IRVING'S USE OF SPANISH SOURCES
IN THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA

by

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CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	1
INTRODUCTION	2
Chapter ,	
I. MÁRMOL CARVAJAL	15
II. HURTADO DE MENDOZA	38
III. PÉREZ DE HITA	43
IV. OLD SPANISH BALLADS	54
V. CONCLUSIONS	70
APPENDIX	81
MAP OF SPAIN	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY	98

PREFACE

The purpose of this paper is to show how Washington Irving made use of the Spanish sources to which he had access during the writing of The Conquest of Granada. A study has been made of the works of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Luis de Mármol Carvajal, and Ginés Pérez de Hita, all sixteenth-century historians, as well as of the old ballads compiled by such writers as Juan de Timoneda, Juan de la Encina, Laso de la Vega, and Ginés Pérez de Hita.

The authenticity of the facts given in The Conquest of Granada has been checked also by comparison with La Historia de España, by Modesto Lafuente, who was writing while Irving was in Spain and who used the very sources to which Irving had access.

The results of the study show that Irving has recorded the events of the wars with Granada as he found them in the various sources and that the romantic coloring for which he has been criticized has foundation in these sources. In addition to the historical accounts of the wars, hundreds of ballads were recorded and compiled during the sixteenth century; these are filled with the color and detail which Irving loved and used. Virtually all the romantic coloring which he has been accused of adding can be traced in these ballads.

INTRODUCTION

There are conflicting opinions concerning the value of The Conquest of Granada as history. By comparing all available sources with this work, I have attempted to determine how much truth and how much whimsey Irving has put into it.

A careful search through literary publications has revealed that surprisingly few studies upon Washington Irving's Spanish writings have been published, although he spent eight years in Spain and drew from it the materials for five books.¹ There has been even less research upon the sources of these works.

Henry A. Pochmann has written an article upon the influence of Irving's German tour upon his tales;² George D. Morris has given some light upon the opinions of French critics;³ Charlton Laird makes slight mention of the Spanish writings in an article;⁴ and Stanley T. Williams has supplied

¹ Stanley T. Williams, "First Version of the Writings of Washington Irving in Spanish," Modern Philology, 28:185-201.

² Henry A. Pochmann, "Irving's German Tour and Its Influence on His Tales," Publications of the Modern Language Association, 45:1175.

³ George B. Morris, "Washington Irving's Fiction in the Light of French Criticism," Indiana University Studies, III:9,13.

⁴ Charlton G. Laird, "Tragedy and Irony in the Knickerbocker History," American Literature: 1940-1941. 12:170.

an account of the works which have been translated into Spanish.⁵

Don Joaquín Torres Asensio, Spanish historian, author of Fuentes históricos sobre Colón y América, accuses Irving of adapting historical facts to his own method and of insulting the politics and heroes of Spain. "Shall the Spaniards not learn from this not to study the history of their own country in such foreign authors?"⁶ On the other hand, Carlos Pereyra, another Spanish historian, admires the "literary qualities" of this same work;⁷ and Miguel Lafuente Alcántara, whose Historia de Granada was published in 1843, notes the influence of Irving's book upon Spanish history.⁸ Señor Argaiiz, Spanish minister to Washington during the years that Irving spent in Spain, says, "This, in the eyes of the Spaniards, was his glory; that he loved Spain and had written of her."⁹ George Montgomery, Spanish on his mother's side, born and reared in Spain, who translated many of Irving's works into Spanish, is quoted by John De Lancey Ferguson in his American Literature in Spain as saying:

Two great and important events marked the glorious reign of the Catholic Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, the discovery of the

⁵ S.T. Williams, op. cit., 28:185.

⁶ S.T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, II: 30.

⁷ Ibid., II:307.

⁸ Ibid., II:313.

⁹ Ibid., II:128-129.

New World and the overthrow of the Arab dominion in Spain. Both events have been treated with skill and ability by the famous Washington Irving, who came to Spain and visited Andalusia; expressly for this purpose examining libraries, studying MSS and noting all the antiquities and monuments which exist in these realms.¹⁰

Henry A. Pochmann remarks that Irving was always "amazingly reticent about the whole matter of his reading."¹¹ However, in a private collection of Irvingiana in New York, there is an eighty-page notebook which bears the heading Spanish Literature. It is a record in his handwriting, of the author's reading; and it contains lists of writers, with comments and with excerpts from books, many of them in Spanish. He mentions among others Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Juan de Timoneda, and Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.¹²

On April 4, 1827, Irving wrote to Henry A. Brevoort, a life-long friend:

Since my arrival in Spain I have been completely immersed in old Spanish literature. My residence under the roof of Mr. Rich, the American Consul, has been particularly favorable to my pursuits; he is a diligent collector of rare works and has the most valuable works in print and manuscript of the Spanish writers.¹³

¹⁰ John De Lancey Ferguson, American Literature in Spain, p. 19.

¹¹ Henry A. Pochmann, op. cit., 28:1185.

¹² Stanley T. Williams, op. cit., I:465.

¹³ George S. Hellman, Letters of Washington Irving to Henry A. Brevoort, p. 411.

Pierre Munro Irving, the author's nephew and biographer, gives the same information concerning Mr. Rich's library.¹⁴

If Irving had not had access to this library and to the works already completed by Navarrete, whose Columbus he had first been commissioned to translate, he would not have been able to write the Granada, for it was practically impossible for a foreigner to obtain permission to examine the manuscripts in the archives of the Biblioteca Nacional. It had taken months of correspondence and delay for him to obtain sanction to visit the Archivo Histórico Nacional in order to study some of the manuscripts concerning Columbus.¹⁵

That he enjoyed delving into Spanish literature and that he deplored his lack of scholarship may be deduced from the letter which he wrote on March 19, 1825, to his nephew, Pierre Paris Irving, then a college student:

The Spanish language... is full of power, magnificence, and melody. ...I do not know anything that delights me more than the old Spanish literature. You will find some splendid histories in the language, and then its poetry is full of animation, pathos, humor, beauty, sublimity. The old literature of Spain partakes of the character of its history and its people; there is an oriental splendor about it.¹⁶

Make yourself an excellent scholar, and store your mind with general, yet accurately

¹⁴ Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, II:66.

¹⁵ Stanley T. Williams, op. cit., II:337.

¹⁶ Pierre M. Irving, op. cit., II:57.

acquired and well-digested information.
 ...in all your reading let KNOWLEDGE be
 the great object.¹⁷

Stanley T. Williams stresses the fact that Irving wrote The Conquest of Granada in an unscholarly manner, and he quotes Irving himself:

While writing the history of Columbus I was obliged to consult several records relating to the Conquest of Granada, and got so deeply interested in the subject that I wrote out the heads of chapters for the whole work and then laid it one side until I had finished the History of Columbus when I took it up and in less than six months had completed it.¹⁸

In a letter written on September 2, 1829, to his brother Peter, Irving explains his purpose in writing the book in this way:

...Since my tour in the old kingdom of Granada, I have finished and transmitted a work for publication on the subject of the Conquest by Ferdinand and Isabella. I collected materials for it about two years since, having been struck with the subject while writing the "Life of Columbus". ...It is in the form of a Chronicle, made up from all the old Spanish historians I could lay my hands on, colored and tinted by the imagination so as to have a romantic air, without destroying the historical basis of the chronological order of events. I fancy it is as near the truth as any of the chronicles from which it is digested, and has the advantage of containing the striking facts and achievements, true or false, of them all. Of course it will have no pretensions as a

¹⁷ Pierre M. Irving, op. cit., II:45.

¹⁸ Stanley T. Williams, op. cit., I:309.

grave historical production, or a work of authority, but I cannot help thinking it will present a lively picture of the war, and one somewhat characteristic of the times, so much of the materials having been drawn from contemporary historians.¹⁹

He was bound to write as he did: at fifteen it was said of him that "his memory of dates was not good, but he would grasp the spirit of a narrative and conjure up a coloring of his own which indelibly impressed it upon his mind and was used as occasion required."²⁰ Before this time he could "re-tell the exploits of Boabdil, King of Granada."²¹ What was more natural than that, when he was confronted with details of the conquest of Granada during his research on Columbus, he should become inflamed with the idea of writing about his early favorite?

In his diary, 1828-1829, Irving gives a day-by-day account of the time he spent in writing the Granada. He relates that he began work on it on the first day of May, 1828, and sent the manuscript to the publisher on October 18, 1828. However, two chapters were missing; and he was notified of this on December 20. By great good luck he found penciled notes on the missing chapters and was able to rewrite and dispatch them at once. On December 27 he was notified of

¹⁹ Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, II:129.

²⁰ Stanley T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, I:13.

²¹ Ibid., I:20.

the arrangement for the purchase of the manuscript for two thousand guineas, and on April 29, 1829, it was published.²²

Throughout the months he spent upon the Granada, he evidently visited no libraries for additional notes; he went to the Archives of the Indies in August, but he records that the purpose of the visit was the getting of material for his abridgement of the Columbus.²³

In his Journal of 1828 he has included several pages of notes on Granada and especially on King Boabdil. These jottings are not in the order of their occurrence; he wrote them down in their abbreviated form during the journey from Madrid to Granada, especially during the last lap of this journey, from Seville to Granada.²⁴ The notes show that he was not working in a scholarly manner with books and manuscripts before him, but that he worked the facts into the desired form at his leisure. These notes are included in the appendix of this article. The fact that they are concerned mainly with the actual surrender of Granada-- the material contained in the last two chapters of his book-- indicate that he had not obtained all the necessary facts while he was doing research upon the Columbus, although he gives that impression in his

²² Clara Louisa Penney, Editor, Diary of Washington Irving, pp. 19, 74, 87, 88.

²³ Ibid., p. 60.

²⁴ S.T. Williams, Editor, Journal of Washington Irving, pp. 75-80.

statement in his Autobiographical Notes.²⁵

The Conquest of Granada actually is a compromise between history and fiction. It pretends to some accuracy of narration and does not depend upon anecdotes of peasants as does the Alhambra; on the contrary, Irving used some of the very books which had served him in writing the Columbus.²⁶ Among these were Conde, Mariana, Zurita, Garibay, Bernáldez, Pulgar, Ginés Pérez de Hita, and Mármol. Lafuente has used the same ones in his Historia de España; and we find that the two accounts, Irving's and Lafuente's, agree in all major points.

In defense of Irving as a scholar we find this remark by Richard Burton: "Irving was primarily a man of letters: in writing history he was painstaking in his gathering of available material, but cared most to clothe fact with the flesh and blood of warm and moving words, pictures, episodes."²⁷

On the other hand, Henry W. Boynton tells us:

A word may perhaps be said here of Irving as an historian and biographer. Of course he could not write dully; his histories are just as readable as Goldsmith's, and rather more veracious. But he plainly had not the scholar's training and methods which we now demand of the historian; nor had he the larger view of men and events in their perspective. Generalization was beyond him. Fortunately to generalize is only a part of the business of the historian. To catch some dim historic figure, and give it life and color-- this

²⁵ S.T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, I:313.

²⁶ Ibid., II:309.

²⁷ Richard Burton, Literary Leaders of America, p. 27.

power he had.²⁸

Richard Henry Stoddard in The Works of Washington Irving asserts that "Coleridge regarded the work (The Conquest of Granada) as a masterpiece of romantic narrative; Prescott believed that Irving availed himself of all the picturesque and animating movements of the period which he had treated, and that he was not seduced from historical accuracy by the poetical aspect of his subject; and Bryant, a fine Spanish scholar, ... maintained that it ... is an exact history ... yet so full of personal incident, so diversified with surprising turns of fortune ... that a young lady might read it by mistake for a romance."²⁹

The opinion of another critic, Charles Dudley Warner, supports these views:

He has again and again been criticized almost out of court, and written down to the rank of the mere idle humorist, but as often as I take up The Conquest of Granada or The Alhambra I am aware of something that has eluded the critical analysis, and I conclude that if one cannot write for the few it may be worth while to write for the many.³⁰

In an interesting definition of his literary philosophy in these years, Irving gives his reasons for writing the

²⁸ Henry W. Boynton, Washington Irving, p. 61.

²⁹ Richard H. Stoddard, The Works of Washington Irving, p. xxvi.

³⁰ Charles D. Warner, Washington Irving, p. 142.

Granada:

The Chronicle, I am aware, is something of an experiment, and all experiments in literature as in anything else are doubtful. It is not however, like the Cid of Mr. Southey, a mere translation of an old Spanish chronicle, and of course, addressed merely to the taste of those who are curious in old literature of the kind (of which I confess myself one). But I have made a work out of old chronicles, embellished, as well as I am able, by the imagination, and adapted to the romantic taste of the day-- something that was to be between a history and a romance. It will take some months to ascertain its real success; for I shall not be discouraged if it meets with some rebuffs at first. I am not one of those who appeal from the decision of contemporaries to the decision of posterity; for every work must be judged by the age for which it is written --but I know that many works, which are not of a mere light amusing kind, require several months, for the opinion of the quiet amateurs to work up to the surface. The intrinsic value of a work too is not always determined by the extent of its circulation; as mere transient works written to the taste of the day or on some popular theme often have a wide though short lived circulation. I have noticed what you repeat at Mr. Murrays suggestion, that I ought to write some light work in my old vein. I have some things sketched in a rough state, in that vein, but thought it best to hold them back until I had written a work or two of more weight, even though of less immediate popularity. A literary reputation, to hold well with the public, requires some make weights of the kind. Some massier materials, which form a foundation; the lighter works then become ornaments & embellishments. Depend upon it, had I continued to write works merely like the Sketchbook the public would have ceased to read them. One must persevere and be tedious at times, to get a name for wisdom with the multitude, ones jokes may afterward pass current.³¹

³¹ S.T. Williams, op. cit., I:344-5.

Such was the point of view shaping The Conquest of Granada; it was a straddle between history and Irving's natural medium of the sketch. By his own admission it was a "make weight."

Irving hoped that the book might be regarded as having been written as an "entertaining and popular form, without sacraficing (sic) the intrinsic truth of history ... all being dressed up with an eye to the scenery of the country and the customs of the time."³² He has succeeded in doing this. We know that he took notes during his own trip from Madrid to Granada; his diary gives the details. These notes, added to the setting, and the descriptions of the country which he obtained from the reading of such histories as those of Mármol and Pérez de Hita, have helped in the "making of weight" in his recital. He allows his imagination to aid him when he writes a chapter dealing with the way in which the Moors receive the news of a defeat, such as that of Lucena, in which Boabdil, King of Granada, is taken prisoner and a messenger informs the Moors of the disaster. Two chapters he devotes now to the narration of the manner in which he imagines such news would be received. He gives details of the reaction of Boabdil's mother and his favorite wife; these details are easily acceptable, for they are based upon the pictures of these characters which are given in the

³² Ibid., II:345.

pages of Mármol and Lafuente, as well as in some of the old Chronicles to which he obtained access with great difficulty. His footnotes attest that.

Over and over again Mármol describes the way in which Ferdinand "laid waste the fields and villages, and retired to Cordoba (or to some other town) to winter there." The ballads repeatedly give elaborate and detailed descriptions of men going out to battle, of the fighting of bloody battles, and of the laments which followed. None are less repetitive or less embellished than Irving's equivalent passages. He absorbed this method of retelling the story of the wars from the chronicles themselves, which he read in the original Spanish thereby losing none of their flavor. This is the very flavor which he has tried to put in his own work. His is not a translation, as is the "Cid" of Southey; it is a work made up of the facts as obtained from the historians plus his own honest opinions of how the characters would act under given circumstances. This addition of his takes his work out of the historical field and puts it into the field of historical romance. He has caught the spirit of those early days, to which he seemed to long to escape, a longing which Scott also felt.

However, we are mainly interested in the use which Irving made of the sources to which he had access. We wish to show that he did not invent the incidents of which Stanley T. Williams complains when he says,

Well, if the multitude desired tedium,

here it was. The opening chapters on the capture of Zahara and the woes of Alhama may still beguile us, but who can endure the monotony of these endless sallies, rescues, and combats? All battles are the same: a fortress on a rugged mountain; a siege by lombards; a breach in the walls; a foray; strife in the streets; ambushes; and triumphs over the slain. To watch once or even twice from the atalayas the ravaging of the vega is endurable, but one yawns and turns away long before the fiftieth devastation. The subjugation of Granada itself is an anti-climax after the captures of Ronda, Cordoba, and a score of other Andalusian towns. Far too often the Moors "looked down upon these glistening cavaliers struggling and stumbling among the rocks." Far too frequently jingle the stock phrases, "vaunting trumpets and fluttering banner," "frowning battlements and massive towers", "the bray of trumpet, and the neigh of steed", the "sumptuous caparison." The reader succumbs long before the Moors, and before the end of the first volume. As for human beings, one must rest content with the "wily" Ferdinand, the "humane" Isabella, and Boabdil. All is empty pageantry." (Pp. 20-46; pp. 89, 236, 296, 299, 332, and passim)³³

A careful comparison of excerpts from The Conquest of Granada with selections from some of the sources which he is known to have used will show just how closely he did follow historical fact as it was recorded in the sixteenth century.

³³ S.T. Williams., op. cit., I:345.

CHAPTER I

The facts given in nine chapters of Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada, by Luis de Mármol Carvajal, yield the skeleton of The Conquest of Granada. Irving gives Mármol credit for various items; but since he was often guilty of citing references without chapter or page and even of translating without making any citation at all, it is impossible to attribute each fact set forth in the book to any particular source.¹

What in the Columbus he had called "Collation" he now abandoned, selecting the versions which best pleased him, though he juggled some of the legends so discreetly that Prescott and Bancroft respected parts of the book as history. ...Nevertheless, the freedom of translation which he had employed in the Columbus now approached license. He altered narrative to dialogue; he attributed the words of the old chroniclers to his fictitious observer, Fray Antonio Agapida; ...and he tinted the simple prose of Garibay and others with his most flamboyant rhetoric. ...The Granada intertwines fact and legend indiscriminately. Only the general outline of campaigns remains as a residuum of truth, and if we trace back the references to sources, the documentation wears an almost satirical air. It is not strange that some Spaniards thought the two² volumes translations of the old chronicles.

Mármol's work was one which Irving consulted freely; it is very likely that he had a copy of it within reach through-

¹ S.T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, II:310.

² Loc. cit.

out the time he was writing about Granada, for Stanley T. Williams says that he "reread Mármol for further details of Boabdil, heightening these into the tone of his narrative",³ and that he consulted "the standard narrators of early Spain, such as ...Mármol."⁴

Four excerpts from Mármol will be compared with similar selections from Irving; this comparison will show that the facts are approximately the same, that the main difference lies in names and spellings. The account of the family of Muley Aben Hascen, the recital of the sieges of Zara and Alhama, the main action of the battle of Lucena, and the events at the time of the actual surrender of Granada will serve to illustrate the point. The Spanish versions of all excerpts are contained in the appendix.

The account of Muley's family is given in order to show that Irving has written his historical romance around the characters of history. He has just as faithfully followed fact in his accounts of the battles, which were to him the all-important incidents. The chapters which do not place before the reader a vivid picture of a battle or siege acquaint him with preparations for such events or with the summing up of the results. Always the battles and the sieges are the high points; this is in accordance with Irving's own state-

³ S.T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, I:374.

⁴ Ibid., II:321.

ment of the way in which he has presented the wars.⁵

Translation from Mármol:

Abil Hascen was a sick old man, and so subject to the love of a renegade whom he had as wife, called Zoraya (not because this was her real name, but because of her being very beautiful, they compared her to the star of dawn, which they call Zoraya), that through love of her he had repudiated Ayxa, his principal wife, who was his cousin, and with great cruelty he had had some of his sons beheaded upon a pillar of alabaster, which is seen today in the castle of the Alhambra in a room of the Court of the Lions, and [he did] this to the end that the kingdom should remain to the sons of Zoraya. But Ayxa, fearing lest they kill the eldest son, named Abí Abdilehi or Abí Abdala, which is one and the same, had him taken from before his father, lowering him secretly under cover of night through a window of the tower of Comares by means of a rope made of the veils and hoods of her women; and some knights named the Abencerrajes had taken him to the city of Guadix, wishing to befriend him, because they were angry with the King because of his having killed certain brothers and relatives of theirs under pretense that one of the others had violated a young sister of his within the palace;

Excerpt from Irving:

Muley Aben Hassan, though cruel, was uxorious; that is to say, he had many wives, and was prone to be managed by them by turns. He had two queens in particular whom he had chosen from affection. One, named Ayxa, was a Moorish female; ...she bore a son to Aben Hassan, the expected heir to the throne. ...The other favorite was named Fatima, to which the Moors added the appellation of La Zoraya, or 'the light of dawn' from her effulgent beauty. ...She was as ambitious as she was beautiful, and her ruling desire became to see one of her sons upon the throne of Granada. ...Muley Aben Hassan was so wrought upon by her machinations, that he publicly put several of his sons to death at the celebrated Fountain of the Lions, in the court of the Alhambra. ...The sultana Ayxa was secretly apprised of the cruel design of the old monarch ...and she concerted a plan for the escape of her son. The sultana, when the castle was in a state of deep repose, tied together the shawls and scarves of herself and her female attendants, and lowered the youthful prince from the Tower of Comares. He ...was thus spirited off to the city of Guadix. ...Muley Aben Hassan was of a fierce and cruel

⁵ See Chap. III, p. 44.

what is certain is that he wished them evil because they were on Ayxa's side and for this he feared them. These were the reasons why the principal people of the kingdom hated Abil Hascen, and against his will they brought Abi Abdilehi from Guadix, and the King being one day in the Alijares, they placed him Abi Abdala in the Alhambra and hailed him as king; and when the old man came from the country, they did not wish to receive him there, calling him cruel, for he had killed the sons and the nobility of the knights of Granada. He went fleeing with a few followers to the valley of Lecrin, and placed himself in the fortress of Mondujar; and availing himself of the courageous vigor of a brother that he had, called al-father and the son, and seve-so Abi Abdelahi, made war cruelly against his son.⁶

nature; his reign had been marked with tyranny and bloodshed, and many chiefs of the family of the Abencerrajes, the noblest lineage among the Moors, had fallen victims to his policy or vengeance. ...The faction, which had been secretly formed among the nobles determined to depose the old king Aben Hassan, and to elevate his son Boabdil to the throne. ...Muley ... had a royal country palace, called Alexares; ... on returning to the capital, he found the gates closed against him, and his son Mohammed Abdalla ... proclaimed king. ...the old monarch, with the remnant of his band, retreated to his loyal city of Malaga. ...The Moors became separated into two bloody factions, headed by the father and the son, and several bloody encounters took place between them.⁷

In the translation of the second excerpt the siege of Zara and taking of Alhama are given just as Mármol recorded them, word for word. He stated the facts and then went on to the next siege. Irving, however, takes these facts and allows his imagination to add to them what he thinks his characters should and would do under the circumstances. He devotes seven chapters to his very human account of Muley Aben

⁶ Luis de Mármol Carvajal, "Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada," Biblioteca de autores españoles, 21:139. (This work will be listed henceforth as B.A.E.)

⁷ Washington Irving, The Conquest of Granada, pp. 33-36.

Note: All translations have been made by the writer.

Hassan's attempt to outwit King Ferdinand. He has not, however, added any statements which are at odds with the histories of the time. It is as though he places himself back in that year of 1480 and records what he perceives.

Translation of Mármol:

A valiant pagan of the lineage of the Alahamares named Abil Hascen being king of Granada, about the year of Christ 1480 and of the dominion of the Arabs 892, on the occasion of the war which the Catholic Sovereigns had with the king of Portugal, he [Abil Hascen] gathered his people and did great damage in the regions of Andalucia and Murcia. And as they the Catholic Sovereigns could not be present in all places, they made a truce with him [Abil Hascen], during which truce in the year 1482, the Moor, being informed by his spies that the Christians at the frontier of Zara, confident in the truce, were negligent, and that it was a good occasion to occupy that fortress, broke the truce, and gathering his chieftains and scouts, secretly ordered them to scale it [the wall of Zara] one very dark night. The effect being according to his wish, the leaders entered withink and jointly occupying the stronghold with the town, killed the alcaide [of the Christians] and captured all the Christians they found with very little resistance. This loss grieved the Catholic Sovereigns greatly; and in order that the harm might not be greater, they sent

Excerpt from Irving:

The defiance, thus hurled at the Castilian sovereign by the fiery Moorish king, would have been answered at once by the thunder of their artillery; but they were embroiled at that time in a war with Portugal, and in contests with their own factious nobles. The truce, therefore, which had existed for many years between the nations, was suffered to continue; ...Muley Aben Hassan cast his eyes round to select his object of attack, when information was brought him that the fortress of Zahara was but feebly garrisoned and scantily supplied, and that its alcaide was careless of his charge. ... The Moors had planted their scaling ladders, and mounted securely into both town and castle. ...the soldiers were intercepted; ...the flashing cimenter was at its deadly work, and all who attempted resistance fell beneath its edge. ...Great was the indignation of King Ferdinand when he heard of the storming of Zahara, ...He immediately issued orders to all the adelantados and alcaides of the frontiers, to maintain the utmost vigilance, ...while he despatched friars

at once toward that place, looking to the security of their states; and setting then their invincible spirits against those of that nation, which spirits were so harmful to the Christians, they determined not to lift their hands from the war until they had conquered them (the enemy) exiling the name and sceptre of Mahomet from that land. In the same year that the Moors took Zara, the Marquis of Cádiz, Don Pedro Ponce Leon, and Diego de Merlo, commander of Seville, and the chiefs of Antequera and Archidona and other Christian leaders of the frontier went to attack the city of Alhama, and by the ingenuity of a Moorish shield-bearer named Juan de Baena, one Ortega, a climber, scaled it (the wall) and entered it and won it by force the last day of the month of February. On the other side, the Moorish king gathered all his people, believing that he could recover it (the city) later, and on the 11th of July of that year fought with the Christians who went to aid it. And our men being overcome, Don Rodrigo Girón, son of Don Diego de Castilla, chief of Cazalla, who afterwards was Master of Calatrava, and other knights died in the struggle. But not by that did the Moor attain the purpose for which he was going, for the Christians who were within defended themselves, and King Ferdinand aided them; and pursuing the enemy on the return to Granada, he King Ferdinand entered the vega, and laid waste and destroyed the sown fields and the orchards twice that year, and conquered the village of

of different orders, to stir up the chivalry of Christendom to take part in this holy crusade against the infidels ... Among the most valiant cavaliers who rallied round the throne of Ferdinand and Isabella, one of the most eminent in rank and renowned in arms was Don Roderigo Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz. ... The marquis had a secret conference with... Don Diego de Merlo, commander of Seville... Ortega de Prado, captain of escadadores, or those employed to scale the walls of fortresses in time of attack, ... assured the Marquis of Cadiz of the practicability of scaling the castle of Alhama, and taking it by surprise. ... Ortega was the first that mounted upon the battlements, ... The garrison, startled from sleep, found the enemy already masters of the towers. ... When Muley Aben Hassan heard... that Ferdinand was coming in person with additional troops, he perceived that no time was to be lost; Alhama must be carried by one powerful attack or abandoned entirely to the Christians. ... A number of Moorish cavaliers proposed to undertake a desperate enterprise ... A sharp conflict, hand to hand, ... took place, and many on both sides fell.... Don Alonze Ponce and Pedro de Pineda reached the spot with their forces.... Breaking up his camp, he (Muley Aben Hassan) gave up the siege of Alhama, and hastened back to Granada. ... He (Ferdinand) availed himself of this critical moment, ... He sacked and destroyed several towns and castles, and extended his ravages to the very gates of

Tájora and burned it, and took Granada.⁹
 the tower of the bridge of Pinos
 where Iliberia was, and leaving
 the frontier very well supplied,
 and leaving Don Iñigo
 Lopez de Mendoza, Count of Tendilla,
 as chief and captain of Alhama,
 returned victorious to the city of Córdoba.
 At this time when the Moors had most
 need of concord, God permitted
 that their strength be lessened
 by discord (among themselves)
 in order that the Catholic Sovereigns
 might have more ease in making war upon them.⁸

Irving occasionally gives credit to Spanish sources for some of his statements; however, his footnoting is not accurately done. His mouthpiece, Fray Antonio Agapida, who has caused so much adverse criticism, comes to his aid at times to deliver a remark in much the same vein as the last sentence of Mármol's excerpt on the siege of Zara. Irving makes use of this very idea during the writing of the events preceding the siege of Vélez-Málaga; he causes Fray Antonio Agapida to remark, "Thus did this most sagacious sovereign act upon the text in the eleventh chapter of the evangelist St. Luke, that 'A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand'."¹⁰ Mármol says, "At this time when the Moors had most need of concord, God permitted that their strength be lessened by discord (among themselves) in order that the Catholic Sover-

⁸ Luis de Mármol Carvajal, op. cit., 21:139.

⁹ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 9-20.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 45.

eigns might have more ease in making war upon them."¹¹ This is only one instance of the historical basis for the invention of Agapida; he does for Irving what the chroniclers did for themselves in the way of pious utterances. The fact that humor is often injected into the recital by Agapida's remarks does not alter the fact that the basis for them is there.

In the next passage, the story of the battle of Lucena, Mármol's entire account is given, except for a portion of one paragraph, in which he tells of the similarity in the names of Boabdil El Chico and his uncle and the dissimilarity in their dispositions. This is not essential to our study. To this battle Irving devoted ten chapters. From the first paragraph of his twelfth chapter we took the first statement which corresponds to Mármol's, and from the twenty-first came the final one. All the main facts are included in these pages, plus the revivifying of the events.

Translation from Mármol:

Things being then in this state in the month of March of the year of the Lord 1483 and of the dominion of the Arabs 895, the Marquis of Cádiz and Don Alonso de Cárdenas, master of Santiago, and many other knights entered with their people to scout along the outskirts of the city of Málaga, which is on the eastern side, called Jarquía; and the Moors

Excerpts from Irving:

...A number of the most distinguished cavaliers assembled at Antequera in the month of March, 1483. The leaders of the enterprise were the gallant Marquis of Cadiz, ...Don Alonzo de Cardenas, master of the religious and military order of Santiago. ...Here he (the Marquis of Cadiz) was suddenly assailed by the troops

¹¹ Luis de Mármol Carvajal, op. cit., 21:140.

withdrawing from these places which are many, when they were returning back with great haste, they met them and scattered them and killed Don Diego, Don Lope, and Don Beltrán, brothers of the Marquis and Don Lorenzo and Don Manuel, his nephews, and with them many other relatives and vassals; and they took prisoner the Count of Cifuentes and don Pedro de Silva, his brother, and many other knights. This was the battle which they call the Hill of Cútar, which was the 21st of March, on Friday morning and in it were killed and taken prisoner the greater part of the Christians that were there. With this victory the new king Abí Abdilehi became so haughty that he determined to make an entrance in person in the places of Andalucía, it seeming to him that that country would be without defense, on account of the many people that had been lost in Jarquía; and gathering together the greatest number of knights and foot-soldiers that he could, taking with him Alatar, the alcaide of Loja, and many knights of Granada, he went to place his encampment in Lucena, town of the alcaide of Donceles. Many ancient Moors have told us that when the King of Granada left by the gate of Elvira, he hit the standard that he was carrying before them on the arch of the gate, and it broke, and the astrologers told him that he should not go on, but that he should turn back, because things would go badly with him; and returning to the ravine of Beira like a shot from a crossbow a fox crossed in the midst of all the people, and almost next to

of El Zagal, aided by the mountaineers from the cliffs. ...His brothers, Don Diego and Don Lope, with his two nephews, Don Lorenzo and Don Manuel, were, one by one, swept from his side; ...The Count of Cifuentes ... surrendered himself prisoner, as did also his brother, Don Pedro de Silva, ...Boabdil el Chico found it necessary to strike some signal blow, ...He was further incited by the fierce old Moor, Ali Atar alcaide of Loxa ...Ali Atar informed Boabdil that the late discomfiture of the Christian knights had stripped Andalusia of the prime of the chivalry, and broken the spirit of the country. ... But he specially pointed out the city of Lucena as an object of attack; ...In passing through the gate of Elvira, however, the king accidentally broke his lance against the arch. At this certain of his nobles turned pale, and entreated him not to proceed, for they regarded it as an evil omen. ...Arriving at the rambla or dry ravine of Beyro, which is scarcely a bowshot from the city, a fox ran through the whole army, and close by the person of the king, and through a thousand bolts were discharged at it, escaped uninjured to the mountains. The principal courtiers about Boabdil (Abi Abdilehi) now reiterated their remonstrances against proceeding; for they considered these occurrences as mysterious portents of disasters to their army. The king, however, was not to be

the king himself, and it got away before they could kill it; which they took for such a bad omen that many of the principal (Moors) wished to return to the city, saying that that day's work would be their ruin; but the King did not wish to cease pursuing the way, and arriving at Lucena, he had the wheat laid waste, and the vineyards and orchards of the district, and the whole land despoiled. The Count of Cabra was at this time in the village of Baena, and knowing about the entrance of the enemy and the damage he was doing, he gathered quickly all the men that he could and went to Lucena to ally himself with the alcaide of Donceles; when this was known by the Moorish king, he struck camp and with great taking of captives and cattle retired from Loja; and the Christians, with more courage than troops, because they were very few in comparison with those of the enemy, pursued them and discovering them, attacked them in an arroyo which is called that of Martín Gonzalez, a league and a half from Lucena, in the month of April of this year; and God being pleased to give them the victory, they took Abi prisoner, and killing the alcaide Alatar and many other Moorish knights, and collecting the prisoners that they had taken, and laden with spoils, with nine standards that they had won that day, they returned happy and victorious to their towns. The imprisonment of the Moorish king was of no small importance in the conquest of the kingdom, because the affairs of the moors being in such a disturbed state, King Ferdinand entered

dismayed, but continued to march forward. ...The Moorish army entered the Christian frontier by forced marches, hastily ravaging the country, driving off the flocks and herds, and making captives of the inhabitants. ...Don Diego de Cordova, Count of Cabra, was in the castle of Vaena, ... (he) ascended the battlements, and beheld five lights blazing on the tower. ...A courier came galloping at full speed bringing missives to the count from his nephew, Don Diego Hernandez de Cordova, senior of Lucena, and alcaide de los Donzeles, ... The count put his little army instantly in movement for Lucena, which is only one league from Cabra. ...By the time he reached Lucena, the Moors had desisted from the attack, and were ravaging the surrounding country. The count now harangued his men, to inspirit them to this hazardous encounter. He told them not to be dismayed at the number of the Moors; for God often permitted the few to conquer the many. ...At length they came to the rivulet of Mingonzalez, the verdant banks of which were covered with willows and tamarisks. ...The king (Boabdil) ...endeavored to conceal himself. ...A soldier of Lucena ...discovered him. ...Don Diego received him with knightly courtesy... and conducted him a prisoner to his strong castle of Vaena. ...Ali Atar fell dead without a groan; the Moors lost upwards of five thousand killed and made prisoners, many of whom were of the most noble lineages of

in that year the plain of Granada, and made great havoc in the fields, orchards and vineyards; and at the boundaries of the towns of Íllora, and Montefrío, he surrounded the town of Tájora, which the Moors had again fortified, and attacked it and won it by force; and ordering it destroyed and burned again, he went to winter at Córdoba. There arose an honorable rivalry between the Count of Cabra and the alcaide of Donceles concerning to which one the imprisoned king belonged; and the Catholic Sovereigns, rewarding that service fully and graciously, ordered that they take him to Córdoba; which they did thus. And being in that city the Moor arranged with them by means of some hostages that is they placed him at liberty, he would be their vassal and would pay them tribute each year, and would make war in their name upon the other Moors who did not wish to be (vassals). On this there were varying opinions among the counselors and finally it was considered good policy to do what the Moor asked, considering that while there were two enemy kings in the kingdom of Granada the Christians would have a better opportunity to make war upon them, and not only did the Catholic sovereigns concede what he asked, but they offered to aid him if he would make war upon his father and upon the people who had rebelled during his imprisonment; and setting him at liberty, they sent him to his own land. Arriving at Granada, then, he was not so well received by the citizens as he had expected; because when they

Granada. Twenty-two banners fell into the hands of the Christians, and were carried to Vaena. Ferdinand had been transported with joy at hearing of the capture of the Moorish monarch; seeing the deep and politic uses that might be made of such an event. ...He sacked and destroyed several towns and castles, and extended his ravages to the very gates of Granada. King Ferdinand was at Cordova when he received this proposition (concerning the release of Boabdil). The Count of Cabra set out with his illustrious prisoner; ... It was proposed, that Mahomet Abdalla, otherwise called Boabdil, should hold his crown as vassal to the Castilian sovereigns; paying an annual tribute, ...that he should also engage to be always ready to render military aid... The Grand cardinal of Spain, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, coincided in opinion with the Marquis of Cadiz. ... "It would be sound wisdom to furnish the Moor with men and money, and all other necessities to promote the civil war in Granada: by this means would be produced great benefit to the service of God", ...By this means might be effected the deliverance of many Christian captives, who were languishing in Moorish chains. ...On the 2nd of September, a guard of honour assembled at the gate of the mansion of Boabdil, to escort him to the frontiers of his kingdom. ...He had returned, indeed, to his kingdom; but it was no longer the devoted kingdom he had left. The story

learned of the capitulation which he had made to the Christian sovereigns, and that he had to be their vassal, his own people who had placed him on the throne were the first who rose against him, and favoring the side of Abí Abdilehi, his uncle, who had the band of the old king, determined to make war anew against the Christians. ... The people of Granada then joined together fifteen of the most important alcaides of the kingdom, and with a great number of knights and foot-soldiers crossed the frontiers of Andalucía, saying that their king being in prison did not obligate them to peace or to any other kind of condition; but the undertaking did not succeed as they expected, because Luis Hernandez Puertocarrero, master of Palma went out to the encounter with the people of the frontier and overcame them, and killing and taking prisoner a great number of Moors, and among them the most important alcaides, won from them fifteen standards. Also the Marquis of Cádiz attained part of the spoils of the victory, who, going in search of the enemy, encountered those who were fleeing from the affray, and imprisoning and killing many of them, passed up to the town of Zara and scaled it and took it by force of arms; and killing the alcaide and those who were with him, fortified it and peopled it with Christians. All these happenings were the

of his vassalage to the Christians had been made use of by his father to ruin him with his people. ...The greater part of the nobility had thronged around the throne of his father in the Alhambra. ...The moment was favorable for a foray; and Muley Aben Hassan cast about his thoughts for a leader to conduct it. ...The summons...was gladly obeyed by the alcaides of the border towns; and in a little while there was a force of fifteen hundred horse, and four thousand foot, ...assembled...Luis Fernandez Puerto Carrero, a cavalier of consummate vigour, ...had but a handful of men, ...While the northern part of Andalusia was thus on the alert, one of the scouts had ...given the alarm to the valiant Marquis of Cadiz ...Six hundred Moorish cavaliers were slain and many taken prisoners. Boabdil was persuaded that there was no dependence upon the inconstant favour of the multitude, and was prevailed to quit a capital where he could only maintain a precarious seat upon the throne by a perpetual and bloody struggle. He fixed his court at the city of Almeria... Muley Aben Hassan had regained undivided sway over the city of Granada.¹²

¹² Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 47-84.

cause of the increasing hatred of the people of Granada against El Zogoybi (Boabdil), who not feeling himself secure in the city, took his wives and children and went to place himself in Almería. Seeing this, the people of Granada sent then for Abil Hascen, who was in Mondújar, and receiving him again as king, began a cruel war between father and son.¹³

It is interesting to note at this point that Stanley T. Williams criticizes Irving very particularly for "tinting the simple prose of Garibay and others with his most flamboyant rhetoric". He asks us to compare the dialogue which Irving uses with the following sentences from Bernáldez "...y él respondió: allá quedan, que el Cielo cayó sobre ellos é todos son perdidos é muertos. Entonce comenzaron en Loja muy gran llanto, é muy gran lloro y tristeza." In the writer's opinion Irving does not tint this particular passage at all; he gives it to us quite literally when he says:

"There they lie!" exclaimed he: "the heavens have fallen upon them! all are lost! all are dead." Upon this there was a great cry of consternation among the people, and loud wailings of women; for the flower of the youth of Loxa were with the army.¹⁴

¹³ Luis de Mármol Carvajal, op. cit., 21:139.

¹⁴ Washington Irving, op. cit., p. 71.

After this passage, in which he added to the account by Bernáldez only the statement concerning the loss of the flower of the youth of Loxa, Irving goes on to relate through a Moorish messenger the death of Ali Atar, an incident which is the subject of many ballads and which is in the fourth chapter of this article. Thus, while Irving does repeat himself, he does it to give the point of view of both the Moors and the Christians. It is not idle repetition, with no object in view. The passage referred to by Williams fits into Irving's recital just as it fits into those of Bernáldez and Lafuente. It is not an invention of Irving's.

The final section chosen for translation deals with the actual surrender of Granada by Boabdil to the Spanish monarchs. Again the names and incidents are the same in Marmol and in Irving, even to the names of villages and roads. Irving devotes only the two final chapters to this narration; he utilizes only the facts as given by the old historians, not choosing to embellish them at all. He does allow Fray Antonio one page in which to give a short summary of the years devoted to the wars, and he also gives almost a page to a note concerning the gateway through which Boabdil left Granada forever, a bit of information which Irving obtained from a Spanish peasant who acted as his guide while he was living in the Alhambra and who was responsible for his obtaining many legends which he used in the Alhambra, his

next published work.

The Spanish historians who have written accounts of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella give fully the terms of capitulation, which were many and detailed. To Irving these are too prosaic to warrant time and space; they lack the action which he loves. For that reason, undoubtedly, he allows them less than a page, after which he gives in great detail the incidents of the actual surrender. Here again he is not writing history, for he deliberately rejects the terms of capitulation and takes only the incidents involving the action of surrender. The historian can not select and reject.

In finding statements in The Conquest of Granada similar to those in the various Spanish accounts, the writer has had to select from various chapters. Irving has not always preserved the exact historical sequence; this may be because he trusted too greatly to his memory, or it may be that he altered the recital to meet the demands of his imagination, as he pictured what must happen under certain circumstances. There is one instance of this in the last excerpt which we have been considering. Mármol writes concerning Boabdil's return to Granada after his release by Ferdinand:

...Setting him at liberty, they sent him to his own land. Arrived at Granada, then, he was not so well received by the citizens as he had expected; because when they learned of the capitulations he had made to the Spanish sovereigns, and that he had to be their

vassal, his own people who had placed him on the throne were the first who rose against him...¹⁵

Then Mármol proceeds to the next incident of the great struggle between the Moors and the Christians. Irving treats the incident in this way:

On the 2nd of September, a guard of honour assembled at the gate of the mansion of Boabdil, to escort him to the frontiers of his kingdom. ...He had returned, indeed, to his kingdom; but it was no longer the devoted kingdom he had left. The story of his vassalage to the Christian sovereigns had been made use of by his father to ruin him with his people...¹⁶

Instead of proceeding directly to the next struggle as Mármol does, Irving goes on at great length to relate that Boabdil had to approach his capital by stealth and that he was hidden in the Alcazaba, the fortress opposite the Alhambra, for within the latter palace was his father, Muley Aben Hassan, ready to take the place of the son who so stupidly had made terms of truce with the Spanish sovereigns. Irving tries to give his account the detail which is necessary to allow the reader to picture the entire scene and to feel with the characters involved all the joy, sorrow, fear, anticipation which they felt. He succeeds in this; whether he carries it to extremes and wearies the reader with repetition is another matter. The writer does not feel that

¹⁵ Luis de Mármol Carvajal, op. cit., 21:139.

¹⁶ Washington Irving, op. cit., p. 81.

this is true. To anyone not overfond of the bare facts of history, this weaving of historic incident with the natural reactions of the people on both sides, the Moors and the Christians, is very much in its favor. The Granada should not be read as history, but as historical romance.

Translation of Marmol:

When the appointed day upon which the Moorish king was to hand over the strongholds of the city of Granada to the Catholic Sovereigns, which was the second day of the month of January of the year of our salvation 1492, had arrived, ... the cardinal don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, went to take possession of them, accompanied by many knights and by a sufficient number of infantry under his standards. And because, according to the stipulations, he could not enter through the streets of the city, he took a new road which had been ordered made a week before, like a cartway, to convey the artillery wagons, which went on the outside of the walls of the city to end in a place where the hermitage of Saint Anthony is, and in front of the gate of Los Molinos to the Hill of the Martyrs and to the Alhambra. When the Cardinal arrived with the people who were to occupy the strongholds, the Catholic Sovereigns soon left their encampment at Santa Fe with all the army placed in guard, and traveling slowly across that spacious and fertile vega, went to a small

Excerpts from Irving:

The sun had scarcely begun to shed his beams upon the summits of the snowy mountains, which rise above Granada, when the Christian camp was in motion. A detachment of horse and foot, led by distinguished cavaliers, and accompanied by Hernando de Talavera, bishop of Avila, proceeded to take possession of the Alhambra and the towers. It had been stipulated in the capitulation, that the detachment sent for this purpose should not enter by the streets of the city. A road had, therefore, been opened outside of the walls, leading by the Puerta de los Molinos (or the Gate of the Mills) to the summit of the Hill of Martyrs, and across the hill to a postern gate of the Alhambra. ...

In the meantime, the Christian court and army poured out of the city of Santa Fe, and advanced across the vega. The king and queen took the lead, ...surrounded by the royal guards, splendidly arrayed. The procession moved slowly forward, and paused at the village of Armilla, at a distance of half a league from the city. ...When the detachment arrived at the summit

place, called Armilla, which was half a league from Granada, where the Queen with all the retinue paused. When the Cardinal arrived at the hill of the dungeons of the Martyrs, which the Moors call Habul, the king, Abdilehi, went to receive him, descending on foot from the fortress of the Alhambra, leaving in it Jucef Aben Comiza, his alcaide; and having spoken a little in secret with him, the Moor said in a loud voice: "Go, señor, and take possession of the fortresses for the powerful sovereigns, to whom God wishes to give them because of their great merit, and because of the sins of the Moors;" and by the same road which the Cardinal had ascended, he went to meet King Ferdinand to give obedience (surrender) to him. The Cardinal then entered the Alhambra, and finding all the doors open, the alcaide Aben Comiza handed it over to him, and he (the Cardinal) took possession of it, and at the same time occupied the Torres Bermejas and one tower that was at the gate of the street of the Gomeres; and ordering hoisted upon the bell tower the silver cross that they brought (carried) before him and the royal standard, as their Highnesses had ordered, they gave the signal that the fortresses were theirs. By this time King Ferdinand had advanced, and was traveling toward the city in the protection of the Cardinal, and Queen Isabel was with the other people in Armilla, greatly concerned because it seemed to them that there was delay

of the hill, the Moorish king came forth from the gate, attended by a handful of cavaliers, leaving his vizier, Jusef Aben Comiza, to deliver up the palace. "Go, senior," said he "To the commander of the detachment; go, and take possession of those fortresses, which Allah has bestowed upon your powerful lord, in punishment of the sins of the Moors!" He said no more, but passed mournfully on, along the same road by which the Spanish cavaliers had come; descending to the vega to meet the catholic sovereigns. The troops entered the Alhambra the gates of which were wide open, and all its splendid courts and halls silent and deserted. ...The sovereigns waited (at Armilla) with impatience, their eyes fixed on the lofty tower of the Alhambra, watching for the appointed signal of possession. The time that had elapsed since the departure of the detachment seemed to them more than necessary for the appointed purpose, and the anxious mind of Ferdinand began to entertain doubts of some commotion in the city. At length they saw the silver cross, the great standard of this crusade, elevated on the Torre de la Vela, or great watchtower, ...At sight of these signals of possession, the sovereigns fell upon their knees giving thanks to God for this great triumph. The whole assembled host followed their example; and the choristers of the royal chapel

in giving the signal; and when she saw the cross and the standard upon the tower, falling to her knees with great devotion, she gave great thanks to God for it, and those of the chapel (choir) began to sing the hymn "Te Deum laudamus". King Ferdinand stopped on the bank of the river Genil in the place where now is the hermitage of San Sebastian, and there the Moorish king came accompanied by some knights and vassals, and thus mounted as he came, because His Highness did not consent that he dismount, he (Boabdil) approached him (King Ferdinand) and kissed his right arm. This act of submission made, the two kings separated; the Catholic went to the Alhambra, and the pagan (made) the return to Andarax. Some wish to say that he returned first to the city and entered a house where he had his family gathered in the Alcazaba; but some very old Moors, who, so they say, were present that day, assured us that he had done no more than make reverence to the Catholic King and journey toward the Alpujarras, because when he left the Alhambra, he had sent his family ahead, and that on arriving at an elevated spot that is near the town of Padul which is (the place) from which the city is seen for the last time, he turned to look at it again, and gazing at those rich castles that he had lost, he began to weep and to sigh heavily, and he said, "Alabaquibar", which is as we might say "Dominus Deus Sabaoth" All-Powerful God, God of Battles and his mother seeing him sigh and weep, said to him, "You do

broke forth into the solemn anthem of "Te Deum laudamus!"

The procession now resumed its march with joyful alacrity, to the sound of triumphant music, until they came to a small mosque, near the banks of the Xenil, and not far from the Hill of Martyrs, which edifice remains to the present day, consecrated as the hermitage of St. Sebastian. Here the sovereigns were met by the unfortunate Boabdil, accompanied by about fifty cavaliers and domestics. As he drew near, he would have dismounted, in token of homage; but Ferdinand prevented him. He then proffered to kiss the king's hand but this sign of vassalage was likewise declined: whereupon, not to be outdone in magnanimity, he leaned forward, and saluted the right arm of Ferdinand. ...

Having surrendered the last symbol of power, the unfortunate Boabdil continued on towards the Alpuxarras, that he might not behold the entrance of the Christians into his capital. ...

Having rejoined his family Boabdil set forward with a heavy heart for his allotted residence in the valley of Porchena. At two leagues distance, the cavalcade, winding into the skirts of the Alpuxarras, ascended an eminence commanding the last view of Granada. As they arrived at this spot, the Moors paused involuntarily, to take a farewell gaze at their beloved city, which a few steps more would shut from their sight forever. ...The heart of Boabdil, sof-

well to weep like a woman for what you could not defend like a man." Afterwards the Moors called that elevated spot the "Fez de Alabaquibar" in memory of this incident. Returning to our Christians, who were traveling to the city, the King and Queen and all the knights and lords ascended to the Alhambra, and at the gate of the fortress the alcaide Jucef Aben Comiza gave them the keys of it, and Their Majesties ordered them to be given to don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, first cousin of the Cardinal, don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, who was the first alcaide and captain general of that kingdom, whose valor Their Highnesses knew because of the great services he had done them, thus in this war being alcaide and captain of the frontier of Alhama, and afterwards in Alcala the Royal, ...Their Highnesses entering the Alhambra, the captains of infantry occupied the other fortresses, towers, and gates peacefully; without disturbance or commotion. The Moors of the city enclosed themselves in their houses; for no one appeared except those who necessarily had to be of service in something. Later the principal citizens went up to pay homage and kiss the hands of Their Highnesses, showing much content in having them as sovereigns. And within a few days, seeing the justice of those sovereigns and that they would cause all they had promised them to be fulfilled, other towns of the

tened by misfortunes, and overcharged with grief, could no longer contain itself. "Allah achbar! God is great!" said he, ...His mother... was indignant at his weakness. "You do well," said she, "to weep like a woman, for what you failed to defend like a man/" ... From this circumstance the hill, which is not far from Padul, took the name of Fez Allah Achbar; ... "When the Castilian sovereigns had received the keys of Granada from the hands of Boabdil el Chico, the royal army resumed its triumphal march. ...The Marquis de Villena, and the Count de Tendilla, with three thousand cavalry, and as many infantry, marched in, and took possession, ...

The Spanish sovereigns fixed their throne in the presence chamber of the palace, so long the seat of Moorish royalty. Hither the principal inhabitants of Granada repaired, to pay them homage, and kiss their hands, in token of vassalage; and their example was followed by deputies from all the towns and fortresses of the Alpuxarras, which had not hitherto submitted."¹⁷

¹⁷ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 325-331.

sierra and of the Alpujarras
and all the others that until
then had not come to pay them
homage came to do the same.¹⁸

In a letter to Colonel Aspinwall, written on April 4, 1829, Irving says, "...A literary reputation, to hold well with the public, requires some 'make weights' of the kind. Some massier materials, which form a foundation; the lighter works then become ornaments and embellishments."¹⁹ His love of embellishing comes forth in his account of the battle of Lucena, as compared with the accounts of Mármol and other historians.

One example of this love of coloring can be seen by examining the way in which Mármol describes the attack leading to the battle of Lucena: "...The Márquis of Cádiz and Don Alonso de Cárdenas and many other knights entered with their people to scout along the outskirts of the city of Málaga, (by a place) which is to the east, called Jarquía; and the Moors withdrawing from these places, which are many, when they (the Christians) came with great haste, they met them and scattered them, and killed Don Diego, Don Lope,..."²⁰

Irving starts out upon his recital in this way:

...Then came the battalion of the
most valiant Roderigo Ponce de Leon,

¹⁸ Luis de Mármol Carvajal, op. cit., pp. 150-151.

¹⁹ S.T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, I:345.

²⁰ Luis de Mármol Carvajal, op. cit., 21:140.

Marquis of Cadiz; he was accompanied by several of his brothers and nephews, and many cavaliers who sought distinction under his banner; and as this family band paraded in martial state through the streets of Antequera, they attracted universal attention and applause. The rear-guard was led by Don Alonzo Cardenas, master of Santiago, and was composed of the knights of his order, and the cavaliers of Ecija, with certain men-at-arms of the holy brotherhood, whom the king had placed under his command. The army was attended by a great train of mules, laden with provisions for a few days' supply until they should be able to forage among the Moorish villages. Never did a more gallant and self-confident little army tread the earth. It was composed of men full of health and vigor, to whom war was a pastime and a delight. They had spared no expense in their equipments; for never was the pomp of war carried to a higher pitch than among the chivalry of Spain. Cased in armour richly inlaid and embossed, decked with rich surcoats and waving plumes, and superbly mounted on Andalusian steeds, they pranced out of Antequera, with banners flying, and their various devices and armorial bearings ostentatiously displayed; and in the confidence of their hopes, promised the inhabitants to enrich them with the spoils of Malaga.²¹

He does not come to the incident of the death of the brothers and nephews of the Marquis of Cadiz until he has spent more than two thousand words upon his recital giving minute descriptions of the terrain and of the journey of the Spaniards to meet the enemy.

It is possible to trace Irving's whole tale in the pages

²¹ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

of Marmol's account of events during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.²² We know, however, that he read all available sources; therefore, we must examine selections from the accounts of other historians and from the ballads to give further proof that he gives the facts virtually as they are recorded in all the old chronicles.

²² See page 76 of this article.

CHAPTER II

In his notebook entitled Spanish Literature Irving mentions the Spanish historian, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. The style of this writer is much more spirited and compact than that of Mármol, but he does not dwell in his Guerras de Granada upon the period which interested Irving, that of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. The American author, however, makes use of at least one statement, which will be quoted in this chapter; and the salient facts of the overthrow of the Moorish occupation of Granada will be added to illustrate Mendoza's style.

The whole history of the wars with Granada, as presented by Mendoza, is "picturesque, both from its subject and from the manner in which it is handled. nor is it lacking in dignity and elevation. Its style is bold and abrupt, but true to the idiom of the language; and the current of thought is deep and strong, easily carrying the reader onward with its flood. Nothing in the old chronicling style of the earlier period is to be compared to it, and little in any subsequent period is equal to it for manliness, vigor, and truth."¹

That Irving tried faithfully to reproduce this style in presenting his tale of the conquest is asserted by Stanley T. Williams, when he says: "In Irving's behalf, however, it should

¹ George Ticknor, History of Spanish Literature, I:475.

be said that through such conventional diction he hoped to reproduce the old chroniclers' standardized descriptions of these battles; they, too, had Homeric formulas, their phraseology of adventure and conflict. If the Granada is read with the lingo of such mediaeval story-tellers in mind, Irving may be credited with having caught a certain tone not unworthy of the originals. ...So explained, the diction of the Granada becomes not less tedious but more comprehensible."²

Don Juan Hurtado and Don Angel González y Palencia in their Historia de la literatura española write that Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's work, which was well known in numerous manuscript copies, criticized the politics and official strategy of the time so harshly that in order to counteract its effect, the government charged Luis Mármol Carvajal to write a more softened version of the wars against Granada. For this reason Mármol's recital was much more diffuse than Mendoza's.³ Both historians wrote upon the period between 1475 and 1550(?); both knew the country of Granada, knew its language and its customs; both had been actively in the service of the king in the early sixteenth century.

An examination of the two illustrations from the work of Mendoza will show that the latter's style was indeed more concise than Irving's. However, we know only that Irving did

² S.T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, I:345.

³ Hurtado y Palencia, Historia de la literatura española, p. 435.

read Mendoza's work; we have no reason for thinking that he wished to imitate his way of presenting historical facts.

Translation from Mendoza:

...In the time of the king Bulhaxix, when it (Granada) was in its greatest prosperity, it had seventy thousand houses, according to (what) the Moors say; and in that epoch there was misfortune and in many cases (it) caused concern to the kings of Castile. There is a story that Bulhaxix learned of alchemy, and with money obtained in this way he walled in the Albaicin; he separated it from the city, and built the Alhambra, with the tower which they call (that) of Comáres (because it fell to the lot of the Comáres to build it; a royal and renowned habitation according to its kind of building, ...⁴

Excerpt from Irving:

The declivities and skirts of these hills were covered with houses to the number of seventy thousand, separated by narrow streets and small squares according to the custom of Moorish cities. ...There is a Moorish tradition, that the king who built this mighty pile was skilled in the occult sciences, and furnished himself with gold and silver for the purpose by means of alchymy. Certainly never was there an edifice accomplished in a superior style of barbaric magnificence; ...⁵

The following translation shows how Mendoza condensed the events of the period of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The Sovereigns called the Catholic, Ferdinand and Isabella, won Granada (1492) after they and their ancestors had subjugated the Moors and sent them from Spain in a continuous war of seven hundred and seventy-four years, and forty-four kings; (it was) finished at the time (when) we see the last king Boabdil (to the great exaltation of the Christian faith) deposed from his kingdom and his city,

⁴ Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, "Guerras de Granada", B.A.E., 21:69.

⁵ Loc. cit.

turned toward his first fatherland beyond the sea. They (the Catholic Sovereigns) received the keys of the city in the name of ownership, as is the custom in Spain; they entered the Alhambra, where they placed as alcaide and captain general don Íñigo Lopez de Mendoza, count of Tendilla, a man of prudence in important affairs, of firm courage, strengthened through long experience in encounters and victorious battles places defended against the Moors in that very war; and for prelate they placed Fray Fernando de Talavera, (a) religious man of the order of San Gerónimo, whose example of life and holiness Spain celebrates, and among those who are living, there are witnesses of his miracles. They [Ferdinand and Isabella] gave them [the count and the friar] a company qualified and fitting to found a new state; which had to be the head of the kingdom, shield and defense against the Moors of Africa, who in other times were their conquerors. But these plans did not suffice, although together, that the Moors (whose feelings were disturbed and offended) might not rise in the Albaicin, fearing to be cast out from their religion as from the state, because the sovereigns, wishing that in every way the kingdom be Christian, sent Fray Francisco Jimenez, who was archbishop of Toledo and cardinal, to persuade them; but they, a harsh people, persistent, newly conquered, were violent. It was agreed that the converts or the children of converts should turn to our faith, and the others should remain with their religion for the time.⁶

Irving devotes one hundred chapters to what Mendoza has summed up in less than three hundred words. To Mendoza this was not the most important period of the wars against Granada;

⁶ Loc. cit.

Note: The Spanish is very much garbled in this account, and thus it is difficult to render it into clear-sounding English.

he wished to tell the complete story. Irving was interested in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and what was accomplished during that time.

CHAPTER III

"From earliest boyhood when, on the banks of the Hudson, I first pored over the pages of old Gines Perez de Hyta's apocryphal but chivalresque history of the civil wars of Granada, and the feuds of its gallant cavaliers, the Zegries and Abencerrajes, that city has ever been a subject of my waking dreams; and often have I trod in fancy the romantic halls of the Alhambra."¹

Thus Irving wrote in the Alhambra. In view of this statement, it is not surprising to find some incidents given in almost identical fashion by Pérez de Hita, the sixteenth-century historian, and by Irving, who wrote in the nineteenth century.

In a letter written in Seville on January 10, 1829, to Prince Dolgorouki, Russian diplomat, an attaché of the Russian Legation at Madrid, Irving says:

I fear my Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada will not answer the high anticipation you appear to entertain of it. I have been hazarding a kind of experiment in literature, and the success is in some degree a matter of chance. The Conquest of Granada has hitherto been a fertile theme for tales of romance and chivalry; in the account I have given of it, there is nothing of love or gallantry, and the chivalry is the chivalry of actual life, as it existed at the time, exhibited

¹ S.T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, I:297-298.

in rugged and daring enterprises and rough hard fighting. I have depicted the war as I found it in the old chronicles, a stern, iron conflict, more marked by bigotry than courtesy, and by wild and daring exploits of fierce soldiery, than the gallant contests of courteous cavaliers. However, the work will soon be published, and then you will be able to judge of its merits; but do not indulge in high expectations nor form any romantic idea of its nature.²

Hurtado and Palencia record in their history of Spanish literature that Ginés Pérez de Hita combined historic and fanciful ideas in his Guerras civiles de Granada. In the first part of his book he relates the founding of Granada, battles, personal struggles of principal Moors and Christians, the killing of the Abencerrajes, the surrounding of Granada by the Catholic Sovereigns, and the founding of Santa Fé. In the second part he stresses the rebellion of the Moors in the Alpujarras, the incidents upon which Irving bases the greater part of his tale.³

Hurtado and Palencia mention the fact that Pérez de Hita obtained much of his information from the chronicles of Pulgar, Garibay, and others. These are sources which Irving also consulted.⁴

From the first part of Pérez de Hita's work an excerpt

² P.M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, II:141.

³ Hurtado y Palencia, Historia de la literatura española, p. 420.

⁴ Loc. cit.

upon the founding of Granada will be considered; and from the second part, the battle of Vélez-Málaga and the incident concerning the curiosity of Queen Isabella.

Irving shows that he has no great interest in the founding of the city; he gives only details enough to provide his setting. From this meager, though authentic, introduction he hurries into the action of the story.

Translation from Pérez de Hita: Excerpt from Irving:

The illustrious and famous city of Granada was founded by a very beautiful young girl, daughter or niece of the king Hispán. Its establishment was in a beautiful and spacious lowland, near a mountain range called Elvira, for it took the name of the princess founder, who was called Liberia, two leagues from where it now is, near a place that was called Arbuler, which in Arabic was called Arbulut. After some years had passed, it seemed to the founders of it that they were not (doing) well there for certain reasons, and they founded the city in the place where it now is, near the Sierra-Nevada, between two beautiful rivers, the one called the Genil and the other Darro which are (come) from the snow that melts on the mountain range. From the Darro is taken very fine gold, from the Genil silver; and it is not a fable, for I the author of this account have seen it taken. This illustrious city was founded here upon three hills, as today it is seen,

The city of Granada lay in the centre of the kingdom, sheltered as it were in the lap of Sierra Nevada, or chain of snowy mountains. It covered two lofty hills, and a deep valley that divides them, through which flows the river Darro. One of these hills was crowned by the royal palace and fortress of the Alhambra, ... The glory of the city, however, was its vega, or plain, which spread out to a circumference of thirty-seven leagues, surrounded by lofty mountains. It was a vast garden of delight, refreshed by numerous fountains, and by the silver windings of the Xenil. The labour and ingenuity of the Moors had diverted the waters of this river into thousands of rills and streams, and diffused them over the whole surface of the plain. ... Opposite to the hill on which stood the Alhambra was its rival hill, on the summit of which was a spacious plain, covered with houses, and crowded with

where three castles were constructed: one is within sight of the beautiful vega and the river Genil, which vega is eight leagues long and four wide, and through it cross two other rivers, although not very large (ones): one is called Veiro and the other Monachil. The vega begins at (starts from) the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, and goes to the source of the Pino, and passes farther on a great grove, which is called the Grove of Rome, and this fortress is called Torres-Bermejas. A large town called Antequeruela was founded there. The other stronghold or castle is on another hill near this one, a little higher, which is called the Alhambra, a very strong fort, and here the sovereigns made their royal home. The other stronghold was built on another hill, not far from the Alhambra, and was called Albaicin, where a great town was founded. Between the Albaicin and the Alhambra passes in the ravine the river Darro providing a bank of pleasing trees.⁵

inhabitants. It was commanded by a fortress called the Alcazaba.⁶

The next day Queen Isabella wished to see the site of Granada, and its walls and towers; and so, accompanied by the king and the grandees, and soldiers, she went to a place called Zubia which is one league from Granada and from there she began to ob-

Queen Isabella had expressed an earnest desire to behold nearer at hand, a place the beauty of which was so renowned throughout the world ... a magnificent and powerful train issued forth from the Christian camp. The advanced

⁵ Ginés Pérez de Hita, "Guerras Civiles de Granada", B.A.E., 3:513.

⁶ Washington Irving, The Conquest of Granada, pp. 3-4.

serve the beauty and amenity of the city. She saw the towers and the strongholds of the Alhambra; she observed the cultivated and valuable olive groves; she saw the Torres Bermejas (the reddish towers), the sumptuous and superb Alcazaba and Albaicin, with all the other towers, castles, and walls. The most Christian queen enjoyed seeing all of this very much and wished to see herself in it and to have it for her own. The queen ordered that on that day there be no skirmish, but she could not avert it; because knowing that the queen was there, the Moors wished to give her grief and so more than a thousand Moors came out from Granada, and began a skirmish with the Christians, which began gradually, and ended very much in earnest and with great dispatch, because the Christians attacked them with such courage, that the Moors fled, and the Christians pursued them up to the gates of Granada and killed more than four hundred of them, and captured more than fifty. In this skirmish the alcaide of the Donceles and Puertocarrero, master of Palma distinguished himself very greatly. On this day they killed almost all the Zegries; also this loss grieved the king of Granada, because it was great. The queen with all her people returned to the encampment, well pleased with having seen Granada and its site.⁷

guard was composed of legions of cavalry, heavily armed, ...Then came the king and queen, ...surrounded by the royal body guard, ...The army moved towards the hamlet of Zubia, built on the skirts of the mountains, to the left of Granada, and commanding a view of the Alhambra, and the most beautiful view of the city from its terraced roof. The ladies of the court gazed with delight at the red towers of the Alhambra, rising from amidst shady groves, anticipating the time when the catholic sovereigns should be enthroned within its walls, and its courts shine with the splendour of Spanish chivalry. ...When the Moors beheld the Christians thus drawn forth in full array in the plain, they supposed it was to offer them battle, and they hesitated not to accept it. ...When the queen saw the army issuing from the city, she sent to the Marquis of Cadiz, and forbade any attack upon the enemy, or the acceptance of any challenge to a skirmish; ...Many of the Moorish horsemen galloped close to the Christian ranks, brandishing their lances and cimeters, and defying various cavaliers to single combat. ...they (the Moors) were bold and adroit for a skirmish, but unequal to the veteran Spaniards in the open field.

⁷ Ginés Pérez de Hita, op. cit., 3:582-583.

A panic seized upon the foot-soldiers; they turned and took to flight. ...The Christians pursued them to the very gates. Upwards of two thousand were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, ...when the Marquis of Cadiz waited upon her majesty to apologize for breaking her commands, he attacked, but attributed the victory entirely to her presence. The queen however, insisted that all was owing to her troops being led on by so valiant a commander.⁸

One wonders if Irving did not choose to include the incident concerning Queen Isabella's curiosity because he saw a kind of humor in it, that of the often-mentioned insatiable curiosity of women. He speaks of the "great military escort and guard to protect her and the ladies of the court while they enjoyed this perilous gratification".⁹ (The emphasis is the writer's.) And as he concludes the telling of the incident, he says, "...He (the Marquis of Cádiz) attributed the victory entirely to her presence. The queen, however, insisted that all was owing to her troops being led on by so valiant a commander. Her Majesty had not yet recovered from her agitation at beholding so terrible a scene of bloodshed, though certain veterans present pronounced it as gay

⁸ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 307-312.

⁹ Washington Irving, op. cit., p. 311.

and gentle a fight as they had ever witnessed."¹⁰ This is an instance of the kind of humor which is found throughout Irving's work.

In depicting the battle of Vélez-Málaga, Pérez de Hita for once has given the details of the battle rather than the love-affairs of the cavaliers. Irving's version can in this case follow that of the old historian very closely, for it contains none of the amours which were distasteful to him when included in a recital of this kind. Both writers stress the fear and mad flight of the Moors, as well as the arrangements made between Ferdinand and Boabáil for the protection of the loyal Moors.

These three excerpts-- one on the setting, one an incident to which Irving gives a humorous twist, and the third a battle as given by the Spanish historian-- suffice to show how Pérez de Hita's work appealed to Irving.

Translation from Pérez de Hita: Excerpt from Irving:

At this time Velez-Málaga was encircled by King Ferdinand. The Moors of Velez sent to ask aid from the people of Granada. The alfaquis admonished the old king and urged that he go to aid the Moors of Velez. When the king learned of it, he was disturbed, because never had he imagined that the Christians would dare to enter within his territory, and he feared to

While the standard of the cross waved on the hills before Velez Malaga, and every height and cliff bristled with hostile arms, the civil war between the factions of the Alhambra and the Albaycin, or rather between El Zagal and El Chico, continued to convulse the city of Granada. ... "Why," said they (the alfaquis),

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 311-312.

leave Granada; suspecting that upon (his) leaving, his nephew would rise in rebellion with the city and would take possession of the Alhambra. The alfaquis urged him to hurry, saying "Speak, Muley, of what kingdom do you think you are king, if you allow all to be lost? The bloody conflicts that without pity you incite to your harm here in the city incite them against your enemies, and not toward killing your own people." The alfaquis said these things to the king, and (they went) preaching through the streets and plazas, for it was a proper and fitting thing that Velez-Málaga be aided. Such was the persuasion of these alfaquis that finally he (Muley) determined to go to aid Velez-Málaga; and having arrived, he placed himself at the top of a mountain range, giving a display of all his men. The Christians attacked him, and he did not dare to wait, but turned, fleeing, he and his men, and left the fields through which they passed (peopled) filled with many weapons, in order to be able to flee light (without encumbrances). The king went to Almuñécar, and from there to the city of Almería and Guadix. All the other Moors returned to Granada, where the alfaquis and knights, learning how little the king had done in that day's work, and how he had fled like a coward, called Chico as king, in spite of the knights Almoradis and Marines, and all the others of his (Muley's) band, who were many; although it is true that those on the side of King Chico were more,

"continue these brawls between brother and kindred?... You are striving to be king, ...yet suffer the kingdom to be lost." El Zagal found himself in a perplexing dilemma. He had a double war to wage, with the enemy without and the enemy within. Should the Christians gain possession of the sea-coast, it would be ruinous to the kingdom; should he leave Granada to oppose them, his vacant throne might be seized on by his nephew. ...He was beset by the alfaquis and nobles of his court; ... (he) departed suddenly in the night, at the head of one thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. ...As the troops proceeded, they came suddenly... upon a dark mass of Christian warriors. A loud shout burst forth, and the Christians rushed to assail them. The Moors, surprised and disconcerted, retreated in confusion to the height. ...One of those unaccountable panics which now and then seize upon great bodies of people, and to which the light-spirited Moors were very prone, now spread through the camp. They were terrified they knew not why or at what. They threw away swords, lances, breastplates, crossbows, everything that could burden or impede their flight, and, spreading themselves wildly over the mountains, fled headlong down the defile ...He (El Zagal) retreated to the town of Amuñécar, and from thence to Almería, places which still remained faithful to him. Restless and uneasy at being

and all were important. Having handed over to King Chico the Alhambra and all the other strongholds, in which he placed persons of trust, the Moors begged him that he ask King Ferdinand for security in order that they might sow the vega and so he sent to ask it, and (to say) that all the villages of the Moors which were fronting the villages of the Christians would obey him (Chico) and not his uncle, (El Zagal) and (to ask) that for it he give them protection so that they might plant and might transact business in Granada securely and freely. The Catholic Sovereigns authorized all this for him in order to help him; and so the Christian king wrote to the villages of the Moors that they should obey King Chico, for he and not his uncle was their natural king, and that he would give them assurance of doing them no harm or damage, and would allow them to till their lands. The Moors did so with this security, and in the same way the Christian king wrote all the captains of the frontier places that they should do no harm to the Moors of the frontier; which order they fulfilled and the Moors were very happy and content, and rendered obedience to King Chico. King Chico, having done all this, and given contentment to his citizens and townspeople, ordered the heads of four of the knights of the Almoradis who had been against him to be cut off, and with this the bloody civil wars ended for the time. These villages of Alpujarra gave themselves up to the Catholic Sovereigns, which

so distant from the capital, he again changed his abode, and repaired to the city of Guadix, within a few leagues of Granada. ...In the excitement of the moment they (the Moorish people) thronged to the albaycin, and those, who had lately besieged Boabdil with arms, now surrounded his palace with acclamations. The keys of the city and of all the fortresses were laid at his feet; he was borne in state to the Alhambra, and once more seated, with all due ceremony, on the throne of his ancestors. ...He knew that he was surrounded by hollow hearts, and that most of the courtiers of the Alhambra were secretly devoted to his uncle. ...He ordered the heads of four of the principal nobles to be struck off, who had been most zealous in support of the usurper. ...About the same time came letters from Boabdil el Chico, announcing to the sovereigns the revolution of Granada in his favour. He solicited kindness and protection for the inhabitants who had returned to their allegiance, and for those of all other places who should renounce allegiance to his uncle. By this means, he observed, the whole kingdom of Granada would soon be induced to acknowledge his sway, and would be held by him in faithful vassalage to the Castilian crown. The catholic sovereigns complied with his request. Protection was immediately extended to the inhabitants of Granada, permitting them to cultivate their fields in peace,

which grieved the Moors of Granada, (they) having great fear of losing themselves, as the other places had been lost. Then let us return now to the proposition: after having conquered Vélez-Málaga, the people were into such difficulties that they were about to surrender. The Moors of Guadix, this fact being known, were much grieved, and the alfaquis begged the old king to go to aid Málaga, which he did with many people. King Chico learned of this aid of his uncle, and ordered many foot-soldiers and horsemen to be gathered together. Muza acted as captain of them in order to hinder the pass, and attack them; and so he did, for he awaited them and went out to the encounter and entered into cruel battle in which a great part of the people of Guadix were killed, and the rest fled, returning to their land marveling at the valiant Muza and his men. Then the king Chico wrote to King Ferdinand everything that had occurred with the Moors who went to the aid of Málaga, at which the Catholic King was glad, and was pleased, and sent him a rich present; and King Chico sent King Ferdinand a present of horses, very richly caparisoned, and to the queen he sent silk cloth and perfumes. The Christian sovereigns wrote to the captains and alcaides fronting Granada and its villages, that they show favor to King Chico against his uncle, and that they do no evil or harm to the Moors, nor to

and to trade with the Christian territories in all articles except arms, being provided with letters of surety from some Christian captain or alcayde. The same favour was promised to all other places that within six months should renounce El Zagal, and come under allegiance to the younger king. Should they not do so within that time, the sovereigns threatened to make war upon them, and conquer them for themselves.¹¹

¹¹ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 178-188.

the food-dealers of Granada who should go out to sow and till their lands. The king of Granada sent to tell King Ferdinand that he had the knowledge that the Moors of Málaga had no provisions; that he should prevent their entrance by sea or by land, and that they would give themselves up without fail. The Christians gave such battle to the besieged that Málaga and its district was won;...¹²

Pérez de Hita also wrote many ballads, two of which are given in part in the following chapter. In these are found various elements of which Irving made use. One contains a detailed description of warriors in their magnificent array; the second relates the terrible bloodshed on the banks of the Río Verde. Irving has followed the example of the first many times throughout his book, for he gives pictures of magnificently arrayed companies setting out for battle and of the Spanish monarchs and their retinue in their splendor. He stresses bloodshed and carnage in each battle, but he devotes less time to the laments of the Moors than does Pérez de Hita.

¹² Ginés Pérez de Hita, op. cit., 3:578-580.

CHAPTER IV

In the appendix to The Conquest of Granada, Irving refers to the attempt of the Spanish sovereigns to convert Boabdil to Christianity. Only in an old ballad have I succeeded in finding any reference to this incident.

Romance 1084¹

What is the trouble, disconsolate one? What ails you, King of Granada? What is the matter with your land and your Moors? Where is your home? Deny Mahomet and your evil sceptre now, for to live in such madness is scoffing mockery. Turn, turn, Oh King, to our consecrated faith, so that even though you have lost your kingdom, you may have recovered your soul. Conquered by such kings, honor must be given to you! Oh Granada ennobled, renowned by every one, until now you were a captive, and now you are freed! King Rodrigo lost you by his unfortunate fate; King Ferdinand won you through his prosperous fate; Queen Isabella, most feared and loved, she with her prayers and he with his armed men, as God does His deeds, the defense was privileged;

Excerpt from Irving:

No exertions were spared by Ferdinand and Isabella to induce him (Boabdil El Chico) to embrace the catholic religion; but he remained true to the faith of his fathers; and it added not a little to his humiliation to live a vassal under Christian sovereigns.²

¹ The ballads are numbered here as they are in B.A.E. They are sometimes referred to by the first line or lines, but this results in unwieldy titles; therefore, the method used by B.A.E. has been followed.

² Washington Irving, The Conquest of Granada, p. 333.

where He places His hand,
nothing is impossible.³

Evidently it seemed to Irving that it was quite logical for the monarchs to attempt to convert Boabdil to Christianity in virtue of the fact that they credited all the efforts which they directed toward the conquering of Granada to the desire to gain that land for their God and Christianity. In the old ballad the sovereigns try to convince Boabdil that by embracing Christianity, he will recover his soul and be free forever. It is quite logical for Irving to make such a statement, also, especially since he spends so much time in giving the reactions of Fray Antonio Agapida, his imaginary chronicler, to the victories of the Christians over the Moors. His remarks are not always in such poor taste as the French critic, l'Abbé Julien, believed. "Sometimes," said he, "Irving lacks reserve and goes out of his way to slip in a thrust at Catholicism."⁴ It does not seem to be more out of place for Irving to cause Agapida to say, "The pious princess (Queen Isabella), calling to mind the holy cause in which it was erected, gave it the name of Santa Fé, or the city of the Holy Faith, and it remains to this day, a monument to the piety and glory of the catholic sovereigns"⁵ than it does for

³ Juan de la Encina, "Romance 1084," B.A.E., 16:100. (Encina wrote a Christmas auto, a religious play, which was presented before Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492)

⁴ George D. Morris, "Washington Irving's Fiction in Light of French Criticism", Indiana University Studies, III:13.

⁵ Washington Irving, op. cit., p. 318.

Mármol to write, "A esta ciudad llamaron los Católicos Reyes Santa Fé, nombre digno de su conquista. (This city the catholic sovereigns named Santa Fé, a name worthy of their conquest.)"⁶

In a letter written on April 10, 1829, to his brother Peter, Irving explains why he invented Fray Antonio Agapida; however, it is rather difficult to accept his statement as a real explanation. He writes: "Murray has published the Chronicle in a beautiful style. I observe he has altered the title-page. I had put A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, by Fray Antonio Agapida." He has inserted my name; I presume to make the work more immediately salable, but it is an unwarrantable liberty, and makes me gravely, in my own name, tell many round untruths. I here openly make myself responsible as an author for the existence of the manuscript of Agapida, etc., etc. Literary mystifications are excusable when given anonymously or under feigned names, but are impudent deceptions when sanctioned by an author's real name."⁷ It is not easy to accept the last statement; Irving does not explain what he means by it; nor does Pierre M. Irving, his nephew and biographer, throw any light upon it.

There seems to be no reason for accusing Irving of making thrusts at Catholicism, as the Abbé does, unless he has

⁶ Luis de Mármol Carvajal, "Rebelión y castigo de los moros de Granada", B.A.E., 21:146.

⁷ Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, II:147.

in mind the idea which is suggested by Charlton Laird when he says of Irving's Spanish works:

The first three (including The Conquest of Granada) are notably lit by ironic flashes. In them Irving delights in showing us greed, lust, cruelty, and deceit masked behind the unction of the Church and the blessing of an obliging God, and concocts a chronicler, Fray Antonio Agapida, to provide the auto-damnation of Church and State. ...One notices that in these works Irving frequently displays sympathy for the abused of this world, that he is prone to detect bigotry behind protestations of virtue, and that he is aware of the pervading power of avarice. He reminds us, in the sanctimonious phrases of faked chronicles; that the casuists who lauded Ferdinand's robbings and murders were themselves making a very good thing out of the pillage.⁸

If the chronicles which Irving uses were "faked," as Laird suggests, Irving was not the one who faked them, for they can be traced in the writings of the historians of the day. He chose to use them in his recital, and he readily admits that "his work has no pretensions as a grave historical production or a work of authority."⁹

A possible explanation of his causing Fray Antonio Agapida to make many of his remarks is his own attitude toward the outward forms of religion. "He took his religion in moderate doses; he had had quite too much of it in his father's

⁸ Charlton G. Laird, "Tragedy and Irony in Knickerbocker History," Journal of Literary History, pp. 170-171.

⁹ P.M. Irving, The Life and Letters of Washington Irving, II:129.

house.... During his youth and throughout his mature manhood he went his way generally untroubled, frequently expressing surprise at such evidences of religious devotion as he observed on every hand in Europe, particularly among Catholics."¹⁰

In a letter written on August 23, 1825, to Emily Foster, a friend, he says, "I have all my life seen so much hypocrisy, cant, and worldliness imposed upon mankind under the external forms of religion, that I remain to this day sensitive on the subject. ...But you must not conclude from this that I am heedless and insensible, nor because I am disinclined to discuss religion as a topic that I neither feel nor appreciate it."¹¹

Causing another character, even a fictitious one, to make many remarks in what seemed to him an acceptable manner quite possibly satisfied Irving's own conscience, for they were things in which he could not believe. Perhaps, as many declare, he carried this idea too far in his desire to be humorous; he would not be able to resist doing this. But since the early historians almost invariably added this religious tone to their works, it is easy to understand why Irving retains it. Lafuente omits it from his history of Spain.

The following ballad tells of the death of Ali Atar,

¹⁰ Henry A. Pochmann, Representative Selections: Washington Irving, p. lxxxv.

¹¹ Ibid., p. lxxxvii.

a great warrior, father of Boabdil's favorite wife. Irving makes use of it twice-- once in the sequence of events as related by the old historians and again when he causes a messenger to tell the Moors about the old man's death.

Romance 1108

From Granada departed the Moor who was called Aliatar, first cousin of Albayaldos, whom the Master had killed, a knight on a horse that had passed ten years; three Christians took care of him (the horse), he himself (Aliatar) gave him barley. A lance with two blades that extended thirty handlengths; the Moor made it on purpose to rule well; a shield before his breast all new and adorned, a turban on his head that was wound around nine times; the hafts were of gold, of gold, of silk, and of scarlet: his sleeve was turned back under his hand dyed green. So enraged was the Moor that he well showed his anger, for when he passed the bridge, he never looked at the Darro. He went beseeching Mahomet; he begged Mahomet that he show him some Christian in whom he might stain his lance with blood; he was on the way to Antequera, it seemed that he was flying: he went alone without company with a furious anger. Before he arrived at Antequera, he saw the track of a Christian; he turned, reining in the horse and was guided by it: he went brandishing the lance, it seemed that he would break it. The master of Calatrava came out to receive him, a knight

Excerpt from Irving:

He (Ali Atar) had grown gray in border warfare, was an implacable enemy of the Christians, and his name had long been the terror of the frontier. He was in the ninetieth year of his age, yet indomitable in spirit, fiery in his passions, sinewy, and powerful in frame, deeply versed in warlike stratagem, and accounted the best lance in all Mauritania. ...The severest loss to the Christians in this skirmish was that of Roderigo Tellez Giron, master of Calatrava; ...Ali Atar alone preserved all his fire and energy amid his reverses. He had been enraged at the defeat of the army, the loss of the king, and the ignominious flight he had been obliged to make through a country which had so often been the scene of his exploits: but to be thus impeded in his flight, and harassed and insulted by a mere handful of warriors, roused the violent passions of the old Moor to perfect frenzy. He had marked Don Alonzo de Aguilar dealing his blows, ...Ali Atar spurred his steed along the bank of the river, to come upon Don Alonzo by surprise. The back of that warrior was

on a mare that he had won that day with force and bravery from the alcaide of the Alhama; armed with all arms, he appeared handsome; he carried a pennant on one steel lance. They came to each other, and the Moor gave a great shout, saying: "Christian dog, I will pull your beard!" The Master commended himself silently to Christ. Already the Moor was weary, his horse was already jaded; the Master, who was courageous, made a very great effort, He attacked the Moor quickly, that he might cut off his head. The horse, which was a good one, he presented to the King; the head on the saddle-tree, that he (the King) might know the cause.¹²

towards him; and, collecting all his force, the Moor hurled his lance, to transfix him on the spot. The lance was not thrown with the usual accuracy of Ali Atar. It tore away a part of the cuirass of Don Alonzo, but failed to inflict a wound. ...Ali Atar was repeatedly wounded; and Don Alonzo... called upon him to surrender, "Never!" cried Ali Atar, "to a Christian dog!" The words were scarce out of his mouth when the sword of Don Alonzo clove his turbaned head, and sank deep into the brain. He fell dead without a groan. his body rolled into the Xenil nor was it ever found and recognized.¹³

The facts concerning the death of Ali Atar as given by Irving agree with those of the old ballad as far as the action goes; the Spanish writer dwells upon a description of Ali Atar and his horse, for a Moor's most precious possession was his horse. Irving's interest is in the struggle between Ali Atar and the Christian. All the old chroniclers recorded this story, and Irving found it in many of his sources. He does not mention the giving of Ali Atar's head and horse to the King in this instance, but he does use this material later when he says of a battle in which the Moors are successful, the very battle which is described in the ballad of which a

¹² Alonso de Fuentes, "Romance 1077," B.A.E., 16:96.

¹³ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

portion is given farther on in this chapter (Romance 1085):

"A few days cleared up the mystery (of the whereabouts of the gallant knights of Calatrava), and brought tidings of their steeds, led in triumph into the gates of Granada; and their bleeding heads, borne at the saddlebows of the warriors of El Zagal (Boabdil's uncle)."¹⁴

The ballad of the Moorish "holy man", Abrahen Angelí, is a favorite with the old writers. Irving uses it with practically no changes, thus showing that he is still working from his sources, not from memory or imagination. He has been careful even in the use of names; and this particular excerpt is almost a translation from the Spanish, except that he digresses to give in some detail the actual movements of the santón, his plans and their materializing. This adds the usual Irving colorization without altering the effect of the tale upon the reader.

Romance 1077

Málaga was reduced to great affliction and weariness; surrounded everywhere, she suffered very great hunger. The Cegri (member of the warlike band of Gomeres) who had her did not wish any treaty, not the Gomeres, the Moors who were defending her. Seen by the Alfaquí, who is called the Al-Hariz, together with Ali-ben-amar and the Dordux in company as its need was greater each day and there was no help, and

Excerpt from Irving:

While thus the chances of assistance from without daily decreased, famine raged in the city. The inhabitants were compelled to eat the flesh of horses, and many died of hunger. ...Many of the peaceful part of the community (Málaga), however, ventured to remonstrate, and to implore him (El Zegrí) to accept the proffered mercy. The stern Hamet silenced them with a terrific threat.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 134.

no aid awaited them, they called together the (people of the) city and with many people that there were, they spoke thus to the Cegrí, and the Alfaquí said to him: "I beg you, Hamet, Cegrí, I and this company, that you hand over this city, since it has no defense. Consider how many warriors the knife has killed; do not desire that the great hunger that they have kill all the others. Our women and children cause us very great grief, because they ask bread and are dying of hunger; and you are doing more harm to us than the Christians are doing; for they kill us by steel and you in a more bitter way. Speak, are the walls of this city stronger than are those of Ronda, which already have been handed over. Are you not stronger and do you not have more bravery than that people of Loja who humbled them selves to those sovereigns? Speak, what hope remains to you since there is so much revolt against you? Granada has lost its strength, the captains their pride, its people are not as they used to be since the king failed them. Leave vain hopes which do little for the matter." The Cegrí, very obstinate, answered with anger: "By no means would I hand over the city; you may know it as a certainty that I would die first." The Moors, very weary, wrote some letters to the king concerning another agreement; they asked only liberty; but this agreement the king did not concede to them, although the hunger that the city was suffering was made public. One Abrahén Angelí, who called himself a holy man, considered the

"Why," said they (the alfaquíes) "continue these brawls between brethren and kindred? What blushes and conceals his scars? Behold the Christians ravaging the land won by the valor and blood of your forefathers, dwelling in the houses they have built, sitting under the trees they have planted, while your brethren wander about, homeless and desolate. Do you wish to seek your real foe? He is encamped on the mountain of Bentomiz. Do you want a field for the display of your valour? You will find it before the walls of Vélez Málaga." ...There lived at this time in a hamlet in the neighborhood of Guadix, an ancient Moor, of the name of Abraham Algerbi. ... (He had) for several years led the life of a santón or hermit. ... He said that Allah had sent an angel, ...revealing to him a mode of delivering Málaga from its perils. ... The Moors listened with eager credulity to his words; four hundred of them offered to follow him even to the death, ...They traversed the kingdom by the wild and lonely passes of the mountains, concealing themselves in the day, and traveling only in the night, to elude the Christian scouts. At length they arrived at the mountains which tower above Málaga; ...It was just at the grey of the dawning, when objects are obscurely visible, that they made this desperate attempt. Some sprang suddenly upon the sentinels; others rushed into the sea, and got round the works: others clambered

the removal of the blockade in which Malaga had (found) herself. He gathered together four hundred Moors with this which he told them. They went secretly to Málaga, hiding by day, and early one morning, and when dawn had scarcely come, on the side of the sea they attacked the encampment in order to enter by way of the camps that were on that side; and finally, leaping through them, struggling wondrously, two hundred of them entered the city by persistence, and the others were killed by the people that came to meet them. Upon this, the Moorish holy man, in order to do what he wished, left the battle and sank to his knees, his hands both raised, as though he were praying, and in this way he was made prisoner: he told them all that he was a Moorish holy man, and that he knew at what time the taking of the city would take place, and that he would tell the king alone and no other. He ordered (them) to take him to the king to see what he would say; but arrived at his tent, they found that the king was sleeping, and they took him to another tent, in which resided the new Marquis de Moya and his wife Bobadilla; the illustrious Portuguese was called Don Alvaro. The Moor, entering the tent, as he knew no one, thought Don Alvaro was the king, whom he wished to see, and the Marquesa the queen, for she was very richly dressed. Very cunningly he took a dagger that he was carrying and gave Don Alvaro a great wound in the middle of the head with it, terribly dangerous, and he

over the breastworks. There was sharp skirmishing; a great part of the Moors were cut to pieces, but about two hundred succeeded in getting into the gates of Malaga. The santón took no part in the conflict, nor did he endeavor to enter the city. His plans were of a different nature. Drawing apart from the battle, he threw himself on his knees, on a rising ground, and, lifting his hands to Heaven, appeared to be absorbed in prayer. The Christians, as they were searching for fugitives in the clefts of the rocks, found him at his devotions. He stirred not at their approach, but remained fixed as a statue, without changing colour or moving a muscle. Filled with surprise, not unmixed with awe, they took him to the Marquis of Cadiz. On being examined, he gave himself out as a saint, to whom Allah had revealed the events that were to take place in that siege. ...but he was forbidden to reveal these important secrets, except to the king and queen. ...The king, having dined, was taking his siesta, or afternoon's sleep, in his tent; ...He (the santón) was taken therefore, to an adjoining tent, in which were Dona Beatriz de Bobadilla, Marchioness of Moya, and Don Alvaro of Portugal, ... with two or three attendants. ...The Moor, ignorant of the Spanish tongue, had not understood the conversation of the guards, and supposed, from the magnificence of the furniture and the silken

launched others as he could toward the Marquesa; but soon the people who brought him killed him.¹⁵

hangings, that this was the royal tent. From the respect paid by the attendants to Don Alvaro and the marchioness, he concluded that they were the king and queen. ... The Moor unfolded his albornoz (Moorish garment) so as to grasp a cimenter, which he wore concealed beneath; then, ...he drew his weapon, and gave Don Alvaro a blow on the head, that struck him to the earth and nearly deprived him of life. Turning upon the Marchioness, he then made a violent blow at her, ... Immediately the guards who had conducted him from the Marquiz of Cadiz fell upon him and cut him to pieces.¹⁶

This particular ballad has qualities which Irving loved--action, the call of battle, the struggle of ancient foes. He is careful now to give the exact number of Moors who went to the fray, the number who succeeded in entering the encampment.

In Juan de Timoneda's collection of ballads there appears one which describes a party of Moorish noblemen going out to recover the city of Jaen. Irving, of course, is writing The Conquest of Granada from the point of view of the Spaniards; therefore, the victorious armies and bravely marching warriors of whom he writes are almost invariably the Spanish. The following passages from various ballads show that the material he uses is right there in the old writings. The "vaunting

¹⁵ Alonso de Fuentes, "Romance 1077," B.A.E., 16:96.

¹⁶ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 199, 208-211.

trumpet and fluttering banner," the "sumptuous caparison," and other things which have been called tedious were put into the records in the sixteenth century.¹⁷

Romance 1048 (in part)

Now the three hundred young noblemen, youths ambitious for fame, are leaving Jaen, but most enamored for love of their ladies they all go, bound by oath to go as far as Granada and to traverse all the country for them, and not return without bringing some Moor as a gift. One Monday morning, they all depart very sprightly, with lances and shields richly adorned. All wear gold and silk, all gilded daggers. They have spirited horses, with festive trappings! The harnesses are blue, adorned with silver and gold. The reins are ribbons which their ladies have given them. ...¹⁸

Excerpt from Irving:

He (Don Inigo Lopez de Mendoza) brought with him five hundred men-at-arms of his household, equipped and mounted "à la ginetà" and "à la guisa". The cavaliers who attended him were both magnificently armed and dressed. The housings of fifty of his horses were of rich cloth embroidered with gold and others were of brocade. The sumpter mules had housings of the same, with halters of silk; ...they passed through the streets of Cordova at night, in splendid cavalcade, with great numbers of lighted torches, the rays of which falling upon polished armour, and nodding plumes, and silken scarfs, and trappings of golden embroidery, filled all beholders with admiration.¹⁹

Romance 1046 (in part)

...Through that gate of Elvira departs a very great cavalcade:

How many noble Moors!
How many bay mares!
How many lances held straight!

Irving's description of King Ferdinand:

The king now appeared, in royal state, mounted on a superb chestnut horse, and attended by many grandees of Castile. He wore a jubon or

¹⁷ Stanley T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, I:345.

¹⁸ Juan de Timoneda, "Romance 1048", B.A.E., 16:84.

¹⁹ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 139-140.

How many white shields!
 How many green Moorish gowns!
 How many scarlet garments!
 How many plumes and what gentility!
 How many cloaks of scarlet!
 How many light-colored shoes!
 How many knots embellish them!
 How many spurs of gold!
 How many stirrups of silver!
 All are valiant men and expert
 in battle. ...²⁰

Romance 1085 (in part)

Rio-Verde, Rio-Verde! How many bodies of Christians and Moors, killed by the harsh sword, are bathed in thee! And thy crystalline waves are bedecked with red blood, for between Moors and Christians a very great battle has been begun. Dukes and counts, great gentlemen of promise have died, people of worth, of the nobility of Spain, have died. ...²²

Romance 1064

The Moorish king passed through the city of Granada, from the gate of Elvira as far as that of Vivarambla.
 "Alas, my Alhama!"
 Letters had come to him (saying) that Alhama was conquered: he threw the letters into the fire and killed the messenger.

close vest of crimson cloth, with cuisses or short skirts of yellow satin; a loose cassock of brocade, a rich Moorish cimeter, and a hat with plumes, The grandees who attended him were arrayed with wonderful magnificence, each according to his tastes and invention.²¹

Excerpt from Irving:

A deep ravine...surrounded three parts of the city; through this flowed the Rio Verde.... Hamet (El Zagal) made repeated assaults upon the Christians.... All his attempts ...were fruitless. Many of his bravest men were slain. ...They (the Christians) made a confused but valiant defence.... Their defence was useless; seventy-nine were slain, the remaining eleven were taken prisoners.²³

Excerpts from Irving:

A Moorish horseman had spurred across the vega, nor did he rein his panting steed until he alighted at the gate of the Alhambra. ...Muley Aben Hassan felt for a moment as if swift retribution had come upon him for the woes he had inflicted upon Zahara. ...He ordered out, therefore, a thousand of

²⁰ Ginés Pérez de Hita, "Romance 1046", B.A.E., 16:84.

²¹ Washington Irving, op. cit., p. 157.

²² Ginés Pérez de Hita, "Romance 1085", B.A.E., 16:100.

²³ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 116, 118, 122, 123.

"Alas, my Alhama!"

He dismounted from a mule and mounted a horse; through the upper Zacatin he went up to the Alhambra.

"Alas, my Alhama!"

As soon as he was in the Alhambra he ordered at that very moment that his trumpets, his silver Moorish pipes be sounded.

"Alas, my Alhama!"

And (he ordered) that the drums of war sound quickly the call to arms, in order that his Moors, those of the Vega and Granada, might hear them.

"Alas, my Alhama!"

The Moors who heard the sound that calls bloody Mars, one by one and two by two, have united in great battle.

"Alas, my Alhama!"

An old Moor spoke there, in this manner he spoke: "Why do you call us, King! For what is this call?"

"Alas, my Alhama!"

You must learn, friends, of a new misfortune: for Christians of ferocity have won Alhama from us.

"Alas, my Alhama!"

An alfaqui with rough, gray beard spoke there: "It serves you right, good King, good King, it has served you right."

"Alas, my Alhama!"

You killed the Abencerrajes, who were the flower of Granada; you seized the deserters from Cordoba, the illustrious!"

"Alas, my Alhama!"

his chosen cavalry, and sent them in all speed to the assistance of Alhama. ...The Moorish horsemen turned the reins of their steeds and galloped back for Granada. They entered its gates in tumultuous confusion, spreading terror and lamentation by their tidings. "Alhama is fallen! Alhama is fallen!" exclaimed they. ... "Woe is me, Alhama!" was in every mouth, and this ejaculation of deep sorrow and doleful foreboding came to be the burden of a plaintive ballad, which remains to the present day. ... "Upon thy head, and upon the heads of thy posterity, to the end of the world, rest the sin of the desolation of Zahara!"²⁴

(In a chapter which Irving calls "Lamentations of the Moors for the battle of Lucena," he makes use of this same theme.)

...The anguish of their hearts prevailed, and turned their songs to lamentations. "Beautiful Granada!" they exclaimed, "How is thy glory faded! The vivarrambla no longer echoes to the tramp of steed, and sound of trumpet: ...Alas! the flower of chivalry lies low in a foreign land! Behold, the Alhambra is forlorn and desolate!"²⁵

²⁴ Washington Irving, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

²⁵ Washington Irving, op. cit., p. 73.

For this you deserve, King,
 a punishment many times
 doubled; for you ruined your-
 self and the kingdom, and
 here is Granada lost.

"Alas, my Alhama!"²⁶

The refrain of this ballad, "¡Ay de mí Alhama!" has been incorrectly translated as "Woe is me, Alhama!" Irving has translated it thus, but in a footnote he gives the reader the proper information that the ballad is supposed to be of Moorish origin and to embody the grief of the people of Granada upon the taking of Alhama.²⁷ This explanation is correct according to the Spanish original, though for many years the translation "Woe is me, Alhama!" has been accepted without question.

The last excerpts from Irving show that he used material more than once. This cannot be considered as tiresome repetition, however, because he does so in order to emphasize a particular point, to make vivid an incident or setting, or to heighten the emotional effect.

It may be well here to quote the most colorful description of a Moorish army. Irving turned the ballads into Spanish, rather than Moorish, pictures, as shown by the passages given in this chapter; however, he tells of Boabdil's departure from Granada before the battle of Lucena in this way:

²⁶ Ginés Pérez de Hita, "Romance 1064", B.A.E., 16:90.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 21, n.

He (Boabdil El Chico) assembled a force of nine thousand foot and seven thousand horse, most of them his own adherents, but many the partisans of his father; ...Many of the most illustrious and valiant of the Moorish nobility assembled around his standard, magnificently arrayed, in sumptuous armour and rich embroidery, as though they were going to a festival, or a tilt of reeds, rather than an enterprise of iron war.²⁸

The tone of this passage differs greatly from that of the descriptions of the Spanish warriors.

The ballads opened to Irving a store of colorful material, the very kind he needed for the embellishment which he believed proper and essential for a mediaeval historical romance. Evidently he realized their value, for he uses them freely throughout the Granada. The fact that we can trace them there is another proof that he was using the sources which were available to him.

²⁸ Washington Irving, The Conquest of Granada, p. 60.

CHAPTER V

The specific problem of this paper is the ascertaining of how closely Washington Irving adhered to his sources in writing The Conquest of Granada. In the introduction we have noted that Stanley T. Williams and Joaquín Torres Asensio condemned him for taking liberties with history, for mixing fact and fancy, for "juggling some of the legends so discreetly that Prescott and Bancroft respected parts of the book as history."¹

John G. Lockhart, reading the manuscript for John Murray, the publisher, had nearly damned it when he said:

My impression is that, with much elegance, there is mixed a good deal of affectation-- I must add, of feebleness. He is not the man to paint tumultuous war, in the lifetime of Scott, when Byron is fresh. Southey's "Cid" is worth ten of this in every way. ... Surely the Laureate's name is at least equal to Irving's, and what name equal to the "Cid's" can be found in the "Wars of Granada"? (Lockhart to John Murray, Samuel Smiles, A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the Late John Murray ..., London, 1896, II, 258.)²

Williams, Lockhart, and others who have criticized the book must have done so after comparing it with similar works in English-- translations, adaptations, or works of pure fic-

¹ S.T. Williams, The Life and Letters of Washington Irving, II:310.

² Ibid., II:311.

tion-- although Lockhart himself has given the English language translations of many old Spanish ballads. His criticism that there is no name in the Granada which is equal to the "Cid's" seems irrelevant; there was only one "Cid", and Irving has not chosen to write of him. One might as well ask why Lockhart himself did not write about him.

The complaints of such critics suggest the fact that they have not considered the Granada from the point of view of the Spanish historians from whose works Irving took the main thread, the warp, of his story. Irving steeped himself in the language before he attempted to do any translation or other writing based on Spanish works. He began his study of Spanish before he ever visited the country; and he continued that study for many years, until he could speak Spanish fluently and could read in the original all works, both ancient and modern. The examination of the excerpts given in the preceding chapters shows that he has given his picture of the Moorish wars in the same spirit in which the sixteenth-century historians recorded it.

In explaining his colorization of material with which he worked, he writes on December 11, 1824, in a letter to Henry Brevoort, "For my part, I consider a story as a frame on which to stretch my materials. It is the play of thought, and sentiment, and language; the weaving in of characters, lightly, yet expressively delineated; and the half-concealed vein of

humor that is often playing through the whole."³ It has been noted in the introduction that he himself did not consider the Granada an historical production, but rather a lively picture of the war, a picture characteristic of the times.

A great deal of the criticism of the book has been made because of Irving's use of the fictitious Fray Antonio Agapida. This character is a necessity, according to Irving's point of view. Over and over again he found in the old histories statements such as: "At this time when the Moors had most need of concord, God permitted that their strength be lessened by discord (among themselves) in order that the Catholic Sovereigns might have more ease in making war upon them."⁴ In order to preserve the flavor of these remarks, he is obliged to include them either as his own statements or as those of one of his characters. He chooses to do the latter. Lafuente, the nineteenth century Spanish historian, omits all such references; however, to a man like Irving, with his feeling of dislike for many of the outward forms of religion,⁵ but with his strong sense of humor, these remarks afford the opportunity for the touch of satire which he places there. Whether he is justified in inventing Agapida is not

³ Pierre M. Irving, Life and Letters of Washington Irving, I:2.

⁴ Luis Mármol de Carvajal, "Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada," B.A.E., 21:139.

⁵ Henry A. Pochmann, Representative Selections: Washington Irving, p. lxxxv.

of importance here; it is sufficient to say that remarks similar to those of the friar are found in the old texts. Stanley T. Williams admits this when he states that "he [Irving] attributed the words of the old chroniclers to his fictitious observer, Fray Antonio Agapida."⁶

In historical recitals each observer colors his story with his personal inferences and reactions. This is as true today as it was in the days of Mármol Carvajal, Hurtado de Mendoza, and Pérez de Hita. The endless quarrels among school authorities concerning the relative value of textbooks of history show that this difference of opinion, this stress upon personal likes and dislikes, still exists.

In spite of the fact that the authenticity of The Conquest of Granada has often been criticized, it is interesting to note in its favor that the well-known Spanish writer, José Zorrilla y Moral, author of Granada, poema oriental, was influenced by Irving's work; he accepted and used bits of historical information from it.⁷

When he was writing the Granada, Irving put himself in spirit back into the fifteenth century and tried to give authentically a moving picture of the wars.⁸ He was already a superficial romantic, a lover of the grace and even splendor of

⁶ S.T. Williams, The Life of Washington Irving, II:310.

⁷ Ibid., II:313.

⁸ Ibid., I:180.

old traditions and old ways.⁹ With all this, he never attempted to philosophize concerning the way of life of the people of whom he wrote. His object was to tell a story; he did that, nothing more.

Stanley T. Williams makes the following comparison of Irving and Scott:

Both loved the secular past, that extraordinary society of the middle ages, which both fashioned into an archivalric world that never had an actual being. Each had his "own romantic town"; each his antiquarian enthusiasms; each owned freely a childlike love of the mysterious-terrible; and both grew weary when this past threatened to entangle them in the metaphysical, the mystical, or those deeper and more dangerous elements which at once ennoble and intellectualize romanticism. Both, in a word, in their love of the past, were external.¹⁰

As far as the love of the past is concerned, that is true.

Mr. Williams says further in regard to Irving:

In all his anguished speculations Irving never crossed the boundaries of this planet. Religion, philosophy, and a definition of this weary, unintelligible life were not for him. In faith an unaggressive deist, incurious regarding the moral order, his decisions concerning the conduct of life lack the dignity of a subversive spiritual experience. Nowhere in Irving's notebooks occur revelations of essential questioning, such as exist, for example, in Emerson's poem, "Grace."¹¹

⁹ Ibid., I:178.

¹⁰ Ibid., I:160.

¹¹ Ibid., I:154.

Thus we see that it was Irving's joy in living in the past, not any intention to tie up the past with the present or to philosophize about anything, which led to his writing the book.

Lafuente has summed up Irving's work in this footnote in one of the volumes of his history of Spain:

The erudite Anglo-American Washington Irving in the Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada has embellished the relating of the important events of this period, giving it a certain epic form, or that which foreigners call "romance"; but as one eminent writer says, "doing justice to the brilliance of his descriptions and to his dramatic ability, one does not know in what class or category to place his book since for romance there is too much reality in it, and for a chronicle there is not enough".¹²

The acceptance of this statement depends upon the ascertaining of the truth of there being not enough reality. Who is to judge that? He has followed in the footsteps of his sources quite literally and has attempted honestly to give the world a true picture of the wars with Granada.

As a final means of comparison, there is included in this chapter a list of the contents of the nine chapters of Mármol Carvajal's work which are concerned with these wars; beside them are notations upon the contents of Irving's one hundred chapters. It will suffice to consider only one Spanish historian in this way, for it has been pointed out that all agree

¹² Modesto Lafuente, La Historia de España, 7:23.

in the main recital of the wars. The result of this comparison is proof that Irving did not invent the incidents or the characters in his Granada, with the one exception of Fray Antonio Agapida; and, though this character is fictitious, he has a proper place in the recital because he is used to set forth the pious statements which were made by the sixteenth-century historians themselves, but which would not have been accepted from a nineteenth-century writer. The embellishment for which Irving has been criticized can easily be traced in many ballads and other sources besides those given here. Irving read avidly upon the subject and then combined in his tale the elements which appealed to him.

A comparison of the material treated in the various chapters of Marmol and Irving reveals the following points:

MÁRMOL	IRVING
Chap.	Chap.
I-XI. Origin of Granada and events leading up to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella	I-II. Origin of Granada and events leading to wars
XII. Siege of Zara Siege of Alhama Aben Hascen's family Battle of Lucena Siege of Ronda Attempt of El Zagal to surprise Boabdil in Almería	III-XLIV. Material covered by Marmol in Chapter XII
XIII-XIV. Siege of Vélez-Málaga	XLV-LXIV. Siege of Velez-Málaga
XV-XVII. Events in Guadix, Baza, Murcia	LXX-LXXXI. Guadix, Baza

	LXXXII-XCIV. Preparations by Ferdinand for taking of Granada
XVIII. Events near Granada
Building of the city of Santa Fe	XCV-XCVI. Events near Granada
Building of the city of Santa Fe
XIX. Terms of capitulation	XCVII. (Less than one page of this chapter is devoted to the terms)
XX. Surrender of Granada ¹³	XCVIII-C. Surrender of Granada ¹⁴

The Granada retained its popularity for some years, and many writers and critics spoke well of it.

The reasons for the enduring reputation of The Conquest of Granada are clear; it was a substantial addition to the scanty literature on a unique native subject. It remains to account for even the temporary success of this tinsel book in England and America. The answer may be found not only in the immense interest in 1829 in Spanish history (See Monthly Review, July, 1829) but, more particularly, in the scarcity of English books on this picturesque theme. Disingenuous as it was, The Conquest of Granada became an important version for nineteenth-century Englishmen and Americans, of the civil wars of Granada. ("Though this memorable war had often been made the subject of romantic fiction ...yet it had never been fully and distinctly treated. The world at large had been content to receive a strangely perverted idea of it, through Florian's romance of 'Gonsalve de Cordova'; or through the legend, equally fabulous, entitled 'The Civil Wars of Granada', by Perez de Hita." Museum, September, 1830, p. 254.) The acute Lock-

¹³ Luis de Mármol Carvajal, "Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos de Granada," B.A.E., 16:139-151.

¹⁴ Washington Irving, The Conquest of Granada, pp. 1-346.

hart, after weighing its faults, finally recommended publication for, said he, "this will be the only complete intelligible history of the downfall of the last Moorish power in Europe; and therefore, and, I doubt not, a standard work." J.G. Lockhart to John Murray (1827), Smiles, op. cit., II, 258.

And Prescott, whose own labors were to supplant it, was constrained to admit its immediate power. It did, he thought, have the gift of 'unfolding a series of events, so as to maintain a lively interest in the reader; and (it had) a lactea ubertas of expression which can impart a living eloquence even to the most commonplace sentiments. ...His judgment was sound. For several decades The Conquest of Granada retained a place in what Prescott called 'the class of narrative history.' 15

Although this is doubtful commendation on the part of the biographer, it does prove that Irving had written in a field which had long been neglected and that he had brought it to the attention of other writers who were, perhaps, better equipped to work in it. Of course we must admit that it was brought to Irving's attention only by the records with which he was working when he undertook to translate a book written by Martín Fernández de Navarrete, Spanish historian, concerning the voyages and discoveries made by the Spaniards during the fifteenth century.¹⁶ Irving did grasp the importance and the appeal of the accounts of the wars of Granada, and he set to work as soon as possible to write out the one hundred chapters for which he had found titles while he was working with

¹⁵ S.T. Williams, op. cit., II:313-314.

¹⁶ S.T. Williams, op. cit., I:303.

Navarrete's papers.

The reference made to the fabulous legends of Pérez de Hita is unfortunate because Irving very carefully stated that he put nothing of love or gallantry into his version, although he realized that the subject had long been a "fertile theme for tales of romance and chivalry."¹⁷

Specifically, Irving has been accused of tiresome repetition in battles and sieges,¹⁸ of inventing situations, of being an idle humorist,¹⁹ of writing flamboyant prose,²⁰ of giving over-embellished and exaggerated descriptions. The excerpts given as illustrations show conclusively that he found the "endless sallies, rescues, and combats", and the "Vaunting trumpet and fluttering banner" in the Spanish sources. The sieges of Alhama, Lucena, Vélez-Málaga, and Granada are filled with similar phraseology in both the Spanish and English versions. "The bray of trumpet and the neighing of steed" and the "sumptuous caparison" appear repeatedly in the ballads, giving to the battles the spirit of animation which is lacking in the prosaic recitals of some of the historians.

The passages which are given in this article have been chosen in the belief that they show clearly the truth of

¹⁷ P.M. Irving, op. cit., II:111.

¹⁸ S.T. Williams, op. cit., I:345.

¹⁹ Charles D. Warner, Washington Irving, p. 142.

²⁰ S.T. Williams, op. cit., II:310.

the contention of the writer, that Irving does follow closely the Spanish sources. In writing of each battle, in relating each incident, he has put himself into the setting of his tale and has added to the historical facts only what he believes would occur under the given circumstances. This imaginative coloring makes the Granada valuable as an historical romance.

One must keep in mind the fact that Irving did not offer his book to the public as a work of history; his publisher, John Murray, was responsible for any misleading statements concerning its being an historical work. Irving's purpose was to write a tale which would give the events of the wars with a "romantic air;" he realized that not all his sources could be considered authentic, for he said, "(It) has the advantage of containing the striking facts and achievements, true or false, of them all."²¹ He did what he set out to do; the readers and critics who have criticized the work adversely have evidently judged it from what they thought he should have written, not what he wished to write.

²¹ P.M. Irving, op. cit., II:129.

APPENDIX

The various passages chosen for translation are given as they appear in the volumes of La Biblioteca de autores españoles. The footnote and page numbers refer to the position of the excerpts in this article. Information on titles and authors is given in the footnotes.

⁶ pp. 17-18.

Era Abil Hascen hombre viejo y enfermo, y tan sujeto á los amores de una renegada que tenia por mujer, llamada la Zoraya (no porque fuese este su nombre propio, sino por ser muy hermosa, la comparaban á la estrella del alba, que llaman Zoraya), que por amor della habia repudiado á la Ayxa, su mujer principal, que era su prima hermana, y con grandísima crueldad hecho degollar algunos de sus hijos sobre una pila de alabastro, que se ve hoy día en los alcázares de la Alhambra en una sala del cuarto de los Leones, y esto á fin de que quedase el reino á los hijos de la Zoraya. Mas la Ayxa, temiendo que no le matase el hijo mayor, llamado Abí Abdilehi ó Abí Abdala, que todo es uno, se lo habia quitado de delante, descolgándole secretamente de parte de noche por una ventana de la torre de Comáres con una sogá hecha de los almaizares y tocas de sus mujeres; y unos caballeros llamados los Abencerrajes habian llevádole á la ciudad de Guadix, queriendo favorecerle, porque estaba mal con el Rey á causa de haberles muerto ciertos hermanos y parientes, so color de que uno dellos con favor de los otros habia habido una hermana suya doncella dentro de su palacio; mas lo cierto era que los queria mal porque eran de parte de Ayxa, y por esto se temia dellos. Estas cosas fueron causa de que toda la gente principal del reino aborreciesen á Abil Hascen, y contra su voluntad trajeron de Guadix á Abí Abdilehi, su hijo, y estando un día en los Alijares, le metieron en la Alhambra y le saludaron por rey; y cuando el viejo vino del campo no le quisieron acoger dentro, llamándole cruel, que habia muerto sus hijos y la nobleza de los caballeros de Granada. El cual se fué huyendo con poca gente al valle de Lecrin, y se metió en la fortaleza de Mondújar; y favoreciéndose del valeroso esfuerzo de un hermano que tenia, llamado tambien Abí Abdeli, ó Abdilehi, guerreó cruelísimamente con su hijo.

⁸ pp. 19-21.

Siendo pues rey de Granada un valeroso pagano del linaje de los Alahamares llamado Abil Hascen, cerca de los años de Cristo 1480, y del imperio de los alárabes 892, en la ocasión de la guerra que los Reyes Católicos tenían con el rey de Portugal, juntó sus gentes, y hizo grandes daños en los lugares de la Andalucía y del reino de Murcia. Y como no pudiesen acudir á todas partes, hicieron treguas con él (Muley), durante las cuales, en el año de nuestra salud 1482, siendo el moro avisado por sus espías que los cristianos fronteros de Zara, confiados en la tregua, estaban descuidados, y que era buena coyuntura para ocupar aquella fortaleza, rompió la tregua, y juntando sus adalides y escuchas, secretamente les mandó que fuesen á escalarla una noche de grande escuridad. Sucediendo pues el efeto conforme á su deseo, entraron los adalides dentro, y ocupando la fortaleza juntamente con la villa, mataron al alcaide y capturaron cuantos cristianos hallaron con muy pequeña resistencia. Esta pérdida sintieron mucho los Reyes Católicos; y porque el daño no fuese mayor, acudieron luego hacia aquella parte, proveyendo en la seguridad de sus estados; y poniendo después sus invictos ánimos contra los de aquella nación, que tan molestos eran al pueblo cristiano, determinaron de no alzar mano de la guerra hasta acabarlos de conquistar, desterrando el nombre y seta de Mahoma de aquella tierra. En el mesmo año que los moros tomaron á Zara, el marqués de Cádiz don Pedro Ponce Leon, y Diego de Merlo, asistente de Sevilla, y los alcaides de Antequera y Archidona y otros caudillos cristianos de la frontera fueron sobre la ciudad de Alhama, y por industria de un escudero morisco llamado Juan de Baena la escaló un Ortega escalador, y la entraron y ganaron por fuerza postrero día del mes de hebrero. Por otra parte el rey moro junto toda su gente, creyendo poderla cobrar luego, y á 11 días del mes de julio de aquel año peleó con los cristianos que iban á socorrerla. Y siendo los nuestros vencidos, murieron en la pelea don Rodrigo Giron, hijo de don Diego de Castilla, alcaide de Cazalla, que después fué comendador mayor de Calatrava, y otros caballeros. Mas no por eso el moro hizo el efeto á que ába, porque los cristianos que estaban dentro se defendieron, y el rey don Hernando los socorrió; y siguiendo al enemigo la vuelta de Granada, entró en la Vega, y taló y destruyó los sembrados y las huertas dos veces aquel año, y ganó la villa de Tájora y la asoló, ...En este tiempo pues que los moros tenían mas necesidad de conformidad, permitió Dios que sus fuerzas se disminuyesen con division, para que los Católicos Reyes tuviesen mas comodidad en hacerles guerra.

¹³ pp. 22-27.

Estando pues las cosas en este estado, por el mes de marzo del año del Señor 1483 y del imperio de los alárabes 895, el marqués de Cádiz y de don Alonso de Cárdenas, maestre de Santiago, y otros muchos caballeros entraron con sus gentes á

correr el término de la ciudad de Málaga, que cae á la parte de levante, donde llaman la Jarquía; y recogióse los moros de aquellos lugares, que son muchos, cuando ya volvian con gran presa, dieron en ellos y los desbarataron, y mataron á don Diego, don Lope y don Beltran, hermanos del Marqués, y á don Lorenzo y don Manuel, sus sobrinos, y con ellos otros muchos parientes y criados suyos; y prendieron al conde de Cifuentes y á don Pedro de Silva, su hermano, y á otros muchos caballeros. Esta fué la batalla que dicen de las lomas de Cútar, la cual fué á 21 de marzo, viérnes por la mañana; y en ella fueron muertos y presos la mayor parte de los cristianos que allí se hallaron. Con esta victoria se ensoberbeció tanto el nuevo rey Abí Abdilehi, que determinó de hacer una entrada por su persona en los lugares de la Andalucía, pareciéndole que toda aquella tierra estaria sin defensa, por la mucha gente que se habia perdido en la Jarquía; y juntando el mayor número de caballos y de peones que pudo, llevando consigo al Alatar, alcaide de Loja, y muchos caballeros de Granada, fué á poner su real sobre Lucena, villa del alcaide de los Donceles. Contáronnos algunos moros antiguos que saliendo el rey de Granada por la puerta Elvira, topó el hasta del estandarte que llevaba delante en el arco de la puerta y se quebró, y que los agoreros le dijeron que no fuese mas adelante, sino que se volviese, porque le sucederia muy mal; y que llegando á la rambla de Beiro, como un tiro de ballesta de la ciudad, atravesó una zorra por medio de toda la gente, y casi por junto al propio Rey, y se les fué sin que la pudiesen matar; lo cual tuvieron por tan mal agüero, que muchos moros de los principales se quisieron volver á la ciudad, diciendo que habia se ser su perdicion aquella jornada; mas el Rey no quiso dejar de proseguir su camino, y llegando á Lucena, hizo talar los panes, viñas y huertas de la comarca, y robar toda la tierra. Estaba á la sazón en la villa de Baena el conde de Cabra, y sabiendo la entrada del enemigo y el daño que hacia, recogí a gran priesa la mas gente que pudo y caminó con ella la vuelta de Lucena para juntarse con el alcaide de los Donceles; lo cual sabido por el rey moro, alzó su real, y con gran presa de captivos y de ganados se fué retirando la vuelta de Loja; y los cristianos, con mas ánimo que fuerzas, porque eran muy pocos en comparacion de los enemigos, siguieron luego al alcance, y en descubriéndolos, los acometieron en un arroyo que llaman de Martin Gonzalez, legua y media de Lucena, por el mes de abril deste año; y siendo Dios servido darles victoria, prendieron al rey Abí Abdilehi, y matando al alcaide Alatar y otros muchos caballeros moros, cobraron la presa que llevaban, y cargados de despojos, con nueve banderas que ganaron aquel día, volvieron alegres y victoriosos á sus villas. No fué de poco momento la prision del rey moro para la conquista de aquel reino, porque estando las cosas de los moros turbadas, entró el rey don Hernando aquel año con su ejército en la vega de Granada, y haciendo

grandes talas en los sembrados, huertas y viñas y en los términos de las villas de Íllora y Montefrío, cercó la villa de Tájora, que los moros habían vuelto á fortalecer, y la combatió y ganó por fuerza; y haciéndola destruir y asolar otra vez, volvió á invernar á Córdoba. Nació una competencia honrosa entre el conde de Cabra y el alcaide de los Donceles sobre á cuál dellos pertenecía el prisionero rey; y los Reyes Católicos, gratificándoles cumplida y graciosamente aquel servicio, mandaron que se lo llevasen á Córdoba; los cuales lo hicieron así. Y estando en aquella ciudad, trató el moro con ellos por medio de algunos caballeros que si le ponían en libertad sería su vasallo y les pagaría tributo en cada un año, y haría en su nombre guerra á los otros moros que no lo quisiesen ser. Sobre esto hubo diversos pareceres entre los consejeros, y al fin se tuvo por buen consejo hacer lo que el moro pedía, considerando que mientras hubiese dos reyes enemigos en el reino de Granada tendrían los cristianos mejor disposición de hacerles guerra; y no solamente le concedieron los Reyes Católicos lo que pedía, mas ofreciéronle que le favorecerían para que guerrease con su padre y con los pueblos que durante su prision se le hubiesen rebelado; y dándole libertad, le enviaron á su tierra. Llegado pues el moro á Granada, no fué tan bien recibido de los ciudadanos como se pensaba; porque cuando supieron las capitulaciones que dejaba hechas con los reyes cristianos, y que había de ser su vasallo, los propios que habían puéstole en el reino fueron los primeros que se alzaron contra él, y favoreciendo la parte de Abí Abdilehí, su tío, que tenía el bando del rey viejo, determinaron de hacer nueva guerra á los cristianos. ...Los granadinos pues juntaron luego quince alcaldes de los mas principales de aquel reino, y con gran número de caballos y peones entraron por las fronteras de la Andalucía, diciendo que su rey estando en prision no los podía obligar á paz ni á otro ningún género de condicion; mas no les sucedió la empresa como pensaban, por que Luis Hernandez Puertocarrero, señor de Palma, les salió al encuentro con la gente de la frontera y los venció, y matando y prendiendo gran número de moros, y entre ellos los alcaldes mas principales, les ganó quince banderas. También alcanzó parte del despojo desta victoria el marqués de Cádiz, el cual, yendo en busca de los enemigos, encontró con los que huían del desbarate, y prendiendo y matando muchos dellos, pasó sobre la villa de Zara y la escaló y tomó por fuerza de armas; y matando al Alcaide y á los que con él estaban, la fortaleció y pobló de cristianos. Todos estos sucesos eran causa de que el aborrecimiento de los granadinos creciese contra el Zogoybi, el cual no se teniendo por seguro en la ciudad, tomó sus mujeres y hijos y se fué á meter en Almería. Viendo esto los granadinos, enviaron luego por Abil Hascen, que estaba en Mondújar, y recibéndole otra vez por rey, comenzó una cruel guerra entre padre y hijo.

18 pp. 31-35.

Llegado el día señalado en que el rey moro había de entregar las fortalezas de la ciudad de Granada á los Reyes Católicos, que fué á 2 días del mes de enero del año de nuestra salvacion 1492, y del imperio de los alárabes 902, y de la era de César 1533, conforme á la computacion árabe, que cuentan cuarenta y un años desde la era de César hasta el nacimiento de Cristo, el cardenal don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, arzobispo de Toledo, fué á tomar posesion dellas, acompañado de muchos caballeros y de un suficiente número de infantería debajo de sus banderas. Y porque, conforme á las capitulaciones, no había de entrar por las calles de la ciudad, tomó un nuevo camino, que ocho días antes se había mandado hacer, á manera de carril, para poder llevar las carretas de la artillería; el cual iba por defuera de los muros á dar al lugar donde está la ermita de San Anton, y por delante de la puerta de los Molinos al cerro de los Mártires y á la Alhambra. Partido el Cardenal con la gente que había de ocupar las fortalezas, luego partieron los Reyes Católicos de su real de Santa Fe con todo el ejército puesto en ordenanza, y caminando poco á poco por aquella espaciosa y fértil vega, pasaron á un lugar pequeño, llamado Armilla, que está media legua de Granada, donde paró la Reina con todas las ordenanzas. Llegado el Cardenal al cerro de las mazmorras de los Mártires, que los moros llaman Habul, salió á recibirle el rey Abdillehi, bajando á pie de la fortaleza de la Alhambra, dejando en ella á Jucef Aben Comiza, su alcaide; y habiendo hablado un poco en secreto con él, dijo el moro en alta voz: "Id, Señor, y ocupad los alcázares por los reyes poderosos, á quien Dios los quiere dar por su mucho merecimiento y por los pecados de los moros;" y por el mesmo camino que el Cardenal había subido fué á encontrar el rey don Hernando para darle obediencia. El Cardenal entró luego en la Alhambra, y hallando todas las puertas abiertas, el alcaide Aben Comixa se la entregó y se apoderó della, y á un mesmo tiempo ocupó las torres bermejas y una torre que estaba en la puerta de la calle de los Goméres; y mandando arbolar la cruz de plata que le traian delante, y el estandarte real sobre la torre de la campana, como sus altezas se lo habían mandado, dió señal de que las fortalezas estaban por ellos. Habíase adelantado á este tiempo el rey don Hernando, y caminaba hácia la ciudad en resguardo del Cardenal, y la reina doña Isabel estaba con toda la otra gente en el lugar de Armilla con grandísimo cuidado, porque le parecia que se tardaba en hacerle la señal; y cuando vió la cruz y el estandarte sobre la torre, hincando las rodillas en el suelo con mucha devocion, dió muchas gracias á Dios por ello, y los de su capilla comenzaron á cantar el himno de "Te Deum laudamus." ...El rey don Hernando paró sobre la ribera del rio Genil en el lugar donde agora está la ermita de San Sebastian, y allí llegó el rey moro, acompañado de algunos caballeros y criados

suyos, y así á caballo como venia, porque su alteza no consintió que se apease, llegó á él y le besó en el brazo derecho. Hecho este acto de sumision, se apartaron los reyes; el Católico se fué á la Alhambra, y el pagano la vuelta de Andarax. Algunos quieren decir que volvió primero á la ciudad y que entró en una casa donde tenia recogida su familia en la Alcazaba; mas unos moriscos muy viejos que, segun ellos decian, se hallaron presentes aquel dia, nos certificaron que no habia hecho mas de hacer reverencia al Rey Católico y caminar la vuelta de la Alpujarra, porque cuando salió de la Alhambra habia enviado su familia delante, y que en llegando á un viso que está cerca del lugar del Padul, que es de donde últimamente de descubre la ciudad, volvió á mirarla, y poniendo los ojos en aquellos ricos alcázares que dejaba perdidos, comenzó á sospirar reciamente, y dijo "Alabaquibar", que es como si dijésemos "Dominus Deus Sabaoth", poderoso Señor, Dios de las batallas; y que viéndole su madre sospirar y llorar, le dijo: "Bien haces, hijo, en llorar como mujer lo que no fuiste para defender como hombre." Despues llamaron los moros aquel viso el "Fez de Alabaquibar" en memoria deste suceso. Volviendo pues á nuestros cristianos, que caminaban la vuelta de la ciudad, el Rey y la Reina y todos los caballeros y señores subieron á la Alhambra, y á la puerta de la fortaleza les dió el alcaide Jucef Aben Comiza las llaves della, y sus altezas las mandaron dar luego á don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, conde de Tendilla, primo hermano del cardenal don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, que fué el primer alcaide y capitán general de aquel reino, cuyo valor tenían sus altezas conocido por los grandes servicios que les habia hecho, así en esta guerra siendo alcaide y capitán de la frontera de Alhama, y después en Alcalá la Real,.. Entrando pues sus altezas en la Alhambra, los capitanes de la infantería ocuparon las otras fortalezas, torres y puertas pacíficamente, sin alboroto ni escándalo. Los moros de la ciudad se encerraron en sus casas, que no pareció ninguno sino eran los que necesariamente habian de servir en alguna cosa. Luego subieron las mas principales ciudadanos á hacer reverencia y besar las manos á sus altezas, mostrando mucho contento de tenerlos por señores. Y desde á pocos dias, viendo la equidad de aquellos reyes, y que les hacian guardar cuanto les habian prometido, acudieron á hacer lo mesmo algunos lugares de la sierra y de la Alpujarra y todos los demas que hasta entonces no habian venido á darles obediencia.

⁴ p. 40.

...Tomaron los de Granada por rey á Mahamet Alhamar, que era señor de Arjona, y volvió la silla del reino de Granada, la cual fué en tanto crecimiento, que en tiempo del rey Bul-Haxix, cuando estaba en mayor prosperidad, tenia setenta mil casas, segun dicen los moros; y en alguna edad hizo tormenta,

y en muchas pudo cuidado á los reyes de Castilla. Hay fama que Bulhaxix halló el alquimia, y con el dinero della cercó el Albaicin; dividióle de la ciudad, y edificó el Alhambra, con la torre que llaman de Comáres (porque cupo a los de Comáres fundalla); aposento real y nombrado, segun su manera de edificio,...

6 pp. 40-41.

Ganaron á Granada los reyes llamados Católicos, Fernando y Isabel (1492), después de haber ellos y sus pasados sojuzgado y echado los moros de España, en guerra continua de setecientos setenta y cuatro años, y cuarenta y cuatro reyes; acabada en tiempo que vimos al rey último Boabdilí (con grande exaltacion de la fe cristiana) desposeido de su reino y ciudad, y tornado a su primera patria allende la mar. Recivieron las llaves de la ciudad en nombre de señorío, como es costumbre de España; entraron al Alhambra, donde pusieron por alcaide y capitan general á don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, conde de Tendilla, hombre de prudencia en negocios graves, de ánimo firme, asegurado con luenga experiencia de rencuentros y batallas ganadas, lugares defendidos contra moros en la misma guerra; y por prelado pusieron á fray Fernando de Talavera, religioso de la orden de San Hierónimo, cuyo ejemplo de vida y santidad España celebra, y de los que viven, algunos hay testigos de sus milagros. Diéronles compañía calificada y conveniente para funder república nueva; que habia de ser cabeza de reino, escudo y defension contra los moros de Africa, que en otros tiempos fueron sus conquistadores. Mas no bastaron estas provisiones; aunque juntas para que los moros (cuyos ánimos eran desasosegados y ofendidos) no se levantasen en el Albaicin, temiendo ser echados de la ley, como del estado, porque los reyes, queriendo que en todo el reino fuesen cristianos, enviaron á fray Francisco Jimenez, que fue arzobispo de Toledo y cardenal, para que los persuadiese; mas ellos, gente dura, pertinaz, nuevamente conquistada, estuvieron recios. Tomóse concierto que los renegados ó hijos de renegados tornasen á nuestra fé, y los demás quedasen en su ley por entonces.

5 pp. 45-46.

La ínclita y famosa ciudad de Granada fué fundada por una muy hermosa doncella, hija ó sobrina del rey Hispan. Fué su fundacion en una bella y espaciosa vega, junto de una sierra llamada Elvira, porque tomó el nombre de la fundadora infanta, la cual se llamaba Liberia, dos leguas de donde ahora está, junto de un lugar que se llamaba Arbuler, que en árabigo se decia Arbulut. Después de pasados algunos años, les pareció á los fundadores della que no estaban allí bien por ciertas causas, y fundaron la ciudad en la parte donde ahora está,

junto á Sierra-Nevada, en medio de dos hermosos rios, llamado el uno Jenil y el otro Darro, los cuales son de la nieve que se derrite en la sierra. De Darro se coge oro muy fino, de Genil plata; y no es fábula, que yo el autor desta relacion lo he visto coger. Fundóse aquí esta insigne ciudad encima de tres cerros, como hoy se parece, adonde se fundaron tres castillos: el uno está a la vista de la hermosa vega y el rio Genil, la cual vega tiene ocho leguas de largo y cuatro de ancho, y por ella atraviesan otros dos rios, aunque no muy grandes: el uno se dice Veiro y el otro Monachil. Comiénzase la vega desde la faldá de la Sierra-Nevada, y va hasta la fuente del Pino, y pasa mas adelante de un gran soto, que se llama el Soto de Roma, y esta fuerza se nombra Torres-Bermejas. Hízose allí una gran poblacion llamada el Antequeruela. La otra fuerza ó castillo está en otro cerro junto á este, un poco mas alto, la cual se llamó la Alhambra, casa muy fuerte, y aquí hicieron los reyes su casa real. La otra fuerza o castillo se hizo en otro cerro, no lejos del Alhambra, y llamóse Albaicin, donde se hizo gran poblacion. Entre el Albaicin y el Alhambra pasa por lo hondo el rio Darro, haciendo una ribera de árboles agradables.

7 pp. 46-47

Otra dia siguiente la reina doña Isabel tuvo gana de ver el sitio de Granada, y sus murallas y torres; y así, acompañada del rey y de los grandes, y gente de guerra, se fué á un lugar llamado la Zubia, que está á una legua de Granada, y de allí se puso á mirar la hermosura y amenidad de la ciudad. Miraba las torres y las fuerzas del Alhambra; miraba los labrados y costosos olivares; miraba las Torres Bermejas, la brava y soberbia Alcazaba y Albaicin, con todas las demás torres, castillos y murallas. Holgábase mucho de verlo todo la cristianísima reina, y deseaba verse dentro, y tenerla ya por suya. Mandó la reina que aquel dia no hubiese escaramuza, mas no pudo escusar; porque sabiendo que estaba allí la reina, quisieron darla pesadumbre; y así salieron de Granada mas de mil moros, y trabaron escaramuza con los cristianos, la cual se comenzó poco á poco, y se acabó muy de veras y á gran priesa, porque los cristianos les acometieron con tanta fortaleza, que los moros huyeron, y los cristianos siguieron el alcance hasta las puertas de Granada, y mataron mas de cuatrocientos dellos, y cautivaron mas de cincuenta. ...La reina se volvió al real con toda su gente muy contenta de haber visto á Granada y su asiento.

12 pp. 49-53.

En este tiempo fué cercada Velez-Málaga por el rey don Fernando, los moros de Velez enviaron á pedir socorro á los de Granada. Los alfaquíes amonestaron y requirieron al rey

viejo que fuese á favorecer á los moros de Velez. El rey cuando lo supo se turbó porque nunca imaginó que los cristianos osarian entrar tan adentro, y temióse salir de Granada, recelándose que en saliendo se alzaría su sobrino con la ciudad, y se apoderaría en el Alhambra. Los alfaquíes le daban priesa diciendo: "di, Muley, ¿de qué reino piensas ser rey, si todo lo dejas perder? Las sangrientas armas que sin piedad moveis en vuestro daño aquí en la ciudad, movedlas contra los enemigos, y no matando á los mismos naturales." Estas cosas decian los alfaquíes al rey, y predicando por las calles y plazas, que era justo y conveniente cosa que Velez-Málaga fuese socorrida. Tanta era la persuasion destos alfaquíes, que al fin se determinó de ir á socorrer á Velez-Málaga; y habiendo llegado se puso en lo alto de una sierra, dando muestra de toda su gente. Los cristianos le acometieron, y no osó aguardar, sino se volvió huyendo él y su gente, y dejaban los campos por donde pasaban poblados de muchas armas, por poder huir á la lijera. El rey se fué á Almuñécar, y de allí á la ciudad de Almería y Guadix. Todos los demás moros se tornaron á Granada, donde sabiendo los alfaquíes y caballeros lo poco que habia hecho el rey en aquella jornada, y que como cobarde habia huido, llamaron al rey Chico, y le entregaron el Alhambra, y le alzaron por su rey, á pesar de los caballeros Almoradí y Marines, y de todos los demás de su bando, que eran muchos; aunque es verdad que los de la parte del rey Chico eran mas, y todos muy principales. Habiendo entregado al rey Chico la Alhambra y todas las demás fuerzas, en las cuales puso gente de confianza, los moros le suplicaron pidiese al rey don Fernando seguro para que la Vega se sembrase; y así lo envió á suplicar, y que todos los lugares de moros que estaban fronteros de los lugares de cristianos, que le obedeciesen á él, y no á su tío, y que para ello les daría seguro de que pudiesen sembrar y tratar en Granada segura y libremente. Todo lo cual le otorgaron los Reyes Católicos por ayudarle; y así el rey cristiano escribió á los lugares de los moros que obedeciesen al rey Chico, pues era su rey natural, y no á su tío; y que él les daba seguro de no hacerles ningun mal ni daño, y que pudiesen labrar sus tierras. Los moros con este seguro lo hicieron así, y asimismo escribió el rey cristiano á todos los capitanes de las fronteras que no hiciesen mal á los moros fronterizos; lo cual cumplieron, y los moros andaban muy alegres y contentos, y dieron la obediencia al rey Chico. El rey Chico, habiendo hecho todo aquesto, y dado contento á sus ciudadanos y aldeanos, mandó cortar las cabezas á cuatro caballeros Almoradí que le habian sido muy contrarios, y con esto cesaron las sangrientas y civiles guerras por entonces. ...Estos lugares de Alpujarra se dieron á los Reyes Católicos, de lo cual les pesaba á los moros de Granada, teniendo tan gran recelo de perderse, como los demás lugares se habian perdido. Pues vengamos ahora al propósito: después de haber rendido á Velez-Málaga, los pus-

ieron en tanto aprieto, que les faltó el mantenimiento, y muchas municiones de guerra; de suerte que estaban para darse. Los moros de Guadix, sabido este negocio, lo sintieron mucho, y los alfaquiles le rogaron al rey viejo que fuese á socorrer a Málaga, como lo hizo con mucha gente. El rey Chico supo deste socorro de su tío, y mandó juntar mucha gente de á pie y de á caballo, y fué Muza por capitán dellos para que impidiese el paso, y los desbaratase; y así lo hizo, que les aguardó y salió al encuentro y trabaron una cruel batalla, en la cual fueron muertos gran parte de los de Guadix, y los demás huyeron volviéndose a su tierra admirados del valeroso Muza y de los suyos. Luego el rey Chico escribió al rey don Fernando todo lo que habia pasado con los moros de Guadix que iban al socorro de Málaga, de lo cual se alegró el Rey Católico, y se lo agradeció, y le envió un rico presente: y el rey Chico envió al rey don Fernando un presente de caballos, muy riquísimamente enjaezados, y á la reina envió paños de seda y perfumes. Los reyes cristianos escribieron á los capitanes y alcaides fronteros de Granada y sus lugares, le diesen favor al rey Chico contra su tío, y que no hiciesen mal ni daño á los moros, ni tratantes de Granada que fuesen á sembrar o á labrar sus tierras. El rey de Granada envió á decir al rey don Fernando, que tenia noticia como los moros de Málaga no tenían bastimentos; que les impidiese que por mar ni por tiebra les entrasen, y que se rendirían sin falta. Finalmente, dieron los cristianos tan gran batería á los cercados, que fué ganada Málaga y su distrito; ...

3 pp. 54-55.

¿Qué es de ti, desconsolado?
 ¿Qué es de ti, rey de Granada?
 ¿Qué es de tu tierra y tus moros?
 ¿Donde tienes tu morada?
 Reniega ya de Mahoma
 Y de tu seta malvada,
 Que vivir en tal locura
 Es una burla burlada.
 Torna, tórnate, buen Rey,
 A nuestra ley consagrada,
 Porque si perdiste el reino
 Tengas el alma cobrada.
 ¡De tales reyes vencido
 Honra debe serte dada!
 -¡Oh Granada noblecida
 Por todo el mundo nombrada,
 Hasta aquí fuiste cativa,
 Y agora ya libertad!
 Perdióte el rey don Rodrigo
 Por su dicha desdichada;
 Ganóte el rey Don Fernando

Con ventura prosperada;
 La reina Doña Isabel,
 La mas temida y amada,
 Ella con sus oraciones,
 Y él con mucha gente armada.
 Segun Dios hace sus hechos,
 La defensa era excusada;
 Que donde él pone su mano
 Lo imposible nunca es nada.

12 pp. 59-60.

De Granada parte el moro
 Que Aliatar se llamaba,
 Primo hermano de Albayaldos,
 Al qu'el Maestre matara,
 Caballero en un caballo
 Que de diez anos pasaba:
 Tres cristianos se le curan,
 El mismo le da cebada.

Una lanza con dos fierros,
 Que treinta palmos pasaba:
 Hízola aposta el moro
 Para bien señorealla;
 Una adarga ante sus pechos
 Toda nueva y cotellada,
 Una toca en su cabeza
 Que nueve vueltas la daba:
 Los cabos eran de oro,
 De oro, de seda, y de grana;
 Lleva el brazo arremangado
 So la mano alheñada.
 Tan sañudo iba el moro,
 Que bien demuestra su saña,
 Que miéntras pasa la puente
 Nunca al Darro le miraba.
 Rogando iba á Mahoma,
 A Mahoma suplicaba
 Que le muestre algun cristiano
 En qu'ensangriente su lanza
 Camino va de Antequera,
 Parecia que volaba:
 Solo va sin compañía
 Con una furiosa saña.
 Antes que llegue á Antequera
 Vido una seña cristiana,
 Vuelve riendas al caballo
 Y para ella le guiaba:
 La lanza iba blandiendo,
 Parecia que la quebraba.
 Saliósele á recibir
 El maestro de Calatrava,
 Caballero en una yegua
 Qu'ese día la ganara
 Con esfuerzo y valentía
 A ese alcaide del Alhama;
 De todas armas armado,
 Hermoso se divisaba;
 Una veleta traía
 En una lanza acerada.
 Viénense el uno al otro,
 Y el moro gran grito daba,
 Diciendo:- ¡Perro cristiano,
 Yo te prenderé la barba!
 El Maestro entre sí mismo
 A Cristo encomendaba.
 Ya andaba cansado el moro,
 Su caballo ya aflojaba;
 El Maestro, qu'es valiente,
 Muy gran esfuerzo tomaba.
 Acometió recio al moro,

La cabeza le cortara.
 El caballo, qu'era bueno,
 Al Rey se lo presentaba;
 La cabeza en el arzon
 Porque supiese la causa.

15 pp. 61-64.

Málaga está muy estrecha
 En gran quebranto y fatiga,
 Por todas partes cercada,
 Muy gran hambre padecía.
 No quiere ningun partido
 El Cegrí que la tenía,
 Y lo mismo los Gómeres,
 Moros que la defendían.
 Visto por el Alfaquí,
 Que el Alhariz se decia,
 Junto con Alí-ben-amar
 Y el Dordux en compañía,
 Como su necesidad
 Era mayor cada día,
 Y que no tenían remedio
 Ni socorro no atendian,
 Convocaron la ciudad,
 Y con gran gente que habia
 Hablaron así al Cegrí,
 Y el Alfaquí le decia:
 -Ruégote, Hamet, Cegrí,
 Yo y aquesta compañía
 Que entregues esta ciudad,
 Pues defensa no tenía.
 Contempla cuantos guerreros
 El cuchillo muerto habia;
 No quieras que mate á esotros
 La gran hambre que tenían.
 Nuestras mujeres y hijos
 Muy gran dolor nos ponian,
 Porque nos demandan pan
 Y de hambre se morian;
 Y tú mas daños nos haces
 Que los cristianos hacian;
 Que ellos nos matan á hierro,
 Tú por mas áspera via.
 Di, ¿son mas fuertes los muros
 Que aquesta ciudad tenía,
 Que son aquellos de Ronda,
 Que ya entregado se habia?
 ¿Ni vosotros sois mas fuertes,
 Ni teneis mas valentia

Que aquella gente de Loja
 Que á aquestos Reyes se humilla?
 Di, ¿qué esperanza te queda,
 Pues tienes tal rebeldía?
 Granada perdió su fuerza,
 Su gente no es cual solía
 Los capitanes su orgullo,
 Porque rey les fallecia.
 Deja vanas esperanzas
 Que poco al caso hacian.
 El Cegrí muy obstinado,
 Con enojo respondia:
 -Que por manera ninguna
 La ciudad no entregaria,
 Y que tuviesen por cierto
 Que primero moriria.-
 Los moros muy fatigados
 Unas cartas escribian
 Al Rey por algun partido;
 Sola libertad pedian:
 Pero ya aueste concierto
 El Rey no les concedia,
 Publicada ya la hambre
 Que la ciudad padecia.
 Un Abrahen Angeli,
 El cual santo se decia,
 Pensó de quitar el cerco
 Que Málaga en sí tenia.
 Juntó cuatrocientos moros,
 Con esto que les decia.
 Vánse á Málaga secretos,
 Abscondiéndose de dia,
 Y un dia muy de mañana,
 Y que casi amanecia,
 Por la parte de la mar
 El real acometian
 Para entrar por las estancias
 Que en aquella parte habia;
 Y al fin, saltando por ellas,
 Peleando á maravilla,
 Entraron doscientos de ellos
 En la ciudad á porfía,
 Y los demas fueron muertos
 Por la gente que ocurría.
 En aquesto el moro santo,
 Por hacer lo que queria,
 Salióse de la batalla
 Y púsose de rodillas
 Alzadas ambas las manos,
 Como que oracion hacia,
 Y d'esta suerte fué preso:

El cual á todos decia
 Como era moro santo,
 Y que muy cierto sabia
 La toma de la ciudad
 En qué tiempo se haria,
 Y que aquesto á solo al Rey,
 Y no á otro lo diria.
 Mandólo traer al Rey
 Para ver lo que decia;
 Pero á su tienda llegados,
 Hallaron que el Rey dormia,
 Y llevaronlo á otra tienda,
 En la cual residia
 El nuevo marques de Moya
 Y su mujer Bobadilla;
 El ilustre portugues
 Don Alvaro se decia.
 Entrando en la tienda el moro,
 Como á nadie conocia,
 Don Alvaro pensó que era
 El Rey, que verlo queria,
 Y la Reina la Marquesa,
 Que muy rica se vestia.
 Sacó muy disimulado
 Un terciado que traia,
 Y á Don Alvaro le dió
 Con él una gran herida
 En medio de la cabeza,
 Peligrosa á maravilla,
 Y á la Marquesa tiró
 Otras como mas podia;
 Pero luego lo mataron
 La gente que lo traia.

18 p. 65.

Ya se salen de Jaen
 Los trescientos hijosdalgo:
 Mozos codiciosos de honra,
 Pero mas enamorados.
 Por amor de sus amigas,
 Todos van juramentados
 De llegar hasta Granada
 Y correrles todo el campo,
 Y no dar vuelta sin traer
 Algun moro en aguinaldo.
 Un lunes por la mañana
 Parten todos muy lozanos,
 Con lanzas y con adargas
 Ricamente aderezados.

Todos visten oro y seda,
 Todos punales dorados:
 Muy bravos caballos llevan
 A la gineta ensillados!
 Los jaeces son azules
 De plata y oro broslados;
 Las reatas son listones
 Que sus damas les han dado.

20 pp. 65-66.

...Por esa puerta de Elvira
 Sale muy gran cavalgada:
 Cuanto de hidalgo moro!
 Cuanta de la yegua bayal!
 Cuanta de la lanza en puno!
 Cuanta de la adarga blanca!
 Cuanta de marlota verde!
 Cuanta aljuba de escarlata!
 Cuanta pluma y gentileza!
 Cuanta capellar de grana!
 Cuanta bayo borceguil!
 Cuanta lazo que le esmalta!
 Cuanta de la espuela de oro!
 Cuanta estribera de plata!
 Toda es gente valerosa
 Y esperta para batalla:
 En medio de todos ellos
 Va el rey Chico de Granada.

22 p. 66.

Rio-Verde, Rio-Verde!
 Cuanto cuerpo en ti se bana
 De cristianos y de moros
 Muertos por la dura espada!
 Y tus ondas cristalinas
 De roja sangre se esmaltan,
 Que entre moros y cristianos
 Se trabo muy gran batalla,
 Murieron duques y condes,
 Grandes senores de salva,
 Murio gente de valia
 De la nobleza de Espana.

26 pp. 66-68.

Paseabase el rey moro
 Por la ciudad de Granada

Desde la puerta de Elvira
 Hasta la de Vivarambla.
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Cartas le fueron venidas
 Que Alhama era ganada:
 Las cartas echo en el fuego,
 Y al mensajero matara.
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Descabalgaba de una mula,
 Y en un caballo cabalga;
 Por el Zacatin arriba
 Subido se habia al Alhambra.
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Como en el Alhambra estuvo,
 Al mismo punto mandaba
 Que se toquen sus trompetas,
 Sus anafiles de plata.
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Y que las cajas de guerra
 Apriesa toquen al arma,
 Porque lo oigan sus moriscos
 Los de la Vega y Granada.
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Los moros que el son oyeron
 Que al sangriento Marte llama,
 Uno a uno y dos a dos
 Juntado se ha gran batalla.
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Allí hablo un moro viejo,
 D'esta manera hablara:
 - Para que nos llamas, Rey,
 Para que es esta llamada? -
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Habeis de saber, amigos,
 Una nueva desdichada:
 Que cristianos de braveza
 Ya nos han ganado Alhama.-
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Allí hablo un Alfaqui
 De barba cruda y cana:
 - Bien se te emplea, buen Rey
 Buen Rey, bien se te empleara!
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Mataste los Abencerrajes,
 Que eran la flor de Granada;
 Cogiste los tornadizos
 De Córdoba la nombrada.
 " Ay de mi Alhama!"
 Por eso mereces, Rey,
 Una pena muy doblada;
 Que te pierdas tu y el reino,

Y aquí se pierda Granada.-
"¡Ay de mí Alhama!"

12 p. 75.

El erudito anglo-americano Washington Irving en la Crónica de la Conquista de Granada, The Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada, ha embellecido la relación de los importantes acontecimientos de este período dándole cierta forma épica, ó sea de lo que los extranjeros llaman romance; pero como dice un ilustrado escritor, extranjero también, "haciendo justicia á la brillantez de sus descripciones y á su habilidad dramática, no se sabe en qué clase o categoría colocar su libro, pues para romance hay en él demasiada realidad, y para crónica no hay bastante".

24 p. 8.

Notes from Journal, 1828, pp. 74-79.

"(156) Fez de Aibar- not far from Padul - the ultimo suspiro del Moro

Alcazaba fortress in the Albaycin

Convent of St. Ieronimo - the marble chair of Gonzalo Fernandez

Plaza de Vivarrambla

Standards of Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova in Convent of St. Jeronimo

(157) Road to the Summit of the Hill of Martyrs - where it led to the gate of the mills opposite to the Alhambra - The cardinal dispatched his comitiva (?) to take possession of the red tower & the tower of the gate of Gomeres then ascending the tower of the Vela he elevated on its Summit the standard of Spain &c

Procession from the camp came to village of Armilla 1/2 league from city

-procession moved forward to hermitage of St. Sebastian on banks of Xenil where the Moorish King paid homage & surrend^d keys.

Huerta del rey - where the Duke of Infantado (Diego Hurtado de Mendoza) & Bishop Ossorio

(158) Ojos de Huescar 1 & 1/2 leagues from Granada - where Ferdinand encamped -

Alcazaba & the red towers

Valley of Linden

Hamlet of Zubia near to the city - from whence the Queen saw the fight - To commemorate it she afterwards erected a monastery in Zubia - dedicated it to St. Francisco

Castle of Roma- 2 leagues

Tower and town of Alhandin near Alpuxarras - town overthrown by the Moors

(159) Moclin - Shield of Granada - miraculous explosion of a tower

Solemn entry Te deum

Castle of Roma two leagues from Granada - town (?) taken by Cabra (?) Alcala - Count Tendilla had town built on a height in neighborhood

Hears one day that the Moors had made a sally towards Quesada - lays in ambush near Barzena Adra surprised by vessel filled with Xⁿ disguised as Moors

(161) Illora - a strong tower perched on a high rock in the midst of a spacious valley - It was fortified with walls & towers & its lofty castle com(an) d^d a great circuit of country It is only 4 leagues from the metropolis

King fixed camp on the hill of Encinilla - rest of the army stationed about the city - fortified camp with branches and pallisades

Duke of Infantado demands the attack - (having been reproached with foray of his troops)

Christ(ian)s take suburbs - Duke one suburb Count of Cabra another-assailed wall of town with lombard for a couple of days - Great havoc towers overthrown houses demolished - such a din the Moors could not hear, each other speak - no room to fight - steep (160) place makes signal to surrender - Inhabitants permitted to depart & are escorted by Duke of Infant to the puente del Pinos - place repaired & left in charge of Gonzales of Cordoba Capt of royal guards of Ferd & Isab.

Moors intendg to defend the place to the last had sent their women & chi(1) d(ren) & aged to Granada - Barricaded the suburbs - opened doors of communication from house to house & pierced the walls of the houses with loop holes

One of the Brothers alcayde of Illora - the other of Moclin

After capture of Illora King moves camp to Moclin where he is visited by Isabela

(163) Las Ciudades no pueden traer Estandartes Quadrados sino haspades, y solo los Reyes y Emperadores los pueden traer quadrados
N. Reynoso Hist Ronda

MS

(The cities may not carry square standards but in the form of a cross, and only the kings and emperors may carry them square.)

(162) Cabra - Baena - Lucena

defeated at Moclin - the shield of Granada

What distance is Baena from Lucena - the intervening mountains of Hirquera - defile which leads to Lucena

Don Diego Hernandez de Cordova Alcayde de los Donceles

King Chiquito taken near the riverlet Mingonzales

Aliasen (?) overtaken & slain on the banks of the Xenil

(164) ♡--- ----- Relaciones curiosas de la Biblioteca Episcopal de Cordova recogidas por el conde de Miranda

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