A HUMANIST HISTORY OF THE 'COMUNIDADES' OF CASTILE:

JUAN MALDONADO'S DE MOTU HISPANIAE

By

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ABSTRACT

The present study is intended to contribute to our knowledge of the intellectual history of early modern Castile by examining a work which has heretofores been ignored by historians of 'Golden Age' historiography - De motu Hispaniae, an account of the Comunidades of Castile (1520-1521) written by the Spanish humanist cleric Juan Maldonado (c.1485-1554).

In the Introduction we specify the methodology to be employed - a close reading of De motu Hispaniae - and survey current scholarship on Maldonado and on the intellectual history of Castile in our period.

The argument proper begins in Chapter One, where we set the stage for our textual analysis by examining what little information we possess on Maldonado's life up to and including the year in which De motu Hispaniae was completed, 1524. Special attention is given to the two aspects of Maldonado's biography which are most relevant to our inquiry - humanism and patronage. With respect to the former, we show that the two figures crucial in his education at the University of Salamanca were the humanists Christophe de Longueil and Lucio Flaminio Siculo, who inspired him to pursue a career as a teacher of the studia humanitatis and introduced him to the classical writers whose influence is most evident in De motu Hispaniae - Cicero and Sallust. We also examine the relationship between Maldonado and two of his patrons, Pedro de Cartagena and Diego Osorio, both of whom figure prominently in De motu Hispaniae. Maldonado's close ties to the latter are especially important, for in De motu Hispaniae he contrasts Osorio's loyalty during the Comunidades with the disloyalty displayed by his half-brother, the Comunero Bishop of Zamora, Antonio de
Acuña. In Chapter Two we show that the comparison is modelled on Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*, and we suggest that it may have been prompted, at least in part, by Maldonado's desire to defend his friend and patron against (false) charges that he betrayed his king during the rebellion.

The bulk of Chapter Two is given over to the presentation of textual evidence from *De motu Hispaniae* which indicates that, in general, Maldonado subscribed to the canons and conventions which governed the practice of classical Roman historians and their Renaissance epigones. We also argue that Maldonado's 'philosophy of history' and his ideas on such historiographical basics as causation and periodization place him squarely in the humanist tradition, and distinguish him from the 'contemporary historians' of the Middle Ages, whose historiography reflected their religious training. Unlike these latter, Maldonado saw the historian's craft in remarkably secular terms, and *De motu Hispaniae* is devoid of the providentialism characteristic of much Castilian historiography. The best explanation for this, we suggest, is that for Maldonado, who had witnessed the political 'decline' of the early sixteenth century, the Hand of God was not easily discerned behind the destiny of Castile. Recognizing that the history of the Comunidades could not be written in providentialist terms, Maldonado turned instead to a work which offered a secular interpretation of 'civil war' - Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*.

In Chapter Three we argue that Maldonado, a humanist is the literal sense of the word, was convinced of the value of rhetoric in public life, and committed to a 'Ciceronian' union of philosophy and eloquence. Not surprisingly, various forms of rhetorical discourse are also evident in
De motu Hispaniae. After examining three aspects of this discourse - oratio recta and two more or less complementary rhetorical formulae, one drawn from Sallust and the other from Cicero - we conclude that despite repeated professions of suprapartisanship, Maldonado's rhetoric reveals the depth of his ideological commitments.

Our general conclusion is that Helen Nader is incorrect to assert that humanist historiography was a dead letter in sixteenth-century Castile. Our analysis of De motu Hispaniae shows otherwise, and also reveals that the two 'traditions' which Nader discerns behind the diversity of late medieval historiography contribute very little to our understanding of historical ideas during the 'Golden Age'. We suggest that an adequate understanding of this complex phenomenon might begin with a rehabilitation, with some revisions, of the currently discredited notion of an 'open Spain'.
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INTRODUCTION

Since 1840, when Don José Quevedo, archivist of the Escorial, published his Spanish translation of Juan Maldonado's Latin narrative *De motu Hispaniae*, this work has come to occupy a very special place among our primary sources for the event it chronicles, the urban rebellion known to contemporaries, and to posterity, as the Comunidades of Castile (1520-1521). For almost one hundred and fifty years now, historians of the revolt of the Comuneros have quarried Maldonado's text for information on an event which has been the subject of intense controversy since the early nineteenth century, when it became part of the extended polemic between what Ramon Menéndez Pidal called 'The Two Spains'. What has drawn scholars to *De motu Hispaniae* is undoubtedly the fact that unlike most narrative accounts of the Comunidades, which were written many years after the event, Maldonado's is that of an eyewitness, and it was written within a few years of the royalist victory in the battle of Villalar, which effectively ended the rebellion. Most of those who have used *De motu Hispaniae* as a historical source have echoed the judgement of the pioneering American hispanist Henry Latimer Seaver, who called the account "well-informed, well-balanced and accurate", and social historians of the revolt have frequently expressed admiration for Maldonado's perspicacity. For all the attention devoted to *De motu Hispaniae*, however, Maldonado's work has never been submitted to an examination whose subject is not the 'circumstances and movements' pointed to in the text but the way in which the author employs words and concepts within the text, and the way in which the text itself has been structured so as to give a particular impression of the events described therein. The present inquiry, therefore, will
concern itself with De motu Hispaniae, not as a source on the history of the Comunidades, a subject which has been intensively studied elsewhere, but as a 'literary artifact', as the work of a writer who was engaged in a particular kind of historical discourse, and who fashioned his narrative in conformity with the canons and conventions of an identifiable tradition of historical writing.6

By means of a close reading of Maldonado's text, we will attempt to answer a number of significant questions about De motu Hispaniae. Why did Maldonado write history? What kind of history was he writing?, and what were his assumptions concerning the historical process? How does his work compare with that of his Spanish predecessors and with that of his contemporaries in Spain and elsewhere in Europe? Such questions are not easily answered, for Maldonado, like most practicing historians past and present, concentrates on the task at hand and does not explicitly assert his basic premisses. This kind of reticence makes it essential that historians of historiography pay close attention to rare and fleeting philosophical 'asides', and to information gleaned from discursive prologues to otherwise unreflective narratives.7 In these respects, Maldonado was extremely inconsiderate: the prologue to De motu Hispaniae is unusually terse and unrevealing, and he was not a writer given to philosophical speculation. More often than not, however, it is the narrative itself which is most informative, for as Hayden White has pointed out, "every historical discourse contains within it a full-blown, if only implicitly, philosophy of history."8 The style, language and form of a historical work can serve as valuable clues to the author's guiding ideas and histo-
riographical allegiances, and all these indicators will be brought into play in our analysis of De motu Hispaniae.

Such detailed study of historical texts is especially necessary in the case of Spain, where the history of historiography, as a specialized form of intellectual history, is still in its infancy. Whereas this field has attracted the attention of a growing number of respected scholars on both sides of the Atlantic, intellectual historians of Spain have shown relatively little interest in the study of historical discourse, so that the history of Spanish historical writing remains, in the words of one recent commentator, "a discipline under construction". Those who have laid the groundwork for this edifice, moreover, have displayed a marked preference for certain historical periods. Among Spanish historians, the chronicles of the Middle Ages have drawn more than their fair share of attention, while some of the best recent work has dealt with the 'Romantic' historiography of the nineteenth century. The few non-Spaniards in the field have also specialised in medieval historiography, though one, Richard Herr, has written on the historical 'revival' of the eighteenth century. While most of this work is both welcome and worthwhile, the ironic consequence of this sort of selectivity has been that the historiography of the early modern period, what is often called the 'Golden Age' of Spanish culture, has been largely ignored. Competent analyses of early modern historical texts are few and far between, and students of this period must still rely upon the solid but seriously dated volumes of Benito Sanchez Alonso. The work of Sanchez Alonso is no substitute for the kind of analysis which R. B. Tate has used so effectively in studying the historio-
An American scholar, Helen Nader, has also done valuable work on the historians of fifteenth-century Castile. Unlike Tate, however, who never suggests that conclusions reached on the basis of late medieval texts can be applied to those of the succeeding period, Professor Nader has advanced some questionable hypotheses concerning the historiography of the Spanish Golden Age.

Nowhere in his numerous articles on late medieval Castilian historiography does R. B. Tate suggest that there is a simple pattern behind its apparent diversity. He traces traditions, influences and borrowings to be sure, but never proposes anything resembling the bold schema recently advanced by Nader, who sees the historiography of fifteenth-century Castile in terms of two, and only two, counterposed and parallel traditions, one of which continued to inform the practice of Castilian historians throughout the sixteenth century. Nader's analysis is highly original and generally well-informed, but the evidence of Juan Maldonado's De motu Hispaniae suggests that it contributes little to our understanding of Golden Age historiography. In Chapter Two of this work, we will argue that Maldonado's account of the Comunidades finds no place in either of Nader's two historiographical 'schools', a circumstance which we will try to explain by rehabilitating the currently unfashionable idea that a uniquely 'open' intellectual climate prevailed in early sixteenth-century Spain. Only if we admit that Maldonado's Spain was at least semi-permeable to developments in European humanism can we account for a work like De motu Hispaniae, which appears as an inexplicable anomaly within Nader's exclusively Castilian framework, but which is comparable to the work of Renais-
sance historians in Italy and elsewhere in Europe.

In saying this, the present writer is fully aware that the outlines of 'Renaissance historiography', like those of the Burckhardtian Renaissance itself, have of late grown sufficiently blurred as to render hazardous the description of any writer as a 'Renaissance' or 'humanist' historian. One result of recent scholarship on the subject has been to reduce the number of criteria available for use in distinguishing the historical writing of the Renaissance from that of the predecessor culture. Bernard Guenée, for example, has argued convincingly that medieval historiography was not entirely devoid of that 'sense of the past' which Peter Burke and others have seen as a (the?) characteristic feature of the Renaissance 'frame of mind'. Nor can adherence to classical models or the use of techniques derived from classical rhetoric any longer be said to distinguish humanist historiography from that of the Middle Ages. The work of medievalists, however, has so far failed to obliterate the Renaissance altogether, and the present writer remains convinced that it is still possible to point to a set of medular traits whose presence in a given text constitutes adequate grounds for the conclusion that the author was working within a framework of historiographical assumptions, ideals and techniques for which the terms 'Renaissance' and/or 'humanist' are not only convenient but accurate designations. These traits have been identified and discussed by a number of modern scholars, upon whose work we have relied in making the claim that De motu Hispaniae is unquestionably the work of a writer who subscribed to the norms of Renaissance historiography. Specifically, we shall advance the claim that Maldo-
nado drew upon Sallust and Cicero in the composition of De motu Hispaniae and that his reasons for doing so are intimately connected with his humanist education and lifelong commitment to the studia humanitatis.

The origins and trajectory of Spanish, and particularly of Castilian, humanism are currently undergoing a process of revision. The English scholars N. G. Round and Peter Russell, for example, have both argued that evidence for an Italianate Renaissance in fifteenth-century Castile is, at best, patchy and inconclusive, while Helen Nader has reached similar conclusions for the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Juan Maldonado's place in the Spanish 'Renaissance', however, has been reasonably secure since 1937, when the great French hispanist Marcel Bataillon published his magisterial account of Erasmianism in Spain. The author of De motu Hispaniae played a prominent role in this study, though because Bataillon was interested in Maldonado as 'the historian of the Erasmian revolution', he virtually ignored his account of the Comunidades. Bataillon was the first to investigate the full corpus of Maldonado's work, and to see him as a significant figure in the history of Spanish humanism. Though Spanish intellectual historians were slow to follow up on his work, two formerly unpublished works have recently appeared in Spanish translations, and the literary scholars Eugenio Asensio and Francisco Rico have devoted sections of important articles to a consideration of Maldonado's work, though, like Bataillon, they show little interest in De motu Hispaniae. This must be accounted a major omission if, as we shall suggest, Maldonado's Latin narrative conforms to the 'Italianate' norms of humanist historiography.
This study is not, strictly speaking, an exercise in Begriffsgeschichte, since our principal objective throughout will be to identify the kind of historical discourse in which Maldonado is engaged rather than isolating concepts for future discussion in a diachronic context. Nevertheless, in the course of our inquiry into De motu Hispaniae we will pause from time to time to investigate certain key ideas, which have import, not only within Maldonado's text, but within the wider framework of the history of historiography. The notion of historia magistra vitae, for instance, which the present writer interprets as history and experience identified through the mediation of rhetoric, will involve us in a brief, but hopefully germane, digression. We will also devote special attention to Maldonado's use of topoi which indicate a commitment to what Reinhart Koselleck calls "suprapartisanship", the notion that the historian ought to assess the past, or in Maldonado's case the near-present, with dispassionate equanimity.\textsuperscript{22} We will want to show that Maldonado's devotion to what he calls 'the naked truth' had some interesting consequences for his rhetoric in De motu Hispaniae, as well as being an important factor in his decision not to publish the work immediately, but rather to wait until the passions aroused by the Comunidades had cooled.

In epistemological terms, the ideal of dispassionate objectivity may well be chimerical under the best of circumstances, as when the historian has no egregious reason for 'propagandizing' the events under consideration, perhaps because they are distant in time and/or space. But the notion that the historian can, or even ought to, transcend his
personal circumstances and affective commitments and penetrate to a sup­positional, presumably 'neutral', realm of autonomous 'facts' appears most quixotic in the case of the contemporary historian, that is, the writer who wants to inscribe events he himself lived through, witnessed, or perhaps even participated in. De motu Hispaniae is, as we noted earlier, a work of contemporary history, a genre of historical writing which was dominant in Europe until at least the eighteenth century, but which has attracted remarkably little scholarly attention. Unlike most of their modern successors, who investigate "the deep past for the enlightenment of the present", classical, medieval and Renaissance historians most often "wrote to preserve a record of the shallow past for the benefit of the future".23 As we are all aware, however, the 'shallow past' is notoriously opaque, quite devoid of the comforting illusion of transparency which occasionally attends the consideration of events in the 'deep past'. It is especially difficult, moreover, for the contemporary historian to achieve the kind of detachment and ideological neutrality required by the suprapartisan ideal. As we shall see in Chapter Two, Maldonado was acutely aware of the problems of contemporary history, and of the special difficulties which attached to the project in which he was engaged, the description of the Comunidades of Castile. In Chapter Three, however, where we examine his use of rhetoric in De motu Hispaniae, we shall discover that he falls somewhat short of complete neutrality.

Substantiation of this and other claims will require that before analyzing the text of De motu Hispaniae, we take as close a look as the
sources will permit at the life of Juan Maldonado up to and including the period of its composition. Examination of the exiguous biographical details at our disposal, and especially of those which bear upon Maldonado's intellectual development, will reinforce our textual analysis of De motu Hispaniae by showing that the traits which it reveals can also be seen as flowing naturally from the training he received at the University of Salamanca. We will also examine the relationship between Maldonado and two of his patrons, Pedro de Cartagena and Diego Osorio, as a necessary prelude to later claims concerning authorial intentions which are not explicitly stated in the text.
NOTES

1 For the sake of convenience, I will employ this shortened version of the Latin title when referring directly to Maldonado's narrative. The complete title is De motu Hispaniae vel de communitatibus Hispaniae: José Antonio Maravall, Las Comunidades de Castilla: Una primera revolución moderna, (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1963), 70. There are only two manuscript copies of De motu Hispaniae; one in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (B.N.M. ms. 6351), and the other in the library of the Escorial (III, 8): Eugenio Asensio, introduction, Paraenesis ad Litteras. [Juan Maldonado y el humanismo español en tiempos de Carlos V], ed. and trans. Juan Alcina Rovira, (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1980), 25. Quevedo's translation, based on the Escorial manuscript, is entitled El movimiento de España, ó sea Historia de la revolución conocida con el nombre de las Comunidades de Castilla, (Madrid, 1840). I have used a reissue of this translation with introduction and additional notes by Valentina Fernandez Vargas: La Revolución Comunera, (Madrid: Ediciones del Centro, 1975). All references are to this edition and will appear in parentheses in the body of the text, except where reference is made to a number of widely separated passages, in which case a footnote will be used. While one must always be wary of a translation, especially one made three centuries after the fact, there are grounds for confidence in the present instance. José Antonio Maravall, Marcel Bataillon and Eugenio Asensio have all read the Escorial manuscript, and none expresses reservations concerning the Quevedo translation. Asensio quotes exclusively from the translation [introduction, 29-33], while Maravall resorts to the manuscript only occasionally, when "the Latin terms possess a special inter-
est": Las Comunidades, 70.


3 Concerning the vexed question of just when De motu Hispaniae was written, the author's prologue to the Escorial manuscript is dated 1 December 1545 [Asensio, introduction, 29], but Seaver has established a terminus ante quem of February 1523 based on Maldonado's reference (221) to Bishop Antonio de Acuña as being in jail at Navarrete: Henry Latimer Seaver, The Great Revolt in Castile. A Study of the Comunero Movement of 1520-1521, (London: Constable & Co., 1928), 366-367. Maldonado's subsequent failure to mention the notorious trial of Acuña in 1526 leads to the conclusion that the author's claim to having made extensive corrections (28) is untrue, and that the manuscript had not been substantively revised [Cf. Asensio, introduction, 29]. Further confirmation of an early date of composition is Maldonado's use (117) of the present tense with reference to his patron, Bishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, who died on 12 November 1524: Manuel Danvila, Historia critica y documentada de las Comunidades de Castilla, 6 vols., Memorial Historico Español t. XXXV-XL, (Madrid, 1897-1900), 6:138; Marcel Bataillon, Erasmo y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI, 2nd Spanish edition, (Mexico, D.F.:

4 Seaver, The Great Revolt, 367. J. I. Gutierrez Nieto has often expressed respect for Maldonado's social analysis: See, for example, Las Comunidades, 355-357, and "Violencia y sociedad en el pensamiento historiográfico de los humanistas españoles," Hispania 38 (1978): 583-87.

5 Though the present study is not, strictly speaking, an exercise in 'conceptual history', I owe this distinction to Reinhart Koselleck: "... a Begriffsgeschichte concerns itself (primarily) with texts and words, while a social history employs texts merely as a means of deducing circumstances and movements that are not, in themselves, contained within the texts." Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time, trans. Keith Tribe, (Cambridge: & London: MIT Press, 1985), 73.


The doyen of Spanish medievalists was Claudio Sanchez Albornoz, on whose life and work see Jean-Paul Le Flem, "Don Claudio Sanchez Albornoz (1893-1984) ou l'honneur d'un 'hidalgo'," Histoire, economie et societe 4 (1985): 307-312; Manuel Moreno Alonso, Historiografia Romantica Espanola: Introduccion al estudio de la historia en el siglo XIX, (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979).


23 (1973): 243-263.


20 I have used the second Spanish edition of this work: See note 3.


CHAPTER ONE: HUMANISM AND PATRONAGE IN SALAMANCA AND BURGOS, 1485-1524

Very little is known of the life of Juan Maldonado, and what little information we possess has been gleaned from occasional autobiographical remarks in his own works.¹ Until the late eighteenth century, there was even some question as to the identity of the author of De motu Hispaniae, but it now seems reasonably certain that the Juan Maldonado in question was born in the village of Bonilla de Huete in the New Castilian diocese of Cuenca around 1485.²

Since baptismal records were not kept in Castile before 1498, and since the author himself is silent on the subject, we know nothing at all about Maldonado's parents.³ Concerning his family background we have only his claim that while he spent most of his life in Burgos, he was descended from the Maldonados of Salamanca, the most prominent branch of an old and illustrious aristocratic family.⁴ If this was the case, however, his noble relations are conspicuously absent from both his work and his life. Apart from the Salamanca Comuneros Don Pedro and Francisco Maldonado, whose names appear in De motu Hispaniae, no member of the Maldonado family figures anywhere in the sizable corpus of work attributed to Juan Maldonado.⁵ While it is a reasonable assumption that family connections were a factor in Maldonado's decision to attend the University of Salamanca, there is no evidence to support this conjecture.⁶ As we shall see, Maldonado sought and received patronage throughout his career, but there is no record of his getting any at all from those he claims as kinsmen.⁷ If we dismiss the possibility of outright fabrication (not easy to do for a society where limpieza de sangre, 'purity of blood', was essential to social advancement), it seems unlikely that
Juan Maldonado was more than distantly related to the Salamancan Maldonados. The fact that he was destined for a clerical career suggests that he was a younger son, born into an obscure provincial branch of the family.

This impression is only reinforced when we consider the few details we possess on Maldonado's early education. Once again, the source is Maldonado himself, who gives a brief account of his introduction to Latin grammar in the recently-published *Paraenesis* (1529), an 'open letter' addressed to one of his own students, Gutierre de Cárdenas, son of the Count of Miranda. In an age when the noble household remained the principal training ground for the Castilian aristocracy, Maldonado's primary schooling was typical of that received by students whose parents could not afford a private tutor: rudimentary instruction in the vernacular, followed by five or six years in a *colegio*, where Latin grammar formed the heart of the curriculum. Latin instruction in Castile was based on Antonio de Nebrija's uninspiring *Introductiones latinae* (first edition, 1481), and teaching standards were notoriously low. As Maldonado tells us in the *Paraenesis*:

> There is not a town in Spain, however small, which does not have a school, but most of the masters are so stupid that it were better to remain ignorant than to be educated thus.

According to Maldonado, it was only his own enthusiasm for the subject which preserved him from Latin masters whose pedantry extinguished the flame of learning in all but the most determined of students. There is doubtless a good deal of retrojection in this self-portrait of the precocious humanist, impatient with tendentious rural schoolmasters.
After all, in the Paraenesis Maldonado sought to expose the shortcomings of traditional methods of Latin instruction and proposed an alternative system based not on grammatical textbooks but on early and direct access to classical authors. But while he may exaggerate his adolescent ennui, he was no doubt relieved to depart the Cuencan colegio for the University of Salamanca, which he describes as “the patria of my ancestors, and the most celebrated academy in all of Spain”. The training which Maldonado received at Salamanca was so important in his intellectual development, that before we examine it in detail we should look in general terms at the intellectual climate which prevailed at the venerable estudio.

Since it was established in the thirteenth century, the University of Salamanca had concentrated on the certification of legally-trained professionals (letrados), and so had specialized in the teaching of Roman law, in both of its medieval redactions as civil and canon law. This jurisprudential orientation remained unchanged under the Catholic Monarchs, who institutionalized the established practice of relying on university-trained letrados to serve in the consejo real and to fill positions in the royal bureaucracy. Unlike their predecessors, however, Ferdinand and Isabella actively patronized the humanities and sponsored university reforms favourable to university training in the liberal arts. Isabella in particular enjoyed a European reputation as a patron of learning, and was able to attract a number of prominent Italian scholars to Spain. Notable among these were the Milanese Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, who became director of the palace school, and the Sicilians Lucio Marineo and Lucio Flaminio, both of whom taught at Salamanca. Isabella likewise encour-
aged the work of her confessor, the Observant Franciscan Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, who strove to enlist humanist scholarship in the service of the Church, and supported the efforts of the Castilian humanist Antonio de Nebrija, who returned from a ten-year sojourn in Italy determined to extirpate the 'barbaric' Latin of the schoolmen and reform university teaching along Italian lines.15

Traditional scholarship, especially in Spain, freely employed the term 'Renaissance' in connection with such developments, but recent writers, especially non-Spaniards, have emphasized the degree to which older 'medieval' attitudes remained in force under the Catholic Monarchs, and have questioned the depth of humanist penetration during their reign.16 It is certainly true that those committed to the studia humanitatis remained "an isolated and untypical minority"17, both inside and outside the university, and still complained, as they had throughout the fifteenth century, that a genuine love of learning was a rare commodity among the bellicose and unlettered Castilian elite.18 But the situation was scarcely different elsewhere in Europe, and occasional denegrations from visiting Italians should not blind us to the existence of a humanist 'vanguard' at universities such as Salamanca. In truth, the situation at Salamanca was not unlike that which prevailed in the German universities studied by Overfield, where a small but ardent coterie of humanists, many of them itinerant, struggled to establish the studia humanitatis as a viable alternative to the entrenched scholastic curriculum.19 In Spain, the struggle was short-lived, and ended in failure. By the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish universities had "discarded their pluralistic Renais-
sance spirit for one that was more strictly professional and vocational."

But for a brief period, roughly between 1480 and 1530, schools like Salamanca were unusually open to intellectual currents flowing from elsewhere in Europe, especially from Italy and Flanders, two regions with close political and economic ties to the Iberian peninsula. One of the beneficiaries of this open intellectual climate was Juan Maldonado.

While it is impossible to be precise, Maldonado was probably no more than sixteen years old when he matriculated at the University of Salamanca. While he had not yet decided upon a major subject, his interests inclined him toward philosophy and humane letters (the *studia humanitatis*). When the time came to choose a specialty, however, Maldonado bracketed his intellectual enthusiasms and took a more practical course, following the advice of a group of former schoolmates, who had insisted that the road to "honour and riches" led through the study of law. Thus after completing the compulsory Arts course, Maldonado spent three years studying Canon Law. He lacked enthusiasm for the subject, however, whose curriculum was restricted to the Decretals, Clementines and assorted papal instruments, all approached through the commentaries of the fourteenth-century Bolognese jurist Joannes Andreas. There is no evidence that Maldonado ever completed the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Laws, which helps to explain the fact that while he eventually took clerical orders, he never advanced beyond the lower echelons of the ecclesiastical heirarchy.

Maldonado's evident distaste for the sort of legal training offered at Salamanca is an indication of his growing commitment to the 'New
Learning', whose practitioners emphasized the historical distance between themselves and their classical past. Like other humanists, Maldonado longed to bridge this gap and encounter antiquity directly, rather than through a palimpsest of medieval commentaries. In Maldonado's day, Salamanca jurisprudence still followed the precepts and hermeneutical guidelines laid down by the Bolognese legalist Bartolus and his school of 'Post-Glossators', whose ahistorical approach to the study of Roman law had been anathema to Italian humanists such as Valla, Poliziano and Pomponio.24 Through Andrea Alciato this humanist critique spread to Paris, where it inspired the French school of 'legal humanists' whose contributions to historical scholarship have been the subject of numerous studies by Donald R. Kelley.25 Had he arrived at Salamanca in the 1540's, Maldonado could have studied with the Paris-educated Antonio Agustín, Spain's first, and only, proponent of the mos gallicus docendi.26 As it happened, he simply skipped his law classes in order to attend the more congenial lectures of the grammarian Antonio de Nebrija and Arias Barbosa, the Portuguese humanist who introduced the study of Greek at Salamanca.27

While Maldonado evidently found the lectures of Nebrija and Barbosa more entertaining than Gratian's Decretals, a far more significant contribution to the topography of his 'mental world' came from the Italian humanist Lucio Flaminio Sículo. Flaminio had studied in Rome with Pomponio Leto, and arrived in Spain in 1486, apparently at the invitation of the Admiral of Castile, Don Fadrique Enriquez.28 He arrived at Salamanca in December of 1503, seeking the chair in grammar left vacant after the mercurial Nebrija renounced the position he had won only five
months earlier. Though even the glowing recommendation of his fellow-Sicilian Lucio Marineo failed to win him a proprietary professorship, Flaminio's erudition was judged impressive enough to warrant election to a 'temporal' chair (a regencia or catedrilla), usually granted for a period of between three and four years. The Sicilian's contract called for lectures on the elder Pliny, but he also devoted a special series of lectures to Cicero, whose rhetorical works, especially De Oratore, were very popular at Salamanca.

Flaminio's arrival caused something of a sensation, and Juan Maldonado was prominent among the auditors who packed the lecture-halls to hear his elegant Latin and flowing oratory. According to Maldonado, he and Flaminio became close friends, and spent many evenings discussing the classics in the latter's home. It was Flaminio who convinced Maldonado to set aside Nebrija's Introductiones, then the standard textbook at Salamanca, and return instead to the unadulterated sources (ad fontes) of classical wisdom and eloquence. Flaminio, of course, stressed the reading of pagan authors, but in his clerical capacity Maldonado would advocate that the Castilian clergy adopt a similarly philological approach to the Bible, and to the classics of patristic literature. Most important for our purposes, it is under Flaminio's tutelage that Maldonado will have deepened his appreciation for the classics of Roman historiography. Flaminio had learned Sallust at his mother's knee, and it was the Roman historian's Bellum Catilinae which would serve as a model for De motu Hispaniae, Maldonado's account of the Spanish bellum civile. Flaminio also gave Maldonado his first lesson in Italian arrogance: when the young
Spaniard asked him to reveal the secret of classical eloquence, he replied that "a burro could learn to speak before any of you [Spaniards] could understand the Roman Style".\(^{35}\)

The other great influence on the young Maldonado was the Flemish humanist Christophe de Longueil.\(^{36}\) Not yet twenty when he arrived at Salamanca in 1505, Longueil was a flashy and ambitious prodigy, who had already won an international reputation for extempore declamation and neo-Latin poetry. A restless spirit, Longueil's Salamancan visit lasted less than a year, but left an indelible impression on Juan Maldonado. Endowed with a prodigious memory, the Flemish humanist knew most of Horace, Ovid and Virgil by heart, and oversaw Maldonado's halting attempts to compose Latin verses in the classical manner. More importantly for the present study, Longueil was a notoriously fervent 'Ciceronian', who believed that the acquisition of classical eloquence requires scrupulous imitation of the masterful Roman orator. While never as fanatical as Longueil, Maldonado was a lifelong 'Ciceronian', and was utterly devoted to the memory of his youthful mentor.\(^{37}\) In the Paraenesis, written six years after Longueil's untimely death (in Padua in 1522), he tells his young student that

\begin{quote}
Cicero is the measure and the model for all good letters (bonae literaturae), for all the elegance, riches and beauty of the Latin tongue. In the Latin language, to deviate from Cicero is to deviate from truth . . . \(^{38}\)
\end{quote}

In Chapter Three of the present work, I hope to show that Maldonado's 'Ciceronianism' played a fundamental role in shaping the historical discourse in De motu Hispaniae.
In 1506, Christophe de Longueil left Salamanca to take up a secretarial post at the court of Philip 'The Handsome' of Burgundy (Philip I of Spain). Longueil's departure came as a devastating, if not entirely unexpected, blow to Juan Maldonado, whose avidity for 'humanist laurels' has been duly noted by Bataillon. His dreams of literary glory in ruins, Maldonado returned to his native Cuenca, where he took clerical orders. Soon thereafter he accepted the first appointment in an altogether mediocre ecclesiastical career, a chaplaincy near Palencia, probably on lands belonging to his lifelong patron Don Diego Osorio. Recalling this abrupt change of fortune many years later, Maldonado employed Promethean imagery to convey his bitter disappointment:

Fortune forsook my efforts to embrace letters, 
since just as I had prepared myself to follow 
Longueil in pursuit of the liberal arts, she nailed me, as to a rock, to a poor chaplaincy.

The 'poor chaplaincy' in Tierra de Campos was followed by another, this time in Burgos, the city which was to be Maldonado's home until his death in 1554. In many respects, the move to Burgos marks the beginning of an entirely new chapter in Maldonado's life, though there was a link with his university days in the person of Diego Osorio, whom Maldonado first met while the latter was serving as corregidor of Salamanca from 1502 to 1506. Osorio was Maldonado's first and most munificent benefactor, and was closely related to another important patron, Don Pedro de Cartagena. Since both men figure prominently in De motu Hispaniae, we should examine their careers, and their connections to Maldonado, in some detail.

Don Diego Osorio was the son of Luis Vazquez de Acuña y Osorio, who succeeded the illustrious Alfonso de Cartagena as Bishop of Burgos in 1457.
and held the office until his death in 1495. Acuña's incontinence was typical of the moral laxity which characterized the late fifteenth-century Spanish church, giving rise to a vigorous reform movement, championed by the Catholic Monarchs and led by Isabel's confessor, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. In this respect, it is not coincidental that Acuña's successor, Pascual de Ampudia (1497-1512), was a man of unimpeachable personal sanctity, who in the eyes of many reformers embodied all the qualities of the 'ideal bishop'. Despite his moral imperfections, however, Bishop Acuña was an erudite man, as evidenced by an extensive library, the bulk of which was inherited by Don Diego, though a number of books went to the child of another of his father's concubines, his half-brother Antonio de Acuña, the future Comunero Bishop of Zamora. Three years earlier, Osorio had become a landowner, inheriting a mayorazgo near Palencia upon the death of his childless aunt Doña Inés Osorio, sister of Bishop Luis Acuña's elder brother Alvar Perez de Osorio, second Count of Trastámara and first Marquis of Astorga.

Don Diego, however, did not live idly off seigneurial rents. On the contrary, he was an active servant of the Crown throughout his career, holding a number of appointments as corregidor. In many respects, Osorio was typical of the minor nobles (hidalgos) who filled most corregimientos when the Catholic Monarchs gradually extended the office throughout Castile after the Cortes of Toledo in 1480. In fact, there is evidence that Osorio was already serving as corregidor of Salamanca, at least on a temporary basis, as early as 1475. He again (still?) held this post in 1501, when a representative of the merchants of Medina del Campo com-
plained to the consejo real that Don Diego, or more accurately, his agents, had been insensitive in applying new regulations concerning the quality of the cloth sold at the biannual fair. Avilés calls Osorio's zeal "exaggerated and suspicious", strongly implying that the Salamanca corregidor was acting in the interests of the wool-exporters of his native Burgos. If this was the case, however, this incident would be distinctly out of keeping with the remainder of his career. After completing his term at Salamanca, Osorio went on to serve as corregidor of Carmona and, as we shall see, displayed exceptional dedication to the monarch as corregidor of Córdoba during the Comunidades. No doubt Don Diego, like most bureaucrats, could on occasion display inflexibility and even callousness in the performance of his duties, but the present writer sees no reason to question Joseph Perez, who regards Osorio as an "honest and conscientious" public servant, whose fundamental loyalty lay with the Crown.

In all likelihood, the relationship between Osorio and Juan Maldonado began in, or shortly before, 1505, when the corregidor was attempting to quell one of the outbreaks of student violence which were an inseparable part of university life at Salamanca. It is unlikely that Maldonado was among the combatants, since shortly thereafter he prevailed upon Osorio, already a "close friend", to see to the delivery of one hundred laudatory verses which Longueil had written for Andrea di Borgo, Imperial ambassador to the court of Philip I. Two years previously, Don Diego's daughter Maria married the Burgos patrician Pedro de Cartagena y Leiva, an action which had an unforeseen effect on the life of Juan Maldonado.
Osorio's son-in-law was descended from an illustrious line of Burgos *conversos*. Don Pedro's great grandfather, the first Pedro de Cartagena (1387-1478), was one of the four sons of Rabbi Solomon ha-Levi, who adopted the name Pablo de Santa Maria after his timely baptism in 1390. Don Pablo went on to become Bishop of Burgos, and was succeeded in that office by another of his sons, the diplomat and historian Alfonso de Cartagena (1384-1456). The first Don Pedro began a family tradition of membership on the *ayuntamiento* (municipal council) of Burgos, a corporation as oligarchical as any in Castile. The family's founder and Don Pedro's father, Alonso de Cartagena (d. 1508) were both important members of the *regimiento*, and Don Pedro himself followed suit in 1512. All three were also members of the prestigious Real Cofradía del Santísimo y Santiago, an aristocratic confraternity which had been virtually coterminous with the municipal oligarchy since it was established by King Alfonso XI in 1338. Cartagena's case is thus distinct from that of his father-in-law, also named to the *regimiento* in 1512. While Don Pedro belonged to a long line of municipal office-holders, Osorio was probably one of the 'King's men' mentioned by Hiltpold, who received a purely nominal salary (4000 maravedís per annum) to supplement their income from other, more lucrative, government posts.

The Cartagenas became *hidalgos* (members of the untitled nobility) in 1446, when King Juan II granted the first Pedro de Cartagena the right to form a *mayorazgo* (entailed estate). This estate, which included Don Pedro's palacial home in Burgos and a network of seigneurial rights and possessions, passed to the patriarch's eldest son Don Alonso de Carta-
gena (d. 1467). Don Alonso's marriage to Doña Maria Hurtado de Mendoza linked Don Pedro's family with one of the wealthiest and most dynamic noble houses in Castile. Upon Don Alonso's death, the mayorazgo passed to his eldest son, also named Alonso, and in 1508 to his grandson, the second Pedro de Cartagena. From his father, Pedro de Cartagena y Leiva also inherited a place in the royal household (casa real) and patronage of the Chapel of the Visitation in Burgos, built during Alfonso de Cartagena's episcopate (1435-1456). Exercising his right to name the chaplain, Don Pedro chose his father-in-law's friend and client Juan Maldonado.

The combined efforts of Osorio and Cartagena saved Maldonado from what must have seemed exile in Tierra de Campos, and brought him to a city which, while distant from the centers of humanist scholarship, was anything but an isolated provincial backwater. An important stopover on the pilgrimage route to the shrine at Santiago de Compostella, Burgos was already a commercial city in the twelfth century. Thanks to its strategic location, the city on the Arlanzon played a crucial role in Castilian internal trade, acting as the prime distribution point for goods travelling between Andalucía and the Bay of Biscay. By 1250 Burgalesian merchants were active in England, and for the next hundred years grew wealthy in the 'triangular trade' between England, Flanders and Castile. Beginning in the late fourteenth century, Burgalesian traders became increasingly dominant in purchasing and shipping raw wool from Castile to textile-producing centres in Flanders. This de facto primacy was formalized in 1494, when the Catholic Monarchs granted the city's guild of wool-merchants, the Consulado, a virtual monopoly on commerce
with Northern Europe. When Juan Maldonado arrived there in the early sixteenth century, Burgos was at the apex of a period of unparalleled prosperity, and centuries of cultural interchange had made it the most 'European' of Castilian cities.

Maldonado was twenty-five years old when he arrived in Burgos, and from the time of his arrival he supplemented his meagre ecclesiastical salary by teaching. He began as a private tutor in noble households, and by now it should not surprise us to learn that the households involved were those of Diego Osorio and Pedro de Cartagena. In 1517, Maldonado appears in a document as among the criados of Don Diego, and while this term is too ambiguous to be certain, it seems likely that his employment included tutoring his patron's daughter Ana. Maldonado was almost certainly involved in the education of Isabel de Rojas, the only child of Pedro de Cartagena and Osorio's other daughter Maria de Rojas. As we have seen from the Paraenesis, written for the young scion Gutierre de Cardenas, Maldonado continued to teach the sons of the wealthy nobles and merchants of Burgos, who, unlike his own parents, could well afford the services of a private tutor. He likely continued to do so after 1532, when he began teaching grammar and rhetoric at a secondary school in Burgos. The Paraenesis, with its heavy emphasis on Ciceronian rhetoric and on classical and patristic writers, is strikingly reminiscent of educational tracts by the fifteenth-century Florentines Guarino de Verona and Matteo Palmieri, and Maldonado's ideas on pedagogy are similar to those of humanist contemporaries like Colet, Erasmus and Vives. Like these men, Maldonado was clearly convinced of the transformative power of
education: he was a humanist in the literal sense of the word, a teacher and student of the *studia humanitatis*.\textsuperscript{75}

Maldonado's commitment to the *studia humanitatis* can be seen in his correspondence with Erasmus, and can be inferred from the fact that he kept in contact with like-minded Spaniards such as Alfonso Virués and Juan Luis Vives.\textsuperscript{76} Using his friendship with Longueil as a 'letter of introduction', he availed himself of every opportunity to meet and study with Italian humanists who passed through Burgos in the entourage of the royal court.\textsuperscript{77} His constant intellectual companion, however, was Osorio, who clearly shared Maldonado's passion for the masterpieces of classical antiquity. For Don Diego, who, unlike the average fifteenth-century hidalgo, was a competent latinist, he compiled a *florilegium* of selections from classical authors, notably from Pliny and from the historian Livy.\textsuperscript{78} Most importantly, Osorio's patronage afforded Maldonado the time, and perhaps the library, he required to begin a career as a writer.

Maldonado's first published work, the Latin comedy *Hispaniola*, was written during the winter of 1519-20, while the thirty five year-old priest was at Vallegara, Osorio's castle near Burgos, then suffering through an outbreak of plague.\textsuperscript{79} At Vallegara, Maldonado read Plautus and Apuleius, and the play reflects these influences. It was probably meant to augment the Latin instruction of Castilian university students, possibly at Salamanca, whose Statutes (1538) prescribed student performances of Plautus or Terence on the Sunday following Corpus Christi.\textsuperscript{80} *Hispaniola*, however, reached a much wider audience, winning performances in Lisbon and, not surprisingly, Burgos.\textsuperscript{81} In order to understand the play's success, it
must be seen in the context of what Augustin Renaudet called the 'Pre-reformation', the spiritual revival which reached its peak in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{82}

In Spain, the 'Christian Revival' was led by Cardinal Cisneros, who, unlike his contemporary the Florentine preacher Girolamo Savonarola, saw the need to work in concert with the existing structure of political forces. Whereas Savonarola rejected secular humanism in favour of an essentially anachronistic appeal for moral reform, Cisneros was a realist, who "combined the political interests of a Richelieu with the ascetic practices of a Franciscan monk".\textsuperscript{83} Instead of rejecting the new learning, Cisneros aligned himself with the project of 'Christian humanists' like Guillaume Budé and Lefèvre D'Étampes, who placed the new scholarly apparatus at the service of spiritual regeneration and ecclesiastical reform. Thus while Cisneros oversaw the distribution of Savonarola's writings in Spain and championed monastic reform, he also invited Erasmus to Spain, established a seat of learning at Alcalá, and organized the team of humanist scholars which produced the magnificent Complutensian Polyglot.\textsuperscript{84}

The 'Prereformation' in Spain was a complex phenomenon, an admixture of many religious traditions, but Eugenio Asensio is surely right to insist that while its concrete achievements were few, the reforming movement was already well advanced when Bataillon's 'Erasmian Revolution' erupted in the mid-1520's.\textsuperscript{85}

We must bear this in mind when we look at Hispaniola, which contains a number of important clues to Ialdonado's intellectual concerns on the eve of the Comunidades. In interpreting the play, some writers have
been swayed by the fact that both Maldonado and his patron Diego Osorio became outspoken 'Erasmians' during the 1520's. Both, in fact, were among the most vociferous defenders of Erasmus in 1527, when a disputation was held at Valladolid with the object of determining the orthodoxy of his works. There are, however, reasons for believing that Maldonado and Osorio were rather insincere Erasmians, primarily concerned with ingratiating themselves with Charles V and his Flemish courtiers, for whom the teachings of Erasmus were a kind of unofficial ideology. While Maldonado was perhaps the only Spaniard to praise the *Encomium Moriae* in print, he was certainly more enamoured of Erasmus' philological prowess and elegant Latin style than of the controversial aspects of the Dutchman's theology. In any case, there is no evidence that Maldonado knew the works of Erasmus when he wrote *Hispaniola*. There is nothing particularly Erasmian about the play, which reminds Lida de Malkiel of fifteenth-century Italian comedy. Grismer includes it in his survey of the influence of Plautus in Spain, while Bataillon sees affinities with the medieval *fabliaux* and with the irreverent anti-clericalism of the Archpriest of Hita. The farcical plot, which turns on the misadventures of a hypocritical and lascivious friar, is highly conventional and doctrinally unchallenging. In this respect, it is entirely in tune with the *Libro de buen amor* and with the spirit of pre-Lutheran reformers, whose criticisms of the church rarely extended to matters of Christian doctrine, "which was on the whole accepted as authoritatively defined." In *Hispaniola* Maldonado employs the devices of Roman comedy to draw attention to the gap between Christian principle and clerical practice; an utterly traditional procedure, and one
which accords well with the limited objectives of the 'Prereformation'.

As we have said, Maldonado arrived in Burgos in 1509 or 1510, during the episcopate of Pascual de Ampudia, whose career exemplifies the reformist tendencies of the age. When viewed in its local context, Maldonado's Hispaniola can be seen as a humorous reflection upon the contrast between Ampudia's apostolic poverty and personal integrity and the worldliness and corruption of his successor, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (1514-1524), who was also a member of the Council of the Indies and seems to have been more interested in exploiting the nascent Indies trade than in ministering to the needs of his flock. Maldonado served as examiner of the diocesan clergy under Fonseca, and was thus daily exposed to the abominable ignorance and obscurantism which prevailed among the semi-literate parish clergy. His solution was a rigorous program of education, designed to enable novitiate priests to confront directly the authoritative sources of doctrine, and he will have had no sympathy with the anti-intellectual quasi-mysticism of the spiritual Franciscans, who mistrusted learning, and sought emotional communion with the godhead. Maldonado will have witnessed and sympathised with Cisneros' attempt to bring strict Observance to the unreformed religious of Burgos, a project which met with concerted resistance, so that in 1520 we still find the comunidad of Burgos instructing its representatives, Pedro de Cartagena and Jeronimo de Castro, to ask that "the job of reducing the monasteries to the Observance be continued and completed." But like Cisneros, Maldonado regarded humanist scholarship as a potentially valuable partner in the spiritual regeneration of the church. Also like Cisneros, his approach to reform was conservative and
pragmatic, concerned with correcting abuses in the church without under­
mining the essential bases of Christian doctrine.

In our brief look at Hispaniola, we have tried to show that in 1519, that is, on the eve of the Comunidades, Maldonado betrays no signs of his later Erasmianism. Even if sometime between then and 1524, when he wrote De motu Hispaniae, Maldonado became acquainted with the work of Erasmus, the ideas of the Rotterdam humanist would have been of little or no use in interpreting an event such as the Comunidades. And indeed when we examine De motu Hispaniae we find that in attempting to impose some kind of order upon the chaotic events he had witnessed, Maldonado turned, not to Erasmus, but to Cicero, and to the classical, and especially Roman, historians so admired by the humanist intelligentsia of the time.
NOTES


2 According to Don José Quevedo, the famous bibliographer Nicolas Antonio was ambiguous concerning which of three Juan Maldonados was responsible for De motu Hispaniae. This question was resolved by Antonio's eighteenth-century editor Francisco Perez Bayer, but Quevedo shows that both Antonio and Perez were mistaken in identifying Maldonado as a native of the city of Cuenca. In De motu Hispaniae, Maldonado refers to having been born in 'Bonilla', and Quevedo, rightly I think, identifies this town as Bonilla de Huete in the diocese of Cuenca: El movimiento de España, iv-v. Bataillon [Erasmo, 215] and Asensio [introduction, 17] concur, citing a corroborative passage in De senectute christiana (1549), in which Maldonado informs the work's dedicatee, Miguel Muñoz, that he was born, nursed, and introduced to Latin in the Bishop's diocese, ie. Cuenca. The suggestion of Valentina Fernandez Vargas [introduction, 11], namely
that the 'Bonilla' mentioned in De motu Hispaniae [La Revolución, 104] could be Bonilla de la Sierra in the diocese of Salamanca, is plausible only if one assumes, as she does, that Juan Maldonado the historian and the Cuencan author of De senectute christiana and other humanist works are not one and the same. This question, however, has been resolved to the present writer's satisfaction by Bataillon, who cites as evidence a passage from Hispaniola, in which Maldonado alludes to having written a history of the Comunidades in seven books, a clear reference to De motu Hispaniae: Erasmo, 216, n.8. H. L. Seaver gives Maldonado's birthdate as 'circa 1500', but this is impossible to reconcile with other chronological data: The Great Revolt in Castile. A Study of the Comunero Movement of 1520-1521, (London: Constable & Co., 1928), 366. The case for a date around 1485 was first made by Bataillon [Erasmo, 215, 329 n4] who has received support from Asensio: introduction, 18.

3 Fernandez Vargas [ introduction, 11] recommends a diligent search of the parish records, but none were kept before Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros instituted the practice in his own Archdiocese of Toledo in 1498: José Luis Martínez Sanz, "Una aproximacion a la documentacion de los archivos parroquiales de España," Hispania 46 (1986): 173-174.

4 La Revolución, 104; Paraenesis, 168. On the Maldonado family, see German Bleiberg, ed. Diccionario de Historia de España, 3 vols., (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968), 2:862-863. Like most Castilian noble families, the Maldonados had intermarried with Jews and/or conversos: Juan Ignacio Gutierrez Nieto, "Los conversos y el movimiento Comunero," Hispania 24 (1964): 245.
Asensio, introduction •, 18-19.

During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, the Salamanca Maldonados were as prominent in the academic and administrative affairs of the University as they were in city government: Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca, 6 vols. (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1970), 3:96-97. Dr. Rodrigo Maldonado de Talavera, grandfather of the Comunero martyr Francisco Maldonado, held the chair in Laws at Salamanca from 1469 to 1477.

Asensio suggests that a certain Antonio Maldonado de Ontiveros, a loyal agent of Charles V, may have been instrumental in arranging a production of Hispaniola for the Emperor's sister, Queen Leonora of Portugal, but gives no evidence for this conjecture: introduction •, 19.

Paraenesis, 168.


Paraenesis, 164. Maldonado's statement concerning the number of Latin grammar schools in Spain may seem exaggerated, but see Kagan, Students and Society, 42.

Paraenesis, 168.

Vicente de la Fuente, Historia de las universidades, colegios, y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España. Tomo I: Edad Media, (Madrid: Fuentenebro, 1885).

Kagan, Students and Society, 34-36; J. H. Elliot, Imperial Spain,


17 Round, "Renaissance Culture", 214.
See, for example, the letter from Pietro Martire to Ascanio Visconti in Russell, "Arms vs. Letters", 55.


21 If we assume that Maldonado was born around 1485, this seems a reasonable conjecture. In Maldonado's day, the average age of first-year students at Salamanca was between fourteen and sixteen, though there was considerable variability: Stephen Gilman, The Spain of Fernando de Rojas: The Intellectual and Social Landscape of 'La Celestina', (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 209.


300-303; Kagan, Lawsuits and Litigants, 141-145.


26 Kagan, Lawsuits and Litigants, 142; Kelley, History, V:179,183; VIII:128-29; According to Kelley [Foundations, 154-55], Agustín, who had studied with Alciato in Bologna, was, like his German predecessor Beatus Rhenanus, involved in the 'historicization' of Maldonado's specialty, canon law. According to George Addy, however, the curriculum in both civil and canon law at Salamanca remained "frozen" until the eighteenth century: The Enlightenment in the University of Salamanca, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966), 46.

27 Paraenesis, 168. According to Juan Alcina Rovira, Barbosa was Professor of Greek at Salamanca between 1495 and 1523: Paraenesis, 141, n 54; See also Bataillon, Erasmo, 19.


29 Asensio, introduction, 64-65.

30 Asensio, introduction, 64. On cátedras de regencia at Salamanca, see Addy, The Enlightenment, 14. According to the Salamancan faculty lists (libros de claustros), Flaminio was awarded his regencia on 12 January 1504: Olmedo, Nebrija, 46. Unfortunately, Flaminio was
to die within weeks of receiving a tenured professorship, the Chair of Rhetoric, in the spring of 1509: Beltrán, Cartulario, 3:210.


32 Paraenesis, 171.
33 Paraenesis, 180-81, 184.
34 Paraenesis, 170.
35 Paraenesis, 169.

38 Paraenesis, 150; Asensio, "Ciceronianos", 142.
39 Bataillon, Erasmo, 216.
40 Asensio, introduction, 17.
"Optimus magister amor", in *Opuscula quaedam*, (Burgos, 1549), quoted by Asensio, introduction, 72.

Asensio, introduction, 18.


On Jiménez de Cisneros and ecclesiastical reform, see José García Oro, *Cisneros y La Reforma del Clero Español en Tiempo de los Reyes Catolicos*, (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1971).


Perez, *La Revolución*, 58. On the history of the corregimiento, see Benjamin González Alonso, *El corregidor castellano (1348-1808)*, (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Administrativos, 1970), and for the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, Marvin Lunenfeld, "Governing the Cities of


52 Avilés, Sueños, 113-114.

53 Pérez, Revolución, 58. Osorio's appointments, especially those in Salamanca and Córdoba, were among the most important corregimientos in Castile: Manuel Fernández Álvarez, La España del Emperador Carlos V, Volume 20 of Historia de España, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 2nd ed., (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1979), 92-94.

54 Beltrán, Cartulario, 2:362-363; See also Cartulario, 3:34, 5:112-13.

55 Paraenesis, 173.

56 Francisco Cantera Burgos, Alvar García de Santa María y Su Fami- lia de Conversos: Historia de la Judería de Burgos y de sus Conversos más Egregios, (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1952), 513.

57 Serrano, Los conversos, 23; Cantera, Alvar García, 464.

58 On the oligarchical character of Castilian local government, see Adriana Bó and María del Carmen Carlé, "Cuando empieza a reservarse a los caballeros el gobierno de las ciudades castellanas," Cuadernos de Historia de España 4 (1946): 114-124.

59 Cantera, Alvar García, 473-475, 512.

60 Cantera, Alvar García, 75-76, 512. See also Teófilo F. Ruiz, "The

61 Cantera, Alvar Garcia, 513, 518-519 n35.


63 Cantera, Alvar Garcia, 472-473; Serrano, Los conversos, 164-165.

64 Don Pedro is said to have arranged the marriage as compensation for having killed, or at least seriously wounded, the bride's father, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, prestamero mayor of Vizcaya, at a tournament in Burgos in 1424: Cantera, Alvar Garcia, 470-471; Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas, Fray Íñigo de Mendoza y sus 'Coplas de Vita Christi', (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1968), 27-33. He also married his daughter Juana to the prestamero's son, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. The couple's only child was the Franciscan poet and sacred orator Íñigo de Mendoza, second cousin of Maldonado's patron: Cantera, Alvar Garcia, 559-570; Rodríguez-Puértolas, Fray Íñigo, 33-38. Tension between the two clans persisted through the 1430's [Cantera, Alvar Garcia, 140-144; Serrano, Los conversos, 159-161], but the alliance may explain why Maldonado enjoyed Mendoza patronage after Cartagena's death in 1525: Asensio, introduction, 22; Bataillon, Erasmo, 487.

65 Serrano, Los conversos, 204-205; Cantera, Alvar Garcia, 475.


69 Gonzalez, Burgos, 131-146. For the cultural consequences of commercial prosperity, see Ramon Carande, Carlos V y sus banqueros. La vida economica en Castilla (1516-1556), 2nd ed., (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1965), 271-272; Gonzalez, Burgos, 123-125, 135-141.

70 Asensio, introduction, 17-18.

71 Asensio, introduction, 19. The word criado, literally 'servant', designated all retainers in a noble household, regardless of the capacity in which they were employed. Jean-Marc Pelorson, for example, notes that private chaplains were called criados: Manuel Tuñon de Lara, ed. Historia de España. Tomo V: La Frustración de un Imperio (1476-1714), (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1982), 311.

72 Asensio, introduction, 21.

73 Asensio, introduction, 15. The identity of this school is uncertain. J. N. Hillgarth mentions a Latin grammar school popular with Burgalese clerics in the late fifteenth century: The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516. Volume II: 1410-1516, Castilian Hegemony, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 97. This may have been that established under Bishop Pablo de Santa Maria in 1440: Serrano, Los conversos, 252-253; Cf. Serrano, Los Reyes Catolicos, 24. A likely alternative is that Maldonado taught humanities at the Colegio de San Nicolas, founded by his patron Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Bishop of Burgos (1529-1535): Kagan, Students and
Society, 67.


76 Maldonado's letters to Erasmus may be found in P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen, eds. *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon, 1906-1958), 6:393-396 [no. 1742], 7:252-254 [no. 1908]. During the eighteenth century, the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Valladolid housed a bundle of autograph letters from Maldonado to "the most famous men of his time", including Nebrija, Vives and Virues, but this has since been lost: Asensio, introduction, 26-27.

77 Asensio, introduction, 72-73.


79 Bataillon, *Erasmo*, 216. The first and second editions, dated 1521 and 1525, are not extant, but there are at least two copies of the third (Burgos: Juan Junta, 1535), one at the Biblioteca Nacional and the other at the University of Zaragoza: Asensio, introduction, 22-23. On the plague, see Danvila, *Historia*, 1:96.
Lynn, A College Professor, 105; R. L. Grismer, The Influence of Plautus in Spain before Lope de Vega . . ., (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1944), 89-90.

Grismer, The Influence, 91.


Bataillon, Erasmo, 1-43.


Soriano, for example, refers to the Maldonado of Hispaniola as a "Salamancan Erasmian": Justo García Soriano, "El teatro del colegio en España," Boletín de la Real Academia Española 14 (1927): 242-243.


Bataillon has traced the subterranean influence of Erasmus' Praise of Folly in Spanish literature of the Golden Age: "Un probleme d'influence d'Erasme en Espagne. L'Eloge de la Folie," Actes du Congres Erasme (Rotterdam, 27-29 octobre 1969), (Amsterdam & London: North-Holland, 1971), 136-147. However, Asensio ['Ciceronianos', 143] finds that while there are a number of allusions to the Encomium Moriae, Maldonado's is the only explicit reference: Paraenesis, 166. Even in the Paraenesis, however, published in 1529 at the height of his 'Erasmian' period, Maldonado steers clear of the controversial religious and theological works, while heaping
praise on the *De copia* and the *De conscribendis epistolis* as modern manuals of rhetoric and eloquence comparable to the masterworks of Cicero and Quintilian: *Paraenesis*, 166-167. Bataillon [*Erasmo*, 216] and Asensio [introduction, 81-83] both suggest that Maldonado's Erasmianism was only skin-deep. Avilés goes farther, arguing that Maldonado and Osorio were cynical social-climbers, who simply followed intellectual fashions: *Sueños*, 116-120.

89 According to Bataillon [*Erasmo*, 72], Erasmus' first major supporter in Spain was the Abbot of Huisillos, García Bobadilla, who tried to convince Cisneros to hire him to work on the Complutensian Polyglot: the letter, dated 26 November 1516, can be found in Beltrán, *Cartulario*, 5:335-336. The first work of Erasmus to be published in Spain was the *Tratado o Sermon del niño Jesús*, printed in Seville in 1516, followed by the *Querela Pacis* of 1520: Bataillon, *Erasmo*, 86 n27. It seems unlikely that Maldonado knew either of these works in 1519-20, though recent work suggests that certain Spaniards were reading Erasmus as early as 1504: José Luis González Novalín, "Pedro Martir de Anglería y sus 'Triunviros' (1506-1522). Nuevas aportaciones al conocimiento de Erasmo y Lutero en España," *Hispania Sacra* 33 (1981): 143-197.


92 Hexter, *The Vision*, 95.

93 There are numerous references to Fonseca in two works by Manuel Gimenez Fernandez: *Bartolomé de las Casas*, 2 vols., (Seville: Escuela de

94 Bataillon, Erasmo, 215.
95 Danvila, Historia, 1:451.
CHAPTER TWO: *De motu Hispaniae* AS HUMANIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the preceding chapter, we sought, insofar as this is possible in the case of as shadowy a figure as Juan Maldonado, to chart the topography of the author's 'mental world' in 1524 or so, when he decided to write an account of the events which had so suddenly shattered the peace and tranquility of his life in Burgos.¹ In the present chapter, we shall try to show how in the composition of *De motu Hispaniae* Maldonado used conventions and techniques which he had absorbed from the Roman historians whose work had been a central component in his classical education at Salamanca. His familiarity with these sources will have been reinforced in his extra-curricular intercourse with Longueil and Flaminio, in regular conversations with his learned patron Don Diego Osorio, through his daily activity as a teacher of grammar and rhetoric, and through regular correspondence, almost certainly with Spanish humanists, and, quite possibly, with Erasmus.² But while there is a passage in *De motu Hispaniae* which hints at a familiarity with Erasmus' *Querela Pacis*, there is no indication that the Dutch reformer had any impact on Maldonado's historical discourse.³ The character of that discourse was largely determined by his classical sources, by the exigencies of contemporary history, and by his own subjective response to the Comunidades.

The natural starting point for any inquiry into a historical work is consideration of motive. Why did Juan Maldonado write history? And more importantly, why did he write this particular history? In the next chapter we will suggest that Maldonado may have had reasons for writing which are not made explicitly in the text. Those which are, however, reveal much about how he understood the project in which he was engaged.
Early in the first of the seven books into which De motu Hispaniae is divided, Maldonado rehearses a complaint which had already become something of a commonplace with Spanish historians, namely that Spaniards, traditionally more devoted to 'arms' than to 'letters', had been peculiarly remiss in recording the great deeds of their compatriots. The unhappy consequence of this historiographical neglect, according to Maldonado, had been that many illustrious heroes, "eminently worthy of remembrance", and a glorious history, equal in all respects to that of classical Rome, "have been lost in the mists of time". He goes on to declare his unwillingness to stand idly by while a similar fate befalls the events of the recent 'civil war'. Despite personal shortcomings, therefore, he has determined to preserve a record of the Comunidades, if only to encourage others to write contemporary history, and in the hope that later, more talented, historians will complete the task which he has begun.

Much of what Maldonado has to say on the relative merits of various kinds of historical writing follows directly from his basic conviction that Spaniards must keep a detailed record of the present if future generations are to be spared the ignominy of a forgotten past. It is in keeping with this end, for example, that he draws a rather invidious comparison between histories which recapitulate events in the distant past and those which recount events which occurred during the historian's own lifetime. Such rhetoric enhances the prestige of contemporary history in general, and of his own project in particular.

That Maldonado has his own enterprise in mind is indicated by the fact that from the outset he privileges a particular brand of contemporary
history, based not on documentary sources, but on eyewitness testimony, which he regards as the epistemologically unimpeachable foundation upon which all historical knowledge is built. On the opening page of De motu Hispaniae he claims that histories penned by eyewitnesses, or on the basis of first-hand accounts, are infinitely more valuable than those which chronicle events in the 'deep past'. These latter are normally no more than compilations, mere patchwork 'histories' constructed by stringing together snippets of information abstracted from the works of various 'authorities'. The historian who employs this method "may well win a reputation for himself by making a pompous display of his intellectual prowess; but he gives nothing of certainty to his readers, except that which was already present in his sources". Moreover, since their primary sources are inevitably of variable quality, such historians become the purveyors of "interminable narratives full of myths", incongruous amalgams compounded of more or less equal measures of truth and falsehood. (31)

Maldonado's dismissive rhetoric calls to mind what R. G. Collingwood terms 'scissors-and-paste' historiography, a methodology which arose, significantly enough, during the Hellenistic period, when men acquired a taste for 'world-histories', which "could not be written on the strength of testimony from living eyewitnesses". That Maldonado ascribes this methodology to the chroniclers he condemns suggests that he was directing his remarks at medieval historiography in general, which lacked effective methods of documentary criticism and frequently displayed an exaggerated (and misplaced) reverence for the testimony of accepted 'authorities'. While this may well be true, another comment leads one to suspect that
the targets of this diatribe can be identified with more precision. Maldonado indicates that these writers were animated by a desire to glorify their patria (31), which leads the present writer to believe that the object of his vilification was a particular tradition of hispanic historiography whose adepts employed a euhemeristic interpretation of myth in an attempt to endow Spain, or more exactly Castile, with a glorious 'classical' past. The architect of this tradition was the thirteenth-century chronicler Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, who traced the ruling Castilian dynasty back to Hercules, and it was continued in Maldonado's day by Florian de Ocampo, who accepted the equally fanciful inventions of Annius of Viterbo (Giovanni Nanni). Professor R. B. Tate, who has brilliantly traced the vicissitudes of this tradition, has clearly demonstrated its 'propaganda value' for a Castilian monarchy desperate to establish its 'continuity' with the Gothic, and even pre-Gothic, past. This kind of enterprise would clearly have been anathema to Maldonado, for whom such fabrications were proof of the degree to which Castilian historians had failed to fulfill their obligations to posterity.

To Juan Maldonado, whose mentor Flaminio Siculo had been raised on Sallust, such tissues of lies must have seemed pale substitutes for a lost national legacy. In De motu Hispaniae he suggests that what Castile needs are not accounts of the distant past, which are no more valuable than the dubious sources upon which they rely, but richly textured contemporary histories, written by eyewitnesses, or on the basis of eyewitness testimony. Only these latter could insure that the deplorable impoverishment of the Castilian past did not continue into the next generation. As we
have already suggested, Maldonado was appealing here to an idea of history which was firmly rooted in classical antiquity, a fact of which he was undoubtedly aware. The ancients were, after all, principally concerned to record the actions of living men, and relegated large segments of the past, especially the 'deep past', to the realm of myth.\textsuperscript{10} Herodotus, for example, recommended that his fellow historians practice what he called 'autopsy', which amounted to "being present at the events instead of reporting what other people said".\textsuperscript{11} The 'father of history' was doing no more than commend historia, which for the ancient Greeks meant "that which one knows through having witnessed it".\textsuperscript{12} Maldonado was doubtless sensitive to the fact that it was the assiduousness with which the historians of classical Rome had recorded the accomplishments of their contemporaries which had provided Renaissance Italians with a past which required not invention but simply systematic recovery. While he could do nothing to remedy past negligence, Maldonado was determined that the Comunidades of Castile, surely "the biggest news story of the age"\textsuperscript{13}, would not be lost to posterity for want of a chronicler.

Maldonado's account of the rebellion, at least so far as events in Burgos are concerned, is overwhelmingly that of an eyewitness, though he must have supplemented his own experience with oral reports from others whom he considered reliable witnesses. Pedro de Cartagena, for example, will have kept him posted on meetings of the municipal council, while his friendship with Diego Osorio is doubtless responsible for the fact that he was especially well-informed on the comings and goings of Bishop Acuña. Cartagena and Osorio may also have kept him abreast of news from
elsewhere in Castile, for while Maldonado seems to have remained in Burgos throughout the revolt, the Lord of Olmillos was one of the city's representatives to the rebel junta and Osorio was corregidor of the Andalusian city of Córdoba. Another possible source of information were the relaciones de sucesos, rudimentary newspapers which circulated freely in Castile during this period. Since Maldonado himself is silent on the subject, the only thing which seems reasonably certain is that he had very limited access to written sources. In fact, he includes only one piece of documentary evidence: a letter to Charles V from the city of Burgos, expressing dissatisfaction with Cisneros' plans for a citizen militia, the gente de ordenanza. (49-52)

While it is impossible to identify the criteria which Maldonado employed in classifying and evaluating the reliability of the oral reports he received, we know that he was positively contemptuous of at least one variety of oral 'testimony' - popular opinion. Maldonado dutifully records a number of the many rumours which circulated during the Comunidades, indeed he was alone among his contemporaries in recognizing that at least some of them formed part of deliberate campaigns of "psychological warfare". The widespread use of propaganda by both sides in the civil war was certainly one reason for Maldonado's mistrust of popular opinion, but there was also another, more fundamental, cause. According to Maldonado, 'experience', 'the testimony of history', and 'the most knowledgeable authors', all testify to the worthlessness of popular opinion. The ignorant masses (el vulgo) do not render rational judgements based on the evidence of their senses, but simply mask the truth by couching their own
desires and fears in the language of infallible certainty. (59) Guided by their passions rather than by the light of reason, the popular classes, at least en masse, were constitutionally unreliable witnesses.

The passage cited above is only one of many in *De motu Hispaniae* which suggest that Maldonado, whatever other objections he had to the standard Salamancan curriculum, shared the realist epistemology of what would come to be known as the 'Salamancan school' of jurist-theologians. These writers - the major figures were Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto and Francisco Suarez - stressed what one modern writer has called "the cognitive authority of consensus", namely that the truth of our perceptions is guaranteed by God, and the nature of reality will be evident to all rational men whose faculties have not been clouded over by their passions. Maldonado clearly regarded himself as a rational man, and considered that human reason, unimpaired by passion and affective attachments, was the essential tool of the historian's craft. The historian ought to be "the impartial judge of the facts" (35), beholden to none and committed only to the dispassionate relation of the historical truth, to describing "the bare facts, just as they happened". (57) The ideal historian is a perfectly detached observer, who must shun any emotional attachments which might impair his ability to render an objective and unbiased account of events. Even the natural affection which men feel for the nation of their birth, their patria, is dangerous for the historian, whose overriding obligation is to the truth. (103-104)

There are good reasons to doubt whether Maldonado, or any other historian for that matter, was ever able to achieve this degree of de-
tachment. Consideration of the circumstances under which De motu Hispaniae was composed, however, reveals that Maldonado's obvious confidence in his own impartiality was not entirely unjustified. It would seem, for example, that the credibility of his account is only enhanced by the fact that unlike most others who wrote histories of the Comunidades, Maldonado was not a royal historiographer (cronista). For while Felix Gilbert may well be correct when he asserts that the "practical aims" of the public historiographers of the Renaissance "demanded a certain amount of factual detail and accuracy", it is also true that histories written at the behest of reigning monarchs by salaried employees are unlikely to be entirely disinterested. Despite the personal integrity of many cronistas, those who held such a post certainly ran the risk of becoming apologists, if not outright propagandists, for the existing regime. Hillgarth, for example, has shown that the propaganda interests of Castilian monarchs have been only too willingly served by their royal historiographers. As an 'amateur', Maldonado could not be placed in a position similar to that of the cronista Alfonso de Palencia, whose account of the Cortes of Toledo (1480) was ordered censored by Isabel the Catholic, who favoured the more 'pliable' Hernando de Pulgar. There are indications in De motu Hispaniae that Maldonado did in fact aspire to a position as royal historiographer, but while a post at court would undoubtedly have given him greater access to relevant documentation, it would also have compromised his ability to interpret this evidence as he saw fit. Maldonado's relative anonymity, and his marginality to the events unfolding around him in 1520-21, inspire a certain degree of confidence in his
professions of suprapartisanship, though as we shall see when we examine the factual content of *De motu Hispaniae* in more detail, those working at court had no monopoly on ulterior motives.

While Maldonado was acutely conscious of the degree to which various forms of emotive bias had distorted the accounts of other historians, he never seems to have questioned his own ability to observe and record dispassionately. He apparently believed that just as his 'amateur status' isolated him from the pressures which beset the *cronista*, his commitment to the truth shielded him from the distortions which can invade the histories of those motivated by chauvinism, vanity or ambition. Maldonado wanted to unveil 'the bare facts, just as they happened', and our brief discussion of his epistemological realism was intended to demonstrate the accuracy of Reinhart Koselleck's observation that such *topoi*, commonly encountered in early modern historiography, reveal a "naive realism [which drew] primarily on eyewitnesses (less on 'earwitnesses') whose presence guarantees the truth of history". The evidence of *De motu Hispaniae* strongly suggests that Maldonado shared this conviction.

Unlike historians who write of the 'deep past', those who chronicle the 'shallow past' labour in the knowledge that their judgements must bear up under the scrutiny of others who were present at the events they describe, or who witnessed events which they have described on the basis of oral testimony. The contemporary historian, Maldonado tells us, "can neither lie nor be carried away by passion, since he knows that his readers will have witnessed the happenings he describes and will either praise his historiographical merits or reproach his shortcomings". (31)
Maldonado considered that this potential for 'feedback' from living eyewitnesses served as a powerful incentive to historiographical veracity. It is worth noting in this connection that in Maldonado's day the new technology of print was working what has been called a "communications revolution" in Castile, and indeed throughout *De motu Hispaniae* Maldonado writes like a man whose work was on the verge of publication.27 As we know, however, he decided against releasing it to the public. Since we also know that his claim to have been revising the work is false, one might well wonder why, given what he says concerning the importance of eyewitness criticism, he chose not to place *De motu Hispaniae* before the tribunal of his contemporaries. The answer, it seems to me, can be found in the climate of opinion which prevailed in Castile in the wake of the Comunidades.

As we have seen, Maldonado was of the opinion that 'the passions' interfered with the ability to reason objectively, and he was only too aware that during the middle and late 1520's the passions aroused during the recent 'civil war' were still riding high:

> How well I know the doubtful and uncertain fate to which I expose my reputation in writing of civil war at a time when any account is certain to fall into the hands of both victors and vanquished.

Since his readership would include individuals who had been active partisans of both parties in the recent conflict, he wagered that the chances were slim that even the most judicious account would convince all concerned of his neutrality. (57) Therefore rather than venture into the maelstrom of recriminations, accusations, retribution and downright
hypocrisy which was post-revolutionary Castile, Maldonado decided to wait until the emotional temperature had dropped to the point where a fair assessment of his work became possible. 28 (27)

When Maldonado released *De motu Hispaniae*, he was undoubtedly convinced that the facts therein would 'speak for themselves' to any unprejudiced reader. Philosophers of history, however, have rightly questioned one of the central premisses upon which this confidence was based, namely the notion that the historian is a 'camera with the lens open', a dispassionate fact-gatherer who simply transcribes 'the bare facts, just as they happened'. Hayden White and others have argued that because the facts themselves are neutral, the historian must, in the interests of communication and edification, introduce formal elements which identify them as figuring 'a story of a particular kind':

[T]he historian must draw upon a fund of culturally provided mythoi in order to constitute the facts as figuring a story of a particular kind, just as he must appeal to that same fund of mythoi in the minds of his readers to endow his account of the past with the odor of meaning and significance. 29

Professor R. B. Tate made a similar point in a recent article on the fifteenth-century historian Alfonso de Palencia. He draws attention to how Palencia, acting as "moral judge", imposes a form on his material ('emplots it', as White would say), such that we perceive Castilian history between 1440 and 1490 as a gradual and unbroken ascent from chaos to order. Among Tate's conclusions is that

what really matters in these historical texts is not their conformity with a particular objective standard of truth, but the way in
which the material is 'emplotted' according to certain forms, arguments or sequences, or if one prefers: myths. 30

'What really matters' in a historical text will depend upon the questions being asked about it, but clearly among the things which matter is the way in which the author has constructed his narrative so as to convey to a selected audience a certain impression of what the facts 'say'. It is to this aspect of De motu Hispaniae that we will now turn our attention.

The problem of form, central to all historiography beyond mere annals, confronts the contemporary historian in a particularly insistent way. 31 The present and the recent past present themselves to us with an opaque-ness which seems to elude description. Events within the span of living memory often remain imperfectly 'historicized', that is, they have not yet been endowed with the cognitively reassuring illusion of transparency which comes from having been firmly placed within an accepted 'pattern' of past occurrences. Maldonado's predicament was especially difficult. The task of giving a recognizable shape to the chaotic events of 1520-21 must have seemed a daunting enterprise, one which demanded that he devote as much attention to structure as to content. In fact, the most immediately striking aspect of De motu Hispaniae is the originality of its structure. Maldonado adopts a form which is, so far as the present writer has been able to determine, sui generis: an unprecedented discursive amalgam, compounded of historical narrative and an equally venerable form of written discourse which had already attracted the attention of a large number of his humanist contemporaries - the dialogue.

The seven books of De motu Hispaniae correspond to seven consecutive
days, during which the author engages in often animated conversation with a group of pilgrims, who have taken up temporary residence in the convent of Santa Maria la Real ('Las Huelgas') near Burgos, a popular stopover on the 'French Road' to the shrine at Santiago de Compostela. The parties in Maldonado's dialogue are three foreigners - a Frenchman, a German and an Italian - and a fellow Castilian, the Toledan, that is, a man from the city of Toledo in central Spain. The subjects range widely, but the lengthiest digressions are relegated to the beginning and end of each book, the central portion being given over to monothematic exposition, as the narrator, egged on by his companions, tells the story of the recent 'movement of Spain'. Most of our analysis in the present chapter will be devoted to Maldonado's 'oral' discourse, but before we look at the historical narrative itself, we need to understand why he took the unprecedented step of grafting it onto, or more precisely imbedding it in, a conversation.

Some aspects of the dialogue are intelligible only if we assume that Maldonado intended *De motu Hispaniae* to reach an audience beyond Spain. In fact, Maldonado's audience seems to have been nothing less that the 'Republic of Letters', a cosmopolitan community united by a common education and, above all, by a common language - classical Latin. He wrote not a single word in the vernacular, and the reason is clear: he considered the Latin of classical Rome to be the language of posterity (more on this later) and the language of humanism, a movement which transcended national boundaries. According to Maldonado,

the Latin tongue travels the world, it unites all
provinces, such that those who understand it, though they may travel the world over, feel as if they have never left their own patria, since everywhere they meet others who, because they speak Latin, can converse with them as easily as with one of their own compatriots. 32

By writing in Latin, Maldonado displayed his independence from the trend toward the vernacular which gathered strength after the publication of Nebrija's Castilian grammar in 1492. He also seems to have rejected the notion that the Castilian dialect, which had already conquered the Spanish-speaking areas on the peninsula, was likewise the 'perfect instrument' for Spanish imperialism abroad. 33 For Maldonado, classical Latin remained a viable alternative to Babel, and his confidence is typical of a generation which had not yet witnessed the study of Cicero's vehicle degenerate into Father Ong's 'Renaissance puberty rite', divorced from the vernacular commerce of daily life and relegated to the schools and to written culture. 34 In De motu Hispaniae, the German, the Italian, and the Frenchman are clearly humanists, who can converse with each other, and with Maldonado, in his persona as the narrator, thanks to their knowledge of classical Latin, the lingua franca of international humanism.

While the three foreigners are ostensibly pilgrims, they behave more like tourists, who have come to Spain "to visit its most illustrious cities", to investigate Spanish customs, and to inquire into the whereabouts of classical ruins. (33) Maldonado's adoption of the dialogue format and his inclusion of this group of inquisitive visitors permits him to dwell on aspects of Spanish life, culture and geography which would presumably have been common knowledge among his educated compatriots. He devotes,
for example, two pages to a discussion of Spanish taxation (60-61), and gives a brief account of the structure of local government. (84) These topics are clearly relevant to his central theme, as is the longest of his excurses, a disquisition on Castilian geography and climate. (86-90) For Maldonado's 'geography lesson' is straightforward and unadorned, related not so much to the medieval Laudes Hispaniae of Isidore of Seville and 'Vincentius Hispanus', which rhapsodize about the unequalled abundance of the Castilian landscape, as to the Sallustian convention of describing the terrain on which battles are to be fought. Maldonado is especially attentive to satisfying the visiting humanists', and presumably his humanist readers', curiosity about the geography of the peninsula in classical times, and his remarks show him to have been unusually well-informed on the subject of ancient geography.

The dialogue not only allows Maldonado to describe 'the Blessed Lady Spain', but also to defend her against certain prevalent falsehoods concerning Spaniards and their customs. For Maldonado, this was especially necessary with respect to the Italians, whose condescending attitude toward their beloved patria had rankled Spanish humanists from Ruy Sánchez de Arévalo to Antonio de Nebrija. Maldonado, of course, had seen such arrogance first-hand under his respected preceptor Flaminio Siculo. Particularly galling was the Italian habit of referring to all Spaniards, regardless of religion, as 'Jews' or marranos, a practice which took hold after 1492, when many expelled Spanish Jews took refuge in Italy. As a cleric, Maldonado would have been acutely sensitive to an epithet which carried with it the suggestion that Spaniards, many of whom were
descendants of converts from Judaism and Islam, were not entirely committed to the dogma of the Trinity. He explains that the etymology of the word *marrano* - a corruption of the Aramaic *marhanata*, 'The Lord Cometh' - clearly indicates that it is properly applied only to 'judaizing' conversos, insincere converts who secretly practice the faith of their fathers. According to Maldonado, the Spaniards can only see irony in the application of the term *marrano* to a people so assiduous in rooting out and exterminating the 'false Christians' in their midst. He takes great satisfaction in suggesting that the word would be better applied to the Italians and the French who, for reasons both political and economic, don't care to inquire into the sincerity of Jewish conversions to Christianity. (76-78)

Eugenio Asensio has suggested two quite different reasons for Maldonado's adoption of the dialogue form, a form which was, as he rightly points out, a radical departure from historiographical precedent. Maldonado, it is argued, chose this form in order "to dramatise the hidden thoughts of rebels and royalists, to reveal their confused feelings in elegant speeches". Thus the dialogue helped him make sense of the chaotic "raw material" of civil war by "placing the factual series in an aesthetic perspective". In addition, according to Asensio, Maldonado will have perceived the advantage of being able "to voice opinions without taking full responsibility [for them]".

The present writer finds neither of these arguments very convincing. Asensio is certainly correct when he asserts that Maldonado uses *oratio recta* (direct speech) to reveal the ideas and emotions which animated combatants on both sides of the recent conflict. Unfortunately, however,
an examination of the text reveals that these 'elegant speeches' are found not in the dialogue, where little is revealed concerning the mental processes of 'rebels and royalists', but in the narrative itself. The sole exception are the comments made by the Toledan, which represent, it seems to me, Maldonado's attempt to articulate the essentially conservative 'ideology' of the Comunero rank-and-file. The Toledan's speech, however, is intentionally crude rather than elegant and his views, contrary to what some have maintained, are manifestly not those of the author. In any case, neither the Toledan's views, nor the author's own, quite distinct, opinions, were such as would have drawn criticism from the Holy Office, surely the prospect which led Asensio to suggest that Maldonado had an interest in distancing himself from them. As for Asensio's other point, the present writer agrees with him that Maldonado felt the need to bring order out of the chaos of civil war, but in De motu Hispaniae the ordering mechanism is not, as he suggests, the dialogue, but once again the historical narrative itself. As we hope to show, Maldonado employed many of the conventions of Roman and Renaissance historiography in constructing his account of the Comunidades, thereby insuring that his humanist readership would see, not a meaningless factual series, but 'a story of a particular kind', in this case, a Sallustian bellum civile. But before we examine Maldonado's narrative in detail, we should look at the historiographical setting in which it appeared.

The most comprehensive attempt to analyse the historiographical traditions at work in early modern Castile has been made by Helen Nader, who, as we said earlier, divides Castilian historians into two distinct, indeed
mutually exclusive, 'schools'. The first of these - Nader calls them the letrados - reflected the ideology of the 'lettered' class (university graduates with advanced degrees in canon and/or civil law) and developed a historiographical model based on medieval scholastic ideals. The historical writing of Nader's second group of historians, the caballeros, incorporated the political and social assumptions of the Castilian aristocracy, a social group characterized less by unsullied bloodlines than by its military functions and by acceptance of the chivalric honour code of the late medieval nobility.\(^{42}\) Whereas the historiography of the letrados exalted the king above the nobility, the caballeros regarded "themselves and the monarchy as partners in a secular, aristocratic and particularist government." The former group wrote in Latin and produced historical works which stood in the providentialist tradition of the Spanish Middle Ages, while the latter wrote in the vernacular for the unlettered nobility and took as models "the humanist histories of their Florentine contemporaries".\(^{43}\) The most prominent members of the letrado school were the Burgalese conversos Don Pablo de Santa Maria (1350-1435) and his son Alfonso de Cartagena (1384-1456). Nader also includes two of the latter's students, Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo (1404-1470) and Alfonso de Palencia (1423-1490). Notable caballeros were Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407), Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (c. 1377-1460), and Diego de Valera (1412-1488).

With reference to the period which concerns us here, Nader argues that the providentialist letrado model triumphed absolutely under the Catholic Monarchs, and that as a result, "[t]he rejected caballero concept of politics and history - with all its Renaissance characteristics - remained
neglected throughout the sixteenth century." To be precise, she maintains that "from the composition of [Diego de] Valera's *Memorial de diversas hazañas* in 1488 until the publication of don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's *De la Guerra de Granada* [1627] . . ., no caballero histories or treatises were published in Castile."\(^4^4\) While Professor Nader's work has much to recommend it, such generalizations concerning the historical writing of the Spanish 'Golden Age' are in need of revision. Within her scheme, a work such as Juan Maldonado's *De motu Hispaniae* appears as an inexplicable anomaly, neither unambiguously letrado nor caballero. Given his letrado training, for example, Maldonado should, according to Nader, have subscribed to the 'scholastic ideals' which informed the historical writing of the Middle Ages. An examination of *De motu Hispaniae*, however, reveals few, if any, affinities with medieval historiography.

Recent work on the historians of the European Middle Ages has brought to light a richness and variety which makes generalization both difficult and dangerous.\(^4^5\) There exists, nonetheless, a large degree of consensus on the general traits which characterised European historiography between the fall of Rome and the Renaissance. One such trait is a poor sense of 'anachronism' with respect to the civilizations of classical Greece and Rome. Thus while medieval historians were certainly not ignorant of pagan antiquity, their methods and aims led them to emphasise continuity rather than discontinuity with the classical past. John Pocock, for example, makes the point that "medieval thought was fully as obsessed with the importance of classical antiquity as was the thought of the Renaissance"; medieval scholars, however, adopted methods of analysis which led to "an imaginative
conflation of the life of antiquity with the life of the contemporary world". Thus there is nothing particularly 'modern' about employing classical models in the writing of history. What distinguished Renaissance historians from their predecessors was a new 'sense of the past', a new appreciation for the distance between themselves and the classical world. While there are, as we have seen, indications that Juan Maldonado shared this sense of anachronism, no firm conclusions on this score can be reached on the basis of De motu Hispaniae, which chronicles a contemporary event and hence has nothing to say concerning the 'deep past'. We are on firmer ground, however, when we compare Maldonado's work with that of the contemporary historians of the Middle Ages.

During the medieval period, the task of recording contemporary events fell, largely by default, to the clergy, whose ideas on such historiographical fundamentals as causation and periodization were thoroughly coloured by their religious training. Medieval Spain is no exception in this respect, though peninsular chroniclers were rarely menial clerks and more often ecclesiarchs such as Isidore of Seville, Julian of Toledo and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. While these historians did not regard men as 'mere puppets', there is little question but that the supernatural played a more significant causal role in their histories than in those of Renaissance historians, who favoured more naturalistic principles of causation. Thus while Bernard Guenée has recently defended medieval historians against the charge that they failed to appreciate causal laws, he is nonetheless forced to concede that more often than not they resorted to an amalgam of the terrestrial and the supernal in explaining events. Studies of medieval
Spanish historiography reveal a similar tendency. The clerical voca-
tion of most medieval chroniclers is similarly evident in their approach
to the problem of periodization. Even contemporary historians felt the
need to justify 'innovation', that is, the relation of modern events,
by inserting them within the preternatural framework of Augustine's
'Six Ages' or the 'Four Monarchies' described in the Book of Daniel.

Though Juan Maldonado was, like most of his medieval predecessors,
a cleric, De motu Hispaniae suggests that he had emancipated himself from
the otherworldly focus of Augustinian historiography and aligned himself
with a cultural movement convinced that the City of Man was at least as
important as the City of God. Maldonado, for example, never invokes the
supernatural as an explanatory principle. Instead, he seeks what he calls
"the causes of events" (32), by which he means just those 'middle-range
explanations' so often spurned by medieval chroniclers, for whom the
diety was the formal, if not always the efficient cause of everything
which occurred in the sublunary realm. For Maldonado, as for humanists
elsewhere in Europe, the 'raw material' of historiography were res gesta
(roughly equivalent to the Castilian hazañas), the exemplary deeds of
human agents whose behavior is explained in terms of natural, human, and
less frequently, social processes. In De motu Hispaniae, Maldonado
makes no attempt to locate the events he describes within a specious set
of 'Ages' or 'Monarchies' or, like Isidore of Seville, within a Biblical
time-frame extending from the Creation to the Last Days. There are no
traces here of Heilegeschichte, the history of man's salvation in time,
as it was written by medieval monks, or as it continued to be written in
Renaissance Italy. In short, *De motu Hispaniae*, is remarkably secular history, no less 'this-worldly' in fact that the work of Maldonado's more famous Italian contemporaries, Machiavelli and Guicciardini.

Yet another indication of Maldonado's secular approach to historiography is the fact that *De motu Hispaniae* is utterly devoid of the providentialism which permeates the work of Castilian medieval chroniclers. Since providentialism is also central to the work of Nader's *letrado* historians, its absence in Maldonado is perhaps the clearest indication that he cannot be associated with this historiographical school. The full significance of this fact can only be appreciated, however, if we first look at the role which providentialism played in Castilian historiography from the late Middle Ages through the Golden Age.

With respect to the latter period, J. H. Elliot has argued persuasively that sixteenth-century Castilians were given to interpreting their nation's history in distinctly providentialist terms. Elliot argues for the existence of "a powerful strain of messianic nationalism", according to which, Castilians were

> the chosen people of the Lord, especially selected to further His grand design - a design naturally cast in cosmic terms as the conversion of the infidel, the extirpation of heresy, and the eventual establishment of the kingdom of Christ on earth.

For those who shared this vision, the devastating series of reverses which struck Castile in the late 1580's and 1590's were interpreted as meaning that "Castile had provoked the divine wrath, and was paying the price of its sins".58

As we have had cause to remark, however, and as Elliot himself is
certainly aware, this kind of 'messianic nationalism' has much deeper roots in Castilian history— as deep, some would say, as Orosius and Eusebius, whose Christian chronicles served as models during the early Middle Ages. It is clearly visible in Visigothic historiography, and in chronicles of the reconquista, the Christian reconquest of Moorish Spain, in which a providential aura surrounds the person of the monarch, who came to be seen as the 'instrument of God', destined to rid Spain of unbelievers. After the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) brought a temporary halt to the southward march of the reconquista, the providentialist motif went into eclipse until the fifteenth century, when it was sedulously restored to currency by a group of 'Neo-Ididorian' historians closely associated with the Castilian crown. Most of these historians were conversos, a group which had a clear interest in enhancing the protective power of the monarch in an age of mounting persecution. Converso influence may also account for the Old Testament imagery which Elliot notes in the work of their Golden Age successors, for it was this group, Nader's letrados, which bequeathed the providentialist mode of historical writing to the sixteenth century.

Without a doubt, the apex of the providentialist trend in Castilian historiography was reached during the age of the Catholic Monarchs. In a study of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, R. B. Tate describes the atmosphere of messianic expectation which accompanied their coronation:

[The] belief that the nation had been chosen by God to fulfill some part of a providential design gathers momentum as the fifteenth century unfolds. Just before and immediately after the beginning of the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, the air is heavy with prophecies of an undefined future grand-
Whereas Árévalo located Castile's grandeur in the hazy future, his immediate successors - Tate mentions Palencia, Valera, Pulgar and Lucio Marineo but one might add Bernaldez and even Nebrija to the list - were convinced that they were witnessing the fulfillment of their nation's providential destiny. The restoration of order following the turbulent reign of Enrique IV, the discovery of the New World, the expulsion of the Jews, and especially the completion of the reconquista with the conquest of Granada in 1492, seemed clear signs of divine favour. Even the normally staid Fernán Pérez de Guzmán thought he saw the Hand of God behind the accomplishments of Ferdinand and Isabel.

Why then is there no evidence of this providential fervour in the work of Juan Maldonado? While messianic hopes had certainly cooled somewhat, they were still very much alive, especially during the Comunidades, when millenial dreams once again surrounded the figure of the Castilian monarch. Nor can Maldonado have been unfamiliar with the providentialist tradition in historiography, especially given his close association with Pedro de Cartagena, a descendent, as we have seen, of two of its architects, Pedro de Santa María and Alfonso de Cartagena. And yet though as a cleric Maldonado must have had ideas about the workings of Divine Providence, the Hand of God is, with a few minor exceptions, conspicuously absent from De motu Hispaniae.

Though the evidence is far from conclusive, Maldonado, like Nader's caballeros and humanist historians elsewhere in Europe, seems to have preferred the classical alternative to Providence, Fortune, a distinctly
less comforting notion, and one with which Christians were distinctly uncomfortable. In an attempt to dispel the ambivalence which surrounded Providence and Fortune, many of Maldonado's European contemporaries used the terms interchangeably, thereby creating a kind of "Christianized Fortune". The Castilian historians Hernando de Pulgar and Andres Bernaldez, for example, would "attribute the same event to Providence that a few lines before had been attributed to Fortune". Though Maldonado never adopts this strategy, he was sufficiently distressed by the 'pagan' connotations of *fortuna* to equate it, on one occasion, with "the judgments of Divine Providence". This seems little more than a gesture, however. Maldonado employs the notion of Fortune throughout *De motu Hispaniae*, and indeed the whimsical pagan goddess seems to control the action, which unfolds according to chance rather than according to some preordained divine plan. There is certainly no suggestion that Charles V or the Castilian people have a special role to play in God's providential design.

The best explanation for this, it seems to me, is that for Maldonado, who had witnessed the turbulent return to disorder which followed the death of Isabel the Catholic in 1504, the Hand of God was harder to discern behind the destiny of Castile than it had been for Pulgar and Bernaldez. The plunge into civil war in 1520 must have seemed the natural outcome of some sixteen years of dynastic uncertainty, aristocratic factionalism and popular unrest. Though only the recovery of Maldonado's youthful history of the Catholic Monarchs would provide conclusive evidence, the references to Ferdinand and Isabel in *De motu Hispaniae* suggest
that like most of his Castilian contemporaries he looked upon their reign as something of a 'Golden Age' of achievement and virtuous government. He certainly saw his own age as one of 'decline' (more on this later). It is significant, therefore, that he did not respond to the 'crisis' of 1520-21 the way a future generation of Castilians would respond to another 'crisis', that of the 1580's and 1590's (see above, 71). Even more significant if one considers that there were those who sought to interpret the Comunidades in providentialist terms as a crusade, as simply one more installment in the historic struggle between Christian and infidel. In *De motu Hispaniae*, the Prior of San Juan, Antonio de Zuñiga, and the Dominican friar Juan Hurtado de Mendoza appear as fanatical royalists who see the Comuneros as diabolical infidels, bent on subverting the divinely-ordained social order. Another violent partisan in the conflict, Bishop Antonio de Acuña, assures an audience of campesinos near Palencia that "a glorious victory" for the Comuneros will reveal "which of the two causes in most beloved by Christ". (186)

Maldonado, however, clearly saw that the history of an internecine struggle which pitted one Catholic army against another could scarcely be written in these manichaean terms, as a battle between the forces of light and the forces of darkness, between Christian and infidel. In 1520-21, God was not unambiguously on the side of either party, and indeed Maldonado never implies that this was the case. *De motu Hispaniae* reflects his recognition that the rebellion of the Comunidades was an event without precedent in Castilian history, one which required a new kind of historiography which could supply guidelines for the interpretation of a bellum
Following the advice of his master Flaminio, Maldonado returned *ad fontes*, and shaped his account of the Comunidades in conformity with the models and precepts he discovered in his classical sources. *De motu Hispaniae* is, by any definition, an example of humanist historiography, and as such it creates serious difficulties for those who argue that this genre was absent from sixteenth-century Castile.

Whereas Nader's distinction between *letrado* and *caballero* traditions is, with certain minor reservations, an accurate enough description of Castilian historiography during the fifteenth century, it breaks down completely when we consider a work like *De motu Hispaniae*, a humanist history written in Latin by a *letrado*. This dissolution can only be explained, it seems to me, with reference to the somewhat anomalous intellectual climate which prevailed in the 'open Spain' of the early sixteenth century. Before this period, university-trained *letrados* had little or exposure to the *studia humanitatis*, so that humanist historiography was the preserve of the *caballeros*, men of affairs who worked outside the universities and modelled their historical work on classical authors whose ideals flattered the political pretensions of the Castilian aristocracy. Unlike his *letrado* predecessors, however, Juan Maldonado received a solid grounding in the *studia humanitatis*, and indeed spent the remainder of his life teaching humane letters in Burgos, a city remarkable for its openness to intellectual currents flowing from elsewhere in Europe. His sympathy with the educational goals of the humanists stands in stark contrast to the hostility displayed by fifteenth-century *letrados* like the historian Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo, who opposed early exposure to
the *studia humanitatis* on the grounds that this was likely to warp impressionable young minds. In the educational treatise *De Remediis*, Arevalo advised "the postponement of the teaching of secular and pagan classics until after a period of religious instruction, so that youth would not be led astray". Maldonado, by contrast, recommends that children be introduced to classical authors at the earliest possible age, and the *Paraenesis* makes no provision at all for prophylactic religious instruction.

Given his lifelong devotion to the study and teaching of the *studia humanitatis*, it should come as no surprise that in writing his account of the Comunidades Maldonado incorporated elements drawn from the work of the classical, and especially Roman, historians so admired by the humanist intelligentsia of his day. Whereas medieval European educators considered history a 'trivial' subject, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius, Sallust and other classical historians were central to the Renaissance revision of the liberal arts curriculum. We will suggest shortly that the influence of Sallust is especially evident in *De motu Hispaniae*. For the present, however, we shall deal in more general terms with those aspects of the work which indicate an unmistakable affinity between Maldonado's ideas on history and historiography and those of humanist historians elsewhere in Europe.

Earlier we dwelt at some length on the unusual 'hybrid' structure of *De motu Hispaniae*, but in attempting to account for Maldonado's use of dialogue, we deliberately postponed discussion of the consideration which seems to have been uppermost in the mind of the author himself. On one of the rare occasions when he breaks the continuity of his historical narrative with a digression, Maldonado apologizes for the interruption, but the
Italian assures him that he needn't worry about having violated the "laws of history", since such informative interjections are among the most laudable features of classical historiography. (61-62) The Italian speaks here as one familiar with Renaissance historians, who applied the expression 'the laws of history' not to patterns in history itself, but to the canons and conventions which governed the writing of what they called 'true history'; history, that is, which conformed with classical prescriptions concerning form and content.\(^7\) Guicciardini, for instance, frequently apologized when he felt he had transgressed the laws of history, and both he and Maldonado undoubtedly acquired their conception of leges historiae from Cicero, considered the authoritative source on the subject.\(^8\) The particular statute at issue here states that histories ought to be 'monographic'. Unlike the 'scissors-and-paste' encyclopaedists of the Middle Ages, who frequently exerted little critical control over their material, humanist historians from Leonardo Bruni onwards sought to emulate the rhetorician, who chose a theme and developed it systematically, rejecting as irrelevant such pieces of information as did not bear directly upon it.\(^9\) Maldonado's apology indicates that, like Bruni and Guicciardini, he accepted and strove to adhere to this formal ideal. Though, as the Italian points out, there are classical precedents for digressions within the body of the narrative, Maldonado evidently felt that by adopting the dialogue form he could keep these interruptions to a minimum by devoting the central portion of each book to the systematic development of his chosen theme, the 'movement of Spain'.\(^10\)

The way in which Maldonado develops this theme shows that he adhered
to the 'exemplar theory of history', whose popularity among Renaissance historians has frequently been noted. Less often noted is the fact that this theory is itself inextricably linked to a more fundamental belief in the insuperable didactic value of 'experience'. One of the few to have recognized the importance of this concept in our period is J. G. A. Pocock, who lists 'experience' as one of the 'conceptualizing modes' through which late medieval man understood "the particular, the local, the transitory", in short, the historical. He defines it as that which

empowered men to react to the particular situation or contingent happening, to remember their reaction and how it had turned out, and to react, when next the situation or one like it recurred, in a way fortified and enlightened by recollection. 84

In De motu Hispaniae, there are indications that, like the classical and Renaissance practitioners of 'exemplary history', Maldonado regarded experience, and not abstract precepts, as 'the best teacher'. In another excursus, for example, he tells of the tragic expedition to the island of Gelves, in which four hundred Castilian soldiers lost their lives. (64-66) While the commander, Garcia de Toledo, displayed many martial virtues, his youthful inexperience led to an error in judgement which resulted in disaster. This moral tale bears an uncanny, and certainly not unintended, resemblance to Maldonado's portrait of the young Charles I of Spain, who possessed all the kingly virtues but whose political inexperience left him open to the machinations of 'evil advisors'. Maldonado surely recognized that in an age of 'personalized' politics, the commonwealth could ill afford the luxury of allowing its monarch to train 'on the job', through a process of 'trial and error'. Castilian history showed only too clearly
that adolescent monarchs made easy prey for the ambitious, and that protracted interregna frequently led to civil war and/or popular insurrection. In 1520, a prolonged 'crisis of authority' and a virtuous but inexperienced ruler had once again proved a recipe for disaster. De motu Hispaniae may well have been intended as a kind of 'Mirror for Princes', designed to give its dedicatee, the young Prince Philip, a lesson in practical politics. In teaching the future king, however, Maldonado emulates not the medieval 'preceptor', who trotted out abstract maxims on good governance, but the classical rhetorician, who drove his point home with the aid of concrete historical examples. The 'lessons of history' were meant to supplement the limited personal experience of his royal 'student'.

Maldonado's practice here illustrates the general point that in early modern Europe, history was commonly deemed capable of playing a didactic role similar to, or even identical with, that assigned to experience. The Spanish intellectual historian Enrique Tierno Galvan scarcely exaggerates in fact when he makes the point that "[f]or the man of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, history and experience are but two aspects of the same reality, and they are strictly interchangeable; history is experience and experience history." While the mediating role of the historian and the act of reading itself would seem to differentiate personal and historical experience, this does not necessarily relegate the latter to a secondary plane. On the contrary, Maldonado would possibly have agreed with his compatriot Miguel de Cervantes, who argued, in Persiles y Sigismunda, that the introspective reading of history was actually more effi-
cacious than the original experience, because "the attentive reader stops often to reflect on what he is reading, thus reading is more valuable than seeing." By reading history then, the individual could vicariously extend the range of his experience; he could, in the words of the Florentine humanist Bartolommeo della Fonte, "build on experience extending far beyond the span of an individual life".

Early modern men could equate history and experience thanks to the acceptance of certain core beliefs concerning human nature and human values. According to the prevailing 'uniformitarian' reading of human nature, human beings were the same in all times and climes, so that even experiences in the distant past retained their relevance in the present. Similarly, the recorded experiences of the present generation would presumably have something to say to posterity. Ideals too were regarded as eternal and unchanging. We are not yet, as Peter Brown reminds us, in a world 'condemned to history' by Hegel, where values are no longer timeless but relative, and there is a kind of ineluctable inflation at work among historical examples. Maldonado's world was incidentally, but never essentially, changed by history, so that men could still learn 'the lessons of the past'. Only in such a world, where human nature and values were immanent or transcendent constants, not subject to historical and cultural variation, could history be, to employ Cicero's phrase, a *magistra vitae*. 

Even in cases where historical actors were so superior to the common run of humanity that strict identification with their behavior was out of the question, one could still learn from their experience by regarding it
as an exemplary instance which offers a paradigm (from the Greek para-
deigma - example) worthy of emulation, in short, as an exemplum. In the
Middle Ages, Christ, the apostles and the saints were the most potent
exempla, and even in our period certain religious figures, such as martyrs,
still held paradigmatic status. But for humanist historians such as
Maldonado, who also relied on exempla, it was a pantheon of pagan heroes
which was held up for emulation. When a Renaissance historian lauded or
condemned the behavior of his contemporaries, it was because it conformed
with, or fell short of, that exhibited by these classical models of virtue.
Whereas the lessons to be learned from medieval exempla were most often
soteriological (if you want to be saved, act thus), the exemplary history
of the Renaissance was patterned on that of the Romans, and the lessons
were moral and pragmatic, concerned with the here-and-now rather than with
the hereafter. There is every indication that Maldonado held the latter
view of the 'lessons of history': if there are lessons to be learned from
De motu Hispaniae, they are lessons in civic virtue and good governance,
in the values which ought to animate both subjects and those charged with
the well-being of the commonwealth.

For Maldonado then, as for so many of his contemporaries, one of the
principal tasks of the historian was to cast the events he describes in
the form of exempla, so that the attentive reader, upon 'reliving' the
event in his imagination, could draw the appropriate conclusion. Indeed
he describes the entire book as, in effect, an extended exemplum. He
does not write, he says, in order to win the favour of the victors, or
add to the anguish of the vanquished, but
to paint a picture of this movement of Spain, which is so much larger than anything our ancestors knew, with the object that those who follow be more wary of bold designs, and be forewarned that rash undertakings, be they against the king or against the nation, usually turn out badly for their authors. (57-58)

This succinct statement of purpose outlines what might be regarded as the 'moral' of De motu Hispaniae. The analogy which Maldonado draws between historical writing and pictorial representation is an apt one, for during the Renaissance, historiography was seen, not as a science, but as an art, whose purpose was both pragmatic and commemorative. On the one hand, the aim was the inculcation of a set of moral and/or practical imperatives which would enable a man to behave morally, or efficaciously, without reflection. The historian supplied the 'raw material' for this process of internalization in the form of concrete examples of noble actions to be emulated and base actions to be shunned. De motu Hispaniae is, as we shall see, replete with both. The commemorative function is more straightforward; the noble deeds of the past or present simply deserve to be remembered. That this too was part of Maldonado's aim should be evident from our earlier discussion of his views on the value of contemporary history. (see above,51). For humanist historians, these two objectives could only be achieved through the use of rhetoric, for only the historian's eloquence could persuade the reader of the strict identity of history and experience.
NOTES

I have appropriated the notion of a 'mental world' from John H. Elliot's excellent study, "The Mental World of Hernán Cortés," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 7 (1967): 41-58.

According to Bataillon [Erasmo, 216-217], Maldonado's correspondence with Erasmus began in 1526, but since many of his letters to prominent humanists have been lost [see Chapter One, note 76] it is entirely possible that his acquaintance with the Dutch reformer began somewhat earlier.

As we noted in Chapter One [note 89], Erasmus' Complaint of Peace (1517) was first published in Spain in 1520. That Maldonado may have been acquainted with this work is suggested by his discussion (62) of the Christian duties of European rulers. While the ideas are commonplace enough, the tone is distinctly Erasmian: See John P. Dolan's translation of the Querela Pacis in The Essential Erasmus, (New York: Mentor, 1964).


Here Maldonado makes rare use of an expression reminiscent of a vernacular proverb: "While even the most worthless dog can rouse the sleeping hare, he cannot catch it, and must await the arrival of better
animals which can complete the job."


9 Some of Maldonado's Castilian predecessors were similarly convinced of the superiority of eyewitness accounts. Both Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407) and Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (c. 1377-1460) lifted this view from Guido delle Colonne's Historia Troiana (Strassburg, 1486): Nader, The Mendoza Family, 73, 88.


13 Gilman, The Spain of Fernando de Rojas, 459.

14 Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, Relaciones de sucesos, I: Años 1477-1619, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1966), and in general, Henry Ettinghausen, "The

15 Cisneros' project, made necessary by the renewal of aristocratic violence which plagued his second regency, provoked concerted resistance from a number of Castile's largest cities, including Burgos. See Perez, *La Revolución*, 86-92.

16 Maldonado [*De motu Hispaniae*, 82] describes the false rumours which circulated in the wake of the Cortes of Santiago-La Coruña (April 1520), according to which the deputies had agreed to the imposition of heavy duties on everything from candle-wax to children! Maldonado clearly knew that these were part of an orchestrated campaign, since he speculates as to the authors of these 'fictions'. The phrase "psychological warfare" is used by Luis Fernández Martín, who shows that the rumours originated in printed pamphlets disseminated under the direction of the comunero chieftan Juan Zapata, who operated a coordinated propaganda campaign, which included sending priests and laymen 'on mission' to preach revolution: *El movimiento comunero en las pueblos de Tierra de Campos*, (Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro', 1979), 28-29. Quevedo, rightly assuming that Maldonado must have seen Zapata's handiwork, includes a sample in his translation of *De motu Hispaniae*: *El movimiento*, 288-289.

17 Maldonado [*De motu Hispaniae*, 197] tells of his difficulties in sorting out what actually took place at the battle of El Romeral (March 1521). After this encounter, in which rebel troops under Bishop Acuña met a royalist army commanded by the Prior of San Juan, Antonio de Zuñiga,
both sides circulated reports claiming total victory. The result is still in doubt: See Perez, Revolucion, 334-335.

18 The bibliography on the 'school of Salamanca' is enormous. A good sampling can be found in the footnotes to J. A. Fernandez-Santamaria, The State, War and Peace: Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance 1516-1559, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), itself an excellent introduction to the political thought of these writers.


20 Of those who left substantial accounts of the comunidades, Pedro Giron, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, Pedro Mejia, Prudencio de Sandoval, Alonso de Santa Cruz, and Juan Gines de Sepulveda were all historiographers royal. For a list of their works, see Perez, Revolucion. In general, see Jose Luis Bermejo Cabrero, "Los orígenes del oficio de cronista real," Hispania 40 (1980): 401-441.


22 For the growing corpus of work devoted to the propaganda function of historiography in medieval and Renaissance Europe, see Bernard Guenée, "Les tendances actuelles de l'histoire politique du moyen âge français," in Politique et Histoire, 190-191, and the same author's indispensable States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe, trans. Juliet Vale, (Oxford:


According to Alan Deyermond, the Castilian chronicler Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada was, as Primate of Spain, the "chief ideologist" of the court of Ferdinand III. His De rebus Hispaniae was central to the 'Gothic Myth', as formulated under Ferdinand's successor Alfonso X ('The Learned'): "The Death and Rebirth of Visigothic Spain in the Estoria de España," Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos 9:3 (1985): 345-367. In "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality," History and Theory 24:1 (1985): 23-43, Hillgarth shows how this 'Gothic thesis' was systematically revived in the fifteenth century to serve the propaganda interests of the Castilian crown.

24 Robert B. Tate, "Alfonso de Palencia y los preceptos de la historiografía," in Victor Garcia de la Concha, ed. Nebrija y la Introducción del Renacimiento en España, (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1983), 41-42.

25 Maldonado originally intended to dedicate De motu Hispaniae to Charles V, but since the emperor was campaigning in Germany in 1541, he settled for Prince Philip, the future Philip II. (28) Among his stated aims was "to demonstrate to Charles the usefulness of historians to the Supreme Empire". (32) Castilian monarchs customarily gave their cronistas access to all 'unclassified' documentation and ordered that their subjects 'cooperate' with the royal historiographer: See, for example, the letter from Ferdinand the Catholic in J. L. Bermejo Cabrero, "Los orígenes", 408-09.
A good idea of the pressure which could be exerted by a royal employer can be gathered from the prologue to Fernán Pérez de Guzmán's *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, where he advises that histories "not be published in the lifetime of the king or prince in whose reign or jurisdiction [they] were ordered, so that the historian may be free to write the truth without fear": Quoted by Nader, *The Mendoza Family*, 87.

26 Koselleck, "Perspective and Temporality", 135.


28 The wisdom of prompt publication could be doubtful even under 'normal' circumstances. Although Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's famous *Guerra de Granada*, his account of the Second Revolt of the Alpujarras (1569-1571), was complete by 1572, it remained unpublished when he died three years later. In his introduction to the first edition (1627), Luis Tribaldos de Toledo explains the delayed publication in the following terms:

It has long been well known that men hate the truth, and that those who tell it, and even more, those who write it, are apt to suffer tribulation and opposition. Knowing this, the sensible historian writes about the past, or delays publication of accounts of current events until those he writes about are dead.


29 Hayden White, "Interpretation in History," in *Tropics of Discourse*, 60.

31 The centrality of form in historiography has been clearly recognized by Nancy Struever, according to whom, "the historian's preoccupation with aesthetics is rooted in the very ground of all his investigations": The Language of History in the Renaissance: Rhetoric and Historical Consciousness in Florentine Humanism, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 8.

32 Maldonado, "Optimus magister amor", quoted by Asensio, introduction, 47.

33 Elliot, Imperial Spain, 128. On Castilian as 'the perfect instrument of empire', see Eugenio Asensio, "La lengua compañera del imperio," Revista de Filología Española 43 (1960): 399-413.


indicated by a rare geographical error. In *De motu Hispaniae* (87), he places the city of Valladolid at the centre of Spain, which any map will show to be false. Valladolid is, however, at the centre of the northern meseta, the arid plateau which served as the principal battleground during the comunidades: Emilio González López, "Los factores económicos en el alzamiento de las comunidades de Castilla: La industria textil lanera castellana," *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 31 (1965): 188.

36 Maldonado no doubt learned much from his mentor Antonio de Nebrija, whose *Muestra de la Historia de las Antigüedades de España* (1499) was, according to Professor Tate, a marked improvement upon the 'armchair' scholarship of Italian expatriates such as Marineo Siculo: "Nebrija the Historian," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 34 (1957): 127-130. Maldonado's ancient geography was equal to Nebrija's and better than that of his only other competitor in this regard, the Catalan humanist Joan Margarit i Pau, Bishop of Gerona. Like Margarit, Maldonado correctly places Saguntum at the modern town of Murviedro, near Valencia on the Mediterranean coast, thereby rejecting alternatives such as Segontia or Medinaceli. In locating ancient Numantia near Soria (86), Maldonado hits the mark almost exactly. Here he improves not only upon the folk-identification with Zamora, still current in the sixteenth century, but on Margarit, who, following Strabo, had placed Numantia 800 stadia from Zaragoza, just above the Ebro: R. B. Tate, "Italian Humanism and Spanish Historiography of the Fifteenth Century . . .," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 34:1 (1951): 156-157; For a map of Roman Spain, see M. Cary and H. H. Scullard, *A History of Rome down to the Reign of Constantine*, 3rd ed., (London: MacMillan, 1983),
142. Nebrija likewise located Numantia at Soria and rejected the identification with Zamora: on this and other aspects of Nebrija's ancient geography, see Benito Sanchez Alonso, "Nebrija, Historiador," Revista de Filología Española 29 (1945): 141-143.

37 Sanchez Alonso, "Nebrija, Historiador", 145; Tate, "Mythology", 9; Tate, "Nebrija the Historian", 126; and especially the same author's "Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo (1404-1470) and his Compendiosa Historica Hispanica," Nottingham Medieval Studies 4 (1960): 58-80. For additional examples of Italian condescension toward foreign 'barbarians', in this case the Germans, see Barbara McClung Hallman, "Italian 'National Superiority' and the Lutheran Question: 1517-1546," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 71 (1980): 134-147.


39 Maldonado's is one of three possible derivations of the pejorative marrano, though not that currently favoured by historians. Incidentally, Maldonado (or his translator) misspells the Aramaic word maranatha, which Christians knew from I Corinthians 16:22, where it is used in conjunction with anathema: Sanford Shepard, Lost Lexicon: Secret Meanings in the Vocabulary of Spanish Literature during the Inquisition, (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1982), 77-78; In general, see D. Gonzalo Maeso, "Sobre la etimología de la voz 'marrano' (Cripto-judio)," Sefarad 15 (1955): 373-385.

40 Asensio, introduction, 30-31.
Fernandez Vargas, introduction, 11. One of the first reviewers of Quevedo's translation, Don Enrique Gil y Carrasco, also suspected that the Toledan was Maldonado's spokesman: Obras completas de D. Enrique Gil y Carrasco, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles Volume 74, (Madrid: Atlas, 1954), 538. The present writer concurs with Avilés [Sueños, 110-111], who argues that this view is impossible to sustain in light of the many ways in which Maldonado signals his opposition to the comunidades, at least insofar as the movement entailed the active participation of the lower orders.


Nader, The Mendoza Family, 34-35. While Nader is careful to distinguish between dates of composition and publication, the fact that Mendoza's Guerra de Granada was, as we indicated in Note 28 above, complete by 1572, is surely an indication that caballero historiography was
not a dead letter "throughout the sixteenth century".


It is significant, however, that when Maldonado describes the structure of Castilian local government (84), he employs the terms currently in use (corregidor, alcaldes, alguaciles, etc.) and shuns the anachronistic 'classicizing' engaged in, for example, by Nebrija: Sanchez Alonso, "Nebrija, Historiador", 143-144.


Guenée, "Y a-t-il une historiographie médiévale?", 207.


Burke, The Renaissance, 77.

This was the opinion, for example, of the teacher of Alfonso de Palencia, George of Trebizond (Georgius Trapezuntius), whose influential rhetorical manual was published at Alcalá in 1511 and became a 'best-seller' in sixteenth-century Spain: Tate, "Alfonso de Palencia", 42-44; A copy of this rhetorical text may have been among the books which Diego Osorio inherited from his father: López Martínez, "La biblioteca", 103.

On Isidore, see Jacques Fontaine, Isidore de Séville et la cul-

57 Smalley, Historians, 28; Cochrane, Historians, 445-478.


61 Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography", 26-29 [See also Note 23 above]; the significance of Las Navas de Tolosa is revealed by Teófilo F. Ruiz, who argues that from the thirteenth century onwards, "[t]here was no longer any need to invest the figure of the king with sacred trappings": "Unsacred Monarchy: The Kings of Castile in the Late Middle Ages," in Sean Wilentz, ed. Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 130.


63 "Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo", 76-77; See also, Tate, "Apology", 122.

64 Tate, "Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo", 78-79. While Tate here and elsewhere ["A Humanistic Biography of John II of Aragon," Bulletin of
Hispanic Studies 39 (1962): 10] refers to Diego de Valera as a providentialist, the present writer agrees with Nader, who contrasts Valera's 'humanist' treatment of the Granadan campaign with that of his contemporary Bernaldez, for whom the successful reconquista revealed "God and His chosen agents, the Catholic Monarchs, defeating His enemies and entering into the Promised Land". Valera, on the other hand, saw "a secular war of territorial conquest fought in the pursuit of honor, property, and liberty by the king and his fellow knights": The Mendoza Family, 29. On Nebrija, see Tate, "Nebrija", 142; On Pulgar, Tate, "Nebrija", 144-145; On Pulgar and Bernaldez, José Cepeda Adan, "El providencialismo en las cronistas de los Reyes Catolicos," Arbor 17 (1950): 177-190; See also Hillgarth, The Spanish Kingdoms, 2:372-374.

65 Romero, "Fernán Pérez de Guzmán", 133.

66 On messianism and millenarianism in the late Middle Ages and Sibylline prophecies which centred on the figure of Charles of Ghent, see Bernard Guenée, States and Rulers, 44-47, and V. G. Kiernan, "State and Nation in Western Europe," Past and Present 31 (1964): 30-31. In light of Maldonado's evident lack of sympathy with the anti-intellectualism of the Spiritual Franciscans [Bataillon, Erasmo, 274-275], it is interesting to note that the most ardent political millenarians in early sixteenth-century Castile were conversos, especially those who wore the habit of Saint Francis: John Leddy Phelan, The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Geronimo de Mendieta (1525-1604), (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956); José C. Nieto, "The Franciscan Alumbrados and the Prophetic-Apocalyptic Tradition," Sixteenth

67 I count five references to Providence in De motu Hispaniae: 73, 173-174, 190, 193, 214 [discounting, of course, those which Maldonado attributes to various historical personages]. None of these call into question our thesis regarding the essentially secular character of the work. Typical is that which occurs on pages 173-174, where Maldonado tells how the 'tribune' Bosmediano stole a silver chalice from the village church in Peñaflor, and died the following day in a royalist attack on Tordesillas. According to the author, this should serve as a reminder that divine punishment of the sacrilegious is not always long in coming.

over Providence, see Nader, The Mendoza Family, 29,92.

69 On the 'Christianization' of Fortune, see Mervyn James, Society, Politics and Culture, 360-361.

70 Juan de Dios Mendoza Negrillo, Fortuna y Providencia en la literatura castillana del siglo XV, (Madrid: Casa Real, 1973), 208 and passim. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán also used these terms interchangeably, which leads Romero to call him "a transitional figure": "Fernan Perez", 145-147. The same might be said of Maldonado's contemporary Pietro Martire, who tells a correspondent that "one cannot alter the course of that which has already been decreed by Divine Providence", and then, later in the same letter, asks that he "consider the surprising ways of Fortune, who offers nothing good without mixing it with something unpleasant": Pedro Martir de Angleria, Epistolario, ed. and trans. José López de Toro, 4 vols., (Madrid: Góngora, 1953-1957), 4:156-157. On a similar pattern in Fernando de Rojas, see José Antonio Maravall, El mundo social de 'La Celestina', (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1964), 120. On quattrocento Florence, Gilbert, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, 40-42. J. G. A. Pocock sees this kind of ambivalence as typical of the the late Middle Ages, when "fortune was what providence looked like if we had not faith; but, since once we had, she became providence again, the two concepts tended to approach each other": "Custom and Grace, Form and Matter: An Approach to Machiavelli's Concept of Innovation," in Martin Fleischer, ed. Machiavelli and the Nature of Political Thought, (New York: Atheneum, 1972), 158-159.

71 By my count, Maldonado used the concept of fortuna on at least fourteen occasions in De motu Hispaniae: 36, 40, 41, 73, 92, 93, 118, 131, 132,
Maldonado's use of Fortune is remarkably similar to that of Gonzalo García de Santa María, whose biography of John II of Aragon is, according to Tate, "at a considerable remove from the Providentialist interpretation of history which informs the work of [his] contemporaries": "A Humanistic Biography", 10. García's source was apparently Sallust, and indeed there is something Sallustian about Maldonado's use of the term: See The Jugurthine War and the Conspiracy of Catiline, trans. S. A. Handford, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), 180-181. Another possible source is Cicero, De Officiis, II. 6. See the translation by Walter Miller in the Loeb Classical Library series, (London: Heinemann, 1928), 186-187.

It is significant that Maldonado begins De motu Hispaniae not in 1520, but with the death of Isabel in 1504. (37) Indeed the whole of Book One (31-53) is devoted to the sixteen years which served as a 'prelude' to revolution. See Perez, Revolución, 73-111.

On Maldonado's lost manuscript history of the Catholic Monarchs, see Asensio, introduction, 25. According to Maldonado, the "illustrious Doña Isabel . . . never took lineage or wealth into consideration when awarding high offices or choosing prelates, but praised and rewarded true and simple virtue, however lowly its origins" (the reference is to Cisneros): De motu Hispaniae, 48.

In De motu Hispaniae (194-195), Maldonado records Zuñiga's 'hortatory oration', supposedly delivered before his troops met those of Bishop Acuña at El Romeral. For Zuñiga, it would please God to make sacrificial victims of "those [like Acuña] that incite civil war, that take up arms against the nobility and the supreme magistrates, that serve as leaders to
the vile and hungry plebs and openly urge them to seek equality of wealth (la igualdad de bienes). The comuneros are "the enemies of the human race" and he encourages his men to show no mercy toward these "enemies of the patria, disturbers of the peace, violators of all human and divine laws", this "abominable plague", this "beast with a thousand heads". The Dominican Juan Hurtado de Mendoza had "led a blameless life" and was, in the opinion of many, a good candidate for the catalogue of saints. He was, nevertheless, a rabid opponent of the comuneros and was present at the battle of Villalar where, perched on his jackass, he exhorted the royalist forces:

Kill the sinners! Destroy the dissolute and the impious! Show no mercy for you are guaranteed eternal rest among the just if you wipe this cursed stain from the face of the earth; stab them in the back, for it matters not whether the disturbers of peace and tranquility fall forward or backward! (202-203)

There is a very good chance that Maldonado knew Fray Hurtado from his days at Salamanca, and over the objections of Getino and Beltrán, the present writer believes that while the histrionic harangue is clearly invented, Maldonado's portrait of Hurtado is essentially accurate: Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, Historia de la Reforma de la Provincia de España (1450-1550), (Rome: Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum, 1939), 143-154; Luis G. Alonso Getino, Vida e ideario del Mro. Fr. Pablo de León, verbo de las comunidades castellanas, (Salamanca: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Calatrava, 1935), 29-31; On 22 February 1521, the Constable of Castile told Charles I that Fray Hurtado was worth more to the royalist cause than two hundred men-at-arms, Danvila, Historia, 3:232.
A Spanish tendency to interpret their own history in crude 'Manichaean' terms has been noted by a number of writers, among them Julio Caro Baroja, Las formas complejas de la vida religiosa: Religion, sociedad y carácter en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII, (Madrid: Akal, 1978), 11-12.

My only real reservation concerns Pedro López de Ayala, whose 'humanism' is clearly exaggerated by Nader, who wants to include him in her caballero tradition: The Mendoza Family, 56-76. According to R. B. Tate, "[a]ny attempt to connect Ayala with the emergence of the humanist historian cannot be supported by anything but the flimsiest of literary evidence": "López de Ayala, Humanist Historian?," Hispanic Review 25 (1957): 173.

Tate, "Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo", 79.


Gilbert, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, 223-225.


81 "It is not my intention to discourse upon every little thing, investigating even the most insignificant detail, as is customary among historians, but to inquire into the causes of events, and relate that which is worth knowing in an agreeable style...": De motu Hispaniae, 32. On the requirement that histories be monographic, see Cochrane, Historians, 5.

82 The dialogue form also permits Maldonado to present his historical narrative in an appropriately 'rhetorical' manner; as a series of orations delivered before a live audience. Concerning the Renaissance sensitivity to audience, Nancy Struever has remarked that "[s]ince a beholder is necessary for illusion, the rhetorician never forgets his audience, and the rhetorical historian includes his audience in his effort to make history": Language of History, 90. Maldonado takes the obligation to include his audience literally. The Frenchman, the Italian and the German are internal representatives of the external audience he wanted to reach; the cosmopolitan 'Republic of Letters'.


85 Nadel, "Philosophy of History", 297-299.
In general, Maldonado absolves Carlos of responsibility for the rebellion, which he blames instead on those responsible for advising the young monarch, who, "in spite of his tender years, possessed a nature disposed to the virtues of a king, and an uncommon elevation of character". 

According to Maldonado, the Toledan comunero Juan Padilla was also convinced that owing to youthful inexperience Carlos had fallen under the sway of foreigners, who governed Spain "in their own interests rather than according to the traditional practices of the republic". Padilla refers, of course, to Carlos' Flemish courtiers, who had a not undeserved reputation for insatiable ambition and rapacity. Maldonado's portrait of the good king surrounded by evil advisors was a commonplace in the political literature of the time: See J. Rosenthal, "The King's Wicked Advisors," *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (1967): 595-618.


On the 'Mirror for Princes' genre, see Lester K. Born's introduction to Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, (1936; New York: Octagon, 1965), 3-130. See also, Quentin Skinner, *The foundations of modern political thought. Volume one: The Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), especially 220-221, where Skinner argues that the mirror-for-princes writers endorsed the claim that "the key to political wisdom lies in a proper understanding of the past".

Quoted by David H. Darst, "El Pensamiento", 284.


Herbert Weisinger defines 'uniformitarianism' as the belief "that human nature never changes, that men at all times and places have always been the same, and that therefore there is nothing new under the sun": "Ideas of History during the Renaissance," Journal of the History of Ideas 6 (1945): 428. For a good discussion of uniformitarian beliefs in early modern Spain, see Darst, "El Pensamiento", 285.

Professor Brown refers to the culture of the Late Antique world, but his comment on the uniformitarian assumption which underlies the notion of a 'moral paradigm' applies equally to our period, and deserves to be quoted at length:

[W]e have here a culture that believed that the past had only become the past through an ever-remediable accident of neglect, not through any irreversible process of change and unidirectional evolution, which would render the moral paradigms of a man of the sixth century B.C. irrelevant to the behavior of a man of the fourth century A.D. Moral exemplars of a thousand years previously had no built-in obsolescence. What was good for them could be good for you. We are not in a world 'condemned to history' by Hegel.


In general, see Rüdiger Landfester, Historia Magistra Vitae. Untersuchungen zur humanistischen Geschichtstheorie des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts,
(Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1972) and Reinhart Koselleck, "Historia Magistra Vitae: The Dissolution of the Topos into the Perspective of a Modernized Historical Process," in Futures Past, 21-38. For history as magistra vitae in the Spanish writers Juan Luis Vives and Sebastian Fox Morcillo, see Montero Diaz, "La doctrina", 12, 17-19. The views of Maldonado's correspondent Vives are especially germane. For Vives, experience was "the nurse of practical wisdom", and "experience is either our own individually, or that obtained by others, which may serve to warn us, by the example of actual past occurrences . . .": Vives: On Education, 38.

95 Donald Kelley notes that the purpose behind the compilation of sixteenth-century martyrologies "included all of the basic ingredients for the humanist prescription for history":

They offered 'consolation', . . . ; they constituted a treasury of exempla for imitation and a kind of moral and anagogical 'mirror' for Christians; and they were commemorative, preserving for posterity the 'deeds and writings' of exemplary men of faith.


96 Struever, Language of History; Cochrane, Historians, 6; Gilmore, Humanists and Jurists, 19.

97 Maldonado's caballero predecessor Fernán Pérez de Guzmán shared the notion of historia magistra vitae, but emphasized the commemorative function of historiography. By adhering to Ciceronian standards of probity, the historian served justice by accurately recording the heroic and virtuous deeds of exceptional individuals, often unrewarded by Fortune and unrecognized by those caught up in the conflicting passions of the moment: Romero,
"Fernán Pérez de Guzmán", 148-150. Maldonado would have agreed wholeheartedly.
CHAPTER THREE: HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL RHETORIC IN DE MOTU HISPANIAE

That a revival of the rhetorical arts, what Hanna Gray calls 'the pursuit of eloquence', was central to the Italian Renaissance is generally recognized.¹ It is often assumed, however, that this revaluation of the art of persuasion could only take place under very special political circumstances, and in a particular kind of polity - relatively open city-republics of the Italian type. However this 'political argument', closely associated with the name of Hans Baron, has been convincingly challenged by Jerrold Seigel, who detaches Leonardo Bruni's writings from his political beliefs and explains them in terms of his education and activity as a rhetorician.² Helen Nader also dissociates rhetoric and politics, suggesting that "rhetorical skills were as highly valued by the citizens of the Castilian monarchy as they were by the citizens of the Italian republics".³ While Nader perhaps overstates her case, rhetorical skills were certainly being used in Castilian civic life, while at court, the welfare of the commonwealth surely hung on the ability of the king's 'good advisors' to defeat their corrupt colleagues in an open rhetorical contest.⁴

Since as we have seen, Maldonado was convinced that evil advisors were most often responsible for the nation's ills, it should not surprise us to learn that he stressed the value of rhetoric in public life. In fact Maldonado seems to have been no less convinced that his Italian contemporaries of the fact that rhetorical eloquence, the ability to persuade, was central to the vita activa e civile. As he puts it in the Paraenesis:

Although there are some who maintain that rhetoric is of little use in contemporary life, for my part I perceive so many benefits that those who advance and distinguish themselves for their knowledge [of rhetoric] can easily triumph and emerge victorious
in all things; perhaps not in the courts, whose structure and character have changed profoundly, but certainly in presenting civic and provincial cases before the Crown, in undertaking a diplomatic mission of any kind, in governing the Republic, and especially in persuading or disuading in any matter, public or private. 5

Nor was Maldonado alone in this conviction. A contemporary and fellow-cleric, the Trinitarian friar Alonso de Castrillo, held similar beliefs concerning the importance of Ciceronian eloquence in public life. After quoting Tully to the effect that *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae*, Castrillo goes on to praise the power of rhetoric; which is valuable since eloquence moves the human heart, preserves great deeds for posterity and renders a people healthy, and thus we read that the eloquence of Cicero not only saved many men from execution, but returned the Roman people and the Roman state to the health they had lost through the conspiracy of the nefarious Catiline. 6

It is perhaps not coincidental that both Castrillo and Maldonado were citizens of Burgos, a city in which members of the municipal elite, many of whom Maldonado knew personally, engaged in spirited debate over matters of common concern. 7

In the Renaissance debate over the relationship of rhetoric and philosophy, both Maldonado and Castrillo supported the humanist position, arguing that the two were inextricably linked. 8 According to Castrillo, it were "better to speak eloquently and prudently, than to reason and theorize brilliantly but inelegantly." 9 Maldonado's support for the Ciceronian position was similarly clear-cut. "Why should one worry", he asks, paraphrasing the Roman master, "about what one has to say, if one cannot say it fluently and beautifully?". It was Cicero, according to
Maldonado, "who more profitably than any other, united the secrets of philosophy with eloquence". He would certainly have taken issue with the views of the fifteenth-century letrado Alfonso de Cartagena, as expressed in the scholarly bishop's critique of Leonardo Bruni's Latin translation of Aristotle's Ethics. According to Cartagena, who knew no Greek and therefore could not dispute with Bruni on philological grounds, the older scholastic translation of Robert Grossteste was superior to Bruni's 'eloquent' one because it accorded better with 'reason', and this to his mind guaranteed its fidelity to Aristotle. Cartagena urged the strict separation of philosophy and rhetoric:

[T]he man of wisdom [ought] to conduct an inquiry with words that are precise and used in their most proper sense; these are the terms of science. Afterwards, in urging shining examples and pure teachings, he may exclaim in eloquent language. 11

Here, as so often elsewhere, Maldonado shows himself a caballero, rather than a letrado. For it was the former group, composed of men like Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, which made the most effective use of rhetoric, albeit in the vernacular. 12

Given what we now know about Maldonado's spirited defense of rhetoric in public life, and his equally ardent support for a Ciceronian union of wisdom and eloquence, we should not be surprised to learn that his historiography is, all talk of 'bare facts' aside, highly rhetorical in character. One reason for this may be that Maldonado, like most of his fellow-humanists, drew many of his ideas on historical theory from Cicero, and in particular from De Oratore, where history is treated as a branch of rhetorics. 13

While Maldonado does not go quite this far, he was certainly of the opinion,
as he tells us in the Paraenesis, that rhetorical eloquence was central to the historian's craft.14 Maldonado evidently accepted the proposition, gleaned no doubt from extensive reading in Sallust, Tacitus, Livy and other 'moralizing' historians, that history was "philosophy teaching by example".15 However, just as the truths of philosophy must be eloquently stated if they are to become 'active' in the world, the historian must employ rhetorical skills to convince the reader to follow the tenets of moral philosophy which inhere in historical exempla.16 The historian must appeal to the reader's will as well as his reason; he must persuade him to put moral truths into practice.

The rhetorical character of De motu Hispaniae is nowhere more evident than in Maldonado's extensive use of oratio recta. According to the Italian humanist Giovanni Pontano, a man for whom Maldonado had the highest regard, orations were "the soul of history", and Maldonado's use of oratio recta shows that its purpose within an historical text had not altered appreciably since classical times: "the elaboration of character it provides contributes to the analysis of cause which is its aim".17 Because the humanists, like their classical forerunners, were firm believers in the 'Great Man Theory of History', they very rarely made reference to social forces, and customarily explained historical events by revealing the motives which animated individual actors on the historical stage. This notion - history as theatrum mundi - must have appealed to Maldonado, who as a dramatist was accustomed to revealing the motives of his characters through the words he attributed to them. The histrionic harangues and hortatory orations of De motu Hispaniae are, of course, pure fabrication; an opportunity for the
author to display his rhetorical prowess. We should not believe, however, that because Maldonado chose, out of allegiance to the norms of Roman historiography, to "pour his facts into Sallustian molds", that there was no objective material to be treated in such a way. Whereas modern usage equates rhetoric with mendacity, Renaissance historians saw no contradiction between eloquence and truth. On the contrary, rhetoric seemed to them more effective than logic in cognizing the historical world. In the 'theatre' of De motu Hispaniae, there are 'protagonists' and 'antagonists' in the historical drama, and Maldonado's readers are clearly expected to admire, and more importantly, to emulate, the nobility displayed by the former, while execrating and shunning the base motives and actions of the latter. Close attention to Maldonado's imaginative 'soli- loquies' tells us something about the 'kind of story' he is telling; the 'plot', as it were, of his historical narrative. Thus while Maldonado's speeches may, in fact, reveal very little about the mental states of 'rebels and royalists', they surely testify to the beliefs of an astute observer, who, in the absence of documentary evidence, felt compelled to reconstruct the 'speech acts' of historical actors.

While Maldonado's use of oratio recta conforms to classical standards, and can be compared to that of humanist historians anywhere in Europe, an instructive contrast can be drawn between the orations in De motu Hispaniae and those of the early fifteenth-century Castilian historian Pedro López de Ayala. Ayala's use of direct speech has been studied by R. B. Tate, who compares his harangues to the exemplum literature of the Middle Ages, and argues that they have little or nothing in common with those of his
Florentine contemporaries. To reinforce this point, Tate lists the humanist traits which are absent from Ayala's speeches, and it is interesting to note that every one is very much in evidence in *De motu Hispaniae*. Where Ayala's orations fail to perform their most elementary function, the elucidation of character, Maldonado's show that he regarded character-portraiture as an essential component in the investigation of cause. The inexperience of Charles I is a case in point; another is the dictatorial arrogance of the Constable of Castile, Iñigo de Velasco, whose 'tyrannical' behavior as corregidor had serious repercussions in Burgos. Ayala makes his didactic points, not in his orations, which are virtually devoid of moral content, but in a series of ethical precepts which gloss the historical action. Maldonado, as we noted earlier, had little use for precepts; the reader is expected to learn directly from the utterances he attributes to historical actors. Whereas the 'hortatory oration', a characteristically humanist device, is entirely absent from Ayala's *Cronicas*, an eloquent exhortation precedes every important battle in *De motu Hispaniae*. Most importantly, Ayala's speeches are "barren of any persuasive rhetoric", and since they are in Castilian, Tate rejects any attempt to connect them with humanism, a movement which "was inseparably linked with a reverence for the clarity and poise of Ciceronian Latin". By way of contrast, the speeches in *De motu Hispaniae* are highly rhetorical, and there is no question but that Maldonado revered Ciceronian Latin, especially as a vehicle for history. For Maldonado, as for all humanists, classical Latin was, as he puts it in one of his works, "the language of posterity". Only the language of Cicero, sheltered as it
was from the grammatical, syntactical and semantic shifts typical of European vernaculars, could insure that the recorded deeds of the present generation would still be comprehensible to posterity.

Detailed examination of Maldonado's many speeches would be both excessively time-consuming and of dubious value to the present inquiry. We would like, however, to draw attention to one oratorical device of which he seems to have been especially fond - antilogy. Maldonado employs the antilogy - a set of two opposing speeches - in a way which Nancy Struever sees as typical of the rhetorical historians of Renaissance Italy, that is, in order "to present the different views of historical protagonists as alternatives to be judged by the reader". "The core of the antilogic method", according to Struever, "is to consider the same events from different points of view". The twin speeches which Maldonado attributes to the royalist Luis Sarmiento and his kinsman Pedro de Ayala, the Comunero Count of Salvatierra, are presented in the evenhanded, non-judgmental style characteristic of the Renaissance antilogy; as are the juxtaposed 'hortatory orations' of Acuña and Zuñiga. (182-184, 194-196) Pedro López de Ayala would have required a gloss at this point, and Alfonso de Palencia, the "moral judge", would doubtless have interposed a comment or two. Maldonado, however, remains silent and allows the orators to 'speak for themselves'. The antilogic method, which allows the reader himself to choose between varying perspectives on a single event, was obviously attractive to Maldonado, who, as we noted earlier, prided himself on his impartiality. We also noted, however, that while suprapartisanship may be a laudable ideal, the degree of detachment it requires is virtually
impossible to attain consistently in practice; indeed when we examine Maldonado's use of yet another commonplace of Renaissance historiography - the 'character sketch' - we find that his own partisan attachments are only too clearly revealed.

The blood relationship between Maldonado's friend and patron Don Diego Osorio and the prominent Comunero leader Bishop Antonio de Acuña presented him with an ideal opportunity for character comparison. The vivid contrast between the two half-brothers, whose distinct characters seemed to bely the similarity of their backgrounds, would have had an irresistible appeal for such a rhetorically-minded historian. What is most interesting, however, is that Maldonado's portrait of the bellicose rebel leader and the loyal patriot is delineated in unmistakably Sallustian terms. Acuña, as Maldonado represents him, is a somewhat incongruous composite of Catiline and Caesar as they appear in the Roman historian's Bellum Catilinae, while Maldonado's portrait of Diego Osorio is the very image of Marcus Porcius Cato. According to Maldonado, Acuña possessed many of the noble virtues of a Caesar; he was, for example, generous to a fault, and displayed a soldier's indifference to hunger, cold and want of sleep. But like Cataline, and to some extent like Caesar himself, Acuña revelled in war and civil discord, and the tragic flaws in his character, especially his overweening ambition, drew him into leadership of a populist rebellion. Again like Catiline, Acuña is an eloquent speaker; the ideal demagogue in fact, who incites the masses against their legitimate rulers by promising to alleviate their poverty, reduce taxes, and provide them with 'liberty'. Like Caesar and Cato, Acuña and Osorio are said to be
well matched, in 'birth, age, and eloquence', but whereas Acuña possessed Caesar's martial spirit (and Catiline's taste for rebellion), Osorio, like Cato, placed his pacific talents at the service of his country. Eager for glory, but uncorrupted by ambition, Osorio applied his natural gifts in helping his friends, pursuing knowledge, and, when this became necessary, defending his patria, Burgos, against the forces of his rebellious brother.

While Maldonado was clearly drawn to this comparison by its aesthetic possibilities, there is another, less literary but equally high-minded, motive which may have influenced his portrait. While Maldonado was writing De motu Hispaniae, Don Diego Osorio was being investigated for possible wrongdoing during the Comunidades. The details of the case are complex, but the accusations against Osorio involved his behavior as corregidor, both in Cordoba, where he held the post officially, and in Burgos, where he was coerced into accepting the position after the appointed corregidor had been ousted by the rebel comunidad. Maldonado's positive depiction of Osorio, and especially the contrast he draws between his unshakable loyalty and the disloyalty of his ne'er-do-well half-brother, may well have been intended to aid in his patron's defense by enhancing his reputation as a dedicated servant of the Crown.26

Of equal interest to the present inquiry, however, is the fact that in limning Osorio, Maldonado drew upon Sallust, and in particular upon the Roman historian's glowing portrait of Cato. Cato was, and would remain, the very paradigm of civic patriotism and selfless devotion to duty, and many of Maldonado's heroes are cut from 'Catonic' cloth; men who seek only the common good, and place the interests of the republic above their own.27
His picture of his patron Pedro de Cartagena, for example, is drawn in similar terms. As we shall see, however, Maldonado's debt to Sallust, and especially to the _Bellum Catilinae_, extended beyond the appropriation of 'types'. His ideas on the historical process in general, and on 'civil wars' in particular, also have a distinctly Sallustian flavour.

After rejecting the providentialist mode, Maldonado will, in true humanist fashion, have cast about for a model upon which to base his account of the Comunidades. Given his Salamancan training, his eye will inevitably have fallen upon those classical historians whose works were held in the highest esteem by his humanist contemporaries - Caesar, Sallust, and Livy. While Caesar's _Commentaries_ were universally respected, however, they could not serve as a paradigm for Maldonado, who, unlike the great Roman general, was not, and indeed was proud not to have been, a participant in the events he describes. Thus for practical purposes, Maldonado found himself faced with a choice between the two classical historians considered most worthy of imitation; the same two singled out 1300 years earlier by the consular historian Servilius Nonianus as _pares magis quam similis_ - Sallust and Livy. The character of Altilius in Giovanni Pontano's famous dialogue _Actius_, a work with which Maldonado may well have been familiar, echoes this judgment. In fact, this was the opinion of most humanists, who, while praising Caesar, reserved paradigmatic status for Livy and Sallust.

Whether a historian chose to pattern his work on one or the other was largely a function of the subject he wanted to treat. If he was contemplating the history of a city-state, or of its modern successor the nation-
state, the humanist historian naturally turned to Livy, the immortal historian of Rome. Guicciardini, Machiavelli and a host of lesser Italian humanists wrote Livian histories, as did the Spaniard Alfonso de Palencia. If, on the other hand, one chose to chronicle a war, either internal or external, then Sallust, historian of the conspiracy of Catiline and the Jugurthine War, was an ideal guide. Sallust served as a model for the Italian Bernardo Rucellai and, in a less rigorous way, for Maldonado's Aragonese compatriot Gonzalo Garcia de Santa Maria. Maldonado also drew elements from Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* in interpreting the events of 1520-21. Like most Renaissance historians, however, Maldonado looked upon his classical model, not as an 'authority', but as a 'guide'; as an incentive, not as an impediment to originality. De motu Hispaniae is not a slavish imitation of the *Bellum Catilinae*, but a work which reflects Maldonado's use of Sallustian insights in analysing the Castilian 'civil war'.

By choosing Sallust as a guide then, Maldonado could be assured that his humanist readership would see, not a 'meaningless factual series', but 'a story of a particular kind', a type of occurrence with which they were familiar - the Sallustian *bellum civile*. The concept of 'civil war' possessed the additional advantage of being especially well suited to describing the alignment of social forces in early modern Europe, where, as Reinhart Koselleck points out, internal war "remained a war among qualified members of the orders, i.e., a *bellum civile*, no matter what the extent of participation by the lower strata might be". Koselleck's sociological observation is reflected in the practice of Renaissance
historians, who accepted the classical proposition that works of history should deal exclusively with 'dignified' subject matter, which in practice meant that the proper field of history was the political and military accomplishments of the ruling elite. The historian should restrict himself to 'war and politics' as practiced by the qualified members of society, and concern with the 'vulgar masses' was discouraged as beneath the dignitas of both the writer and his presumed readership. While as we shall see, Maldonado had to break with this ideal by devoting an inordinate amount of attention to the popular classes, the bulk of De motu Hispaniae is in fact concerned with war and politics among and between members of the governing classes. We have already remarked upon Maldonado's interest in preserving res gestae, and indeed we find that, like most humanist histories, De motu Hispaniae contains a number of elaborate and even stereotyped battle descriptions, replete with "lances and horses, brave assaults and greed for plunder". Our principal concern here, however, will be Maldonado's description of elite politics during the Comunidades. His analysis of the motives which govern the behavior of political actors is particularly relevant, since it is derived directly from Sallust's Bellum Catilinae. An examination of Maldonado's political analysis also reveals that, unlike many of his fellow historians, he was extremely sensitive to the fact that an individual's political behavior was determined by the socio-economic interests of the group to which he belonged.

In analysing the civil war of his own day, Sallust concludes that the whole truth - to put it in a word - is that
although all disturbers of the peace in this period put forward specious pretexts, claiming either to be protecting the rights of the people or to be strengthening the authority of the Senate, this was mere pretence: in reality, every one of them was fighting for his personal aggrandizement. 37

Taking our cue from the late Renaissance historian Paolo Sarpi, who is often said to have 'unmasked' the Council of Trent, we might say that this quotation reveals Sallust's 'unmasking strategy', a strategy which Maldonado employs throughout De motu Hispaniae. 38 Maldonado, like Sallust, exposes the 'real' motives - avarice, lust for power, economic interest - which underlie the behavior of historical actors, and which are most often at variance with their professions of selflessness. This is not always the case of course, as Sallust acknowledges when he praises the virtú of Cato and Caesar. Maldonado likewise recognized that his age was not entirely devoid of virtuous men, as we have seen by his glowing depictions of Osorio and Cartagena. But these are clearly exceptions, whose selfless behavior stands in marked contrast to the amour propre which motivates most of the characters in De motu Hispaniae. Acuña's professed devotion to the Comunero cause, for example, is exposed as a 'specious pretext', designed to enlist the power of the masses in the service of his own limitless ambition. 39 (160)

More interesting, because less typical of his time, is that Maldonado applies the same unmasking strategy to the behavior of entire social groups. The nobility is a case in point. In the initial stages of the revolt, the Castilian magnates, many of whom were hostile to the foreign king and his band of Flemish 'locusts', held themselves aloof from the
conflict in the hope that they might benefit from popular unrest. (81-82) Some urban patricians, such as those at Córdoba, and Castilian grandees such as the Count of Salvatierra and Don Pedro Girón, even served as rebel caudillos. Maldonado's narrative makes it clear that what finally brought the Spanish nobility into the royalist camp was not, as they wanted to maintain, their loyalty to the king, but rather the emergence, in September of 1520, of antiseigneurial violence in the countryside. For Maldonado, the turning point was the rising at Dueñas, where the townspeople expelled their señor, the half-witted Count of Buendia, and placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the Crown. This pattern, so familiar from the early modern jacqueries studied by Mousnier, was soon repeated at Najera. (124-126, 144-145) The great magnates, secure on their estates, had been content to play a waiting game so long as revolt remained an exclusively urban affair. But when rebellion radiated outward, jeopardizing their social and economic domination of the Castilian countryside, they flocked to the side of the king (168), where their military expertise and private armies of retainers proved decisive in the royalist victory on the field at Villalar. What is interesting about this analysis is that while Maldonado 'deconstructs' the behavior of some nobles, such as Don Pedro Girón, by revealing the selfish motive behind it (157-158), he clearly recognized that the political behavior of the nobility as a whole could be explained with reference to concrete 'class interests', and that their professions of loyalty were, as they were for Sallust, mere pretexts, designed to mask those interests.
Maldonado puts the same unmasking strategy to work in exposing the economic interests which governed the behavior of the urban bourgeoisie, a group with which, as a citizen of Burgos, the greatest mercantile city in Castile, he was intimately familiar. (117-118) He clearly recognises, for example, that the burning of Medina del Campo, in which a high proportion of the goods consumed belonged to Burgalese merchants, transformed the character of the rebellion in Burgos. Suddenly the merchants, "who had always viewed this popular commotion with the utmost horror, fearing that the fury would turn against them", offered to lead the rebellious citizenry against the country home of Bishop Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, whom they suspected of complicity in the destruction of Medina. Maldonado describes the wondrous spectacle of the rebels, chanting martial hymns to the accompaniment of fifes and drums, marching (in centurion formation!) against Fonseca - with 'the rich' leading the way! (118) As popular violence increases, the commercial classes gradually realign themselves with the 'forces of order', but Maldonado once again unmasks their action. When the mob turns on the corregidor, the Constable of Castile Íñigo Fernández de Velasco, the rich merchants join forces with the local nobility in supporting him, "not so much because they really wanted to see him saved, as because they despaired of defending themselves and their possessions without him". (135) In typically Sallustian fashion, the wealthy merchants canvass the rebellious suburbs and outlying parishes of the city, promising money and jobs to those who will acquiesce in the return of Velasco. Many are successfully bribed, and after the Constable accedes to municipal demands, "the principal
citizens and the rich" welcome him back with much pomp and circumstance, while the demoralized plebians look on sadly, "deeply hurt to see that the rich had triumphed over the miserable people". (155-156) With the arrival of the Constable of Castile and the Royal Council in November 1520, the rebellion in Burgos was, for all practical purposes, over. For Maldonado, this volte face was easy to explain: the Comunidad of Burgos was once again in the control of the mercantile oligarchy, and henceforth "everything was done to please the rich". (145)

Maldonado's views on what we would call the 'social history' of the Comunidades are extremely perspicacious, and his conclusions conform remarkably well with those of modern scholars.44 Detailed examination of Comunero social history, however, would be out of place in the present inquiry. Our purpose here is the show the degree to which Maldonado's perception of political behavior during the rebellion was shaped by his knowledge of classical history.45 In particular, how he applied insights into the roots of political action derived from a classical source - in this case Sallust's Bellum Catilinae - in the analysis of contemporary events. Classical influences are likewise visible in his characterization of the popular classes.

As we pointed out earlier, De motu Hispaniae conforms, in almost all respects, with Renaissance prescriptions concerning 'the dignity of history', as expressed, for example, by Maldonado's compatriot Sebastian Fox Morcillo. For Fox Morcillo, the historian ought to record only "the great, the useful, the pleasing and the exemplary," and ignore "the vulgar and trivial, things which are neither compatible with the dignity of History nor worthy of be-
ing read." 46. But while Maldonado required such established conventions to give 'shape' to his historical narrative, the nature of the events of 1520-21 required that he acknowledge the extent to which those events were shaped by the emergence of the popular classes as participants, if not protagonists, in the historical drama. 47. In doing so, he could rely on guidance from his model, for Sallust had dwelt at some length upon the 'character' of the urban Roman masses, and upon the character of those from among the governing classes who emerged as their leaders during periods of civil unrest. Depending on whom one believes, however, Sallust was either a supporter of the populares or a neutral, who took up a position midway between 'the popular party' and its optimate opponents. 48. Maldonado, on the other hand, like his contemporary Guicciardini, seems to have sided with the optimates; men like Osorio and Cartagena, whom he regarded as the natural and legitimate guardians of justice and social order. 49. He therefore modified his otherwise Sallustian portrait of what he calls 'the popular party' by incorporating elements drawn from the work of his favourite optimate politician, Marcus Tullius Cicero.

The principal source for Maldonado's portrait of the popular classes, and in particular of those he habitually refers to as the urban 'plebians', is the Bellum Catilinae, where Sallust speaks of a "deadly moral contagion" which had infected not only those implicated in the Catilinian plot, but "the whole of the lower orders". The Roman plebs, according to Sallust, were, like the poor of every nation, "hankering after innovation; discontented with their own lot, [and] bent on general upheaval." 50. This same image of a nation, and above all its rootless and propertyless members,
'hankering after innovation' (deseosos de novedades), runs like a leitmotiv throughout De motu Hispaniae. Indeed Maldonado, and here again he re­sembled Guicciardini, felt that certain peoples were peculiarly predis­posed to the pursuit of 'innovation'. For Guicciardini, it was the Neo­politans, for Maldonado, the Spaniards. Generally speaking, however, Maldonado follows Sallust in applying this topos to the rebellious lower orders and, with considerably less frequency, to those from among the governing classes who acted as their leaders. In De motu Hispaniae, as in the Bellum Catilinae, the urban poor are portrayed as being especially prone to the desire for 'innovation' (novedades).

For Maldonado, as for Sallust, there were two reasons for this. The first we have already mentioned in connection with Maldonado's mistrust of popular testimony, namely the belief that the lower orders were driven, not by their reason, but by their passions. In this they resembled two other groups in the patriarchal and adult-oriented society of early modern Spain - women and children. Unlike adult males, women and children were considered to be overly emotional, and given to an inordinate fascination with meretricious 'novelties'. The aboriginal peoples of the New World were often said to possess a similarly 'child-like' taste for novelties. It was held that the overly passionate nature of all these groups disqualified them from politics, which required the unimpaired functioning of the rational faculties. One is reminded of Sallust's Cato, who argues that the Romans of his own day had been "enslaved by passion", unlike the virtuous men of an earlier time, who came to the council-chamber with "untrammelled minds". In keeping with their passionate nature, Maldo­
nado's plebeians are also notoriously fickle in their affections, an image which once again brings to mind the perennial stereotype of female inconstancy. Note, for example, the words which Maldonado places in the mouth of one of the boni viri of Burgos, Luis Sarmiento, as he attempts to warn the Count of Salvatierra against "the inconstancy of the plebeians":

   Believe me, the mob (el vulgo) never remains of the same opinion for very long, their advice is always precipitant, and one moment they condemn that which a moment before they supported with all their heart. (182)

A second, equally important, reason can also be found in the Bellum Catilinae where, as we have seen, Sallust maintains that 'hankering after innovation' is a chronic affliction among those who possess no property. Sallust's point here is one which is central to classical political thought, and to what has come to be known as the 'civic humanist' tradition, namely that only property, and in particular landed property, can give a man the independence necessary for responsible participation in political life. Property and the citizenship which comes with it give a man a 'stake' in social stability which makes him resistant to 'innovation', the introduction of which is the first step on the slippery slope to civic perdition, that is, to civil war. Those deprived of property have nothing to lose, and are easily manipulated by unscrupulous men such as Catiline and Acuña. The connection between poverty, rootlessness, and a desire for innovation was clearly recognized by Maldonado's Burgalese contemporary Alonso de Castrillo, who, in the Tractado de Republica, argues that

   [b]irth, a home and property, a wife and children; these are the things which engender a profound affection for the Republic, from which it follows
that citizens who lack these things lack this affection, and those that have no feeling for the Republic are friends of novelty, and friends of novelty are enemies of peace, and enemies of peace incline toward the destruction of men and cities, by which the integrity of the human community is lost and destroyed. 56

Statements such as this make it impossible to agree with Maravall's suggestion that Castrillo was the 'ideologist' of the Comunero 'revolution'. 57 His intention, like Maldonado's, was to dissuade those who were 'friends of novelty'.

Throughout De motu Hispaniae the term novedades is used in a way which indicates that for Maldonado, as for almost all of his contemporaries, the concept of 'innovation' had none of the positive connotations with which it is presently endowed. 58 Early modern Europe was, as we have already noted, a relatively static world, where the notion of change was not associated, as it is today, with progress. Change was something to be avoided, since any change, it was believed, was almost always for the worse. 59 Indeed Maldonado held the view, especially prevalent it seems among humanist historians, that the world was undergoing a gradual but unmistakable process of decline. 60 In De motu Hispaniae he suggests that the Spanish penchant for novelty simply accelerates the pace of this decline:

The Spaniards themselves crave nothing so much as novelty, they cleave to it and applaud it, believing that anything has to be better than the present, when it is common knowledge that things get worse as time goes by. (41)

For Maldonado, as for the arbitristas of early seventeenth-century Spain, the rational response to decline was not innovation but conservation. 61
What was required was that the nation preserve those values which had underwritten its former greatness. Innovation was the problem, not the solution. Only a return to 'tradition', genuine or, if necessary, invented, could slow the pace of decline.  

That Maldonado should have held such a view is not surprising if we bear in mind his familiarity with classical political thought. Greco-Roman writers were convinced, after all, that there were a finite number of 'perfect' political systems, and that political change could take only two forms: cyclical return to the pristine purity of the original state or, far more often, corruption. The term 'revolution', which Maldonado uses with some frequency, denoted a quasi-naturalistic return to primeval perfection, and was not yet associated with conscious innovation or with progress. In saying that the Comunidades was a 'revolution' then, Maldonado was not deviating from his Sallustian model, for the term denoted a process which was essentially 'transhistorical', whereas 'civil war' was a historical term, used with reference to the struggle itself. Nor is Maldonado endorsing the view of some later historians, most notably Jose Antonio Maravall, who maintain that the Comuneros were, in the modern sense, 'revolutionaries'. On the contrary, De motu Hispaniae, lends credence to a different view; that while Comunero practice may have been innovative, this was but a 'latent function' of an essentially conservative ideology. The Comuneros, like most early modern rebels, looked to what Zagorin calls 'the normative past', a notion which Maldonado seems to have shared. For Maldonado, however, those most likely to reinstate the just society which had prevailed under the Catholic Monarchs were not
the *populares* but the *optimates*, who had shown themselves to be the embodiment of all that was best in the Castilian past. While Comuneros such as Maldonado's Toledan proclaimed their allegiance to the legitimate monarch, and to 'tradition', their practice showed that they were, in reality, 'friends of novelty', part of the problem not part of the solution. (Note that here again Maldonado has 'unmasked' them). For all his vaunted impartiality, Maldonado's sympathies clearly lay with the *boni viri*, and it was this attachment which led him to supplement his Sallustian portrait of the popular classes with a rhetorical formula drawn from the work of his master Cicero.

Eugenio Asensio has shown that Maldonado was, like his teacher Longueil, a fervant 'Ciceronian', and that devotion to his departed friend was an influential factor in his break with Erasmus, who ridiculed Longueil in his *Ciceronianus* (1528). As we have already suggested, however, Maldonado's Ciceronianism went beyond matters of stylistic propriety. His readings in Cicero had also convinced him of the need for a 'Ciceronian' union of eloquence and philosophy, and that men trained in both were an asset in public life. A close reading of *De motu Hispaniae*, in fact, reveals that Maldonado was also a Ciceronian in his political views.

In describing 'the popular party' and its 'plebeian' followers, Maldonado makes use of a distinctive rhetorical formula which Achard, and more recently Wood, have traced to Cicero's *optimate* criticism of the *populares* of late Republican Rome. This formula is quintessentially embodied in the numerous senatorial and forensic orations which Cicero
delivered between his consulate in 63 B.C. and his death in 43 B.C., and especially in the forensic speech known as Pro Sestio, which Maldonado undoubtedly knew. In reading De motu Hispaniae, one is struck by the frequency with which Maldonado employs variants of the three key words in this Ciceronian rhetorical formula - furor, perditus, and audax -, and more importantly, by the fact that he uses them in precisely the same sense that Cicero did, namely to indicate the mental derangement, moral corruption, and antisocial recklessness of the popular party and its followers.

Throughout De motu Hispaniae, Maldonado consistently employs adjectives and abstract nouns - furioso, furor, loco, and locura are the most common - which draw our attention to the unbalanced mental state of the rebels and their leaders. These designate the same complex of traits which Cicero attributed to the populares in Pro Sestio, namely "madness, frenzy, rage, insanity". After witnessing the brutal murder of the merchant Joffres de Cotannes, for example, it seemed to Maldonado as if "everyone had gone insane with frenzy (locos de furor)". Elsewhere, he remarks upon "the great frenzy, the fanatical insanity, [which] had taken charge of the plebeians". At the height of the rebellion, Maldonado came to believe that the majority of the citizens of Burgos "had entirely lost their reason". There are many more instances of the same usage, but the author's point should already be clear. Maldonado, like Cicero, wants us to believe that the rebels are insane; that human beings in their right minds do not behave in such a manner. At a higher level, the rebellion itself is represented as a form of
'mental illness', which has invaded the 'body politic', upsetting the 'natural' balance which ought to exist between the estates of which it is composed.\footnote{71}

Another of Cicero's favourite adjectives in Pro Sestio was perditus: "the morally ruined or lost, wretched, sinful, immoral, evil".\footnote{72} Exactly the same connotations attach to the term hombres perdidos, which Maldonado employs repeatedly with reference to the supporters of the Comunero cause, especially those at the lowest social level.\footnote{73} The term is often used in combination with a variant of furor or locura, thereby leaving an impression of both moral corruption and mental derangement. Maldonado even goes so far as to characterise the whole city of Burgos, then under the control of the comunidad, as "perdida and furiosa". (97) Here, as so often in De motu Hispaniae, the Ciceronian and Sallustian formulae reinforce each other. Like Sallust, Maldonado was convinced that he lived in an age of 'decline', characterised by widespread corruption and moral terpitude, and he placed Cicero's rhetoric at the service of this conviction.

The third term in the Ciceronian formula - audacia and its adjectival form audax - has, as Wood points out, no satisfactory English equivalent. Usually translated as 'recklessness' and 'reckless' respectively, Cicero uses these words to suggest

a boldness, entailing insolence, impudence or brazenness, signifying one who, because of his enflamed and wicked nature, contemptuously transgresses norms of conduct appropriate to his social station. \footnote{74}

These meanings are perfectly conveyed by the words atrevimiento and
atrevido, both central to the portrait of the Comuneros in De motu Hispaniae. Though this term is employed less frequently than the other two, this is undoubtedly due to the fact that whereas furor, locura and perdido are unambiguously pejorative, atrevido can be used in an approbative sense, as when Maldonado commends Osorio's behavior as atrevido (daring). But while Osorio's 'heroic' actions were fully in keeping with his social position, the atrevimiento of the 'plebeians' was, for Maldonado, socially corrosive, since it betrayed a distinctly contemptuous lack of deference. Maldonado remarks, for example, upon the insolence (atrevimiento) of an artisan who dared to contradict the Constable of Castile. (130) The Constable, much-abused as corregidor of Burgos, gives a good description of the atrevimiento which prevailed among the rebellious members of the lower orders:

Today I am abused by individuals - my cooks and stable boys - any one of whom would, a few days ago, have been afraid not to be the first to remove his hat in my presence. (128)

During the Comunidades, the popular classes had lost their customary docility, and had come to believe, to use an expression of which Maldonado was especially fond, that "everything was permitted".

On a number of occasions in De motu Hispaniae, Maldonado brings the Sallustian and Ciceronian formulae into conjunction, thereby doubling the rhetorical effect. He tells, for example, of how in 1506 four of the principal magnates of Castile took temporary charge of the government, so as to "brake the locura of the hombres perdidos, and remind those who were deseados de novedades of their duty". (44) The most striking in-
stance, however, is the portrait of Antonio de Acuña, who possesses all of the characteristics which Maldonado habitually attributes to the lower classes. According to Maldonado, Acuña, like the popular masses he led, followed his passions rather than his reason, and frequently exhibited his locura. (170,221) He was notoriously inconstant in his affections and opinions, and had an insatiably appetite for sedition and novedades. (143) A born warrior, the Bishop of Zamora was extremely atrevido, but because of his moral corruption, the martial virtues he possessed took an antisocial form. (221,151)

Maldonado's ability to combine these rhetorical formulae reminds us that while Sallust and Cicero took different sides in the civil war, each was convinced that the party he supported was the true embodiment of Roman 'tradition'. Neither was a proponent of democracy in the Greek sense. Both Cicero's anti-populare rhetoric and Sallust's historical pessimism, therefore, can be placed at the service of Maldonado's conservative 'moral' (see above, 83). Maldonado based his work on Sallust's so that his humanist readership could identify his account of the Comunidades as 'a story of a particular kind', a story with a message for posterity; namely that while passionate partisans, the Toledan for example, would hold one particular group, in this case the nobility, responsible for the carnage of civil war, a suprapartisan examination of events reveals that responsibility must be distributed evenly among all those who 'hankered after innovation', and placed their own selfish interests before those of the commonwealth. (72) The common good is best served by the experienced and virtuous few, who realize that the
nature of the historical world is such that any attempt to 'innovate' will end in corruption and disaster, and that therefore the best strategy is to adhere faithfully to what 'tradition' and 'experience' have shown to be the best form of government for Spain - an ordered and just monarchy. The popular classes above all, must realize that however miserable their lot, such a regime is 'the best of all possible worlds'. As Maldonado puts it in *De motu Hispaniae*:

> The fickle plebeians, the vulgar masses, with the hope of achieving I know not what kind of liberty and of lowering taxes, were the architects of their own destruction, for no one enjoys a more true and stable liberty than those under the rule of a good prince. (202)
NOTES


3 The Mendoza Family, 15.


5 Paraenesis, 158. Maldonado's defense of the utility of rhetoric is almost identical to that of the Italian humanist Bartolommeo della Fonte, right down to the tears for the demise of judicial oratory: Trinkaus, "A Humanist's Image", 96-99.


7 See note 4 above.

8 On this debate, see Seigel, Rhetoric and Philosophy.

9 Tractado, 173-174.

10 Paraenesis, 159, 163.

11 Quoted in Seigel, Rhetoric and Philosophy, 127. See also, Serrano,


13 Gilbert, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, 216; Trinkaus, "A Humanist's Image", 114, 118 n77.

14 Paraenesis, 159.

15 Gilmore, Humanists and Jurists, 14.


17 Struever, Language of History, 128, 135. On Maldonado's respect for Pontano, see Asensio, introduction, 63, 71.

18 Gutierrez Nieto, "Violencia y sociedad", 586.


20 Maldonado's use of oratio recta is similar to most of the many instances included in Eric Cochrane's Historians and Historiography. For a comparable Spanish example, see Tate, "A Humanistic Biography", 10-11. It is noteworthy that when Antonio de Nebrija 'Latinized' the vernacular chronicle of Hernando de Pulgar, the most extensive innovations were in the harangues, which were rendered more 'rhetorical': Sanchez Alonso, "Nebrija, Historiador", 134-136.

21 Tate, "Lopez de Ayala", 171-173.
Asensio, introduction, 46. Among the humanists, classical Latin "was still held to be the most lasting, although not necessarily the most expressive language": Cochrane, *Historians*, 6. According to Lucio Marineo Siculo, Ferdinand the Catholic had commissioned him to write a history of his father, Juan II of Aragon, in Latin, "lest the memory and name of that excellent prince, celebrated only in Spanish and barbarous language, might fall into oblivion": Quoted by Caro Lynn, *A College Professor*, 126. Marineo's remark resembles another by Robert Gaguin, who twice petitioned the French Crown to be named royal historiographer. In the first of these petitions, Gaguin suggests that the reputation of the French had suffered because French historians had written only in "the vulgar tongue". In support of his appointment, he argued that "[o]nly in a universal language could the great deeds of the French become a permanent possession": Gilmore, *Humanists and Jurists*, 89. Gaguin's position is identical to Maldonado's.


In *De motu Hispaniae*, see 91-96, 98-103, 108-109, 146-147, 150-151, 185-186. Compare especially the 'hortatory orations' of Catiline [*Conspiracy*, 188-190] and Acuña [*De motu Hispaniae*, 185-186]. and the juxtaposed 'character sketches' of Cato and Caesar [*Conspiracy*, 226] and Osorio and Acuña [*De motu Hispaniae*, 146-147].
According to Maldonado, Osorio's behavior as corregidor, both in
Burgos and Córdoba, was above reproach. In Burgos, Osorio did his best to
calm the fury of the mob, tried in vain to save the unfortunate Joffre,
and successfully persuaded his half-brother not to enter the city: De motu
Hispaniae, 98-103, 150-151. Rebellion in Córdoba, as in most of Andalusia,
was stillborn, but this was not, according to Maldonado, because the Córdo-
ban populace was contented with the status quo, but because "prudent men",
led by Osorio, repressed Comunero agitators. (112) Prominent among these
were "a groups of young nobles desirous of novelty", who sparked a revival
of bando warfare between the noble houses of Baena and Aguilar. (151)
This analysis of the situation in Córdoba is born out by other sources;
See, for example, the sworn statement by the ex-procurador Francisco Pacheco:
Danvila, Historia, 2:172,604; Perez, Revolución, 397-398. Maldonado (151)
describes how as corregidor, Osorio had the leader of this rebellious
jeunesse dorée, Pedro de Hoces, arrested and beheaded in the plaza of La
Corredera. According to Maldonado, this "daring move (hecho atreyido)"
occaisioned much bad feeling, and the corregidor had cause to fear for his
life. [There is much more information on this, and other incidents, which
occurred during Osorio's stormy term as corregidor of Cordoba, all of which
substantiates Maldonado's version of events, in the municipal record (actas
capitulares) of the Cordoban city council for the period June 1520 - June
1521, published in Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de
España, CXII, (Madrid: Real Academia de Historia, 1895); For a summary, see
Antonio Rodriguez Villa, "Cordoba y la Guerra de las Comunidades," Revista
Europea 3 (1874-75): 553-562.] The danger to Osorio probably came from
the Marquis of Comares, whom the corregidor had expelled from the city, and who in May of 1521 was gathering troops for an attack on the Córdoban fortress (alcázar), a prospect which led Osorio to seek the aid of Comares' arch-rival, the Marquis of Priego: Danvila, Historia, 4:138-140. Comares had already requested an investigation (residencia) of Osorio's behavior as corregidor of Córdoba, and while the Regents failed to see the necessity [Danvila, Historia, 4:253], the residencia finally began in December of 1523: Danvila, Historia, 5:473-478. Testimony before the inquiry confirmed the propriety of Osorio's actions during the Comunidades. This is also amply demonstrated elsewhere; For example, in Danvila, Historia, 1:360-366, 381, 384, 481-482; 3:232, 542-546. Avilés [Suenos, 113] recognizes that Maldonado's invidious comparison of Osorio and Acuña was a conscious exercise in "public relations", but suggests the ridiculous, namely that Osorio accepted the corregimiento of Burgos because he initially supported the rebellion, and thus required Maldonado's aid. All our sources indicate that Osorio was pressured into accepting the corregimiento, worked against the rebels from the outset, and abandoned the post as soon as he could. After all, the residencia concluded that Osorio was innocent of any wrongdoing, which could partially explain why Maldonado did not release De motu Hispaniae until many years later.

27 The continuing relevance of what Reed Browning calls the 'Catonic perspective' on political life is discussed in Chapter One of his Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Court Whigs, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982). Maldonado had every opportunity to absorb such a perspective from such writers as Horace, Vergil, Livy, Lucan, Plutarch
and Sallust, all of whom paint Cato as the quintessence of selfless patriotism, and all of whom Maldonado is known to have read: Paraenesis, 149, 156-157. If it be objected that a Catonic, or perhaps more appropriately, Ciceronian perspective had no place in the political discourse of early sixteenth-century Castile, evidence to the contrary can be found in the remarkable Tractado de Republica of Alonso de Castrillo. For a good, if somewhat anachronistic, reading, see José Antonio Maravall, Carlos V y el pensamiento político del Renacimiento, (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Politicos, 1960), 236-245. The best discussion of Castrillo's political thought, however, is that of J. A. Fernández-Santamaría, The State, War and Peace, 14-34.

28 Cartagena's opposition to Comunero extremism is well known. Perez, for example, speculates that his speech before the rebel junta at Tordejillas (24 September 1520) was censored because the procurador from Burgos expressed reservations about, or even hostility to, the proceedings: Revolución, 185. Maldonado gives Cartagena's speech a heroic cast by placing it immediately after an outburst by the Toledan, who demands that the narrator name a single person "who dared oppose the enfuriated masses". (122-123) Cartagena joined Osorio and other boni viri in supporting the common good and opposing popular outrages in Burgos. (93-95, 99, 101-103)

29 Gilbert, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, 205.
31 Gilbert, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, 206-209.
32 Gilbert, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, 209. On García, see Tate, "A Humanistic Biography".
33 Cochrane, Historians, 4.
34 "Historical Criteria of the Modern Concept of Revolution," in Futures Past, 43.
35 Burke, Sense of the Past, 105.
36 Burke, Sense of the Past, 106.
37 Bellum Catilinae, 38.3; The Conspiracy of Catiline, 204-205.
38 On Sarpi, see Burke, Sense of the Past, 89-90.
39 Maldonado's attitude toward 'ambition' was remarkably similar to that of his Italian contemporary Machiavelli, for whom there were two types: ambition on behalf of oneself or one's faction (bad: productive of the Machiavellian equivalent to perdition - civil war), and ambition on behalf of one's patria or the bene commune, which could serve as the basis for public good: See the comment by Anthony Parel in Martin Fleischer, ed. Machiavelli and the Nature of Political Thought, 148-150.
40 On the 'antiseigneurial revolution', see J. I. Gutierrez Nieto, Las Comunidades como movimiento antiseñorial.
42 According to Bataillon, Maldonado's life in Burgos convinced him that the insidious power of money, and the luxury which attended its accumulation, were undermining the moral base of Castilian society: Erasmo, 335-336. Sallust, of course, held similar views: Bellum Catilinae, 10-13; Conspiracy of Catiline, 181-183.
43 The Bishop's brother was Antonio de Fonseca, who commanded the troops responsible for the burning of Medina. Maldonado describes the
burning of Don Antonio's home in Valladolid. (117)

44 For example, Maldonado's account of the behavior of the Spanish nobility during the Comunidades conforms with J. H. Elliot's remarks on the pattern of revolt in early modern Europe: "Revolution and Continuity in Early Modern Europe," Past and Present 42 (1969): 35-56, especially 53-55. His version of events also lends support to the thesis of Joseph Perez, who argues that the 'geography' of the rebellion is at least partially explicable with reference to the existence of 'Two Castiles'; the manufacturing and artisanal cities of the 'centre' - Segovia, Toledo, Valladolid and others -, which adhered to the Comunero cause, and the commercial and exporting centres of the 'periphery', which either deserted to the royalists (Burgos) or abjured altogether (Seville, and indeed all of Andalusia): Revolución, 380-450.

45 Maldonado was not the only one whose perceptions of the Comunidades were shaped by a knowledge of Roman history. Sandoval [Historia, 226-229] records a speech supposedly given by Gonzalo de Ayora before the Royal Council as that body was deciding how to deal with the rebellious Segovians. J. I. Gutierrez Nieto accepts the authenticity of the speech, and sees in it "an attempt to intellectualize the events he had witnessed, evaluating them according to the precepts of Roman historiography": "Violencia y sociedad", 580.


47 In "El pensamiento historico", David H. Darst makes a similar point
with reference to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. While remaining loyal to some Renaissance norms, Mendoza had to modify others in face of the manifestly 'inglorious' nature of the Granadan war. Don Diego, in fact, goes farther than Maldonado, breaking with humanist statutes on 'moral portaiture' and stereotyped battle descriptions. He also writes in the vernacular.


49 Guicciardini opposed popular rule, and favoured placing "control of the Republic in the hands of the optimates, who are certain to 'rule it with more intelligence and prudence than a multitude', since they are sure to possess 'greater prudence and good qualities'": Skinner, Foundations, 1:161. Such a view would have come naturally to the Florentine aristocrat Guicciardini, but Maldonado's adoption of the Ciceronian position amounted to accepting the political outlook of urban patricians like his patrons Osorio and Cartagena, members of a class whose interests made them naturally suspicious of those who were 'friends of novelty': Manuel Fernández Álvarez, La sociedad española del Renacimiento, (Salamanca: Ediciones Anaya, 1970), 11.

50 Bellum Catilinae, 37; Conspiracy of Catiline, 203.

51 De motu Hispaniae, 32, 40, 42, 44, 47, 62, 92, 110, 140, 145, 147,
In his *Storia d'Italia*, Guicciardini traces the ills of the Neopolitans to their love of novelties (*cupidità di cose nuove*): Peter Burke, "Tradition and Experience: The Idea of Decline from Bruni to Gibbon," *Daedalus* 105 (1976): 137. Compare *De motu Hispaniae*, 41. Elsewhere in Maldonado's account, it is the Toledan who declares that the Spaniards are 'friends of novelty'. (140)

The Comunidades simply reinforced the belief, already commonplace among educated Spanish conservatives, that the lower classes were, as a general rule, 'friends of novelty'. By far the best discussion of this subject is José Antonio Maravall, *Antiguos y modernos: La idea de progreso en el desarrollo inicial de una sociedad*, (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1966), especially 93-110. For the popularity of this *topos* during the Comunidades, see Augustin Redondo, *Antonio de Guevara et l'Espagne de son temps*, (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1976), 602-603. The views of Guevara, a well-known opponent of the Comuneros, were similar to Maldonado's, as were those of Guicciardini: Skinner, *Foundations*, 161.

Gonzalo Garcia de Santa Maria, whose biography of John II of Aragon was modelled on the *Bellum Catilinae*, also appropriated the notion that the lower classes and their leaders were *novarum rerum cupidam*. According to Garcia, in Catalonia wealth and sophistication had weakened the moral fibre and martial spirit of the society, which had become "ripe for a revolution of the type led by Catiline": this was a prospect welcomed by the *jeunesse dorée* and the lowest level of the plebs, who, possessed of little reverence for the past, were eager for novelty.
and change.
Tate, "A Humanistic Biography", 8. This is precisely the impression which Maldonado creates in *De motu Hispaniae*.

54 In *De motu Hispaniae*, Maldonado remarks upon the near impossibility of reasoning with the masses. (127) Doctor Francisco Lopez de Villalobos held similar views. The famous *converso* physician failed to see "how one [could] speak reasonably to barbers and artisans, who have never had the use of human reason": *Algunas obras del doctor Francisco Lopez de Villa-
obos*, (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1886), 53. Antonio de Herrera felt that women could play no role in politics because of an insatiable craving for 'novelties', while for Cervantes de Salazar, it was the Indians of the New World who were "in general, friends of novelty": Maravall, *Antiguos*, 97.

55 *Conspiracy of Catiline*, 223.

56 *Tractado*, 8. See also *Tractado*, 50, 99-100.

57 Maravall, *Las Comunidades*, 238.

58 The present writer would take issue with José Antonio Maravall, who has maintained that throughout the sixteenth century "ascending groups" (*letrados*, merchants, and others of 'middling rank') looked favourably upon 'innovation' in political and social life: *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, Trans. Terry Cochran, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 226.

59 Burke, "Tradition and Experience", 137.

60 On the 'idea of decay' in Renaissance historiography, see Weisinger, "Ideas of History", 431-435. Good general discussions are Burke, "Tradi-


62 According to J. H. Elliot, the arbitrista response to 'decline' was not innovation, which "was not easy to justify in a world which instinctively tended to assume that all change was for the worse", but rather return:

Return to the primeval purity of manners and morals; return to just and uncorrupt government; return to the simple virtues of a rural and martial society. The future essentially lay in the past.

This Golden Age was most often identified with the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Elliot, "Self-Perception and Decline", 57, 52, 50.


64 Reinhart Koselleck, "Historical Criteria of the Modern Concept of Revolution," in Futures Past, 41-43.


66 Zagorin, Rebels and Rulers, 1:23.

67 Asensio, "Ciceronianos contra Erasmistas".


69 I count 39 occasions on which Maldonado uses furor or one of its variants in De motu Hispaniae: 93, 94, 95, 97, 100, 101(2x), 102(2x), 110, 116, 117, 118, 119(3x), 122, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 140, 143, 151, 153, 156, 160, 168(2x), 169, 172, 187, 198, 218, 221, 228. Locura and its variants are used on 34 occasions: 44, 70, 73, 93, 100, 102, 103(3x), 112, 118, 122, 127(2x), 132, 133, 134, 137(2x), 144, 168, 169(2x), 171(2x), 172, 179, 199(2x), 202, 218, 221, 224, 228.

70 Wood, "Populares", 35.


72 Wood, "Populares", 36.

73 The expression hombres perdidos occurs 18 times in De motu Hispaniae: 44, 70, 72, 91, 97, 100, 132, 133, 134, 167, 168(2x), 171, 179, 199, 218, 228(2x).

Atrevido or a variant is used 12 times in De motu Hispaniae: 70(2x), 91, 127(2x), 130, 139, 199, 221(2x), 224, 228.

De motu Hispaniae, 83, 118, 124, 198-199.
CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this study, we looked briefly at two areas of inquiry—Spanish humanism and the history of Spanish historiography—which are currently pursued separately but should, in the view of this writer, be brought into close conjunction. If our study of *De motu Hispaniae* is any indication, our understanding of the complex phenomenon of Spanish humanism would be significantly enhanced if intellectual historians of Spain paid closer attention than they have to the historiography of the 'Golden Age'. History, after all, is so central to the *studia humanitatis* that wherever a humanist movement worthy of the name exists, there too will be humanist historiography. (And, we would hasten to add, vice versa). In the absence of comparative data we cannot venture grandiose generalizations on the basis of a single work, but the evidence of *De motu Hispaniae* shows that it was possible for at least one Spaniard, native-born and native-trained, to compose a work of history which is, in all important particulars, comparable to anything written by humanist historians elsewhere in Europe. This is not to suggest that *De motu Hispaniae* is a kind of Spanish *Storia d'Italia*, and Maldonado a Burgalese Guicciardini, though as we have seen, the two men held strikingly similar views on history and politics. Though *De motu Hispaniae* is a fascinating, and in many ways unique work, it falls somewhat short of greatness. If our analysis proves anything, however, it is the accuracy of Kristeller's remark to the effect that our knowledge of Renaissance humanism will remain incomplete, and perhaps distorted, so long as historians and literary scholars focus on a miniscule canon of 'masterpieces' written by members of the humanist 'elite', and ignore the lives and works of the humanist
'rank-and-file'. A man like Juan Maldonado would be considered a failure by any standard of worldly success, but works such as De motu Hispaniae reveal a stalwart, if uninspired, devotion to humanist ideals.

Only more detailed study of Spanish Golden Age historiography would determine whether Maldonado's is an isolated instance or one example of a more widespread phenomenon. What are required are more monographs of the calibre of that which Mary Gaylord Randel devoted to the historiographical prose of Fernando de Herrera. More welcome still would be a series of articles on sixteenth-century historians which could rival, if not surpass, those which R. B. Tate has written on late medieval historiography. Our look at De motu Hispaniae certainly suggests that while Nader's two historiographical 'schools' of letrados and caballeros are useful, and generally accurate, conceptual tools for understanding the work of fifteenth-century historians, they simply mislead us when applied to the sixteenth century. There is no place within their framework for Juan Maldonado, whose account of the Comunidades likewise puts the lie to Nader's injudicious suggestion that all sixteenth-century historiography was medieval and providentialist in character and that humanist history expired under the Catholic Monarchs. In his techniques and his 'philosophy of history', Maldonado was a caballero, that is, he complied with humanist prescriptions concerning form and content, but unlike the caballeros, who had to write in the vernacular in order to satisfy their unlettered aristocratic patrons, Maldonado, like Nader's letrados, wrote exclusively in Latin. He was able to do so because his own patron, Diego Osorio, was representative of a generation of nobles who were less reti-
cent that their fathers had been about the compatibility of 'arms' and 'letters'.

To concede that humanism was a minority phenomenon under the Catholic Monarchs is to concede almost nothing, for humanism was, in terms of percentages, a minority phenomenon everywhere. What is important, and this even the critics of the 'open Spain' thesis concede, is that Ferdinand and Isabella patronized humanist scholarship, albeit often for reasons other than intellectual curiosity. As we have seen in the case of Salamanca, the program of university reform sponsored by the Catholic Monarchs did nothing to alter the scholastic and jurisprudential bias of Castilian higher education. We have also seen, however, that Italian humanists such as Flaminio, who thrived under the Catholic Monarchs, could, for a brief period in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, inspire in men like Juan Maldonado a lifelong affection for the studia humanitatis. Eugenio Asensio has suggested, correctly I think, that under the Catholic Monarchs, Spanish humanism was largely confined to the court, and that even the attitudes of the famous Nebrija betray the fact that while he himself was a married laymen, he wrote for an audience of clerics. According to Asensio, humanism only became a 'grassroots' movement under Charles V, when it moved out to the provinces, to cities like Burgos, where Juan Maldonado, who had trained under Flaminio and Longueil, spent forty years teaching the studia humanitatis.  

Maldonado was only free to pursue his humanist inclinations, however, so long as he steered clear of those whose religious views ran contrary to established doctrine. By the 1530's, the 'open Spain' was
clearly being dismantled. The Holy Office had embarked upon a vigorous program of persecution and harassment designed to eradicate all traces of unorthodoxy from Spain. Not only the old heresies - 'Lutheranism', Illuminism, Judaism - were proscribed under the new dispensation, but even Erasmianism, not officially a heresy but now widely mistrusted, came under attack. A long series of trials culminated in the prosecution of the Greek scholar and friend of Erasmus Juan de Vergara in 1533. In the 1530's, without warning, Juan Maldonado began denouncing Erasmus in print, charging that among other things the Dutchman was far too fond of novedades. Maldonado continued to write and publish anti-Erasmian tracts until his death in 1554.

J. H. Elliot has drawn our attention to a strange irony in this anti-Erasmian campaign, which revealed, among other things, that Maldonado had been devoted, not to Erasmus' theology, which he jettisoned as soon as it became prudent to do so, but to the rhetorical skills he had praised in the Paraenesis. Elliot argues that many of the intolerant 'traditionalist' ecclesiastics who spearheaded this reinvigorated crusade were, in fact, the self-same young clerics who had been willing to risk their lives for the Comunero cause. The claim is a contentious one, yet it would be ironic indeed if Juan Maldonado spent the final years of his life fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the Comuneros.
NOTES


3 So far, the only one to have produced this kind of work on the sixteenth century is David H. Darst: See his "El pensamiento", and "The Persistance".

4 Asensio, introduction, 5-14.

5 Bataillon, Erasmo, 488.

6 Elliot, Imperial Spain, 215.


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