Orders were accordingly issued to the cavaliers CHAPTER occupying the Heights of Albohacen to break up their camp, and join themselves to the main body the Span-Retreat of of the army. This was executed on the following morning before dawn, being the 4th of July. No sooner did the Moors of Loja perceive their enemy abandoning his strong position, than they sallied forth in considerable force to take possession of it. Ferdinand's men, who had not been advised of the proposed manœuvre, no sooner beheld the Moorish array brightening the crest of the mountain, and their own countrymen rapidly descending, than they imagined that these latter had been surprised in their intrenchments during the night, and were now flying before the enemy. An alarm instantly spread through the whole camp. Instead of standing to their defence, each one thought only of saving himself by as speedy a flight as possible. In vain did Ferdinand, riding along their broken files, endeavour to reanimate their spirits and restore order. He might as easily have calmed the winds, as the disorder of a panic-struck mob, unschooled by discipline or experience. Ali Atar's practised eye speedily discerned the confusion which prevailed through the Christian camp. Without delay, he rushed forth impetuously at the head of his whole array from the gates of Loja, and converted into a real danger, what had before been only an imaginary one.<sup>5</sup>

Dominacion de los Arabes, tom.

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<sup>5</sup> Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. iii. pp. 214 – 217. — Cardonne, 189 – 191. — Bernaldez, Reyes Ca-Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne, tom. tólicos, MS., cap. 58. — Conde, iii. pp. 260, 261.

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At this perilous moment, nothing but Ferdinand's coolness could have saved the army from total destruction. Putting himself at the head of the royal guard, and accompanied by a gallant band of cavaliers, who held honor dearer than life, he made such a determined stand against the Moorish advance, that Ali Atar was compelled to pause in his career. A furious struggle ensued betwixt this devoted little band and the whole strength of the Moslem army. Ferdinand was repeatedly exposed to imminent peril. On one occasion he was indebted for his safety to the marquis of Cadiz, who, charging at the head of about sixty lances, broke the deep ranks of the Moorish column, and compelling it to recoil, succeeded in rescuing his sovereign. In this adventure, he narrowly escaped with his own life, his horse being shot under him, at the very moment when he had lost his lance in the DE ANDAbody of a Moor. Never did the Spanish chivalry shed its blood more freely. The constable, count de Haro, received three wounds in the face. The duke of Medina Celi was unhorsed and brought to the ground, and saved with difficulty by his own men; and the count of Tendilla, whose encampment lay nearest the city, received several severe blows, and would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had it not been for the timely aid of his friend, the young count of Zuñiga.

> The Moors, finding it so difficult to make an impression on this iron band of warriors, began at length to slacken their efforts, and finally allowed Ferdinand to draw off the remnant of his forces

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The loss of the Christians must have been very considerable, including the greater part of the baggage and the artillery. It occasioned deep mortification to the queen; but, though a severe, it proved a salutary lesson. It showed the importance of more extensive preparations for a war, which must of necessity be a war of posts; and

<sup>6</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 58. — Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 214-217. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra. — Lebrija, Rerum Gestarum Decades, ii. lib. 1, cap. 7. — The *Peña de los Enamorados* received its name from a tragical incident in Moorish history. A Christian slave succeeded in inspiring the daughter of his master, a wealthy Mussulman of Granada, with a passion for himself. The two lovers, after some time, fearful of the detection of their intrigue, resolved to make their escape into the Spanish territory. Before they could effect their purpose, however, they were hotly pursued by the damsel's father at the head of a party of Moorish horsemen, and overtaken near a precipice which

rises between Archidona and Antequera. The unfortunate fugitives, who had scrambled to the summit of the rocks, finding all further escape impracticable, after tenderly embracing each other, threw themselves headlong from the dizzy heights, preferring this dreadful death to falling into the hands of their vindictive pursuers. The spot consecrated as the scene of this tragic incident has received the name of *Rock of the Lovers*. The legend is prettily told by Mariana, (Hist. de España, tom. ii. pp. 253, 254,) who concludes with the pithy reflection, that " such constancy would have been truly admirable, had it been shown in defence of the true faith, rather than in the gratification of lawless appetite." 347

it taught the nation to entertain greater respect

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Revolution in Granada.

IF

for an enemy, who, whatever might be his natural strength, must become formidable when armed with the energy of despair. and the state r. ... At this juncture, a division among the Moors themselves did more for the Christians, than any successes of their own. This division grew out of the vicious system of polygamy, which sows the seeds of discord among those, whom nature; and our own happier institutions unite most closely. The old king of Granada had become so deeply enamoured of a Greek slave, that the Sultana Zoraya, jealous lest the offspring of her rival should supplant her own in the succession, secretly contrived to stir up a spirit of discontent with her husband's government. The king, becoming acquainted with her intrigues, caused her to be imprisoned in the fortress of the Alhambra. But the AND sultana, binding together the scarfs and veils belonging to herself and attendants, succeeded, by means of this perilous conveyance, in making her escape, together with her children, from the upper apartments of the tower in which she was lodged. She was received with joy by her own faction. The insurrection soon spread among the populace, who, yielding to the impulses of nature, are readily roused by a tale of oppression; and the number was still further swelled by many of higher rank, who had various causes of disgust with the oppressive government of Abul Hacen.<sup>7</sup> The strong

<sup>7</sup> Conde, Dominacion de los Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et d'Es-Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 214 – 217. — pagne, tom. iii. pp. 262, 263. —

fortress of the Alhambra, however, remained faith- CHAPTER ful to hime. A war now burst forth in the capital which deluged its streets with the blood of its citizens. At length the sultana triumphed; Abul Hacen was expelled from Granada, and sought a refuge in Malaga, which, with Baza, Guadix, and some other places of importance, still adhered to him; while Granada, and by far the larger portion of the kingdom proclaimed the authority of his elder son, Abu Abdallah, or Boabdil, as he is usually called by the Castilian writers. The Spanish sovereigns viewed with no small interest these proceedings of the Moors, who were thus wantonly fighting the battles of their enemies. All proffers of assistance on their part, however, being warily rejected by both factions, notwithstanding the mutual hatred of each other, they could only await with patience the termination of a struggle, which, whatever might be its results in other respects, could not fail to open the way for the success of thèir own arms.<sup>8</sup>

Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 12. — Bernaldez states that great umbrage was taken at the influence which the king of Granada allowed a person of Christian lineage, named Venegas, to exercise over him. Pulgar hints at the bloody massacre of the Abencerrages, which, without any better authority that I know of, forms the burden of many an ancient ballad, and has lost nothing of its romantic coloring under the hand of Ginés Perez de Hyta.

<sup>8</sup> Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne, ubi supra. — Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, ubi sup. Boabdil was surnamed "el Chico," the Little, by the Spanish writers, to distinguish him from an uncle of the same name; and "el Zogoybi," the Unfortunate, by the Moors, indicating that he was the last of his race destined to wear the diadem of Granada. The Arabs, with great felicity, frequently select names significant of some quality in the objects they represent. Examples of this may be readily found in the southern regions of the Peninsula, where the Moors lingered the longest. The etymology of Gibraltar, Gebal Tarik, Mount of Tarik, is well known. 349

No military operations worthy of notice occurred during the remainder of the campaign, except occasional cavalgadas or inroads, on both sides, which, after the usual unsparing devastation, swept away whole herds of cattle, and human beings, the wretched cultivators of the soil. The quantity of booty frequently carried off on such occasions, amounting, according to the testimony of both Christian and Moorish writers, to twenty, thirty, and even fifty thousand head of cattle, shows the fruitfulness and abundant pasturage in the southern regions of the Peninsula. The loss inflicted by these terrible forays fell, eventually, most heavily on Granada, in consequence of her scanty territory and insulated position, which cut her off from all foreign resources.

Towards the latter end of October, the court passed from Cordova to Madrid, with the intention of remaining there the ensuing winter. Madrid, it may be observed, however, was so far from being recognised as the capital of the monarchy at this time, that it was inferior to several other cities, in wealth and population, and was even less frequented than some others, as Valladolid for example, as a royal residence.

> Thus, Algeziras comes from an Arabic word which signifies an island; Alpuxarras comes from a term signifying herbage or pasturage; Arrecife from another, signifying causeway or high road, etc. The Arabic word wad stands for river. This without much violence has been changed into guad, and enters into the names of many of the southern streams; for example,

Guadalquivir, great river, Guadiana, narrow or little river, Guadalete, &c. In the same manner the term Medina, Arabicè "city," has been retained as a prefix to the names of many of the Spanish towns, as Medina Celi, Medina del Campo, &c. See Conde's notes to El Nubiense, Descripcion de España, passim.

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PART L

On the 1st of July, while the court was at Cor- CHAPTER dova, died Alfonso de Carillo, the factious arch-. bishop of Toledo, who contributed more than any Death of the archbishop of Toledo. other to raise Isabella to the throne, and who, with the same arm, had wellnigh hurled her from it. He passed the close of his life in retirement and disgrace at his town of Alcalá de Henares, where he devoted himself to science, especially to alchymy; in which illusory pursuit he is said to have squandered his princely revenues with such prodigality, as to leave them encumbered with a heavy debt. He was succeeded in the primacy by his ancient rival, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, cardinal of Spain; a prelate whose enlarged and sagacious views gained him deserved ascendency in the councils of his sovereigns.<sup>9</sup>

The importance of their domestic concerns did not prevent Ferdinand and Isabella from giving a vigilant attention to what was passing abroad. The conflicting relations growing out of the feudal system occupied most princes, till the close of the fifteenth century, too closely at home to allow them often to turn their eyes beyond the borders of their own territories. This system was, indeed, now rapidly melting away. But Louis the Eleventh may perhaps be regarded as the first monarch, who showed any thing like an extended interest in European politics. He informed himself of the interior proceedings of most of the neighbouring courts,

<sup>9</sup> Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. — Aleson, Annales de Navarra, del Gran Cardenal, p. 181. — Pul-tom. v. p. 11, ed. 1766. — Peter gar, Claros Varones, tit. 20. — Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 158. Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1483.

Death of the

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Affairs of Italy.

by means of secret agents whom he pensioned there. Ferdinand obtained a similar result by the more honorable expedient of resident embassies, a practice, which he is said to have introduced,<sup>10</sup> and which, while it has greatly facilitated commercial intercourse, has served to perpetuate friendly relations between different countries, by accustoming them to settle their differences by negotiation rather than the sword.

The position of the Italian states, at this period, whose petty feuds seemed to blind them to the invasion which menaced them from the Ottoman empire, was such as to excite a lively interest throughout Christendom, and especially in Ferdinand, as sovereign of Sicily. He succeeded, by means of his ambassadors at the papal court, in opening a negotiation between the belligerents, and in finally adjusting the terms of a general pacification, signed December 12th, 1482. The Spanish court, in consequence of its friendly mediation on this occasion, received three several embassies with suitable acknowledgments, on the part of the pope Sixtus the Fourth, the college of cardinals, and the city of Rome; and certain marks of distinction were conferred by his Holiness on the Castilian envoys, not enjoyed by those of any other potentate. This event is worthy of notice as the first instance of Ferdinand's interference in the politics of Italy,

<sup>10</sup> Fred. Marslaar, De Leg. 2, Spanish word *embnar*, "to send." 11. — M. de Wicquefort derives See Rights of Embassadors, trans-the word *ambassadcur* (anciently lated by Digby, (London, 1740,) in English *embassador*) from the book 1, chap. 1.

in which at a later period he was destined to act CHAPTER so prominent a part. <sup>11</sup> x.

The affairs of Navarre at this time, were such as Or Navarre. to engage still more deeply the attention of the Spanish sovereigns. The crown of that kingdom had devolved, on the death of Leonora, the guilty sister of Ferdinand, on her grandchild, Francis Phœbus, whose mother, Magdeleine of France, held the reins of government during her son's minority. 12 The near relationship of this princess to Louis the Eleventh, gave that monarch an absolute influence in the councils of Navarre. He made use of this to bring about a marriage between the young king, Francis Phœbus, and Joanna Beltraneja, Isabella's former competitor for the crown of Castile, notwithstanding this princess had long brav since taken the veil in the convent of Santa Clara at Coimbra. It is not easy to unravel the tortuous politics of King Louis. The Spanish writers impute to him the design of enabling Joanna by this alliance to establish her pretensions to the Castilian throne, or at least to give such employment to its present proprietors, as should effectually prevent

<sup>11</sup> Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, tom. xi. cap. 88. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, pp. 195–198. — Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 218. demise of his grandmother Leono-

<sup>12</sup> Áleson, Ánnales de Navarra, lib. 34, cap. 1. — Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, p. 558.

aume de Navarre, p. 558. Leonora's son, Gaston de Foix, prince of Viana, was slain by an accidental wound from a lance, at a tourney at Lisbon, in 1469. By the princess Magdeleine, his wife, sister of Louis XI., he left two children, a son and daughter, each

of whom in turn succeeded to the crown of Navarre. Francis Phœbus ascended the throne on the demise of his grandmother Leonora, in 1479. He was distinguished by his personal graces and beauty, and especially by the golden lustre of his hair from which, according to Aleson, he derived his cognomen of Phœbus. As it was an ancestral name, however, such an etymology may be thought somewhat fanciful.

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General

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them from disturbing him in the possession of Roussillon. However this may be, his intrigues with Portugal were disclosed to Ferdinand by certain nobles of that court, with whom he was in secret correspondence. The Spanish sovereigns, in order to counteract this scheme, offered the hand of their own daughter Joanna, afterwards mother of Charles the Fifth, to the king of Navarre. But all negotiations relative to this matter were eventually defeated by the sudden death of this young prince, not without strong suspicions of poison. He was succeeded on the throne by his sister Catharine. Propositions were then made by Ferdinand and Isabella, for the marriage of this princess, then thirteen years of age, with their infant son John, heir apparent of their united monarchies.<sup>13</sup> Such an alliance, which would bring under one government nations corresponding in origin; language, general habits, and local interests, presented great and obvious advantages. It was however evaded by the queen dowager, who still acted as regent, on the pretext of disparity of age in the parties. Information being soon after received that Louis the Eleventh was taking measures to make himself master of the strong places in Navarre, Isabella transferred her residence to the frontier town of Logroño, prepared to resist by arms, if necessary, the occupation of that country by her insidious and

<sup>13</sup> Ferdinand and Isabella had at this time four children; the infant Don John, four years and a half old, but who did not live to come to the succession, and the infantas Isabella, Joanna, and Maria; the last, born at Cordova during the summer of 1482.

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1483.

Jan. 30.