

proclaimed, that he would receive a certain sum, if paid within nine months, as the ransom of the whole population, and that their personal effects should be admitted in part payment. This sum averaged about thirty doblas a head, including in the estimate all those who might die before the determination of the period assigned. The ransom, thus stipulated, proved more than the unhappy people could raise, either by themselves, or agents employed to solicit contributions among their brethren of Granada and Africa; at the same time, it so far deluded their hopes, that they gave in a full inventory of their effects to the treasury. By this shrewd device, Ferdinand obtained complete possession both of the persons and property of his victims.<sup>30</sup>

Malaga was computed to contain from eleven to fifteen thousand inhabitants, exclusive of several thousand auxiliaries, within its gates at the time of surrender. One cannot, at this day, read the melancholy details of its story, without feelings of horror and indignation. It is impossible to vindicate the dreadful sentence passed on this unfortunate people for a display of heroism, which should have excited admiration in every generous bosom. It was obviously most repugnant to Isabella's natural disposition, and must

Cruel policy  
of the vic-  
tors.

<sup>30</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 87. — L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol. 176. — Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 238. — Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 296. — Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1487.

Not a word of comment escapes the Castilian historians on this merciless rigor of the conqueror towards the vanquished. It is evident that Ferdinand did no violence to the feelings of his orthodox subjects. *Tucendo clamant.*

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be admitted to leave a stain on her memory, which no coloring of history can conceal. It may find some palliation, however, in the bigotry of the age, the more excusable in a woman, whom education, general example, and natural distrust of herself, accustomed to rely, in matters of conscience, on the spiritual guides, whose piety and professional learning seemed to qualify them for the trust. Even in this very transaction, she fell far short of the suggestions of some of her counsellors, who urged her to put every inhabitant without exception to the sword; which, they affirmed, would be a just requital of their obstinate *rebellion*, and would prove a wholesome warning to others! We are not told who the advisers of this precious measure were; but the whole experience of this reign shows, that we shall scarcely wrong the clergy much by imputing it to them. That their arguments could warp so enlightened a mind, as that of Isabella, from the natural principles of justice and humanity, furnishes a remarkable proof of the ascendancy which the priesthood usurped over the most gifted intellects, and of their gross abuse of it, before the Reformation, by breaking the seals set on the sacred volume, opened to mankind the uncorrupted channel of divine truth.<sup>31</sup>

The fate of Malaga may be said to have decided that of Granada. The latter was now shut out

<sup>31</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 87. — Bleda, Corónica, lib. 5, cap. 15.

About four hundred and fifty Moorish Jews were ransomed by

a wealthy Israelite of Castile for 27,000 doblas of gold. A proof that the Jewish stock was one which thrived amidst persecution. It is scarcely possible that the

from the most important ports along her coast ; and she was environed on every point of her territory by her warlike foe, so that she could hardly hope more from subsequent efforts, however strenuous and united, than to postpone the inevitable hour of dissolution. The cruel treatment of Malaga was the prelude to the long series of persecutions, which awaited the wretched Moslems in the land of their ancestors ; in that land, over which the "star of Islamism," to borrow their own metaphor, had shone in full brightness for nearly eight centuries, but where it was now fast descending amid clouds and tempests to the horizon.

The first care of the sovereigns was directed towards re-peopling the depopulated city with their own subjects. Houses and lands were freely granted to such as would settle there. Numerous towns and villages with a wide circuit of territory were placed under its civil jurisdiction, and it was made the head of a diocese embracing most of the recent conquests in the south and west of Granada. These inducements, combined with the natural advantages of position and climate, soon caused the tide of Christian population to flow into the deserted city ; but it was very long before it again reached the degree of commercial consequence to which it had been raised by the Moors.<sup>32</sup>

Measures for  
re-peopling  
Malaga.

circumstantial Pulgar should have omitted to notice so important a fact as the scheme of the Moorish ransom, had it occurred. It is still more improbable, that the honest Curate of Los Palacios should have fabricated it. Any one who attempts to reconcile the discre-

pancies of contemporary historians even, will have Lord Orford's exclamation to his son Horace brought to his mind ten times a day ; "Oh ! read me not history, for that I know to be false."

<sup>32</sup> Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 94.

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After these salutary arrangements, the Spanish sovereigns led back their victorious legions in triumph to Cordova, whence dispersing to their various homes, they prepared, by a winter's repose, for new campaigns and more brilliant conquests.



JUNTA DE ANDALUCÍA

P.C. Monumental de la Alhambra y Generalife  
CONSEJERÍA DE CULTURA

## CHAPTER XIV.

WAR OF GRANADA.—CONQUEST OF BAZA.—SUBMISSION OF EL ZAGAL.

1487 — 1489.

The Sovereigns visit Aragon.—The King lays Siege to Baza.—Its great Strength.—Gardens cleared of their Timber.—The Queen raises the Spirits of her Troops.—Her patriotic Sacrifices.—Suspension of Arms.—Baza surrenders.—Treaty with Zagal.—Difficulties of the Campaign.—Isabella's Popularity and Influence.

IN the autumn of 1487, Ferdinand and Isabella, accompanied by the younger branches of the royal family, visited Aragon, to obtain the recognition from the cortes, of Prince John's succession, now in his tenth year, as well as to repress the disorders into which the country had fallen during the long absence of its sovereigns. To this end, the principal cities and communities of Aragon had recently adopted the institution of the hermandad, organized on similar principles to that of Castile. Ferdinand, on his arrival at Saragossa in the month of November, gave his royal sanction to the association, extending the term of its duration to five years, a measure extremely unpalatable to the great feudal nobility, whose power, or rather abuse of power,

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The sovereigns visit Aragon.

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was considerably abridged by this popular military force.<sup>1</sup>

The sovereigns, after accomplishing the objects of their visit, and obtaining an appropriation from the cortes for the Moorish war, passed into Valencia, where measures of like efficiency were adopted for restoring the authority of the law, which was exposed to such perpetual lapses in this turbulent age, even in the best constituted governments, as required for its protection the utmost vigilance, on the part of those intrusted with the supreme executive power. From Valencia the court proceeded to Murcia, where Ferdinand, in the month of June, 1488, assumed the command of an army amounting to less than twenty thousand men, a small force compared with those usually levied on these occasions; it being thought advisable to suffer the nation to breathe a while, after the exhausting efforts in which it had been unintermittingly engaged for so many years.

Inroads into  
Granada.

Ferdinand, crossing the eastern borders of Granada, at no great distance from Vera, which speedily opened its gates, kept along the southern slant of the coast as far as Almeria; whence, after experiencing some rough treatment from a sortie of the garrison, he marched by a northerly circuit on Baza, for the purpose of reconnoitring its position, as his numbers were altogether inadequate to its siege. A division of the army under the marquiss

<sup>1</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 12. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, 351, 352, 356. — Mariana, Hist. part. 3, cap. 95. de España, tom. ii. lib. 25, cap.

duke of Cadiz suffered itself to be drawn here into an ambuscade by the wily old monarch El Zagal, who lay in Baza with a strong force. After extricating his troops with some difficulty and loss from this perilous predicament, Ferdinand retreated on his own dominions by the way of Huescar, where he disbanded his army, and withdrew to offer up his devotions at the cross of Caravaca. The campaign, though signalized by no brilliant achievement, and indeed clouded with some slight reverses, secured the surrender of a considerable number of fortresses and towns of inferior note.<sup>2</sup>

The Moorish chief, El Zagal, elated by his recent success, made frequent forays into the Christian territories, sweeping off the flocks, herds, and growing crops of the husbandman; while the garrisons of Almeria and Salobrena, and the bold inhabitants of the valley of Purchena, poured a similar devastating warfare over the eastern borders of Granada into Murcia. To meet this pressure, the Spanish sovereigns reinforced the frontier with additional levies under Juan de Benavides and Garcilasso de la Vega; while Christian knights, whose prowess is attested in many a Moorish lay, flocked there from all quarters, as to the theatre of war.

Border war.

During the following winter, of 1488, Ferdinand and Isabella occupied themselves with the interior government of Castile, and particularly the admin-

<sup>2</sup> Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. viii. p. 76. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 98. — Zuñiga, *Anales de Sevilla*, p. 402. — Car-

donne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 298, 299. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1488.

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istration of justice. A commission was specially appointed to supervise the conduct of the corregidores and subordinate magistrates, "so that every one," says Pulgar, "was most careful to discharge his duty faithfully, in order to escape the penalty, which was otherwise sure to overtake him."<sup>3</sup>

Embassy  
from Maxi-  
milian.

While at Valladolid, the sovereigns received an embassy from Maximilian, son of the emperor Frederic the Fourth, of Germany, soliciting their coöperation in his designs against France for the restitution of his late wife's rightful inheritance, the duchy of Burgundy, and engaging in turn to support them in their claims on Roussillon and Cerdagne. The Spanish monarchs had long entertained many causes of discontent with the French court, both with regard to the mortgaged territory of Roussillon, and the kingdom of Navarre; and they watched with jealous eye the daily increasing authority of their formidable neighbour on their own frontier. They had been induced in the preceding summer, to equip an armament at Biscay

<sup>3</sup> Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. pp. 239, 240. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 100, 101. — During the preceding year, while the court was at Murcia, we find one of the examples of prompt and severe exercise of justice, which sometimes occur in this reign. One of the royal collectors having been resisted and personally maltreated by the alcajde of Salvatierra, a place belonging to the crown, and by the alcalde of a territorial court of the duke of Alva, the queen caused one of the royal judges privately to enter into the place, and take cognizance of the

affair. The latter, after a brief investigation, commanded the alcajde to be hung up over his fortress, and the alcalde to be delivered over to the court of chancery at Valladolid, who ordered his right hand to be amputated, and banished him the realm. This summary justice was perhaps necessary in a community, that might be said to be in transition from a state of barbarism to that of civilization, and had a salutary effect in proving to the people, that no rank was elevated enough to raise the offender above the law. Pulgar, cap. 99.



and Guipuscoa, to support the duke of Brittany in his wars with the French regent, the celebrated Anne de Beaujeu. This expedition, which proved disastrous, was followed by another in the spring of the succeeding year.<sup>4</sup> But, notwithstanding these occasional episodes to the great work in which they were engaged, they had little leisure for extended operations; and, although they entered into the proposed treaty of alliance with Maximilian, they do not seem to have contemplated any movement of importance before the termination of the Moorish war. The Flemish ambassadors, after being entertained for forty days in a style suited to impress them with high ideas of the magnificence of the Spanish court, and of its friendly disposition towards their master, were dismissed with costly presents, and returned to their own country.<sup>5</sup>

These negotiations show the increasing intimacy growing up between the European states, who, as they settled their domestic feuds, had leisure to turn their eyes abroad, and enter into the more extended field of international politics. The tenor of this treaty indicates also the direction, which affairs were to take, when the great powers should

<sup>4</sup> Ialigny, Hist. de Charles VIII., pp. 92, 94. — Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. xv. p. 77. — Aleson, Annales de Navarre, tom. v. p. 61. — Histoire du Royaume de Navarre, pp. 578, 579. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 102.

In the first of these expeditions, more than a thousand Spaniards were slain or taken at the disastrous battle of St. Aubin, in 1488, being the same in which lord Riv-

ers, the English noble, who made such a gallant figure at the siege of Loja, lost his life. In the spring of 1489, the levies sent into France amounted to two thousand in number. These efforts abroad, simultaneous with the great operations of the Moorish war, show the resources as well as energy of the sovereigns.

<sup>5</sup> Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, ubi supra.

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Preparations  
for the siege  
of Baza.

be brought into collision with each other on a common theatre of action.

All thoughts were now concentrated on the prosecution of the war with Granada, which, it was determined, should be conducted on a more enlarged scale than it had yet been; notwithstanding the fearful pest which had desolated the country during the past year, and the extreme scarcity of grain, owing to the inundations caused by excessive rains in the fruitful provinces of the south. The great object proposed in this campaign was the reduction of Baza, the capital of that division of the empire, which belonged to El Zagal. Besides this important city, that monarch's dominions embraced the wealthy sea-port of Almeria, Guadix, and numerous other towns and villages of less consequence, together with the mountain region of the Alpuxarras, rich in mineral wealth; whose inhabitants, famous for the perfection to which they had carried the silk manufacture, were equally known for their enterprise and courage in war, so that El Zagal's division comprehended the most potent and opulent portion of the empire.<sup>6</sup>

1489. In the spring of 1489, the Castilian court passed to Jaen, at which place the queen was to estab-

<sup>6</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 91.—Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 354.—Bleda, Corónica, fol. 607.—Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 307.

Such was the scarcity of grain that the prices in 1489, quoted by Bernaldez, are double those of the preceding year.—Both Abarca and Zurita mention the report, that

four fifths of the whole population were swept away by the pestilence of 1488. Zurita finds more difficulty in swallowing this monstrous statement than father Abarca, whose appetite for the marvellous appears to have been fully equal to that of most of his calling in Spain.

lish her residence, as presenting the most favorable point of communication with the invading army. Ferdinand advanced as far as Sotogordo, where, on the 27th of May, he put himself at the head of a numerous force, amounting to about fifteen thousand horse and eighty thousand foot, including persons of every description; among whom was gathered, as usual, that chivalrous array of nobility and knighthood, who, with stately and well-appointed retinues, were accustomed to follow the royal standard in these crusades. <sup>7</sup>

The king  
takes com-  
mand of  
the army.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 2, epist. 70. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 104.

It may not be amiss to specify the names of the most distinguished cavaliers who usually attended the king in these Moorish wars: the heroic ancestors of many a noble house still extant in Spain.

Alonso de Cardenas, master of Saint Jago.

Juan de Zuñiga, master of Alcantara.

Juan Garcia de Padilla, master of Calatrava.

Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, marquis duke of Cadiz.

Enrique de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia.

Pedro Manrique, duke of Najera.

Juan Pacheco, duke of Escalona, marquis of Villena.

Juan Pimentel, count of Benavente.

Fadrique de Toledo, son of the duke of Alva.

Diego Fernandez de Cordova, count of Cabra.

Gomez Alvarez de Figueroa, count of Feria.

Alvaro Tellez Giron, count of Ureña.

Juan de Silva, count of Cifuentes.

Fadrique Enriquez, adelantado of Andalusia.

Alonso Fernandez de Cordova, lord of Aguilar.

Gonsalvo de Cordova, brother of the last, known afterwards as the Great Captain.

Luis Porto-Carrero, lord of Palma.

Gutierre de Cardenas, first commander of Leon.

Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, count of Haro, constable of Castile.

Beltran de la Cueva, duke of Albuquerque.

Diego Fernandez de Cordova, alcaide of the royal pages, afterwards marquis of Comaras.

Alvaro de Zuñiga, duke of Bejar.

Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, count of Tendilla, afterwards marquis of Mondejar.

Luis de Cerda, duke of Medina Celi.

Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, marquis of Santillana, second duke of Infantado.

Garcilasso de la Vega, lord of Batras.

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IPosition and  
strength of  
Baza.

The first point, against which operations were directed, was the strong post of Cuxar, two leagues only from Baza, which surrendered after a brief but desperate resistance. The occupation of this place, and some adjacent fortresses, left the approaches open to El Zagal's capital. As the Spanish army toiled up the heights of the mountain barrier, which towers above Baza on the west, their advance was menaced by clouds of Moorish light troops, who poured down a tempest of musket-balls and arrows on their heads. These however were quickly dispersed by the advancing vanguard; and the Spaniards, as they gained the summits of the hills, beheld the lordly city of Baza, reposing in the shadows of the bold sierra that stretches towards the coast, and lying in the bosom of a fruitful valley, extending eight leagues in length, three in breadth. Through this valley flowed the waters of the Guadalentin and the Guadalquiron, whose streams were conducted by a thousand canals over the surface of the vega. In the midst of the plain, adjoining the suburbs, might be descried the orchard or garden, as it was termed, of Baza, a league in length, covered with a thick growth of wood, and with numerous villas and pleasure-houses of the wealthy citizens, now converted into garrisoned fortresses. The suburbs were encompassed by a low mud wall; but the fortifications of the city were of uncommon strength. The place, in addition to ten thousand troops of its own, was garrisoned by an equal number from Almeria; picked men, under the command of the Moorish prince Cidi Yahye, a relative of El

Zagal, who lay at this time in Guadix, prepared to cover his own dominions against any hostile movement of his rival in Granada. These veterans were commissioned to defend the place to the last extremity; and, as due time had been given for preparation, the town was victualled with fifteen months' provisions, and even the crops growing in the vega had been garnered before their prime, to save them from the hands of the enemy.<sup>8</sup>

Assault on  
the garden.

The first operation, after the Christian army had encamped before the walls of Baza, was to get possession of the garden, without which it would be impossible to enforce a thorough blockade, since its labyrinth of avenues afforded the inhabitants abundant facilities of communication with the surrounding country. The assault was intrusted to the grand master of St. James, supported by the principal cavaliers, and the king in person. Their reception by the enemy was such as gave them a foretaste of the perils and desperate daring they were to encounter in the present siege. The broken surface of the ground, bewildered with intricate passes, and thickly studded with trees and edifices, was peculiarly favorable to the desultory and illusory tactics of the Moors. The Spanish cavalry was brought at once to a stand; the ground proving impracticable for it, it was dismounted, and led to the charge by its officers on foot. The men, how-

<sup>8</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 360. — Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. p. 241. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 2, epist. 70. — Estrada, Poblacion de España, tom. ii. fol. 239. — Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 16.

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ever, were soon scattered far asunder from their banners and their leaders. Ferdinand, who from a central position endeavoured to overlook the field, with the design of supporting the attack on the points most requiring it, soon lost sight of his columns amid the precipitous ravines, and the dense masses of foliage which everywhere intercepted the view. The combat was carried on, hand to hand, in the utmost confusion. Still the Spaniards pressed forward, and, after a desperate struggle for twelve hours, in which many of the bravest on both sides fell, and the Moslem chief Reduan Zafarga had four horses successively killed under him, the enemy were beaten back behind the intrenchments that covered the suburbs, and the Spaniards, hastily constructing a defence of palisades, pitched their tents on the field of battle.<sup>9</sup>

The following morning Ferdinand had the mortification to observe, that the ground was too much broken, and obstructed with wood, to afford a suitable place for a general encampment. To evacuate his position, however, in the face of the enemy, was a delicate manœuvre, and must necessarily expose him to severe loss. This he obviated, in a great measure, by a fortunate stratagem. He commanded the tents nearest the town to be left standing, and thus succeeded in drawing off the greater part

<sup>9</sup> Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 106, 107. — Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 40. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 71. — Pulgar relates these particulars with a perspicuity very different from his entangled narrative of some of the preceding operations in this war. Both he and Martyr were present during the whole siege of Baza.

of his forces, before the enemy was aware of his intention.

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Dependen-  
cy of the  
Spanish  
chiefs.

After regaining his former position, a council of war was summoned to deliberate on the course next to be pursued. The chiefs were filled with despondency, as they revolved the difficulties of their situation. They almost despaired of enforcing the blockade of a place, whose peculiar situation gave it such advantages. Even could this be effected, the camp would be exposed, they argued, to the assaults of a desperate garrison on the one hand, and of the populous city of Guadix, hardly twenty miles distant, on the other; while the good faith of Granada could scarcely be expected to outlive a single reverse of fortune; so that, instead of besieging, they might be more properly regarded as themselves besieged. In addition to these evils, the winter frequently set in with much rigor in this quarter; and the torrents, descending from the mountains, and mingling with the waters of the valley, might overwhelm the camp with an inundation, which, if it did not sweep it away at once, would expose it to the perils of famine by cutting off all external communication. Under these gloomy impressions, many of the council urged Ferdinand to break up his position at once, and postpone all operations on Baza, until the reduction of the surrounding country should make it comparatively easy. Even the marquis of Cadiz gave in to this opinion; and Gutierre de Cardenas, commander of Leon, a cavalier deservedly high in the confidence of the king, was almost the only person of consideration

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decidedly opposed to it. In this perplexity, Ferdinand, as usual in similar exigencies, resolved to take counsel of the queen.<sup>10</sup>

Dispelled by  
Isabella.

Isabella received her husband's despatches a few hours after they were written, by means of the regular line of posts maintained between the camp and her station at Jaen. She was filled with chagrin at their import, from which she plainly saw, that all her mighty preparations were about to vanish into air. Without assuming the responsibility of deciding the proposed question, however, she besought her husband not to distrust the providence of God, which had conducted them through so many perils towards the consummation of their wishes. She reminded him, that the Moorish fortunes were never at so low an ebb as at present, and that their own operations could probably never be resumed on such a formidable scale or under so favorable auspices as now, when their arms had

<sup>10</sup> Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 92. — Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 299, 300. — Bleda, *Corónica*, p. 611. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. p. 664.

Don Gutierre de Cardenas, who possessed so high a place in the confidence of the sovereigns, occupied a station in the queen's household, as we have seen, at the time of her marriage with Ferdinand. His discretion and general ability enabled him to retain the influence which he had early acquired, as is shown by a popular distich of that time.

"Cardenas, y el Cardenal, y Chacon, y Fray Mortero,  
Traen la Corte al retortero."

Fray Mortero was Don Alonso de

Burgos, bishop of Palencia, confessor of the sovereigns. Don Juan Chacon was the son of Gonsalvo, who had the care of Don Alfonso and the queen during her minority, when he was induced by the liberal largesses of John II., of Aragon, to promote her marriage with his son Ferdinand. The elder Chacon was treated by the sovereigns with the greatest deference and respect, being usually called by them "father." After his death, they continued to manifest a similar regard towards Don Juan, his eldest son, and heir of his ample honors and estates. Salazar de Mendoza, *Dignidades*, lib. 4, cap. 1. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 2, dial. 1, 2.



not been stained with a single important reverse. She concluded with the assurance, that, if his soldiers would be true to their duty, they might rely on her for the faithful discharge of hers in furnishing them with all the requisite supplies.

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The exhilarating tone of this letter had an instantaneous effect, silencing the scruples of the most timid, and confirming the confidence of the others. The soldiers, in particular, who had received with dissatisfaction some intimation of what was passing in the council, welcomed it with general enthusiasm; and every heart seemed now intent on furthering the wishes of their heroic queen by prosecuting the siege with the utmost vigor.

The army was accordingly distributed into two encampments; one under the marquis duke of Cadiz, supported by the artillery, the other under king Ferdinand on the opposite side of the city. Between the two, lay the garden or orchard before mentioned, extending a league in length; so that, in order to connect the works of the two camps, it became necessary to get possession of this contested ground, and to clear it of the heavy timber with which it was covered.

This laborious operation was intrusted to the commander of Leon, and the work was covered by a detachment of seven thousand troops, posted in such a manner as to check the sallies of the garrison. Notwithstanding four thousand *taladores*, or pioneers, were employed in the task, the forest was so dense, and the sorties from the city so an-

Gardens  
cleared of  
their timber.

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noying, that the work of devastation did not advance more than ten paces a day, and was not completed before the expiration of seven weeks. When the ancient groves, so long the ornament and protection of the city, were levelled to the ground, preparations were made for connecting the two camps, by a deep trench, through which the mountain waters were made to flow; while the borders were fortified with palisades, constructed of the timber lately hewn, together with strong towers of mud or clay, arranged at regular intervals. In this manner, the investment of the city was complete on the side of the vega.<sup>11</sup>

City closely  
invested.

As means of communication still remained open, however, by the opposite sierra, defences of similar strength, consisting of two stone walls separated by a deep trench, were made to run along the rocky heights and ravines of the mountains until they touched the extremities of the fortifications on the plain; and thus Baza was encompassed by an unbroken line of circumvallation.

In the progress of the laborious work, which occupied ten thousand men, under the indefatigable commander of Leon, for the space of two months, it would have been easy for the people of Guadix, or of Granada, by coöperation with the sallies of the besieged, to place the Christian army in great peril. Some feeble demonstration of such a movement was made at Guadix, but it was easily dis-

<sup>11</sup> Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 304. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, lib. 2, epist. 73. Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 109. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, lib. 2, epist. 73. Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 92.

concerted. Indeed, El Zagal was kept in check by the fear of leaving his own territory open to his rival, should he march against the Christians. Abdallah, in the mean while, lay inactive in Granada, incurring the odium and contempt of his people, who stigmatized him as a Christian in heart, and a pensioner of the Spanish sovereigns. Their discontent gradually swelled into a rebellion, which was suppressed by him with a severity, that at length induced a sullen acquiescence in a rule, which, however inglorious, was at least attended with temporary security.<sup>12</sup>

While the camp lay before Baza, a singular mission was received from the sultan of Egypt, who had been solicited by the Moors of Granada to interpose in their behalf with the Spanish sovereigns. Two Franciscan friars, members of a religious community in Palestine, were bearers of despatches; which, after remonstrating with the sovereigns on their persecution of the Moors, contrasted it with the protection uniformly extended by the sultan to the Christians in his dominions. The communication concluded with menacing a retaliation of similar severities on these latter, unless the sovereigns desisted from their hostilities towards Granada.

Mission from  
the Sultan  
of Egypt.

From the camp, the two ambassadors proceeded to Jaen, where they were received by the queen with all the deference due to their holy profession,

<sup>12</sup> Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 40. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 25, cap. 12. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 111.

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which seemed to derive additional sanctity from the spot in which it was exercised. The menacing import of the sultan's communication, however, had no power to shake the purposes of Ferdinand and Isabella, who made answer, that they had uniformly observed the same policy in regard to their Mahometan, as to their Christian subjects; but that they could no longer submit to see their ancient and rightful inheritance in the hands of strangers; and that, if these latter would consent to live under their rule, as true and loyal subjects, they should experience the same paternal indulgence which had been shown to their brethren. With this answer the reverend emissaries returned to the Holy Land, accompanied by substantial marks of the royal favor, in a yearly pension of one thousand ducats, which the queen settled in perpetuity on their monastery, together with a richly embroidered veil, the work of her own fair hands, to be suspended over the Holy Sepulchre. The sovereigns subsequently despatched the learned Peter Martyr as their envoy to the Moslem court, in order to explain their proceedings more at length, and avert any disastrous consequences from the Christian residents.<sup>13</sup>

In the mean while, the siege went forward with spirit; skirmishes and single rencontres taking place every day between the high-mettled cavaliers on both sides. These chivalrous combats, however, were discouraged by Ferdinand, who would

<sup>13</sup> Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 112.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 86.

have confined his operations to strict blockade, and avoided the unnecessary effusion of blood; especially as the advantage was most commonly on the side of the enemy, from the peculiar adaptation of their tactics to this desultory warfare. Although some months had elapsed, the besieged rejected with scorn every summons to surrender; relying on their own resources, and still more on the tempestuous season of autumn, now fast advancing, which, if it did not break up the encampment at once, would at least, by demolishing the roads, cut off all external communication.

In order to guard against these impending evils, Ferdinand caused more than a thousand houses, or rather huts, to be erected, with walls of earth or clay, and roofs made of timber and tiles; while the common soldiers constructed cabins by means of palisades loosely thatched with the branches of trees. The whole work was accomplished in four days; and the inhabitants of Baza beheld with amazement a city of solid edifices, with all its streets and squares in regular order, springing as it were by magic out of the ground, which had before been covered with the light and airy pavilions of the camp. The new city was well supplied, owing to the providence of the queen, not merely with the necessaries, but the luxuries of life. Traders flocked there as to a fair, from Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and even Sicily, freighted with costly merchandise, and with jewelry and other articles of luxury; such as, in the indignant lament of an old chronicler, "too often corrupt the

Houses  
erected for  
the army.

PART  
I.Its strict  
discipline.

souls of the soldiery, and bring waste and dissipation into a camp."

That this was not the result, however, in the present instance, is attested by more than one historian. Among others, Peter Martyr, the Italian scholar before mentioned, who was present at this siege, dwells with astonishment on the severe decorum and military discipline, which everywhere obtained among this motley congregation of soldiers. "Who would have believed," says he, "that the Galician, the fierce Asturian, and the rude inhabitant of the Pyrenees, men accustomed to deeds of atrocious violence, and to brawl and battle on the lightest occasions at home, should mingle amicably, not only with one another, but with the Toledans, La-Manchans, and the wily and jealous Andalusian; all living together in harmonious subordination to authority, like members of one family, speaking one tongue, and nurtured under a common discipline; so that the camp seemed like a community modelled on the principles of Plato's republic!" In another part of this letter, which was addressed to a Milanese prelate, he panegyricizes the camp hospital of the queen, then a novelty in war; which, he says, "is so profusely supplied with medical attendants, apparatus, and whatever may contribute to the restoration or solace of the sick, that it is scarcely surpassed in these respects by the magnificent establishments of Milan."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, lib. 2, epist. 73, 80.—Pulgar, Reyes MS.—Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., Católicos, cap. 113, 114, 117.—

During the five months which the siege had now lasted, the weather had proved uncommonly propitious to the Spaniards, being for the most part of a bland and equal temperature, while the sultry heats of midsummer were mitigated by cool and moderate showers. As the autumnal season advanced, however, the clouds began to settle heavily around the mountains; and at length one of those storms, predicted by the people of Baza, burst forth with incredible fury, pouring a volume of waters down the rocky sides of the sierra, which, mingling with those of the vega, inundated the camp of the besiegers, and swept away most of the frail edifices constructed for the use of the common soldiery. A still greater calamity befell them in the dilapidation of the roads, which, broken up or worn into deep gullies by the force of the waters, were rendered perfectly impassable. All communication was of course suspended with Jaen, and a temporary interruption of the convoys filled the camp with consternation. This disaster, however, was speedily repaired by the queen, who, with an energy always equal to the occasion, caused six thousand pioneers to be at once employed in reconstructing the roads; the rivers were bridged over, causeways new laid, and two separate passes opened through the mountains,

CHAPTER  
XIV.Heavy tem-  
pest.

Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. p. 667. — Bleda, Corónica, p. 64.

The plague, which fell heavily this year on some parts of Andalusia, does not appear to have attacked the camp, which Bleda imputes to the healing influence of the Spanish sovereigns, "whose

good faith, religion, and virtue, banished the contagion from their army, where it must otherwise have prevailed." Personal comforts and cleanliness of the soldiers, though not quite so miraculous a cause, may be considered perhaps full as efficacious.

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I.

by which the convoys might visit the camp, and return without interrupting each other. At the same time, the queen bought up immense quantities of grain from all parts of Andalusia, which she caused to be ground in her own mills; and when the roads, which extended more than seven leagues in length, were completed, fourteen thousand mules might be seen daily traversing the sierra, laden with supplies, which from that time forward were poured abundantly, and with the most perfect regularity, into the camp.<sup>15</sup>

Isabella's  
energy.

Isabella's next care was to assemble new levies of troops, to relieve or reinforce those now in the camp; and the alacrity with which all orders of men from every quarter of the kingdom answered her summons is worthy of remark. But her chief solicitude was to devise expedients for meeting the enormous expenditures incurred by the protracted operations of the year. For this purpose, she had recourse to loans from individuals and religious corporations, which were obtained without much difficulty, from the general confidence in her good faith. As the sum thus raised, although exceedingly large for that period, proved inadequate to the expenses, further supplies were obtained from wealthy individuals, whose loans were secured by mortgage of the royal demesne; and, as a deficiency still remained in the treasury, the queen, as a last resource, pawned the crown jewels and her own personal ornaments to the merchants of Barcelona

Her patriot-  
ic sacrifices.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 2, epist. 73. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 116.



and Valencia, for such sums as they were willing to advance on them.<sup>16</sup> Such were the efforts made by this high-spirited woman, for the furtherance of her patriotic enterprise. The extraordinary results, which she was enabled to effect, are less to be ascribed to the authority of her station, than to that perfect confidence in her wisdom and virtue, with which she had inspired the whole nation, and which secured their earnest coöperation in all her undertakings. The empire, which she thus exercised, indeed, was far more extended than any station however exalted, or any authority however despotic, can confer; for it was over the hearts of her people.

Notwithstanding the vigor with which the siege was pressed, Baza made no demonstration of submission. The garrison was indeed greatly reduced in number; the ammunition was nearly expended; yet there still remained abundant supplies of provisions in the town, and no signs of despondency appeared among the people. Even the women of the place, with a spirit emulating that of the dames of ancient Carthage, freely gave up their jewels, bracelets, necklaces, and other personal ornaments,

Resolution  
of the be-  
sieged.

<sup>16</sup> Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 118. — Archivo de Simancas, in Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 311.

The city of Valencia loaned 35,000 florins for the crown and 20,000 on a collar of rubies. They were not wholly redeemed till 1495. Señor Clemencin has given a catalogue of the royal jewels, (see Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.,

tom. vi. Ilustracion 6,) which appear to have been extremely rich and numerous, for a period anterior to the discovery of those countries, whose mines have since furnished Europe with its *bijouterie*. Isabella, however, set so little value on them, that she divested herself of most of them in favor of her daughters.

PART  
L

of which the Moorish ladies were exceedingly fond, in order to defray the charges of the mercenaries.

The camp of the besiegers, in the mean while, was also greatly wasted both by sickness and the sword. Many, desponding under perils and fatigues, which seemed to have no end, would even at this late hour have abandoned the siege; and they earnestly solicited the queen's appearance in the camp, in the hope that she would herself countenance this measure, on witnessing their sufferings. Others, and by far the larger part, anxiously desired the queen's visit, as likely to quicken the operations of the siege, and bring it to a favorable issue. There seemed to be a virtue in her presence, which, on some account or other, made it earnestly desired by all.

Isabella yielded to the general wish, and on the 7th of November arrived before the camp, attended by the infanta Isabella, the cardinal of Spain, her friend the marchioness of Moya, and other ladies of the royal household. The inhabitants of Baza, says Bernaldez, lined the battlements and housetops, to gaze at the glittering cavalcade as it emerged from the depths of the mountains, amidst flaunting banners and strains of martial music, while the Spanish cavaliers thronged forth in a body from the camp to receive their beloved mistress, and gave her the most animated welcome. "She came," says Martyr, "surrounded by a choir of nymphs, as if to celebrate the nuptials of her child; and her presence seemed at once to gladden



Isabella  
visits the  
camp.

and reanimate our spirits, drooping under long vigils, dangers, and fatigue." Another writer, also present, remarks, that, from the moment of her appearance, a change seemed to come over the scene. No more of the cruel skirmishes, which had before occurred every day; no report of artillery, or clashing of arms, or any of the rude sounds of war, was to be heard, but all seemed disposed to reconciliation and peace.<sup>17</sup>

The Moors probably interpreted Isabella's visit into an assurance, that the Christian army would never rise from before the place until its surrender. Whatever hopes they had once entertained of wearying out the besiegers, were therefore now dispelled. Accordingly, a few days after the queen's arrival, we find them proposing a parley for arranging terms of capitulation.

On the third day after her arrival, Isabella reviewed her army, stretched out in order of battle along the slope of the western hills; after which, she proceeded to reconnoitre the beleaguered city, accompanied by the king and the cardinal of Spain, together with a brilliant escort of the Spanish chivalry. On the same day, a conference was opened with the enemy through the *comendador* of Leon; and an armistice arranged, to continue until the old monarch, El Zagal, who then lay at Guadix, could be informed of the real condition of the besieged,

Suspension  
of arms.

<sup>17</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, ras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. MS., cap. 92. — Pulgar, Reyes 93. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., Católicos, cap. 120, 121. — Ferre- lib. 3, epist. 80.

PART  
I.Baza surren-  
ders.

and his instructions be received, determining the course to be adopted.

The alcaide of Baza represented to his master the low state to which the garrison was reduced by the loss of lives and the failure of ammunition. Still, he expressed such confidence in the spirit of his people, that he undertook to make good his defence some time longer, provided any reasonable expectation of succour could be afforded; otherwise, it would be a mere waste of life, and must deprive him of such vantage ground as he now possessed, for enforcing an honorable capitulation. The Moslem prince acquiesced in the reasonableness of these representations. He paid a just tribute to his brave kinsman Cidi Yahye's loyalty, and the gallantry of his defence; but, confessing at the same time his own inability to relieve him, authorized him to negotiate the best terms of surrender which he could, for himself and garrison.<sup>18</sup>

Conditions.

A mutual desire of terminating the protracted hostilities infused a spirit of moderation into both parties, which greatly facilitated the adjustment of the articles. Ferdinand showed none of the arrogant bearing, which marked his conduct towards the unfortunate people of Malaga, whether from a conviction of its impolicy, or, as is more probable, because the city of Baza was itself in a condition to assume a more imposing attitude. The principal

<sup>18</sup> Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, lib. 3, epist. 80. — Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. p. 242. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1489. — Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 305.

stipulations of the treaty were, that the foreign mercenaries employed in the defence of the place should be allowed to march out with the honors of war; that the city should be delivered up to the Christians; but that the natives might have the choice of retiring with their personal effects where they listed; or of occupying the suburbs, as subjects of the Castilian crown, liable only to the same tribute which they paid to their Moslem rulers, and secured in the enjoyment of their property, religion, laws, and usages.<sup>19</sup>

CHAPTER  
XIV.

On the fourth day of December, 1489, Ferdinand and Isabella took possession of Baza, at the head of their legions, amid the ringing of bells, the peals of artillery, and all the other usual accompaniments of this triumphant ceremony; while the standard of the Cross, floating from the ancient battlements of the city, proclaimed the triumph of the Christian arms. The brave alcaide, Cidi Yahye, experienced a reception from the sovereigns very different from that of the bold defender of Malaga. He was loaded with civilities and presents; and these acts of courtesy so won upon his heart, that he expressed a willingness to enter into their service. "Isabella's compliments," says the Arabian historian, drily, "were repaid in more substantial coin."

Occupation  
of the city.

Cidi Yahye was soon prevailed on to visit his royal kinsman El Zagal, at Guadix, for the purpose of urging his submission to the Christian sovereigns. In his interview with that prince, he represented

Treaty of  
surrender  
with El  
Zagal.

<sup>19</sup> Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 124. — Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 16.

PART  
I.

the fruitlessness of any attempt to withstand the accumulated forces of the Spanish monarchies; that he would only see town after town pared away from his territory, until no ground was left for him to stand on, and make terms with the victor. He reminded him, that the baleful horoscope of Abdallah had predicted the downfall of Granada, and that experience had abundantly shown how vain it was to struggle against the tide of destiny. The unfortunate monarch listened, says the Arabian annalist, without so much as moving an eyelid; and, after a long and deep meditation, replied with the resignation characteristic of the Moslems, "What Allah wills, he brings to pass in his own way. Had he not decreed the fall of Granada, this good sword might have saved it; but his will be done!" It was then arranged, that the principal cities of Almeria, Guadix, and their dependencies, constituting the domain of El Zagal, should be formally surrendered by that prince to Ferdinand and Isabella, who should instantly proceed at the head of their army to take possession of them.<sup>20</sup>

Painful  
march of the  
Spanish  
army.

On the seventh day of December, therefore, the Spanish sovereigns, without allowing themselves or their jaded troops any time for repose, marched out of the gates of Baza, king Ferdinand occupying the centre, and the queen the rear of the army. Their route lay across the most savage district of the long sierra, which stretches towards Almeria; leading

<sup>20</sup> Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 40. — Bleda, *Corónica*, p. 612. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 92. — Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 16.