that Machiavelli had been officially instructed to go to the general chapter of the Friars in Carpi in order to discuss matters of little importance. See Niccolò Machiavelli, *Opere. Vol. II Lettere legazioni e commissarie*, ed. by Corrado Vivanti (Turin: Einaudi, 1999), p. 377; the phrase was then recycled by Machiavelli in his reply to Guicciardini, *ibid.*, p. 379.
  34. On this image, see Pastore, ‘From Marranos to Unbelievers: The Spanish Peadillo in Sixteenth-Century Italy’, in *Dissimulation and Deceit in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Miriam Eliav-Feldon and Tamar Herzog (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 79–93.
  35. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Granvelle, Rome, 23 May 1548, in Antonio Paz y Meliá, ‘Cartas de don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza al cardenal Granvela (1548–1551)’, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 3 (1899), 612–22.
  36. ‘...no dan facultad para dispensar generalmente sino en particular per individuo, con cada uno de aquellos que quisieren confessar el error y yr a tomar penitencia y dispensación de los dichos

- legados. Y es ynposible forçar a los yndividuos, porque si yo que soy un particular, no quiero yr a casa del legado y el otro y otro, no ha de andar el alguazil de casa en casa a forçarme que lo haga; así que el Emperador puede disponer en el general y el Papa dispensar; pero no puede forçar, ni es posible en millares de años dispensar con los yndividuos desta generalidad. Y esto hablo como philósopho, o como moro de Granada, o como marrano, que aun oy tiene la Ynquisiçión más que hazer en Spaña que el primer día'. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Granvelle, 1 September 1548, in Hurtado de Mendoza, *Algunas cartas*, pp. 119–20.
37. The manuscript is in the hand of Páez de Castro, with many corrections, addenda and notes in the margins. It was first described by Paul O. Kristeller, who saw it in H. P. Kraus's private collection, in his *Iter Italicum*, vol. v (London: The Warburg Institute; Leiden: Brill, 1990), p. 59. See also Floridi, *Sextus Empiricus*, pp. 70–72, and Arantxa Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia humanista en tiempos de Felipe II. La Biblioteca de Juan Páez de Castro* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2011), pp. 298–99. In 2002, when Luciano Floridi wrote his book, the manuscript was up for sale and in 2003 part of it was auctioned at Sotheby's. My attempts to locate it have so far been fruitless. Part of the unbound volume is now in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the University of Pennsylvania; another part was auctioned by Maggs Bros in 2014.
38. 'Haré una prefación en que pondré grandes cosas de lo que toca a esta disciplina y del útil para nuestra religión, et effugiam vitiligatores'. Juan Páez de Castro to Jerónimo Zurita, 1 September 1549. Floridi's transcription, taken from Diego José Dormer, *Anales de Aragón* (Zaragoza: herederos de Diego Dormer, 1697) is slightly different. I quote the letter from the more reliable edition of Domingo Malvadi, *Bibliofilia humanista*, p. 386.
39. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza to Granvelle, 14 December 1549, in Hurtado de Mendoza, *Algunas cartas*, p. 145.
40. Titian, 'Portrait of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza', 1540, Pitti Gallery, Florence.
41. Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*: 'cada nación, cada profesión y cada estado usa su manera de vestido, y todos son cristianos; y nosotros moros, porque vestimos a la morisca, como si trujésemos la ley en el vestido, y no en el corazón'. It was a very similar position (and it is a fact of great importance) to that of Núñez Muley, recently translated and edited by V. Barletta, see Núñez Muley, *A Memorandum for the President*. According to Javier Irigoyen García, *Moors Dressed as Moors: Clothing, Social Distinction and Ethnicity in Early Modern Iberia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), pp. 117–18, behind the Memorial there was not the voice of a downtrodden minority — the Moriscos — calling for a cultural revival, but that of the Marquis of Mondéjar, Captain General of Granada and an increasingly marginalized figure in the governance of that kingdom. I thank Trevor Dadson for drawing my attention to this book.