

through many a narrow pass, which a handful of resolute Moors, says an eyewitness, might have made good against the whole Christian army, over mountains whose peaks were lost in clouds, and valleys whose depths were never warmed by a sun. The winds were exceedingly bleak, and the weather inclement; so that men, as well as horses, exhausted by the fatigues of previous service, were benumbed by the intense cold, and many of them frozen to death. Many more, losing their way in the intricacies of the sierra, would have experienced the same miserable fate, had it not been for the marquis of Cadiz, whose tent was pitched on one of the loftiest hills, and who caused beacon fires to be lighted around it, in order to guide the stragglers back to their quarters.

At no great distance from Almeria, Ferdinand was met, conformably to the previous arrangement, by El Zagal, escorted by a numerous body of Moslem cavaliers. Ferdinand commanded his nobles to ride forward and receive the Moorish prince. "His appearance," says Martyr, who was in the royal retinue, "touched my soul with compassion; for, although a lawless barbarian, he was a king, and had given signal proofs of heroism." El Zagal, without waiting to receive the courtesies of the Spanish nobles, threw himself from his horse, and advanced towards Ferdinand with the design of kissing his hand; but the latter, rebuking his followers for their "rusticity," in allowing such an act of humiliation in the unfortunate monarch, pre-

Interview  
between  
Ferdinand  
and El Zagal.

PART  
I.

Occupation  
of El Zagal's  
domain.

vailed on him to remount, and then rode by his side towards Almeria.<sup>21</sup>

This city was one of the most precious jewels in the diadem of Granada. It had amassed great wealth by its extensive commerce with Syria, Egypt, and Africa; and its corsairs had for ages been the terror of the Catalan and Pisan marine. It might have stood a siege as long as that of Baza, but it was now surrendered without a blow, on conditions similar to those granted to the former city. After allowing some days for the refreshment of their wearied forces in this pleasant region, which, sheltered from the bleak winds of the north by the sierra they had lately traversed, and fanned by the gentle breezes of the Mediterranean, is compared by Martyr to the gardens of the Hesperides, the sovereigns established a strong garrison there, under the commander of Leon, and then, striking again into the recesses of the mountains, marched on Guadix, which, after some opposition on the part of the populace, threw open its gates to them. The surrender of these principal cities was followed by that of all the subordinate dependencies belonging to El Zagal's territory, comprehending a multitude of hamlets scattered along the green sides of the mountain chain that stretched from Granada to the coast. To all these places the same liberal terms, in regard to personal rights and property, were secured, as to Baza.

<sup>21</sup> Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, lib. p. 340. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, 3, epist. 81. — Cardonne, *Hist.* loc. cit.— Conde, *Dominacion de d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 40.

As an equivalent for these broad domains, the Moorish chief was placed in possession of the *taha*, or district, of Andaraz, the vale of Alhaurin, and half the salt-pits of Maleha, together with a considerable revenue in money. He was, moreover, to receive the title of King of Andaraz, and to render homage for his estates to the crown of Castile.

CHAPTER  
XIV.

Equivalent assigned to him.

This shadow of royalty could not long amuse the mind of the unfortunate prince. He pined away amid the scenes of his ancient empire; and, after experiencing some insubordination on the part of his new vassals, he determined to relinquish his petty principality, and withdraw for ever from his native land. Having received a large sum of money, as an indemnification for the entire cession of his territorial rights and possessions to the Castilian crown, he passed over to Africa, where, it is reported, he was plundered of his property by the barbarians, and condemned to starve out the remainder of his days in miserable indigence.<sup>22</sup>

The suspicious circumstances attending this prince's accession to the throne, throw a dark cloud over his fame, which would otherwise seem, at least as far as his public life is concerned, to be unstained by any opprobrious act. He possessed such energy, talent, and military science, as, had he been fortunate enough to unite the Moorish nation under him by an undisputed title, might

<sup>22</sup> El Nubiense, Description de España, p. 160, not. — Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1488. — Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 304. — Peter

Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 3, epist. 81. — Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. pp. 245, 246. — Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 93.

PART  
I

have postponed the fall of Granada for many years. As it was, these very talents, by dividing the state in his favor, served only to precipitate its ruin.

1490.

The Spanish sovereigns, having accomplished the object of the campaign, after stationing part of their forces on such points as would secure the permanence of their conquests, returned with the remainder to Jaen, where they disbanded the army on the 4th of January, 1490. The losses sustained by the troops, during the whole period of their prolonged service, greatly exceeded those of any former year, amounting to not less than twenty thousand men, by far the larger portion of whom are said to have fallen victims to diseases incident to severe and long-continued hardships and exposure.<sup>23</sup>

Difficulties  
of this cam-  
paign.

Thus terminated the eighth year of the war of Granada; a year more glorious to the Christian arms, and more important in its results, than any of the preceding. During this period, an army of eighty thousand men had kept the field, amid all the inclemencies of winter, for more than seven months; an effort scarcely paralleled in these times, when both the amount of levies, and period of service, were on the limited scale adapted to the exigencies of feudal warfare.<sup>24</sup> Supplies for this im-

<sup>23</sup> Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. fol. 360. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 308.

<sup>24</sup> The city of Seville alone maintained 600 horse and 8,000

foot under the count of Cifuentes, for the space of eight months during this siege. See Zuñiga, Anales de Sevilla, p. 404.

Notice of  
Peter Mar-  
tyr.

Pietro Martire, or, as he is called in English, Peter Martyr, so often quoted in the present chapter, and who will constitute one

mense host, notwithstanding the severe famine of the preceding year, were punctually furnished, in spite of every embarrassment presented by the want of navigable rivers, and the interposition of a precipitous and pathless sierra.

The history of this campaign is, indeed, most honorable to the courage, constancy, and thorough discipline of the Spanish soldier, and to the patriotism and general resources of the nation; but most of all to Isabella. She it was, who fortified the

Isabella's  
popularity  
and influ-  
ence.

of our best authorities during the remainder of the history, was a native of Arona (not of Anghiera, as commonly supposed), a place situated on the borders of Lake Maggiore in Italy. (Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia*, (Brescia, 1753-63,) tom. ii. *voce* Anghiera.) He was of noble Milanese extraction. In 1477, at twenty-two years of age, he was sent to complete his education at Rome, where he continued ten years, and formed an intimacy with the most distinguished literary characters of that cultivated capital. In 1487, he was persuaded by the Castilian ambassador, the count of Tendilla, to accompany him to Spain, where he was received with marked distinction by the queen, who would have at once engaged him in the tuition of the young nobility of the court, but, Martyr having expressed a preference of a military life, she, with her usual delicacy, declined to press him on the point. He was present, as we have seen, at the siege of Baza, and continued with the army during the subsequent campaigns of the Moorish war. Many passages of his correspondence, at this period, show a whimsical mixture of self-complacency with a consciousness of the ludicrous figure which he made in "exchanging the Muses for Mars."

At the close of the war, he entered the ecclesiastical profession, for which he had been originally destined, and was persuaded to resume his literary vocation. He opened his school at Valladolid, Saragossa, Barcelona, Alcalá de Henares, and other places; and it was thronged with the principal young nobility from all parts of Spain, who, as he boasts in one of his letters, drew their literary nourishment from him. "Suxerunt mea litalia ubera Castellæ principes fere omnes." His important services were fully estimated by the queen, and, after her death, by Ferdinand and Charles V., and he was recompensed with high ecclesiastical preferment as well as civil dignities. He died about the year 1525, at the age of seventy, and his remains were interred beneath a monument in the cathedral church of Granada, of which he was prior.

Among Martyr's principal works is a treatise "*De Legatione Babylonica*," being an account of a visit to the sultan of Egypt, in 1501, for the purpose of deprecating the retaliation with which he had menaced the Christian residents in Palestine, for the injuries inflicted on the Spanish Moslems. Peter Martyr conducted his negotiation with such address, that he not only

PART  
I.

timid councils of the leaders, after the disasters of the garden, and encouraged them to persevere in the siege. She procured all the supplies, constructed the roads, took charge of the sick, and furnished, at no little personal sacrifice, the immense sums demanded for carrying on the war; and, when at last the hearts of the soldiers were fainting under long-protracted sufferings, she appeared among them, like some celestial visitant, to cheer their faltering spirits, and inspire them with her own energy.

appeared the sultan's resentment, but obtained several important immunities for his Christian subjects, in addition to those previously enjoyed by them.

He also wrote an account of the discoveries of the new world, entitled "De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe," (Coloniae, 1574,) a book largely consulted and commended by subsequent historians. But the work of principal value in our researches is his "Opus Epistolarum," being a collection of his multifarious correspondence with the most considerable persons of his time, whether in political or literary life. The letters are in Latin, and extend from the year 1488 to the time of his death. Although not conspicuous for elegance of diction, they are most valuable to the historian, from the fidelity and general accuracy of the details, as well as for the intelligent criticism in which they abound, for all which, uncommon facilities were afforded by the writer's intimacy with the leading actors, and the most recondite sources of information of the period.

This high character is fully authorized by the judgments of those best qualified to pronounce on their merits, — Martyr's own contemporaries. Among these, Dr. Galindez de Carbajal, a counsellor of

King Ferdinand and constantly employed in the highest concerns of state, commends these epistles as "the work of a learned and upright man, well calculated to throw light on the transactions of the period." (Anales, MS., prólogo.) Alvaro Gomez, another contemporary who survived Martyr, in the Life of Ximenes, which he was selected to write by the University of Alcalá, declares, that "Martyr's Letters abundantly compensate by their fidelity for the unpolished style in which they are written." (De Rebus Gestis, fol. 6.) And John de Vergara, a name of the highest celebrity in the literary annals of the period, expresses himself in the following emphatic terms. "I know no record of the time more accurate and valuable. I myself have often witnessed the promptness with which he put down things the moment they occurred. I have sometimes seen him write one or two letters, while they were setting the table. For, as he did not pay much attention to style and mere finish of expression, his composition required but little time, and experienced no interruption from his ordinary avocations." (See his letter to Florian de Ocampo, apud Quintanilla y Mendoza, Archetypo de Virtudes, Espejo de Prelados, el Venerable

The attachment to Isabella seemed to be a pervading principle, which animated the whole nation by one common impulse, impressing a unity of design on all its movements. This attachment was imputable to her sex as well as character. The sympathy and tender care, with which she regarded her people, naturally raised a reciprocal sentiment in their bosoms. But, when they beheld her directing their counsels, sharing their fatigues and dangers, and displaying all the comprehensive intellectual powers of the other sex, they looked up to her as to some superior being, with feelings far

Padre y Siervo de Dios, F. Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, (Palermo, 1653,) Archivo, p. 4.) This account of the precipitate manner in which the epistles were composed, may help to explain the cause of the occasional inconsistencies and anachronisms, that are to be found in them; and which their author, had he been more patient of the labor of revision, would doubtless have corrected. But he seems to have had little relish for this, even in his more elaborate works, composed with a view to publication. (See his own honest confessions in his book "De Rebus Oceanicis," dec. 8, cap. 8, 9.) After all, the errors, such as they are, in his Epistles, may probably be chiefly charged on the publisher. The first edition appeared at Alcalá de Henares, in 1530, about four years after the author's death. It has now become exceedingly rare. The second and last, being the one used in the present History, came out in a more beautiful form from the Elzevir press, Amsterdam, in 1670, folio. Of this also but a small number of copies were struck off. The learned editor takes much credit to himself

for having purified the work from many errors, which had flowed from the heedlessness of his predecessor. It will not be difficult to detect several yet remaining. Such, for example, as a memorable letter on the *lues venerea* (No. 68.) obviously misplaced, even according to its own date; and that numbered 168, in which two letters are evidently blended into one. But it is unnecessary to multiply examples. — It is very desirable, that an edition of this valuable correspondence should be published, under the care of some one qualified to illustrate it by his intimacy with the history of the period, as well as to correct the various inaccuracies which have crept into it, whether through the carelessness of the author or of his editors.

I have been led into this length of remark by some strictures which met my eye in the recent work of Mr. Hallam; who intimates his belief, that the Epistles of Martyr, instead of being written at their respective dates, were produced by him at some later period; (Introduction to the Literature of Europe, (London, 1837,) vol. i. pp. 439 - 441;) a conclusion which I

PART  
I.

more exalted than those of mere loyalty. The chivalrous heart of the Spaniard did homage to her, as to his tutelar saint; and she held a control over her people, such as no man could have acquired in any age, — and probably no woman, in an age and country less romantic.

suspect this acute and candid critic would have been slow to adopt, had he perused the correspondence in connexion with the history of the times, or weighed the unqualified testimony borne by contemporaries to its minute accuracy.



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



## CHAPTER XV

WAR OF GRANADA.—SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF THE CITY  
OF GRANADA.

1490 — 1492.

The Infanta Isabella affianced to the Prince of Portugal.— Isabella deposes Judges at Valladolid.— Encampment before Granada.— The Queen surveys the City.— Moslem and Christian Chivalry.— Conflagration of the Christian Camp.— Erection of Santa Fe.— Capitulation of Granada.— Results of the War.— Its moral Influence.— Its military Influence.— Fate of the Moors.— Death and Character of the Marquis of Cadiz.

IN the spring of 1490, ambassadors arrived from Lisbon for the purpose of carrying into effect the treaty of marriage, which had been arranged between Alonso, heir of the Portuguese monarchy, and Isabella, infanta of Castile. An alliance with this kingdom, which from its contiguity possessed such ready means of annoyance to Castile, and which had shown such willingness to employ them in enforcing the pretensions of Joanna Beltraneja, was an object of importance to Ferdinand and Isabella. No inferior consideration could have reconciled the queen to a separation from this beloved daughter, her eldest child, whose gentle and uncommonly amiable disposition seems to have endeared her beyond their other children to her parents.

CHAPTER  
XV.

The infanta  
Isabella.

PART  
L  
Public fes-  
tivities.

The ceremony of the affiancing took place at Seville, in the month of April, Don Fernando de Silveira appearing as the representative of the prince of Portugal; and it was followed by a succession of splendid *fêtes* and tourneys. Lists were enclosed, at some distance from the city on the shores of the Guadalquivir, and surrounded with galleries hung with silk and cloth of gold, and protected from the noontide heat by canopies or awnings, richly embroidered with the armorial bearings of the ancient houses of Castile. The spectacle was graced by all the rank and beauty of the court, with the infanta Isabella in the midst, attended by seventy noble ladies, and a hundred pages of the royal household. The cavaliers of Spain, young and old, thronged to the tournament, as eager to win laurels on the mimic theatre of war, in the presence of so brilliant an assemblage, as they had shown themselves in the sterner contests with the Moors. King Ferdinand, who broke several lances on the occasion, was among the most distinguished of the combatants for personal dexterity and horsemanship. The martial exercises of the day were relieved by the more effeminate recreations of dancing and music in the evening; and every one seemed willing to welcome the season of hilarity, after the long-protracted fatigues of war.<sup>1</sup>

In the following autumn, the infanta was escort-

<sup>1</sup> Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1490. — Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 95. — Zuñiga, Anales de Sevilla, pp. 404, 405. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, part. 3, cap. 127. — La Clède, Hist. de Portugal, tom. iv. p. 19. — Faria y Sousa, Europa Portuguesa, tom. ii. p. 452.

ed into Portugal by the cardinal of Spain, the grand master of St. James, and a numerous and magnificent retinue. Her dowry exceeded that usually assigned to the infantas of Castile, by five hundred marks of gold and a thousand of silver; and her wardrobe was estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand gold florins. The contemporary chroniclers dwell with much complacency on these evidences of the stateliness and splendor of the Castilian court. Unfortunately, these fair auspices were destined to be clouded too soon by the death of the prince, her husband.<sup>2</sup>

CHAPTER  
XV.

No sooner had the campaign of the preceding year been brought to a close, than Ferdinand and Isabella sent an embassy to the king of Granada, requiring a surrender of his capital, conformably to his stipulations at Loja, which guaranteed this, on the capitulation of Baza, Almeria, and Guadix. That time had now arrived; King Abdallah, however, excused himself from obeying the summons of the Spanish sovereigns, replying that he was no longer his own master, and that, although he had all the inclination to keep his engagements, he was prevented by the inhabitants of the city, now swollen much beyond its natural population, who resolutely insisted on its defence.<sup>3</sup>

Granada  
summoned  
in vain.

<sup>2</sup> Faria y Sousa, *Europa Portuguesa*, tom. ii. p. 452-456. — Florez, *Reynas Cathólicas*, p. 845. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 129. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. l. quinc. 2, dial. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 41. — Bernal-

dez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 90.

Neither the Arabic nor Castilian authorities impeach the justice of the summons made by the Spanish sovereigns. I do not, however, find any other foundation for the obligation imputed to Abdallah in

PART  
I.

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It is not probable that the Moorish king did any great violence to his feelings, in this evasion of a promise extorted from him in captivity. At least, it would seem so from the hostile movements which immediately succeeded. The people of Granada resumed all at once their ancient activity, foraying into the Christian territories, surprising Alhendin and some other places of less importance, and stirring up the spirit of revolt in Guadix and other conquered cities. Granada, which had slept through the heat of the struggle, seemed to revive at the very moment when exertion became hopeless.

Ferdinand was not slow in retaliating these acts of aggression. In the spring of 1490, he marched with a strong force into the cultivated plain of Granada, sweeping off, as usual, the crops and cattle, and rolling the tide of devastation up to the very walls of the city. In this campaign he conferred the honor of knighthood on his son, prince John, then only twelve years of age, whom he had brought with him, after the ancient usage of the Castilian nobles, of training up their children from very tender years in the Moorish wars. The ceremony was performed on the banks of the grand canal under the battlements almost of the beleaguered city. The dukes of Cadiz and Medina Sidonia were prince John's sponsors; and, after the

them, than that monarch's agreement during his captivity at Loja, in 1486, to surrender his capital in exchange for Guadix, provided the latter should be conquered within six months. Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, p. 275. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. iv. p. 418.

completion of the ceremony, the new knight conferred the honors of chivalry in like manner on several of his young companions in arms. <sup>4</sup>

CHAPTER  
XV.

In the following autumn, Ferdinand repeated his ravages in the vega, and, at the same time appearing before the disaffected city of Guadix with a force large enough to awe it into submission, proposed an immediate investigation of the conspiracy. He promised to inflict summary justice on all who had been in any degree concerned in it; at the same time offering permission to the inhabitants, in the abundance of his clemency, to depart with all their personal effects wherever they would, provided they should prefer this to a judicial investigation of their conduct. This politic proffer had its effect. There were few, if any of the citizens, who had not been either directly concerned in the conspiracy, or privy to it. With one accord, therefore, they preferred exile to trusting to the tender mercies of their judges. In this way, says the Curate of Los Palacios, by the mystery of our Lord, was the ancient city of Guadix brought again within the Christian fold; the mosques converted into Christian temples, filled with the harmonies of Catholic worship, and the pleasant places, which for nearly eight centuries had been trampled under the foot of the infidel, were once more restored to the followers of the Cross.

Ferdinand's  
policy.

A similar policy produced similar results in the

<sup>4</sup> L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 176. — Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 130. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. cap. 85. — Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. p. 309.

PART  
L

cities of Almeria and Baza, whose inhabitants, evacuating their ancient homes, transported themselves, with such personal effects as they could carry, to the city of Granada, or the coast of Africa. The space thus opened by the fugitive population was quickly filled by the rushing tide of Spaniards.<sup>5</sup>

It is impossible at this day, to contemplate these events with the triumphant swell of exultation, with which they are recorded by contemporary chroniclers. That the Moors were guilty (though not so generally as pretended) of the alleged conspiracy, is not in itself improbable, and is corroborated indeed by the Arabic statements. But the punishment was altogether disproportionate to the offence. Justice might surely have been satisfied by a selection of the authors and principal agents of the meditated insurrection;—for no overt act appears to have occurred. But avarice was too strong for justice; and this act, which is in perfect conformity to the policy systematically pursued by the Spanish crown for more than a century afterwards, may be considered as one of the first links in the long chain of persecution, which terminated in the expulsion of the Moriscos.

Isabella  
deposes the  
Judges of  
chancery.

During the following year, 1491, a circumstance occurred illustrative of the policy of the present government in reference to ecclesiastical matters. The chancery of Valladolid having appealed to the

<sup>5</sup> Pulgar, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 131, 132. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 97. — Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 41. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, lib. 3, epist. 84. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. iv. p. 424. — Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 309, 310.

pope in a case coming within its own exclusive jurisdiction, the queen commanded Alonso de Valdivieso, bishop of Leon, the president of the court, together with all the auditors, to be removed from their respective offices, which she delivered to a new board, having the bishop of Oviedo at its head. This is one among many examples of the constancy with which Isabella, notwithstanding her reverence for religion, and respect for its ministers, refused to compromise the national independence by recognising in any degree the usurpations of Rome. From this dignified attitude, so often abandoned by her successors, she never swerved for a moment during the course of her long reign.<sup>6</sup>

The winter of 1490 was busily occupied with preparations for the closing campaign against Granada. Ferdinand took command of the army in the month of April, 1491, with the purpose of sitting down before the Moorish capital, not to rise until its final surrender. The troops, which mustered in the Val de Velillos, are computed by most historians at fifty thousand horse and foot, although Martyr, who served as a volunteer, swells the number to eighty thousand. They were drawn from the different cities, chiefly, as usual, from Andalusia, which had been stimulated to truly gigantic efforts throughout this protracted war,<sup>7</sup> and from the nobility of every quarter, many of whom, wearied out

Ferdinand  
musters his  
forces.

1491.

<sup>6</sup> Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1491.

<sup>7</sup> According to Zuñiga, the quota furnished by Seville this season amounted to 6,000 foot and 500

horse, who were recruited by fresh reinforcements no less than five times during the campaign. Anales de Sevilla, p. 408.

PART  
I.

with the contest, contented themselves with sending their quotas, while many others, as the marquises of Cadiz, Villena, the counts of Tendilla, Cabra, Ureña, and Alonso de Aguilar, appeared in person, eager, as they had borne the brunt of so many hard campaigns, to share in the closing scene of triumph.

Encamps in  
the vega.

On the 26th of the month, the army encamped near the fountain of Ojos de Huescar, in the vega, about two leagues distant from Granada. Ferdinand's first movement was to detach a considerable force, under the marquis of Villena, which he subsequently supported in person with the remainder of the army, for the purpose of scouring the fruitful regions of the Alpuxarras, which served as the granary of the capital. This service was performed with such unsparing rigor, that no less than twenty-four towns and hamlets in the mountains were ransacked, and razed to the ground. After this, Ferdinand returned loaded with spoil to his former position on the banks of the Xenil, in full view of the Moorish metropolis, which seemed to stand alone, like some sturdy oak, the last of the forest, bidding defiance to the storm which had prostrated all its brethren.

Position of  
Granada.

Notwithstanding the failure of all external resources, Granada was still formidable from its local position and its defences. On the east it was fenced in by a wild mountain barrier, the *Sierra Nevada*, whose snow-clad summits diffused a grateful coolness over the city through the sultry heats of summer. The side towards the vega, facing the



Christian encampment, was encircled by walls and towers of massive strength and solidity. The population, swelled to two hundred thousand by the immigration from the surrounding country, was likely, indeed, to be a burden in a protracted siege; but among them were twenty thousand, the flower of the Moslem chivalry, who had escaped the edge of the Christian sword. In front of the city, for an extent of nearly ten leagues, lay unrolled, the magnificent vega,

“Fresca y regalada vega,  
Dulce recreacion de damas  
Y de hombres gloria inmensa;”

whose prolific beauties could scarcely be exaggerated in the most florid strains of the Arabian minstrel, and which still bloomed luxuriant, notwithstanding the repeated ravages of the preceding season.<sup>8</sup>

The inhabitants of Granada were filled with indignation at the sight of their enemy, thus encamped under the shadow, as it were, of their battlements. They sallied forth in small bodies, or singly, challenging the Spaniards to equal en-

Moslem and  
Christian  
chivalry.

<sup>8</sup> Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 42. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, MS., cap. 100. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, lib. 3, epist. 89. — Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 18. — L. Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 177.

Martyr remarks, that the Genoese merchants, “voyagers to every clime, declare this to be the largest fortified city in the world.” Casiri has collected a body of interesting particulars respecting the

wealth, population, and social habits of Granada, from various Arabic authorities. *Bibliotheca Escurialensis*, tom. ii. pp. 247 - 260.

The French work of Laborde, *Voyage Pittoresque*, (Paris, 1807,) and the English one of Murphy, *Engravings of Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, (London, 1816,) do ample justice in their finished designs to the general topography and architectural magnificence of Granada.

PART  
I

counter. Numerous were the combats which took place between the high-mettled cavaliers on both sides, who met on the level arena, as on a tilting-ground, where they might display their prowess in the presence of the assembled beauty and chivalry of their respective nations; for the Spanish camp was graced, as usual, by the presence of queen Isabella and the infantas, with the courtly train of ladies, who had accompanied their royal mistress from Alcalá la Real. The Spanish ballads glow with picturesque details of these knightly tourneys, forming the most attractive portion of this romantic minstrelsy, which, celebrating the prowess of Moslem, as well as Christian warriors, sheds a dying glory round the last hours of Granada.<sup>9</sup>

The festivity, which reigned throughout the camp on the arrival of Isabella, did not divert her attention from the stern business of war. She superintended the military preparations, and personally inspected every part of the encampment. She appeared on the field superbly mounted, and dressed in complete armour; and, as she visited the different quarters and reviewed her troops, she adminis-

<sup>9</sup> On one occasion, a Christian knight having discomfited with a handful of men a much superior body of Moslem chivalry, King Abdallah testified his admiration of his prowess by sending him on the following day a magnificent present, together with his own sword superbly mounted. (Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. p. 178.) The Moorish ballad begin-

“Al Rey Chico de Granada,”

describes the panic occasioned in the city by the Christian encampment on the Xenil.

“Por ese fresco Genil  
un campo viene marchando,  
todo de lucida gente,  
las armas van relumbrando.  
“Las vanderas traen tendidas,  
y un estandarte dorado;  
el General de esta gente  
es el invicto Fernando.  
Y tambien viene la Reyna,  
Muger del Rey don Fernando,  
la qual tiene tanto esfuerzo  
que anima a qualquier soldado.”

tered words of commendation or sympathy, suited to the condition of the soldier.<sup>10</sup>

CHAPTER  
XV.

On one occasion, she expressed a desire to take a nearer survey of the city. For this purpose, a house was selected, affording the best point of view, in the little village of Zubia, at no great distance from Granada. The king and queen stationed themselves before a window, which commanded an unbroken prospect of the Alhambra, and the most beautiful quarter of the town. In the mean while, a considerable force, under the marquis duke of Cadiz, had been ordered, for the protection of the royal persons, to take up a position between the village and the city of Granada, with strict injunctions on no account to engage the enemy, as Isabella was unwilling to stain the pleasures of the day with unnecessary effusion of blood.

The queen surveys the city.

The people of Granada, however, were too impatient long to endure the presence, and as they deemed it, the bravado of their enemy. They burst forth from the gates of the capital, dragging along with them several pieces of ordnance, and commenced a brisk assault on the Spanish lines. The latter sustained the shock with firmness, till the marquis of Cadiz, seeing them thrown into some disorder, found it necessary to assume the offensive, and, mustering his followers around him, made one of those desperate charges, which had so often broken the enemy. The Moorish cavalry faltered; but might have disputed the ground, had it

Skirmish with the enemy.

<sup>10</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 101.

PART  
I

not been for the infantry, which, composed of the rabble population of the city, was easily thrown into confusion, and hurried the horse along with it. The rout now became general. The Spanish cavaliers, whose blood was up, pursued to the very gates of Granada, "and not a lance," says Bernaldez, "that day, but was dyed in the blood of the infidel." Two thousand of the enemy were slain and taken in the engagement, which lasted only a short time; and the slaughter was stopped only by the escape of the fugitives within the walls of the city.<sup>11</sup>

Conflagra-  
tion of the  
Christian  
camp.

About the middle of July, an accident occurred in the camp, which had like to have been attended with fatal consequences. The queen was lodged in a superb pavilion, belonging to the marquis of Cadiz, and always used by him in the Moorish war. By the carelessness of one of her attendants, a lamp was placed in such a situation, that during the night, perhaps owing to a gust of wind, it set fire to the drapery or loose hangings of the pavilion, which was instantly in a blaze. The flame communicated with fearful rapidity to the neighbouring tents, made of light, combustible materials, and the camp was menaced with general conflagration. This occurred at the dead of night, when all but

<sup>11</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 101. — Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 42. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 4, epist. 90. — Pulgar, Reyes Católicos, cap. 133. — Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 88.

Isabella afterwards caused a

Franciscan monastery to be built in commemoration of this event at Zubia, where, according to Mr. Irving, the house from which she witnessed the action is to be seen at the present day. See Conquest of Granada, chap. 90, note.

the sentinels were buried in sleep. The queen, and her children, whose apartments were near hers, were in great peril, and escaped with difficulty, though fortunately without injury. The alarm soon spread. The trumpets sounded to arms, for it was supposed to be some night attack of the enemy. Ferdinand snatching up his arms hastily, put himself at the head of his troops; but, soon ascertaining the nature of the disaster, contented himself with posting the marquis of Cadiz, with a strong body of horse, over against the city, in order to repel any sally from that quarter. None, however, was attempted, and the fire was at length extinguished without personal injury, though not without loss of much valuable property, in jewels, plate, brocade, and other costly decorations of the tents of the nobility.<sup>12</sup>

CHAPTER  
XV.

In order to guard against a similar disaster, as well as to provide comfortable winter quarters for the army, should the siege be so long protracted as to require it, it was resolved to build a town of substantial edifices on the place of the present encampment. The plan was immediately put in execution. The work was distributed in due proportions among the troops of the several cities and of the great nobility; the soldier was on a sudden converted into an artisan, and, instead of war, the camp echoed with the sounds of peaceful labor.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, lib. 4, epist. 91. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 101. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. p. 673. — Bleda, *Corónica*, p. 619. — Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 18.

## PART

## I.

Erection of  
Santa Fe.

In less than three months, this stupendous task was accomplished. The spot so recently occupied by light, fluttering pavilions, was thickly covered with solid structures of stone and mortar, comprehending, besides dwellinghouses, stables for a thousand horses. The town was thrown into a quadrangular form, traversed by two spacious avenues, intersecting each other at right angles in the centre, in the form of a cross, with stately portals at each of the four extremities. Inscriptions on blocks of marble in the various quarters, recorded the respective shares of the several cities in the execution of the work. When it was completed, the whole army was desirous that the new city should bear the name of their illustrious queen; but Isabella modestly declined this tribute, and bestowed on the place the title of *Santa Fe*, in token of the unshaken trust, manifested by her people throughout this war, in Divine Providence. With this name it still stands as it was erected in 1491, a monument of the constancy and enduring patience of the Spaniards, "the only city in Spain," in the words of a Castilian writer, "that has never been contaminated by the Moslem heresy." <sup>13</sup>

Negotiations  
for surren-  
der.

The erection of Santa Fe by the Spaniards struck

<sup>13</sup> Estrada, Poblacion de España, tom. ii. pp. 344, 348. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 4, epist. 91. — Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 18.

Hyta, who embellishes his florid prose with occasional extracts from the beautiful ballad poetry of Spain,

gives one commemorating the erection of Santa Fe.

"Cercada esta Santa Fe con mucho lienzo encerado al rededor muchas tiendas de seda, oro, y brocado.

"Donde estan Duques, y Condes, Señores de gran estado," &c.

Guerras de Granada, p. 515.

a greater damp into the people of Granada, than the most successful military achievement could have done. They beheld the enemy setting foot on their soil, with a resolution never more to resign it. They already began to suffer from the rigorous blockade, which effectually excluded supplies from their own territories, while all communication with Africa was jealously intercepted. Symptoms of insubordination had begun to show themselves among the overgrown population of the city, as it felt more and more the pressure of famine. In this crisis, the unfortunate Abdallah and his principal counselors became convinced, that the place could not be maintained much longer; and at length, in the month of October, propositions were made through the vizier Abul Cazim Abdelmalic, to open a negotiation for the surrender of the place. The affair was to be conducted with the utmost caution; since the people of Granada, notwithstanding their precarious condition, and their disquietude, were buoyed up by indefinite expectations of relief from Africa, or some other quarter.

The Spanish sovereigns intrusted the negotiation to their secretary Fernando de Zafra, and to Gonzalvo de Cordova, the latter of whom was selected for this delicate business, from his uncommon address, and his familiarity with the Moorish habits and language. Thus the capitulation of Granada was referred to the man, who acquired in her long wars the military science, which enabled him, at a later period, to foil the most distinguished generals of Europe.

PART  
I.

The conferences were conducted by night with the utmost secrecy, sometimes within the walls of Granada, and at others, in the little hamlet of Churriana, about a league distant from it. At length, after large discussion on both sides, the terms of capitulation were definitively settled, and ratified by the respective monarchs on the 25th of November, 1491.<sup>14</sup>

Capitulation  
of Granada.

The conditions were of similar, though somewhat more liberal import, than those granted to Baza. The inhabitants of Granada were to retain possession of their mosques, with the free exercise of their religion, with all its peculiar rites and ceremonies; they were to be judged by their own laws, under their own cadis or magistrates, subject to the general control of the Castilian governor; they were to be unmolested in their ancient usages, manners, language, and dress; to be protected in the full enjoyment of their property, with the right of disposing of it on their own account, and of migrating when and where they would; and to be furnished with vessels for the conveyance of such as chose within three years to pass into Africa. No heavier taxes were to be imposed than those customarily paid to their Arabian sovereigns, and

<sup>14</sup> Pedraza, Antiguiedad de Granada, fol. 74. — Giovio, De Vitæ Gonsalvi, apud Vitæ Illust. Viro- rum, pp. 211, 212. — Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 236. — Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne, tom. iii. pp. 316, 317. — Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes, tom. iii. cap. 42. — L. Marineo, Cosas Memorables, fol.

178. — Marmol, however, assigns the date in the text to a separate capitulation respecting Abdallah, dating that made in behalf of the city three days later. (Rebellion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 19.) This author has given the articles of the treaty with greater fulness and precision than any other Spanish historian.



none whatever before the expiration of three years. King Abdallah was to reign over a specified territory in the Alpuxarras, for which he was to do homage to the Castilian crown. The artillery and the fortifications were to be delivered into the hands of the Christians, and the city was to be surrendered in sixty days from the date of the capitulation. Such were the principal terms of the surrender of Granada, as authenticated by the most accredited Castilian and Arabian authorities; which I have stated the more precisely, as affording the best data for estimating the extent of Spanish perfidy in later times.<sup>15</sup>

CHAPTER  
XV.

The conferences could not be conducted so secretly, but that some report of them got air among the populace of the city, who now regarded Abdallah with an evil eye for his connexion with the Christians. When the fact of the capitulation became known, the agitation speedily mounted into an open insurrection, which menaced the safety of the city, as well as of Abdallah's person. In this alarming state of things, it was thought best by that monarch's counsellors, to anticipate the ap-

Comotions  
in Granada.

<sup>15</sup> Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 19. — Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 42. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. ii. cap. 90. — Cardonne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Espagne*, tom. iii. pp. 317, 318. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.

Martyr adds, that the principal Moorish nobility were to remove from the city. (*Opus Epist.*, lib. 4, epist. 92.) Pedraza, who has devoted a volume to the history of

Granada, does not seem to think the capitulations worth specifying. Most of the modern Castilians pass very lightly over them. They furnish too bitter a comment on the conduct of subsequent Spanish monarchs. Marmol and the judicious Zurita agree in every substantial particular with Conde, and this coincidence may be considered as establishing the actual terms of the treaty.

PART  
I.Preparations  
for occupy-  
ing the city.1492.  
Jan. 2.

pointed day of surrender; and the 2d of January, 1492, was accordingly fixed on for that purpose.

Every preparation was made by the Spaniards for performing this last act of the drama with suitable pomp and effect. The mourning which the court had put on for the death of Prince Alonso of Portugal, occasioned by a fall from his horse a few months after his marriage with the infanta Isabella, was exchanged for gay and magnificent apparel.

On the morning of the 2d, the whole Christian camp exhibited a scene of the most animating bustle. The grand cardinal Mendoza was sent forward at the head of a large detachment, comprehending his household troops, and the veteran infantry grown grey in the Moorish wars, to occupy the Alhambra preparatory to the entrance of the sovereigns.<sup>16</sup> Ferdinand stationed himself at some distance in the rear, near an Arabian mosque, since consecrated as the hermitage of St. Sebastian. He was surrounded by his courtiers, with their stately retinues, glittering in gorgeous panoply, and proudly displaying the armorial bearings of their ancient houses. The queen halted still farther in the rear, at the village of Armilla.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Oviedo, whose narrative exhibits many discrepancies with those of other contemporaries, assigns this part to the count of Tendilla, the first captain-general of Granada. (Quincuagenas, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.) But, as this writer, though an eyewitness, was but thirteen or fourteen years of age at the time of the capture, and wrote some sixty years later from his early recollections, his authority cannot be considered of equal

weight with that of persons, who, like Martyr, described events as they were passing before them.

<sup>17</sup> Pedraza, Antiguiedad de Granada, fol. 75. — Salazar de Mendoza, Crón. del Gran Cardenal, p. 238. — Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 90. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., lib. 4, epist. 92. — Abarca, Reyes de Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 309. — Marmol, Rebellion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 20.

As the column under the grand cardinal advanced up the Hill of Martyrs, over which a road had been constructed for the passage of the artillery, he was met by the Moorish prince Abdallah, attended by fifty cavaliers, who descending the hill rode up to the position occupied by Ferdinand on the banks of the Xenil. As the Moor approached the Spanish king, he would have thrown himself from his horse, and saluted his hand in token of homage, but Ferdinand hastily prevented him, embracing him with every mark of sympathy and regard. Abdallah then delivered up the keys of the Alhambra to his conqueror saying, "They are thine, O king, since Allah so decrees it; use thy success with clemency and moderation." Ferdinand would have uttered some words of consolation to the unfortunate prince, but he moved forward with dejected air to the spot occupied by Isabella, and, after similar acts of obeisance, passed on to join his family, who had preceded him with his most valuable effects on the route to the Alpuxarras.<sup>18</sup>

The sovereigns during this time waited with impatience the signal of the occupation of the city by the cardinal's troops, which, winding slowly along the outer circuit of the walls, as previously arranged, in order to spare the feelings of the citizens as far as possible, entered by what is now called the gate of Los Molinos. In a short time, the large silver

The cross  
raised on  
the Alham-  
bra.

<sup>18</sup> Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, ubi supra. — Conde, *Domination de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 43. — Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, fol. 76. — Bernaldez,

*Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 102. — Zurita, *Anales*, tom. iv. cap. 90. — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.

PART  
I

cross, borne by Ferdinand throughout the crusade, was seen sparkling in the sun-beams, while the standards of Castile and St. Jago waved triumphantly from the red towers of the Alhambra. At this glorious spectacle, the choir of the royal chapel broke forth into the solemn anthem of the *Te Deum*, and the whole army, penetrated with deep emotion, prostrated themselves on their knees in adoration of the Lord of hosts, who had at length granted the consummation of their wishes, in this last and glorious triumph of the Cross.<sup>19</sup> The grandees who surrounded Ferdinand then advanced towards the queen, and kneeling down saluted her hand in token of homage to her as sovereign of Granada. The procession took up its march towards the city, "the king and queen moving in the midst," says an historian, "emblazoned with royal magnificence; and, as they were in the prime of life, and had now achieved the completion of this glorious conquest, they seemed to represent even more than their wonted majesty. Equal with each other, they were raised far above the rest of the world. They appeared, indeed, more than mortal, and as if sent by Heaven for the salvation of Spain."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., ubi supra.—One is reminded of Tasso's description of the somewhat similar feelings exhibited by the crusaders on their entrance into Jerusalem.

"Ecco apparir Gerusalem si vede,  
Ecco additar Gerusalem si scorge;  
Ecco da mille voci unitamente  
Gerusalemme salutar si sente.

\* \* \* \* \*  
"Al gran piacer che quella prima vista  
Dolcemente spirò nell' altrui petto,

Alta contrizion successe, mista  
Di timoroso e riverente affetto.  
Osano appena d' innalzar la vista  
Ver la città."

Gerusalemme Liberata,  
Cant. iii. st. 3, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. p. 597.—Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, fol. 76.—Carrabjal, *Anales*, MS., año 1492.—Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 43.—Bleda, *Coróni-*

In the mean while the Moorish king, traversing the route of the Alpuxarras, reached a rocky eminence which commanded a last view of Granada. He checked his horse, and, as his eye for the last time wandered over the scenes of his departed greatness, his heart swelled, and he burst into tears. "You do well," said his more masculine mother, "to weep like a woman, for what you could not defend like a man!" "Alas!" exclaimed the unhappy exile, "when were woes ever equal to mine!" The scene of this event is still pointed out to the traveller by the people of the district; and the rocky height, from which the Moorish chief took his sad farewell of the princely abodes of his youth, is commemorated by the poetical title of *El Ultimo Sospiro del Moro*, "The Last Sigh of the Moor."

The sequel of Abdallah's history is soon told. Like his uncle, El Zagal, he pined away in his barren domain of the Alpuxarras, under the shadow, as it were, of his ancient palaces. In the following year, he passed over to Fez with his family, having

Fate of  
Abdallah.

ca, pp. 621, 622. — Zurita, Anales, tom. iv. cap. 90. — Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 20. — L. Marineo, and indeed most of the Spanish authorities, represent the sovereigns as having postponed their entrance into the city until the 5th or 6th of January. A letter transcribed by Pedraza, addressed by the queen to the prior of Guadalupe, one of her council, dated from the city of Granada on the 2d of January, 1492, shows the inaccuracy of this statement. See folio 76.

In Mr. Lockhart's picturesque

version of the Moorish ballads, the reader may find an animated description of the triumphant entry of the Christian army into Granada.

"There was crying in Granada when the sun was going down,  
Some calling on the Trinity, some calling  
on Mahoun;  
Here passed away the Koran, there in the  
cross was borne,  
And here was heard the Christian bell, and  
there the Moorish horn;  
*Te Deum laudamus* was up the Alcala sung,  
Down from the Alhambra's minarets were  
all the crescents flung;  
The arms thereon of Aragon and Castile  
they display;  
One king comes in in triumph, one weep-  
ing goes away."

PART  
I.

commuted his petty sovereignty for a considerable sum of money paid him by Ferdinand and Isabella, and soon after fell in battle in the service of an African prince, his kinsman. "Wretched man," exclaims a caustic chronicler of his nation, "who could lose his life in another's cause, though he did not dare to die in his own. Such," continues the Arabian, with characteristic resignation, "was the immutable decree of destiny. Blessed be Allah, who exalteth and debaseth the kings of the earth, according to his divine will, in whose fulfilment consists that eternal justice, which regulates all human affairs." The portal, through which King Abdallah for the last time issued from his capital, was at his request walled up, that none other might again pass through it. In this condition it remains to this day, a memorial of the sad destiny of the last of the kings of Granada.<sup>21</sup>

The fall of Granada excited general sensation throughout Christendom, where it was received as counterbalancing, in a manner, the loss of Constan-

<sup>21</sup> Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, tom. iii. cap. 90. — Car-donne, *Hist. d'Afrique et d'Es-pagne*, tom. iii. pp. 319, 320. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. iv. lib. 40, cap. 42. — Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 20.

Mr. Irving, in his beautiful Span-  
ish Sketch-book, "The Alham-  
bra," devotes a chapter to mementos  
of Boabdil, in which he traces  
minutely the route of the deposed  
monarch after quitting the gates of  
his capital. The same author, in  
the Appendix to his *Chronicle of  
Granada*, concludes a notice of Ab-  
dallah's fate with the following

description of his person. "A por-  
trait of Boabdil el Chico is to be  
seen in the picture gallery of the  
Generalife. He is represented with  
a mild, handsome face, a fair com-  
plexion, and yellow hair. His dress  
is of yellow brocade, relieved with  
black velvet; and he has a black  
velvet cap, surmounted with a  
crown. In the armory of Madrid  
are two suits of armour said to  
have belonged to him, one of solid  
steel, with very little ornament; the  
morion closed. From the propor-  
tions of these suits of armour, he  
must have been of full stature and  
vigorous form." Note, p. 398.