

reer of improvement, further than it had advanced for centuries. It must, indeed, be confessed, that this powerful agency is sometimes for evil, as well as for good. It is this same impulse, which spurs guilty Ambition along his bloody track, and which arms the hand of the patriot sternly to resist him; which glows with holy fervor in the bosom of the martyr, and which lights up the fires of persecution, by which he is to win his crown of glory. The direction of the impulse, differing in the same individual under different circumstances, can alone determine whether he shall be the scourge or the benefactor of his species.

These reflections have been suggested by the character of the extraordinary person brought forward in the preceding chapter, Ximenes de Cisneros, and the new and less advantageous aspect, in which he must now appear to the reader. Inflexible constancy of purpose formed, perhaps, the most prominent trait of his remarkable character. What direction it might have received under other circumstances it is impossible to say. It would be no great stretch of fancy to imagine, that the unyielding spirit, which in its early days could voluntarily endure years of imprisonment, rather than submit to an act of ecclesiastical oppression, might under similar influences have been aroused, like Luther's, to shake down the ancient pillars of Catholicism, instead of lending all its strength to uphold them. The latter position, however, would seem better assimilated to the constitution of his mind, whose sombre enthusiasm naturally prepared him for the

Ximenes,  
his constancy of purpose.

PART  
II.

vague and mysterious in the Romish faith, as his inflexible temper did for its bold and arrogant dogmas. At any rate, it was to this cause he devoted the whole strength of his talents and commanding energies.

We have seen in the preceding chapter, with what promptness he entered on the reform of religious discipline, as soon as he came into office, and with what pertinacity he pursued it, in contempt of all personal interest and popularity. We are now to see him with similar zeal devoting himself to the extirpation of heresy; with contempt not merely of personal consequences, but also of the most obvious principles of good faith and national honor.

Nearly eight years had elapsed since the conquest of Granada, and the subjugated kingdom continued to repose in peaceful security under the shadow of the treaty, which guarantied the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient laws and religion. This unbroken continuance of public tranquillity, especially difficult to be maintained among the jarring elements of the capital, whose motley population of Moors, renegades, and Christians, suggested perpetual points of collision, must be chiefly referred to the discreet and temperate conduct of the two individuals, whom Isabella had charged with the civil and ecclesiastical government. These were Mendoza, count of Tendilla, and Talavera, archbishop of Granada.

Tendilla.

The former, the brightest ornament of his illustrious house, has been before made known to the reader by his various important services, both mili-

Tranquil  
state of  
Granada.

1499.

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tary and diplomatic. Immediately after the conquest of Granada he was made alcaide and captain general of the kingdom, a post for which he was every way qualified by his prudence, firmness, enlightened views, and long experience.<sup>1</sup>

The latter personage, of more humble extraction,<sup>2</sup> was Fray Fernando de Talavera, a Hieronymite monk, who, having been twenty years prior of the monastery of Santa Maria del Pradõ, near Valladolid, was made confessor of Queen Isabella, and afterwards of the king. This situation necessarily gave him considerable influence in all public measures. If the keeping of the royal conscience could be safely intrusted to any one, it might certainly be to this estimable prelate, equally distinguished for his learning, amiable manners, and unblemished piety; and, if his character was somewhat tainted with bigotry, it was in so mild a form, so far tempered by the natural benevolence of his disposition, as to make a favorable contrast to the dominant spirit of the time.<sup>3</sup>

Talavera.

<sup>1</sup> "Hombre," says his son, the historian, of him, "de prudencia en negocios graves, de animo firme, asegurado con luenga experiencia de reencuentros i battallas ganadas." (Guerra de Granada, lib. 1, p. 9.) Oviedo dwells with sufficient amplification on the personal history and merits of this distinguished individual, in his garulous reminiscences. *Quincuagenas*, MS., bat. 1, quinc. 1, dial. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Oviedo, at least, can find no better pedigree for him, than that of Adam. "Quanto á su linage él fué del linage de todos los humanos ó de aquel barro y subce-

sion de Adan." (*Quincuagenas*, MS., dial. de Talavera.) It is a very hard case, when a Castilian cannot make out a better genealogy for his hero.

<sup>3</sup> Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, lib. 3, cap. 10. — Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 21.

Talavera's correspondence with the queen, published in various works, but most correctly, probably, in the sixth volume of the *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, (Ilust. 13.) is not calculated to raise his reputation. His letters are little else than homilies on the love of com-

PART  
II.Archbishop  
of Granada.

After the conquest, he exchanged the bishopric of Avila for the archiepiscopal see of Granada. Notwithstanding the wishes of the sovereigns, he refused to accept any increase of emolument in this new and more exalted station. His revenues, indeed, which amounted to two millions of maravedies annually, were somewhat less than he before enjoyed.<sup>4</sup> The greater part of this sum he liberally expended on public improvements and works of charity; objects, which, to their credit be it spoken, have rarely failed to engage a large share of the attention and resources of the higher Spanish clergy.<sup>5</sup>

His mild  
policy.

The subject which pressed most seriously on the mind of the good archbishop, was the conversion of the Moors, whose spiritual blindness he regarded with feelings of tenderness and charity, very different from those entertained by most of his reverend brethren. He proposed to accomplish this by the most rational method possible. Though late in life, he set about learning Arabic, that he might communicate with the Moors in their own language, and commanded his clergy to do the same.<sup>6</sup> He

pany, dancing, and the like heinous offences. The whole savours more of the sharp twang of Puritanism than of the Roman Catholic school. But bigotry is neutral ground, on which the most opposite sects may meet.

<sup>4</sup> Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, lib. 3, cap. 10. — Marmol, lib. 1, cap. 21.

Equivalent to 56,000 dollars of the present day; a sum which Pedraza makes do quite as hard duty, according to its magnitude, as the 500 pounds of Pope's Man of Ross.

<sup>5</sup> Pedraza, *ubi supr.* — Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, MS., dial. de Talavera.

The worthy archbishop's benefactions on some occasions were of rather an extraordinary character. "Pidiendole limosna," says Pedraza, "una muger que no tenia camisa, se entró en una casa, y se desnudó la suya y se la dio; diciendo con san Pedro, No tengo oro ni plata que darte, doyte lo que tengo." *Antigüedad de Granada*, lib. 3, cap. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*,

caused an Arabic vocabulary, grammar, and catechism to be compiled; and a version in the same tongue to be made of the liturgy, comprehending the selections from the Gospels; and proposed to extend this at some future time to the whole body of the Scriptures.<sup>7</sup> Thus unsealing the sacred oracles which had been hitherto shut out from their sight, he opened to them the only true sources of Christian knowledge; and, by endeavouring to effect their conversion through the medium of their understandings, instead of seducing their imaginations with a vain show of ostentatious ceremonies, proposed the only method by which conversion could be sincere and permanent.

These wise and benevolent measures of the good prelate, recommended, as they were, by the most exemplary purity of life, acquired him great authority among the Moors, who, estimating the value of the doctrine by its fruits, were well inclined to listen to it, and numbers were daily added to the church.<sup>8</sup>

The progress of proselytism, however, was neces-

lib. 1, cap. 21. — Pedraza, Antiguiedad de Granada, ubi supra.

<sup>7</sup> Flécher, Hist. de Ximenes, p. 17. — Quintanilla, Archetypo, lib. 2, cap. 2. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 32. — Oviedo, Quincuagenas, MS.

These tracts were published at Granada, in 1505, in the European character, being the first books ever printed in the Arabic language according to Dr. M'Crie, (Reformation in Spain, p. 70,) who cites Schnurrer, Bibl. Arabica, pp. 16 - 18.

<sup>8</sup> Bleda, Corónica, lib. 5, cap. 23. — Pedraza, Antiguiedad de Granada, lib. 3, cap. 10. — Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 21. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 29. — "Hacia lo que predicaba, é predicó lo que hizo," says Oviedo of the archbishop, briefly, "é asi fué mucho provechoso é util en aquella ciudad para la conversion de los Moros." Quincuagenas, MS.

PART  
II.  
The clergy  
dissatisfied  
with it.

sarily slow and painful among a people reared from the cradle, not merely in antipathy to, but abhorrence of, Christianity; who were severed from the Christian community by strong dissimilarity of language, habits, and institutions; and now indissolubly knit together by a common sense of national misfortune. Many of the more zealous clergy and religious persons, conceiving, indeed, this barrier altogether insurmountable, were desirous of seeing it swept away at once by the strong arm of power. They represented to the sovereigns, that it seemed like insensibility to the goodness of Providence, which had delivered the infidels into their hands, to allow them any longer to usurp the fair inheritance of the Christians, and that the whole of the stiff-necked race of Mahomet might justly be required to submit without exception to instant baptism, or to sell their estates and remove to Africa. This, they maintained, could be scarcely regarded as an infringement of the treaty, since the Moors would be so great gainers on the score of their eternal salvation; to say nothing of the indispensableness of such a measure to the permanent tranquillity and security of the kingdom!<sup>9</sup>

Temperate  
sway of the  
sovereigns.

But these considerations, "just and holy as they were," to borrow the words of a devout Spaniard,<sup>10</sup> failed to convince the sovereigns, who resolved to abide by their royal word, and to trust to the conciliatory measures now in progress, and a longer and more intimate intercourse with the Christians,

<sup>9</sup> Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*,  
lib. 1, cap. 23.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, ubi supra.

as the only legitimate means for accomplishing their object. Accordingly, we find the various public ordinances, as low down as 1499, recognising this principle, by the respect which they show for the most trivial usages of the Moors,<sup>11</sup> and by their sanctioning no other stimulant to conversion than the amelioration of their condition.<sup>12</sup>

Among those in favor of more active measures was Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo. Having followed the court to Granada in the autumn of 1499, he took the occasion to communicate his views to Talavera, the archbishop, requesting leave at the same time to participate with him in his labor of love; to which the latter, willing to strengthen himself by so efficient an ally, modestly assented. Ferdinand and Isabella soon after removed to Seville; but, before their departure, enjoined on the prelates to observe the temperate policy hitherto pursued, and to beware of giving any occasion for discontent to the Moors.<sup>13</sup>

Ximenes in  
Granada.

1499.  
Nov.

<sup>11</sup> In the *pragmática* dated Granada, October 30th, 1499, prohibiting silk apparel of any description, an exception was made in favor of the Moors, whose robes were usually of that material, among the wealthier classes. *Pragmáticas del Reyno*, fol. 120.

<sup>12</sup> Another law, October 31st, 1499, provided against the disinheritance of Moorish children who had embraced Christianity, and secured, moreover, to the female converts a portion of the property which had fallen to the state on the conquest of Granada. (*Pragmáticas del Reyno*, fol. 5.) Llorente has reported this pragmatic with

some inaccuracy. *Hist. de l'Inquisition*, tom. i. p. 334.

<sup>13</sup> Bleda, *Corónica*, lib. 5, cap. 23. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 29. — Quintanilla, *Archetypo*, lib. 2, p. 54. — *Suma de la Vida de Cisneros*, MS.

Ferdinand and Isabella, according to Ferreras, took counsel of sundry learned theologians and jurists, whether they could lawfully compel the Mahometans to become Christians, notwithstanding the treaty, which guaranteed to them the exercise of their religion. After repeated conferences of this erudite body, "il fut décidé," says the historian, "qu'on solliciteroit la

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II.His violent  
measures.

No sooner had the sovereigns left the city, than Ximenes invited some of the leading *alfaquies*, or Mussulman doctors, to a conference, in which he expounded, with all the eloquence at his command, the true foundations of the Christian faith, and the errors of their own; and, that his teaching might be the more palatable, enforced it by liberal presents, consisting mostly of rich and costly articles of dress, of which the Moors were at all times exceedingly fond. This policy he pursued for some time, till the effect became visible. Whether the preaching or presents of the archbishop had most weight, does not appear.<sup>14</sup> It is probable, however, that the Moorish doctors found conversion a much more pleasant and profitable business than they had anticipated; for they one after another declared their conviction of their errors, and their willingness to receive baptism. The example of these learned persons was soon followed by great numbers of their illiterate disciples, insomuch that no less than four thousand are said to have presented themselves in one day for baptism; and Ximenes, unable to administer the rite to each individually, was obliged to adopt the expedient of the early Christian missionaries, of christening them *en masse* by aspersion; scattering the con-

conversion des Mahométans de la Ville et du Royaume de Grenade, en ordonnant à ceux qui ne voudroient pas embrasser la religion Chrétienne, de vendre leurs biens et de sortir du royaume." (Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 194.) Such was the idea of *solicitation* entertained by these reverend casu-

ists! The story, however, wants a better voucher than Ferreras.

<sup>14</sup> The honest Robles appears to be of the latter opinion. "Alfin," says he, with *naïveté*, "con halagos, dadivas, y caricias, los truxo a conocimiento del verdadero Dios." Vida de Ximenez, p. 100.



secrated drops from a mop, or hyssop, as it was called, which he twirled over the heads of the multitude.<sup>15</sup>

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VI.

So far all went on prosperously; and the eloquence and largesses of the archbishop, which latter he lavished so freely as to encumber his revenues for several years to come, brought crowds of proselytes to the Christian fold.<sup>16</sup> There were some, indeed, among the Mahometans, who regarded these proceedings as repugnant, if not to the letter, at least to the spirit of the original treaty of capitulation; which seemed intended to provide, not only against the employment of force, but of any undue incentive to conversion.<sup>17</sup> Several of the more sturdy, including some of the principal citizens, exerted their efforts to stay the tide of defection, which threatened soon to swallow up the whole population of the city. But Ximenes, whose zeal had mounted up to fever heat in the excitement of success, was not to be cooled by any opposition, however formidable; and, if he

<sup>15</sup> Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 14. — Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 24. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 29. — Suma de la Vida de Cisneros, MS.

<sup>16</sup> Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 14. — Quintanilla, Archetypo, fol. 55. — The sound of bells, so unusual to Mahometan ears, pealing day and night from the newly consecrated mosques, gained Ximenes the appellation of *alfaqui campanero* from the Granadines. Suma de la Vida de Cisneros, MS.

<sup>17</sup> Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 25.

Take for example the following provisions in the treaty. "Que si

algun Moro tuviere alguna renegada por muger, no será apremiada á ser Christiana contra su voluntad, sino que será interrogada, en presencia de Christianos y de Moros, y se seguirá su voluntad; y lo mesmo se entenderá con los niños y niñas nacidos de Christiana y Moro. Que ningun Moro ni Mora serán apremiados á ser Christianos contra su voluntad; y que si alguna doncella, ó casada, ó viuda, por razon de algunos amores se quisiere tornar Christiana, tampoco será recibida, hasta ser interrogada." The whole treaty is given *in extenso* by Marmol, and by no other author that I have seen.

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II

had hitherto respected the letter of the treaty, he now showed himself prepared to trample on letter and spirit indifferently, when they crossed his designs.

Among those most active in the opposition was a noble Moor named Zegri, well skilled in the learning of his countrymen, with whom he had great consideration. Ximenes, having exhausted all his usual artillery of arguments and presents on this obdurate infidel, had him taken into custody by one of his officers named Leon, "a lion," says a punning historian, "by nature as well as by name,"<sup>18</sup> and commanded the latter to take such measures with his prisoner, as would clear the film from his eyes. This faithful functionary executed his orders so effectually, that, after a few days of fasting, fetters, and imprisonment, he was able to present his charge to his employer, penitent to all outward appearance, and with an humble mien strongly contrasting with his former proud and lofty bearing. After the most respectful obeisance to the archbishop, Zegri informed him, that "on the preceding night he had had a revelation from Allah, who had condescended to show him the error of his ways, and commanded him to receive instant baptism"; at the same time pointing to his gaoler, he "jocularly" remarked, "Your reverence has only to turn this *lion* of yours loose among the people, and my word for it, there will not be a Mussulman left many days within the walls of Granada."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, lib. 2, fol. 29.

<sup>19</sup> Robles, Rebelion de Moriscos, cap. 14.—Suma de la Vida de

“Thus,” exclaims the devout Ferreras, “did Providence avail itself of the darkness of the dungeon to pour on the benighted minds of the infidel the light of the true faith!”<sup>20</sup>

Destroys  
Arabic  
books.

The work of proselytism now went on apace; for terror was added to the other stimulants. The zealous propagandist, in the mean while, flushed with success, resolved not only to exterminate infidelity, but the very characters in which its teachings were recorded. He accordingly caused all the Arabic manuscripts which he could procure, to be heaped together in a common pile in one of the great squares of the city. The largest part were copies of the Koran, or works in some way or other connected with theology; with many others, however, on various scientific subjects. They were beautifully executed, for the most part, as to their chirography, and sumptuously bound and decorated; for, in all relating to the mechanical finishing, the Spanish Arabs excelled every people in Europe. But neither splendor of outward garniture, nor intrinsic merit of composition, could atone for the taint of heresy in the eye of the stern inquisitor; he reserved for his university of Alcalá three hundred works, indeed, relating to medical science, in which the Moors were as preëminent in that day as the Europeans were deficient; but all the rest,

Cisneros, MS. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 30. — Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 25.

Zegri assumed the baptismal name of the Great Captain, Gonzalo Hernandez, whose prowess he

had experienced in a personal rencontre in the vega of Granada. Marmol, Rebelion de Moriscos, ubi supra. — Suma de la Vida de Cisneros, MS.

<sup>20</sup> Hist. d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 195.

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amounting to many thousands,<sup>21</sup> he consigned to indiscriminate conflagration.<sup>22</sup>

This melancholy *auto da fe*, it will be recollected, was celebrated, not by an unlettered barbarian, but by a cultivated prelate, who was at that very time actively employing his large revenues in the publication of the most stupendous literary work of the age, and in the endowment of the most learned university in Spain.<sup>23</sup> It took place, not in the darkness of the middle ages, but in the dawn of the sixteenth century, and in the midst of an enlightened nation, deeply indebted for its own progress to these very stores of Arabian wisdom. It forms a counterpart to the imputed sacrilege of Omar,<sup>24</sup> eight centuries before, and shows that bigotry is the same in every faith, and every age.

<sup>21</sup> According to Robles, (*Rebellion de Moriscos*, p. 104.) and the *Suma de la Vida de Cisneros*, 1,005,000; to Conde, (*El Nubiense, Descripcion d'España*, p. 4, note,) 80,000; to Gomez and others 5,000. There are scarcely any data for arriving at probability in this monstrous discrepancy. The famous library of the Ommeyades at Cordova was said to contain 600,000 volumes. It had long since been dissipated; and no similar collection had been attempted in Granada, where learning was never in that palmy state which it reached under the Cordovan dynasty. Still, however, learned men were to be found there, and the Moorish metropolis would naturally be the depository of such literary treasures as had escaped the general shipwreck of time and accident. On the whole, the estimate of Gomez would appear much too small, and that of Robles as disproportionate-

ly exaggerated. Conde, better instructed in Arabic lore than any of his predecessors, may be found, perhaps, here, as elsewhere, the best authority.

<sup>22</sup> Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, lib. 2, fol. 30.—Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 25.—Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, cap. 14.—*Suma de la Vida de Cisneros*, MS.—Quintanilla, *Archetypus*, p. 58.

<sup>23</sup> Yet the archbishop might find some countenance for his fanaticism, in the most polite capital of Europe. The faculty of Theology in Paris, some few years later, declared "que c'en était fait de la religion, si on permettait l'étude du Grec et de l'Hébreu!" Villers, *Essai sur l'Esprit et l'Influence de la Reformation de Luther*, (Paris, 1820,) p. 64, note.

<sup>24</sup> Gibbon's argument, if it does not shake the foundations of the whole story of the Alexandrian conflagration, may at least raise a

The mischief occasioned by this act, far from being limited to the immediate loss, continued to be felt still more severely in its consequences. Such as could, secreted the manuscripts in their possession till an opportunity occurred for conveying them out of the country; and many thousands in this way were privately shipped over to Barbary.<sup>25</sup> Thus Arabian literature became rare in the libraries of the very country to which it was indigenous; and Arabic scholarship, once so flourishing in Spain, and that too in far less polished ages, gradually fell into decay from want of aliment to sustain it. Such were the melancholy results of this literary persecution; more mischievous, in one view, than even that directed against life; for the loss of an individual will scarcely be felt beyond his own generation, while the annihilation of a valuable work, or in other words, of mind itself embodied in a permanent form, is a loss to all future time.

The high hand with which Ximenes now carried measures, excited serious alarm in many of the more discreet and temperate Castilians in the city. They besought him to use greater forbearance, remonstrating against his obvious violations of the treaty, as well as against the expediency of forced conversions, which could not, in the nature of things, be lasting. But the pertinacious prelate

natural skepticism as to the pretended amount and value of the works destroyed.

<sup>25</sup> The learned Granadine, Leo Africanus, who emigrated to Fez after the fall of the capital, notices a single collection of 3000 manu-

scripts belonging to an individual, which he saw in Algiers, whither they had been secretly brought by the Moriscoes from Spain. — Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, prólogo. — Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escorialensis*, tom. i. p. 172.

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only replied, that, "A tamer policy might, indeed, suit temporal matters, but not those in which the interests of the soul were at stake; that the unbeliever, if he could not be drawn, should be driven, into the way of salvation; and that it was no time to stay the hand, when the ruins of Mahometanism were tottering to their foundations." He accordingly went on with unflinching resolution.<sup>26</sup>

But the patience of the Moors themselves, which had held out so marvellously under this system of oppression, began now to be exhausted. Many signs of this might be discerned by much less acute optics than those of the archbishop; but his were blinded by the arrogance of success. At length, in this inflammable state of public feeling, an incident occurred which led to a general explosion.

Three of Ximenes's servants were sent on some business to the Albaycin, a quarter inhabited exclusively by Moors, and encompassed by walls, which separated it from the rest of the city.<sup>27</sup> These men had made themselves peculiarly odious to the people by their activity in their master's service. A dispute, having arisen between them and some inhabitants of the quarter, came at last to blows, when two of the servants were massacred on the spot, and their comrade escaped with difficulty from the infuriated mob.<sup>28</sup> The affair operated as the

<sup>26</sup> Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 30. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, rey 30, cap. 10.

<sup>27</sup> Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escorialensis*, tom. ii. p. 281. — Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, lib. 3, cap. 10.

<sup>28</sup> Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 31.

There are some discrepancies, not important however, between the narrative of Gomez and the other authorities. Gomez, considering his uncommon opportunities

Revolt of the  
Albaycin.

ANTA DE ANDALUCIA

signal for insurrection. The inhabitants of the district ran to arms, got possession of the gates, barricaded the streets, and in a few hours the whole Albaycin was in rebellion.<sup>29</sup>

In the course of the following night, a large number of the enraged populace made their way into the city to the quarters of Ximenes, with the purpose of taking summary vengeance on his head for all his persecutions. Fortunately, his palace was strong, and defended by numerous resolute and well-armed attendants. The latter, at the approach of the rioters, implored their master to make his escape, if possible, to the fortress of the Alhambra, where the count of Tendilla was established. But the intrepid prelate, who held life too cheap to be a coward, exclaimed, "God forbid I should think of my own safety, when so many of the faithful are perilling theirs! No, I will stand to my post and wait there, if Heaven wills it, the crown of martyrdom."<sup>30</sup> It must be confessed he well deserved it.

Ximenes besieged in his palace.

The building, however, proved too strong for the utmost efforts of the mob; and, at length, after some hours of awful suspense and agitation to the beleaguered inmates, the count of Tendilla arrived in person at the head of his guards, and succeeded in dispersing the insurgents, and driving them back to their own quarters. But no exertions could

of information, is worth them all,  
<sup>29</sup> Suma de la Vida de Cisneros, MS. — Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, lib. 2, fol. 31. — Marmol, Rebellion de Moriscos, lib. 1, cap. 26.

<sup>30</sup> Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 14. — Mariana, Hist. de España, tom. ii. lib. 27, cap. 5. — Quintanilla, Archetypo, p. 56. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 212.

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restore order to the tumultuous populace, or induce them to listen to terms; and they even stoned the messenger charged with pacific proposals from the count of Tendilla. They organized themselves under leaders, provided arms, and took every possible means for maintaining their defence. It seemed as if, smitten with the recollections of ancient liberty, they were resolved to recover it again at all hazards.<sup>31</sup>

The insurgents  
appeased by  
Talavera.

At length, after this disorderly state of things had lasted for several days, Talavera, the archbishop of Granada, resolved to try the effect of his personal influence, hitherto so great with the Moors, by visiting himself the disaffected quarter. This noble purpose he put in execution, in spite of the most earnest remonstrances of his friends. He was attended only by his chaplain, bearing the crucifix before him, and a few of his domestics, on foot and unarmed like himself. At the sight of their venerable pastor, with his countenance beaming with the same serene and benign expression, with which they were familiar when listening to his exhortations from the pulpit, the passions of the multitude were stilled. Every one seemed willing to abandon himself to the tender recollections of the past; and the simple people crowded around the good man, kneeling down and kissing the hem of his robe, as if to implore his benediction. The count of Tendilla no sooner learned the issue, than he followed into the Albaycin, attended by a hand-

<sup>31</sup> Mariana, *Hist. de España*, cap. 23. — Mendoza, *Guerra de ubi sup.* — Bleda, *Corónica*, lib. 5, Granada, p. 11.



ful of soldiers. When he had reached the place where the mob was gathered, he threw his bonnet into the midst of them, in token of his pacific intentions. The action was received with acclamations, and the people, whose feelings had now taken another direction, recalled by his presence to the recollection of his uniformly mild and equitable rule, treated him with similar respect to that shown the archbishop of Granada.<sup>32</sup>

These two individuals took advantage of this favorable change of feeling to expostulate with the Moors on the folly and desperation of their conduct, which must involve them in a struggle with such overwhelming odds as that of the whole Spanish monarchy. They implored them to lay down their arms and return to their duty, in which event they pledged themselves, as far as in their power, to allow no further repetition of the grievances complained of, and to intercede for their pardon with the sovereigns. The count testified his sincerity, by leaving his wife and two children as hostages in the heart of the Albaycin; an act which must be admitted to imply unbounded confidence in the integrity of the Moors.<sup>33</sup> These various measures, backed, moreover, by the counsels and authority of some of the chief alfaquis,

<sup>32</sup> Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 26. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 212. — Quintanilla, *Archetypo*, p. 56. — Bleda, *Corónica*, ubi supra.

<sup>33</sup> Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, loc. cit. — Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, lib. 1, p. 11.

That such confidence was justi-

fied, may be inferred from a common saying of Archbishop Talavera, "That Moorish works and Spanish faith were all that were wanting to make a good Christian." A bitter sarcasm this on his own countrymen! Pedraza, *Antigüedad de Granada*, lib. 3, cap. 10.

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of the sove-  
reigns.

had the effect to restore tranquillity among the people, who, laying aside their hostile preparations, returned once more to their regular employments.<sup>34</sup>

The rumor of the insurrection, in the mean while, with the usual exaggeration, reached Seville, where the court was then residing. In one respect rumor did justice, by imputing the whole blame of the affair to the intemperate zeal of Ximenes. That personage, with his usual promptness, had sent early notice of the affair to the queen by a negro slave uncommonly fleet of foot. But the fellow had become intoxicated by the way, and the court were several days without any more authentic tidings than general report. The king, who always regarded Ximenes's elevation to the primacy, to the prejudice, as the reader may remember, of his own son, with dissatisfaction, could not now restrain his indignation, but was heard to exclaim tauntingly to the queen, "So we are like to pay dear for your archbishop, whose rashness has lost us in a few hours, what we have been years in acquiring."<sup>35</sup>

Ximenes  
hastens to  
court.

The queen, confounded at the tidings, and unable to comprehend the silence of Ximenes, instantly wrote to him in the severest terms, demanding an explanation of the whole proceeding. The archbishop saw his error in committing affairs of moment to such hands as those of his sable messenger: and the lesson stood him in good stead, according

<sup>34</sup> Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 212. — Bleda, *Corónica*. loc. cit. — Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, ubi supra.

<sup>35</sup> Mariana, *Hist. de España*. tom. ii. lib. 27, cap. 5. — Robles, *Vida de Ximenez*, 14. — *Suma de la Vida de Cisneros*, MS.

to his moralizing biographer, for the remainder of his life.<sup>36</sup> He hastened to repair his fault by proceeding to Seville in person, and presenting himself before the sovereigns. He detailed to them the history of all the past transactions; recapitulated his manifold services, the arguments and exhortations he had used, the large sums he had expended, and his various expedients, in short, for effecting conversion, before resorting to severity. He boldly assumed the responsibility of the whole proceeding, acknowledging that he had purposely avoided communicating his plans to the sovereigns for fear of opposition. If he had erred, he said, it could be imputed to no other motive, at worst, than too great zeal for the interests of religion; but he concluded with assuring them, that the present position of affairs was the best possible for their purposes, since the late conduct of the Moors involved them in the guilt, and consequently all the penalties of treason, and that it would be an act of clemency to offer pardon on the alternatives of conversion or exile!<sup>37</sup>

The archbishop's discourse, if we are to credit his enthusiastic biographer, not only dispelled the clouds of royal indignation, but drew forth the most emphatic expressions of approbation.<sup>38</sup> How far Ferdinand and Isabella were moved to this by his final recommendation, or what, in clerical language, may be called the "improvement of his discourse,"

Conversion  
of Granada.

<sup>36</sup> Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 32. — Robles, Vida de Ximenez, cap. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, ubi supra.

<sup>38</sup> Gomez, De Rebus Gestis, fol. 33. — Suma de la Vida de Cisneros, MS.

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does not appear. They did not at any rate adopt it in its literal extent. In due time, however, commissioners were sent to Granada, fully authorized to inquire into the late disturbances and punish their guilty authors. In the course of the investigation, many, including some of the principal citizens, were imprisoned on suspicion. The greater part made their peace by embracing Christianity. Many others sold their estates and migrated to Barbary; and the remainder of the population whether from fear of punishment, or contagion of example, abjured their ancient superstition and consented to receive baptism. The whole number of converts was estimated at about fifty thousand, whose future relapses promised an almost inexhaustible supply for the fiery labors of the Inquisition. From this period the name of Moors, which had gradually superseded the primitive one of Spanish Arabs, gave way to the title of Moriscoes, by which this unfortunate people continued to be known through the remainder of their protracted existence in the Peninsula.<sup>39</sup>

Applauded  
by the Spaniards.

The circumstances, under which this important revolution in religion was effected in the whole population of this great city, will excite only feelings of disgust at the present day, mingled, indeed,

<sup>39</sup> Bleda, *Corónica*, lib. 5, cap. 23. — Mariana, *Hist. de España*, tom. ii. lib. 27, cap. 5. — Peter Martyr, *Opus Epist.*, epist. 215. — Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 27. — Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, lib. 2, fol. 32. — Lanuza,

*Historias*, tom. i. lib. 1, cap. 11. — Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1500. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 150. — The last author carries the number of converts in Granada and its environs to 70,000.

with compassion for the unhappy beings, who so heedlessly incurred the heavy liabilities attached to their new faith. Every Spaniard, doubtless, anticipated the political advantages likely to result from a measure, which divested the Moors of the peculiar immunities secured by the treaty of capitulation, and subjected them at once to the law of the land. It is equally certain, however, that they attached great value in a spiritual view to the mere show of conversion, placing implicit confidence in the purifying influence of the waters of baptism, to whom ever and under whatever circumstances administered. Even the philosophic Martyr, as little tinctured with bigotry as any of the time, testifies his joy at the conversion, on the ground, that, although it might not penetrate beneath the crust of infidelity, which had formed over the mind of the older and of course inveterate Mussulman, yet it would have full effect on his posterity, subjected from the cradle to the searching operation of Christian discipline.<sup>40</sup>

With regard to Ximenes, the real author of the work, whatever doubts were entertained of his discretion, in the outset, they were completely dispelled by the results. All concurred in admiring

<sup>40</sup> "Tu vero inquis," he says, in a letter to the cardinal of Santa Cruz, "hisdem in suum Mahometem vivent animis, atque id jure merito suspicandum est. Durum namque majorum instituta relinquere; attamen ego existimo, consultum optime fuisse ipsorum admittere postulata: paulatim nam-

que nova superveniente disciplinâ, juvenum saltem et infantum atque eo tutius nepotum, inanibus illis superstitionibus abrasis, novis imbuentur ritibus. De senescentibus, qui callosis animis induruerunt, haud ego quidem id futurum infior." Opus Epist., epist. 215.

the invincible energy of the man, who, in the face of such mighty obstacles, had so speedily effected this momentous revolution in the faith of a people, bred from childhood in the deadliest hostility to Christianity;<sup>41</sup> and the good archbishop Talavera was heard in the fulness of his heart to exclaim, that "Ximenes had achieved greater triumphs than even Ferdinand and Isabella; since they had conquered only the soil, while he had gained the souls of Granada!"<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> "Magnæ deinceps," says Gomez, "apud omnes venerationi Ximenius esse cœpit. — Porrò plus mentis acie videre quàm solent homines credebatur, quòd re ancipiti, neque plane confirmatâ, barbarâ civitate adhuc suum Mahumetum spirante, tantâ animi contentione, ut Christi doctrinam amplecterentur, laboraverat et effecerat." (De Rebus Gestis, fol. 33.) The panegyric of the Spaniard is endorsed by Fléchier, (Histoire de Ximenes, p. 119.) who, in the age of Louis XIV., displays all the bigotry of that of Ferdinand and Isabella.

<sup>42</sup> Talavera, as I have already noticed, had caused the offices, catechisms, and other religious exercises to be translated into Arabic for the use of the converts; proposing to extend the translation at some future time to the great body of the Scriptures. That time had now arrived, but Ximenes vehemently remonstrated against the measure. "It would be throwing pearls before swine," said he, "to open the Scriptures to persons in their low state of ignorance, who could not fail, as St. Paul says, to wrest them to their own destruction. The word of God should be

wrapped in discreet mystery from the vulgar, who feel little reverence for what is plain and obvious. It was for this reason, that our Saviour himself clothed his doctrines in parables, when he addressed the people. The Scriptures should be confined to the three ancient languages, which God with mystic import permitted to be inscribed over the head of his crucified Son; and the vernacular should be reserved for such devotional and moral treatises, as holy men indite, in order to quicken the soul, and turn it from the pursuit of worldly vanities to heavenly contemplation." De Rebus Gestis, fol. 32, 33.

The narrowest opinion, as usual, prevailed, and Talavera abandoned his wise and benevolent purpose. The sagacious arguments of the primate lead his biographer, Gomez, to conclude, that he had a prophetic knowledge of the coming heresy of Luther, which owed so much of its success, to the vernacular versions of the Scriptures; in which probable opinion he is faithfully echoed, as usual, by the good bishop of Nismes. Fléchier, Hist. de Ximenes, pp. 117 - 119.

## CHAPTER VII.

RISING IN THE ALPUXARRAS. — DEATH OF ALONSO DE AGUILAR. — EDICT AGAINST THE MOORS.

1500 — 1502.

Rising in the Alpuxarras. — Expedition to the Sierra Vermeja. — Alonso de Aguilar. — His noble Character, and Death. — Bloody Rout of the Spaniards. — Final Submission to Ferdinand. — Cruel Policy of the Victors. — Commemorative Ballads. — Edict against the Moors. — Causes of Intolerance. — Last Notice of the Moors under the present Reign.

WHILE affairs went forward so triumphantly in the capital of Granada, they excited general discontent in other parts of that kingdom, especially the wild regions of the Alpuxarras. This range of maritime Alps, which stretches to the distance of seventeen leagues in a southeasterly direction from the Moorish capital, sending out its sierras like so many broad arms towards the Mediterranean, was thickly sprinkled with Moorish villages, cresting the bald summits of the mountains, or chequering the green slopes and valleys which lay between them. Its simple inhabitants, locked up within the lonely recesses of their hills, and accustomed to a life of penury and toil, had escaped the corruptions, as well as refinements, of civilization. In ancient times they had afforded a hardy militia for the

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xarras.

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princes of Granada; and they now exhibited an unshaken attachment to their ancient institutions and religion, which had been somewhat effaced in the great cities by more intimate intercourse with the Europeans.<sup>1</sup>

Rising of the  
Moors.

These warlike mountaineers beheld with gathering resentment the faithless conduct pursued towards their countrymen, which, they had good reason to fear, would soon be extended to themselves; and their fiery passions were inflamed to an ungovernable height by the public apostasy of Granada. They at length resolved to anticipate any similar attempt on themselves by a general insurrection. They accordingly seized on the fortresses and strong passes throughout the country, and began as usual with forays into the lands of the Christians.

These bold acts excited much alarm in the capital, and the count of Tendilla took vigorous measures for quenching the rebellion in its birth. Gonsalvo de Cordova, his early pupil, but who might now well be his master in the art of war, was at that time residing in Granada; and Tendilla availed himself of his assistance to enforce a hasty muster of levies, and march at once against the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> Alpuxarras,—an Arabic word, signifying “land of warriors,” according to Salazar de Mendoza. (Monarquía, tom. ii. p. 138.) According to the more accurate and learned Conde, it is derived from an Arabic term for “pasturage.” (El Nubiense, Descripción de España, p. 187.)

“La Alpuxarra, aqnessa sierra que al Sol la cerviz lavanta y que poblada de Villas, es Mar de peñas, y plantas, adonde sus poblaciones ondas navegan de plata.”

Calderon, (Comedias, (Madrid, 1760,) tom. i. p. 353,) whose gorgeous muse sheds a blaze of glory over the rudest scenes.



His first movement was against Huejar, a fortified town situated in one of the eastern ranges of the Alpuxarras, whose inhabitants had taken the lead in the insurrection. The enterprise was attended with more difficulty than was expected. "God's enemies," to borrow the charitable epithet of the Castilian chroniclers, had ploughed up the lands in the neighbourhood; and, as the light cavalry of the Spaniards was working its way through the deep furrows, the Moors opened the canals which intersected the fields, and in a moment the horses were floundering up to their girths in the mire and water. Thus embarrassed in their progress, the Spaniards presented a fatal mark to the Moorish missiles, which rained on them with pitiless fury; and it was not without great efforts and considerable loss, that they gained a firm landing on the opposite side. Undismayed, however, they then charged the enemy with such vivacity, as compelled him to give way and take refuge within the defences of the town.

No impediment could now check the ardor of the assailants. They threw themselves from their horses, and bringing forward the scaling-ladders, planted them against the walls. Gonsalvo was the first to gain the summit; and, as a powerful Moor endeavoured to thrust him from the topmost round of the ladder, he grasped the battlements firmly with his left hand and dealt the infidel such a blow with the sword in his right, as brought him headlong to the ground. He then leapt into the place, and was speedily followed by his troops. The

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sacked.

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enemy made a brief and ineffectual resistance. The greater part were put to the sword; the remainder, including the women and children, were made slaves, and the town was delivered up to pillage.<sup>2</sup>

Ferdinand  
marches into  
the moun-  
tains.

The severity of this military execution had not the effect of intimidating the insurgents; and the revolt wore so serious an aspect, that King Ferdinand found it necessary to take the field in person, which he did at the head of as complete and beautiful a body of Castilian chivalry as ever graced the campaigns of Granada.<sup>3</sup> Quitting Alhendin, the place of rendezvous, in the latter end of February, 1500, he directed his march on Lanjaron, one of the towns most active in the revolt, and perched high among the inaccessible fastnesses of the sierra, southeast of Granada.

The inhabitants, trusting to the natural strength of a situation, which had once baffled the arms of the bold Moorish chief El Zagal, took no precautions to secure the passes. Ferdinand, relying on this, avoided the more direct avenue to the place; and, bringing his men by a circuitous route over dangerous ravines, and dark and dizzy precipices, where the foot of the hunter had seldom ventured, succeeded at length, after incredible toil and hazard,

<sup>2</sup> Marmol, *Rebelion de Moriscos*, tom. i. lib. 1, cap. 28. — Quintana, *Españoles Célebres*, tom. i. p. 239. — Bleda, *Corónica*, lib. 5, cap. 23. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 159. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 338. — Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> If we are to believe Martyr, the royal force amounted to 80,000 foot and 15,000 horse; so large an army, so promptly brought into the field, would suggest high ideas of the resources of the nation; too high indeed to gain credit, even from Martyr, without confirmation.

in reaching an elevated point, which entirely commanded the Moorish fortress.

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Great was the dismay of the insurgents at the apparition of the Christian banners, streaming in triumph in the upper air, from the very pinnacles of the sierra. They stoutly persisted, however, in the refusal to surrender. But their works were too feeble to stand the assault of men, who had vanquished the more formidable obstacles of nature; and, after a short struggle, the place was carried by storm, and its wretched inmates experienced the same dreadful fate with those of Huejar.<sup>4</sup>

Carries Lan-  
jaron.

1500.  
March 2.

At nearly the same time, the count of Lerin took several other fortified places in the Alpuxarras, in one of which he blew up a mosque filled with women and children. Hostilities were carried on with all the ferocity of a civil, or rather servile war; and the Spaniards, repudiating all the feelings of courtesy and generosity, which they had once shown to the same men, when dealing with them as honorable enemies, now regarded them only as rebellious vassals, or indeed slaves, whom the public safety required to be not merely chastised, but exterminated.

Punishment  
of the rebels.

These severities, added to the conviction of their own impotence, at length broke the spirit of the Moors, who were reduced to the most humble concessions; and the Catholic king, "unwilling out of his great clemency," says Abarca, "to stain his

<sup>4</sup> Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., Anales, tom. v. lib. 3, cap. 45.—  
epist. 215.—Abarca, Reyes de Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1500.  
Aragon, tom. ii. fol. 338.—Zurita,

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sword with the blood of all these wild beasts of the Alpuxarras," consented to terms, which may be deemed reasonable, at least in comparison with his previous policy. These were, the surrender of their arms and fortresses, and the payment of the round sum of fifty thousand ducats.<sup>5</sup>

As soon as tranquillity was reëstablished, measures were taken for securing it permanently, by introducing Christianity among the natives, without which they never could remain well affected to their present government. Holy men were therefore sent as missionaries, to admonish them, calmly and without violence, of their errors, and to instruct them in the great truths of revelation.<sup>6</sup> Various immunities were also proposed, as an additional incentive to conversion, including an entire exemption to the party from the payment of his share of the heavy mulct lately imposed.<sup>7</sup> The wisdom of these temperate measures became every day more visible in the conversion, not merely of the simple mountaineers, but of nearly all the population of the great cities of Baza, Guadix, and Almeria, who consented before the end of the year to abjure their ancient religion, and receive baptism.<sup>8</sup>

This defection, however, caused great scandal among the more sturdy of their countrymen, and a

<sup>5</sup> Marmol, *Rebellion de Moriscos*, lib. 1, cap. 28. — Abarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, tom. ii. fol. 338. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 159. — Bleda, *Corónica*, lib. 5, cap. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Bleda, *Corónica*, lib. 5, cap. 24. — Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, MS., cap. 165.

<sup>7</sup> *Privilegios á los Moros de Valdelecrin y las Alpuxarras que se convirtieron*, á 30 de Julio de 1500. Archivo de Simancas, apud *Mem. de la Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi. apend. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Carbajal, *Anales*, MS., año 1500. — Garibay, *Compendio*, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 10.

new insurrection broke out on the eastern confines of the Alpuxarras, which was suppressed with similar circumstances of stern severity, and a similar exaction of a heavy sum of money;—money, whose doubtful efficacy may be discerned, sometimes in staying, but more frequently in stimulating, the arm of persecution.<sup>9</sup>

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1500.  
Dec.

But while the murmurs of rebellion died away in the east, they were heard in thunders from the distant hills on the western borders of Granada. This district, comprehending the sierras Vermeja and Villa Luenga, in the neighbourhood of Ronda, was peopled by a warlike race, among whom was the African tribe of Gandules, whose blood boiled with the same tropical fervor as that which glowed in the veins of their ancestors. They had early shown symptoms of discontent at the late proceedings in the capital. The duchess of Arcos, widow of the great marquis duke of Cadiz, whose estates lay in that quarter,<sup>10</sup> used her personal exertions to appease them; and the government made the most earnest assurances of its intention to respect whatever had been guaranteed by the treaty of capitulation.<sup>11</sup> But they had learned to place little trust in princes; and the rapidly extending apostasy of

Revolt of the  
Sierra Ver-  
meja.

<sup>9</sup> Carbajal, Anales, MS., año 1501. — Zurita, Anales, tom. v. lib. 4, cap. 27, 31.

<sup>10</sup> The great marquis of Cadiz was third count of Arcos, from which his descendants took their title on the resumption of Cadiz by the crown after his death. Mendoza, Dignidades, lib. 3, cap. 8, 17.

<sup>11</sup> See two letters dated Seville, January and February, 1500, addressed by Ferdinand and Isabella to the inhabitants of the Serrania de Ronda, preserved in the archives of Simancas, apud Mem. de la Acad. de Hist., tom. vi. Ilust. 15.

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their countrymen exasperated them to such a degree, that they at length broke out in the most atrocious acts of violence; murdering the Christian missionaries, and kidnapping, if report be true, many Spaniards of both sexes, whom they sold as slaves in Africa. They were accused, with far more probability, of entering into a secret correspondence with their brethren on the opposite shore, in order to secure their support in the meditated revolt.<sup>12</sup>

Rendezvous  
at Ronda.

The government displayed its usual promptness and energy on this occasion. Orders were issued

<sup>12</sup> Bernaldez, Reyes Católicos, MS., cap. 165. — Bleda, Corónica, lib. 5, cap. 25. — Peter Martyr, Opus Epist., epist. 221.

The complaints of the Spanish and African Moors to the Sultan of Egypt, or of Babylon, as he was then usually styled, had drawn from that prince sharp remonstrances to the Catholic sovereigns against their persecutions of the Moslems, accompanied by menaces of strict retaliation on the Christians in his dominions. In order to avert such calamitous consequences, Peter Martyr was sent as ambassador to Egypt. He left Granada in August, 1501, proceeded to Venice, and embarked there for Alexandria, which place he reached in December. Though cautioned on his arrival, that his mission, in the present exasperated state of feeling at the court, might cost him his head, the dauntless envoy sailed up the Nile under a Mameluke guard to Grand Cairo. Far from experiencing any outrage, however, he was courteously received by the Sultan; although the ambassador declined compromising the dignity of the court he represented, by paying the

usual humiliating mark of obedience, in prostrating himself on the ground in the royal presence: an independent bearing highly satisfactory to the Castilian historians (See Garibay, Compendio, tom. ii. lib. 19, cap. 12.) He had three audiences, in which he succeeded so completely in effacing the unfavorable impressions of the Moslem prince, that the latter not only dismissed him with liberal presents, but granted, at his request, several important privileges to the Christian residents, and the pilgrims to the Holy Land, which lay within his dominions. Martyr's account of this interesting visit, which gave him ample opportunity for studying the manners of a nation, and seeing the stupendous monuments of ancient art, then little familiar to Europeans, was published in Latin, under the title of "De Legatione Babylonica," in three books, appended to his more celebrated "Decades de Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe." Mazzuchelli, (Scrittori d' Italia, toce Anghiera,) notices an edition which he had seen published separately, without date or name of the printer.